Excellence or Exit
Ensuring Anangu Futures through Education

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Report to the South Australian Department of Education and Children’s Services
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Foreword

The Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee thanks Charles Darwin University and Tess Lea, Naomi Tootell, Jenni Wolgemuth, Catherine Halkon and Josie Douglas for their work in compiling the report.

The Charles Darwin University “Excellence or Exit – Ensuring Anangu Futures through Education” report has been very useful in that it has enabled issues raised to be considered as part of the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee’s Strategic Plan development process.

Whilst the majority of recommendations were useful, the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee does not necessarily endorse all the recommendations.
Excellence or Exit

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The views and opinions expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the South Australia Department of Education and Children’s Services, the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee, the School for Social and Policy Research, Charles Darwin University, nor any other government or non-government representative or organisational body.
Letter from the Review Team

The South Australian Department of Education and Children’s Services (DECS) and the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) are to be congratulated for taking the initiative to commission this analysis, in a context where yet another external review must have felt like the last thing anyone could bear. Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) schools face some of the toughest challenges this country has to offer; challenges that have been exacerbated in recent times by external reviews and serial intrusions which add to the problem load being carried by all residents, Anangu and other.

The Review advocates the need to change the approach to schooling at primary, middle and senior school levels; as the key means to transform training, learning and employment ‘pathways’ into journeys that lead to exciting destinations and not disappointing dead ends. The discussion and recommendations in this document aim to present Anangu leaders, schools and the enabling policy community that supports schools, with key points for debate and consideration, as the platform to develop an ambitious charter for education reform.

In accordance with the Terms of Reference for this review, this Report suggests a number of steps that can be taken to improve outcomes and open options for students and adults across the APY Lands. At the same time, however, we caution against incremental improvements that yield small percentage gains on such indicators as traineeships and year 12 completions, improved year 10 to years 11 and 12 transition rates, or increased vocational education offerings. These will not be sufficient to dramatically improve academic attainment across the APY Lands. In short, education on the APY Lands is no longer a question of incremental improvement but of high performance delivery and outcome. It is highly unlikely that doing more of what is currently enabled through present day policy and funding programs, offered at local, state and federal levels, will create the ‘education revolution’ that Anangu and the Australian nation both desire. As with much education service delivery across Australia, the services in place are perfectly designed to deliver the results that are being achieved. These are valiant and hard won, but not enough.

The Review Team saw much activity and effort that is breathtaking in its determination, energy and intention: school leaders who are inspired and inspirational, teachers who are committed, and community advocates who are tireless in their drive to support education in their communities. But it is all still failing to deliver the order of magnitude change required. The question is not should children be taught on or off the APY Lands, nor should the government build a new building, or whether there should be nine social workers rather than three or six. Neither is taking all the students to boarding school a solution unto itself.

Schools on the APY Lands already represent a very significant investment of state capital and recurrent expenditure. Turning our back on these assets by agreeing they
can only be improved at the margins is to agree these investments should be squandered. By-passing APY Lands schools altogether and looking to off-Lands solutions is short-sighted. We believe a complete overhaul has to be the focus. At every level of the learning equation, the highest standards of quality and effect need to be applied. This involves money, people, resources and expertise to apply what is known about creating high performing schools and advanced learning and workplace training environments in disadvantaged settings to all the initiatives put in place on the APY Lands and on behalf of Anangu people. Reform cannot be achieved on a second rate basis. Anything less simply reinforces the conspiracy of effects that reproduce educational disadvantage and associated cycles of failure. Anything less will not help deliver on the singular promise that education still offers, even in situations of abject poverty: namely, the means of political, social, physical, communal and economic empowerment.

Finally, in looking for ways to improve outcomes for the young people of the APY Lands, this Review by definition focuses more on things that can be improved than on things that are being done well. We beg the understanding of the many dedicated staff we encountered who are working day in, day out, to deliver small victories for their students against incredible and frustrating odds. We salute your efforts.

The Review Team
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This report is a review of education, training and work on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands. The APY Lands is an administrative geographical region in South Australia, held on freehold title under the terms of different sets of land rights legislation. The map in Figure 1 shows the location and approximate distances by road between communities on the APY Lands.

Throughout the report we use the term ‘Anangu’ to refer to the Indigenous people who are the focus of this review. The term Anangu is a Pitjantjatjara word meaning ‘people’ and has, more recently, come to specifically refer to those people of Pitjantjatjara, Ngaanyatjarra and Yankunytjatjara background who live or have lived on the APY Lands. In our report Anangu therefore means any Indigenous person of the above backgrounds, on or from the APY Lands, who may have family connections to other Indigenous regions and may presently reside outside the APY Lands.

The expression ‘APY Land residents’ is used in relation to Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data to connote Anangu who lived on the APY Lands during the time of the census.

The terms ‘non-Indigenous’, ‘whitefella’, ‘whites’ and ‘piranpa’ are used interchangeably to refer to non-Anangu who reside and work on and off the APY Lands. Piranpa is a Pitjantjatjara word that is translated as ‘whitefella’ or ‘non-Anangu.’
### Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<td>ACH</td>
<td>Actual Curriculum Hour</td>
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<td>AES</td>
<td>Anangu Education Services</td>
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<td>AEW</td>
<td>Anangu Education Worker</td>
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<td>AFO</td>
<td>Assessment Field Officer</td>
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<td>AHS</td>
<td>Australian Hearing Service</td>
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<td>AHW</td>
<td>Anangu Health Worker</td>
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<td>AL</td>
<td>Accelerated Literacy</td>
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<td>ANTA</td>
<td>Australian National Training Authority</td>
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<td>AnTEP</td>
<td>Anangu Tertiary Education Program</td>
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<td>APA</td>
<td>Australian Principals Association</td>
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<td>APAPDC</td>
<td>Australian Principals Association Professional Development Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>APY</td>
<td>Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara</td>
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<td>AQF</td>
<td>Australian Quality Framework</td>
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<td>ASP</td>
<td>Adopt a School Program</td>
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<td>ATSIC</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission</td>
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<td>BIITE</td>
<td>Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAT</td>
<td>Centre for Appropriate Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDEP</td>
<td>Community Development and Employment Projects</td>
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<td>CDU</td>
<td>Charles Darwin University</td>
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<td>CHPRC</td>
<td>Child Health Promotion Research Centre</td>
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<td>CPC</td>
<td>Child Parent Centre</td>
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<td>CTS</td>
<td>Career and Transition Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>CYI</td>
<td>Cape York Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>DBERD</td>
<td>Department of Business, Economic and Regional Development (NT)</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>DECS</td>
<td>Department of Education and Children's Services (South Australia)</td>
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<td>DEET</td>
<td>Department of Education, Employment and Training (NT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEEWR</td>
<td>Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (formerly DEWR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEST</td>
<td>Department of Education, Science and Training</td>
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<td>DEWR</td>
<td>Department of Employment and Workplace Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFEEST</td>
<td>Department of Further Education, Employment, Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>FaHCSIA</td>
<td>Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>FTE</td>
<td>Full Time Equivalent</td>
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<tr>
<td>HACC</td>
<td>Home and Community Care</td>
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<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communication Technology</td>
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<td>ITAS</td>
<td>Indigenous Tutorial Assistance Scheme</td>
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<td>ITEC</td>
<td>Industry Training Education Council</td>
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<td>IYMP</td>
<td>Indigenous Youth Mobility Program</td>
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<td>LBW</td>
<td>Low Birth Weight</td>
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<td>LCP</td>
<td>Local Community Partnership</td>
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<td>MAP</td>
<td>Multilevel Assessment Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSO</td>
<td>Municipal Services Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAL</td>
<td>National Acoustic Laboratories</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCVER</td>
<td>National Centre for Vocational Education and Research</td>
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<td>NIELNS</td>
<td>National Indigenous English Literacy and Numeracy Strategy</td>
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<td>NT</td>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTG</td>
<td>Northern Territory Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>OATSIH</td>
<td>Office for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHS&amp;W</td>
<td>Occupational Health Safety and Welfare</td>
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<tr>
<td>PYEC</td>
<td>Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee</td>
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<td>RRMHS</td>
<td>Rural and Remote Mental Health Service</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTA</td>
<td>Rio Tinto Alcan</td>
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<td>RTO</td>
<td>Registered Training Organisation</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>South Australia</td>
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<td>SACE</td>
<td>South Australian Certificate of Education</td>
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<td>SANFL</td>
<td>South Australian National Football League</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAPOL</td>
<td>South Australia Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSABSA</td>
<td>Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWL</td>
<td>Structured Workplace Learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>SwD</td>
<td>Students with Disabilities</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>Tertiary and Further Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>TER</td>
<td>Tertiary Entrance Rank</td>
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<tr>
<td>TJP</td>
<td>Tjungungku Kuranyukutu Palyantjaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UniSA</td>
<td>University of South Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VET</td>
<td>Vocational Education and Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>VETiS</td>
<td>Vocational Education and Training in Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WA</td>
<td>Western Australia</td>
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Background and Approach

In December 2007, the South Australian Department of Education and Children’s Services (DECS) commissioned a team of researchers from the School for Social and Policy Research, Charles Darwin University, to conduct a review of post primary education and pathways for people from the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands in South Australia. This report is the outcome of that Review.

As set out by DECS, the purpose of the review was “to seek user and provider views on options for strengthening developments and successes of current programs related to post primary education and pathways on the APY Lands”. Accordingly, the Review Team focussed on the following primary research questions:

1. What are the outcomes, strengths, and challenges of primary and secondary education in the APY Lands?
2. What are the outcomes, strengths, and challenges of VET/training in the APY Lands?
3. What are the outcomes, strengths, and challenges of work and pathways to work in the APY Lands?
4. How do APY Land schools compare to like schools in the Northern Territory and Western Australia on measures of student participation and achievement?

To answer these questions, the Review progressed through four overlapping stages: a review of the published and policy literature; an analysis and report on the APY Land schools’ self-review documents (Tootell, Wolgemuth, Eickelkamp & Lea, 2008); eight weeks site-based fieldwork; and an analysis of key education and training data from the APY Lands and similar communities in the Northern Territory and Western Australia.

While this report does not dedicate a formal section to a review of the national and international literature pertinent to education, training and work in remote Indigenous communities, a wide array of literature was canvassed, and the full list of works cited and consulted is included in the Reference section of this report. Nonetheless, we wish to make mention here of the following key reports:

- Little children are Sacred (2007)
- The Western Australian Aboriginal Child Health Survey: Strengthening the Capacity of Aboriginal Children, Families and Communities (2006)

The above were frequently consulted during the course of our Review, yet the number of embedded citations in this report does not adequately reflect their importance and relevance to our own work. We also analysed previous APY Lands inquiries, which seem to have been undertaken at least once every decade. In addition, the Review Team paid special attention to the following DECS reports and documents:

- South Australian Youth Engagement Strategy (2005)
In the course of conducting fieldwork research for this Review, and under the direction of the Review Steering Committee, the Review Team limited site visits to five APY Lands communities (Ernabella, Murputja, Amata, Mimili and Kenmore Park). We also interviewed service providers, trainers, employers and policy makers in Adelaide and Alice Springs. Whilst in Adelaide and Alice Springs, we visited a number of schools attended by Anangu from the APY Lands, including the Wiltja annex of Woodville High School in Adelaide, and St Philip’s and Yirara Colleges in Alice Springs. In addition, the Review Team conducted a number of telephone interviews with key stakeholders we were unable to meet with in person.

In total, the Review conducted interviews or focus groups with 203 participants. While a complete breakdown of the number of participants by sector/group is provided in Appendix A, it is worth noting here that almost half of the interview and focus group participants were Anangu; and the other half non-Anangu. At the same time, these numbers mask the reality that our interviews with Anangu were sorely limited by the short time we were able to spend in the field and the number of skilled and impartial interpreters available to us. While the Review Team made as much use as possible of Anangu school staff, including Anangu Education Workers and Anangu Coordinators, and while we further engaged and paid a fully qualified interpreter for one week’s fieldwork, we remain concerned that the full array of Anangu views and opinions was not sufficiently canvassed, especially in comparison to those of non-Anangu. Children and young people were targeted and every available opportunity to talk with young people was exploited but the quality of our work here was seriously impeded by the time limits placed on the field research. The report produced herein is a government commissioned review of education, not ethnography, and as such it entails methodological constraints that fundamentally limit how well it can be used as a record of Anangu understandings on such fundamental issues as childhood and family, cultural belonging or lifelong learning.

We believe that what is required for best practice is something that, despite our best efforts and intentions, we were unable to ensure; that is, the presence of two highly proficient bilingual translators at all meetings with Anangu, one of whom is an English first language speaker, and the other of whom is a Pitjantjatjara or Yankunytjatjara first language speaker. In this way, it is possible to maximise the potential for all the complex subtleties of discourse and language to be translated across conceptual and linguistic differences. While we feel that in many cases this did not occur in our conversations with Anangu who had limited English, even in the presence of a translator, we did have some very productive conversations with English-speaking Anangu whose perspectives are well represented in this report.

The Review was guided during all phases of the research by both a Peer Advisory Group and a Steering Committee. The Peer Advisory Group comprised of academic and professional experts in Indigenous education and research, including Michael Christie, Ruth Wallace, Don Zoellner, Michael Duffy, James Cooper, and Ute Eickelkamp, while the Steering Committee was appointed by the commissioning agency.

Finally, the notes and transcripts of all interviews and focus groups were carefully analysed and the research team met often in the months during and following completion of our fieldwork to share and discuss the themes we saw emerging and our interpretation of those themes. From those discussions and our individual and group analyses emerged the key findings and recommendations contained herein.
Executive Summary: Key Findings and Themes

Report on a page

This Review is broadly based on two fundamental issues: better co-ordination and intelligence in the work of governments; and engaging and empowering Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara communities to run their own affairs and pursue their own solutions with the best available knowledge and resources to assist. This requires that relevant parties:

- Invest in current and up-and-coming Anangu leadership, facilitating links to the corporate, finance, research and social enterprise sectors (the ‘third sector’) rather than public servant advisors. This includes connecting to people elsewhere in the world who have succeeded as reform agents in devastated circumstances.
- Resource the development of a long term vision for Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara as a population, one to which education and training can be harnessed

All education and training services need to proceed from the premise that Anangu children are as malleable, bright, energetic, smart and adaptable as children anywhere. They are not born with depression, alienation or a sense of failure; and no child is unteachable. This requires that relevant parties:

- Design education services and the associated workforce around the premise that tertiary learning is a likely path for every student, regardless of the student’s actual destination.
- Strengthen the overall and teachers’ individual capacity to deliver high quality education by providing contemporary on-Lands post-secondary instruction in language, instructional practices and programs, and interventions that research and experience have shown to be effective.
- Insist any definition of positive school-community engagement is incomplete without full accountability to parents. This includes working with Anangu to agree expectations around attendance and participation, including sharing the hard truth that what may feel like ‘forcing’ children to go school is a requirement for mainstream educational attainment.
- From early childhood to university, maintain a commitment to academic credentialing, and apply high expectations to Vocational Education and Training delivery, ensuring VET is an equal and challenging alternative, not the soft option to traditional academic subject lines.
- Investigate options for residential secondary facilities, through detailed investigation of options and models in Australia and elsewhere. Support Anangu leaders to command and steer this investigation and analysis, enabling Anangu leaders to examine the policy structures and selection procedures that have enabled other schools and countries to raise the selection bar for teachers and the attainment levels for students; and to explore and understand the community discipline and clarity of purpose required to drive high performing schools.

Currently, adult learning opportunities are extremely fragmented and in many instances, clearly not the best use of limited resources. A seamless, early childhood-through-adult learning system of interconnections is required, using existing pathways and investing in new coordination nodes. This requires that relevant parties:

- Establish a post-secondary further learning and research college where access to current and future vocational and professional qualifications and short courses are facilitated.
- Connect with existing service providers and enable access the most cost-effective training, without being penalised by state and territory border issues.

Poor education feeds the low employability of Anangu on the APY Lands: our key emphasis throughout is that employment pathways have to be annexed to an overhaul of education outcomes in early childhood, primary and secondary programs on and off the Lands, to open the infinite opportunities for employment that exist in the world at large. At the same time, Anangu efforts to develop, manage and control their own affairs in the shape of their own needs, wants and ways, need to be heeded and supported.
Key findings and main themes

The overall picture of Indigenous education and training in Australia is disheartening and no amount of creative wording can or should hide the serious problems educationalists and policy-makers face in attempting to achieve educational “success for all” (Government of South Australia, 2006). Despite several decades of changes to curricula, policies and practices, despite new appointments and the introduction of new pedagogies, remote Indigenous schools across Australia as a whole continue to produce students who fail to reach even minimum standards of literacy and numeracy.

In examining the current education provision for Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands’ students – the outcomes, promising practices and barriers to success – this Review does not shy away from candid discussions of the hard truths about how students are and are not being prepared for educational success and an open-ended future. This report, too, does not ignore the good and exceptionally difficult work people on the APY Lands are doing to sustain and improve education, training and employment outcomes. The unifying emphasis of this report is a concern to understand the aspirations around existing endeavours within an exploration of what might really be happening and how gaps between aspiration and actual impact might be closed via suggestions for ways forward.

During our research we also discovered a number of communication initiatives with aims similar to the Steering Committee's ambition to identify training and employment opportunities for Anangu. In particular, we draw attention to the Tjungungku Kuranyukutu Palyantjaku (TKP), a joint initiative of the South Australian and Commonwealth Governments; and to www.waru.org, an information site for and about the APY Lands coordinated by PY Media. Given this wealth of available information, we considered little would be gained in providing yet another profile of the many inspiring initiatives and projects underway on the APY Lands. Accordingly, readers should not expect to see breakout boxes of good news stories in the following pages, although there are many such cases that are worthy of celebration.

Instead, this Review has aimed to provide insights into the underlying structural impediments that need to be addressed to assist education, training and employment, innovation and enterprise on the APY Lands. Every effort has been made to develop a convincing and practical set of recommendations about the kind of development trajectory that might yield dramatic improvement rather than more of the same. Some of these require a redirection of existing efforts; others will require significant injection of genuinely new funding from both the South Australian and Commonwealth Governments. All will require a fundamental rethink of the value that government genuinely places on improving Indigenous education.

Taken together, this Review suggests an ambitious program of change for APY Lands education, training and employment pathways, and a full list of recommendations follows this summary. Each recommendation in isolation addresses a particular feature of current delivery mechanisms and initiatives that are designed to contribute to an integrated reform agenda. The core logic at the heart of this package of recommendations can be reduced to the following themes:

Radical redesign is necessary

We believe that a revolutionary overhaul and radically different emphases are required to transform education, training and employment opportunities for people on and from the APY Lands. Incremental improvements will be insufficient.

The current structures of traditional public schooling on the APY Lands, from primary through to vocational and tertiary offerings, are failing APY Land students and families. For proof, we need look no further than the academic attainment and graduation data. Over the last 3 years the APY Lands schools, excluding Wiltja, have graduated only one student. Some of the disappearing teenagers transfer to Wiltja or other school districts, but too many make the life-shaping decision as young as 13 and 14 that
schooling is not for them, and drop out altogether. Even among those who actually graduate, only a small percentage enrol in university courses and barely any graduate with a mainstream qualification.

In considering these issues, this Review asks: what will it take to change this trajectory, when it is a pattern that all contributing parties – students, families, providers, and governments – have become inured to? Not just to marginally raise the Year 12 South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE) completion rates; or to show modest signs of improvement in standardised test scores; and or have better than average school attendance and participation figures – hard won as all these achievements are. But what will it take to radically alter the whole equation? For what is required is no less than radically altering the entire structure, culture and sense of possibility for education on the APY Lands.

If this is not the aim, our suggestion is that government find a way of pulling out of non-essential service delivery altogether, and let APY Land communities form around what remains when schools are removed. Put frankly, despite noble efforts from Anangu and non-Anangu instructors working in under-capacity contexts, the delivery of substandard education is doing as much harm as good. The decision has to be made, by Anangu and by government; whether or not it is fully intended that communities are to be sustained on the APY Lands. If yes, our report outlines the full commitment required to make education work, enabling APY Lands schools to be a showcase for the rest of the country. If the answer remains more equivocal, then serious consideration needs to be given to dismantling schools, leaving the infrastructure as a community resource (e.g., for child care, sport and playground amenities; as a computing venue; etc) and offering a minimalist service via distance education arrangements delivered from schools with a reduced site-based staffing complement; supporting those students and families that remain keen on more advanced formal western instruction for their children to access such using metropolitan facilities.

This is not the belief that drives the analysis presented in this Report but underscores the importance of clarity in what in being attempted. As with other remote areas, schools occupy an ambiguous space in Indigenous communities, being part child care, part substitute domicile, an entertainment, a cultural resource, and an education and training venue. To amplify the effect of these last modalities requires greater clarity about the purpose and role of schooling on the APY Lands, including explicit confrontation with the contradictions masked by seemingly benign terms such as ‘two way’ education, which currently folds too much into an unarguable ambition that, being under-analysed, can be safely expressed and imprecisely delivered ad infinitum.

A big picture vision is required

In amongst all the political intrigues and in-fighting on and about the APY Lands, a missing feature – at least to the outside reviewer – is any sense of an overall vision of who and what Anangu Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people aspire to be. On the question of future prospects for Anangu communities, the Review encountered one negative sentiment after another, from people on and off the APY Lands. Achievements are celebrated, committed individuals are held in high regard and there are still people prepared to give it their all; but overall, a sense of nihilism and a worry that it is all a forlorn effort pervaded Anangu and outsider testimony alike. For education to play its part in the nation rebuilding effort we think is required, all education efforts and offerings should be harnessed to realising a united and uniting vision based on an excited and expansive sense of future possibility. This is not a cop out proposal based on a global idea that ‘the people should be consulted about their futures’. Rather, it is something of a call to action.

We believe Anangu leaders, families, and the many non-Indigenous individuals who care deeply about the future of people of and from the APY Lands, may need enabling resources to undertake the work to map out such a vision. But this thinking cannot be done for Anangu by external parties; nor is it best generated by way of bureaucratic committees, evidence-free workshops or otherwise deadening governmental processes. Instead, this visioning process is best led by Anangu, with the resources to call
on assistance as required from other Indigenous reformers, philanthropic, not-for-profit, research and corporate sector leaders in Australia; and to people elsewhere in the world who have experience as reform agents in devastated circumstances. The Steve Biko Foundation is one such source of inspired contact, suggested here for illustrative purposes only. Again, this assistance would not be in the form of permanent advisory committees and paternalistic structures; but as strategic input that disappears when all the right networks, contacts and ideas have been established for and by Anangu.

Without this greater vision, our recommendations are operating in a vacuum.

**All partners and parties to education and further training need to set goals based on a working theory that the highest standards can be attained and that nothing else will suffice.**

Heeding long-standing community views, new residential facilities are recommended, in particular for separate secondary and post secondary facilities on the APY Lands. But in each case, these need to be developed through intensive negotiation and deeply reflective and intelligent planning and design. As part of this planning, community leaders drawn from within the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) and beyond, should be assisted to broaden their understanding of what can be achieved through sponsored tours of high performing schools for disadvantaged learners that are succeeding in Australia and elsewhere. Recommended countries include New Zealand, Korea, Finland, South Africa and parts of North America. Target venues include urban and regional schools that have set and met ambitious goals, to explore the preconditions for their success and to create a sense of what can be achieved when outstanding facilities are enabled and communities swing behind the reform agenda. Closer to home, the new initiatives of the Tiwi people to build a residential college on Melville Island; and Western Cape College in Far North Queensland, should be included on the itinerary, to enable analysis of the risks and possibilities, the expense and the effort involved to make such initiatives work. It is important that any new facilities are driven by informed decision making and shaped around an Anangu vision for secondary education and further learning,

For those who would argue secondary and post-secondary facilities are expensive investments in an area of the world that does not offer much in the way of economic return to the country’s GDP, we would offer the counter-arguments:

- The current systems are patently not working and the failures are expensive to remediate
- The frustration and energy required to pull-off even the smallest achievements on the APY Lands are disproportionate to the yield. At a systems level, current investment levels are perfectly designed to produce the high rates of burn out and turnover that are experienced on the APY Lands. Stabilising this system by an appropriate infusion of expertise and resources is the alternative.
- Second rate and piecemeal education is known to foster and contribute to the poor self esteem and anomic that in turn yield conditions of violence, ill-health and family breakdown. **Excellence in education is the solution.** In contrast, half-hearted education serves to aggravate and entrench the plethora of psycho-social, economic and political problems governments of all persuasions profess such continuing alarm about.
- There are approximately 300 secondary aged students and an unknown number of younger adults forming the potential cohort for residential facilities.

We also believe that far more should be done to link research to the work of educationalists on the APY Lands. Too often we came across viewpoints in Adelaide and on the APY Lands that were evidence-free but frighteningly influential even so. Some of these are addressed further in this report, in a chapter (‘Common Misconceptions’) dedicated to dismissing or amending harmful collective myths. In brief, the recommended secondary and post-secondary facilities for the APY Lands must contain from the outset a built-in linkage between evidence-building research, policy and practice.
Development of community leadership

At the risk of repetition, what takes place in schools and in training, in every government project and form of outsider aide, needs to be harnessed to the realisation of a coherent dream. This harnessing has to be led. No reform effort can take place without the leadership and backing of community authority figures. Anangu need to be able to direct outside and local resources to a greater purpose, without a cargo cult mentality. Significant investment should be made into identified and up and coming leaders, to link them to mentors and advisors drawn from an international pool, to help articulate and realise a vision for existence and prosperity on the APY Lands. Within policy, it is also important to get away from the idea that ‘the community’ and ‘the government’ simply need to set policies that require x% indigenous involvement in capital works programs, y% more housing, z% teacher or social worker or school psychologist upgrades. At stake are fundamental questions of identity and agency and what it takes to really help people take control of their own lives; to re-imagine who and what they might yet become as a people, with a sense of common purpose.

What might seem to be intangible and idealistic concepts in fact go to the critical heart of things. It appears that only a few Anangu leaders across the APY Lands know what is required for raising the stakes so they demand and expect more from and for themselves; so that they are the architects of what happens and how on the APY Lands, not the recipients.

The civic participation aspect of ‘early childhood to college’ curricula could be harnessed to this agenda of nurturing community based leadership, which is articulated at a more coherent and visionary level than the current APY Lands education plan, to inform a political, economic and cultural renaissance. Anangu leaders need to ask of themselves and those who are meant to be assisting them:

- How can the conspiracy of effects that normalises poor school outcomes change?
- Under what conditions do students and parents move from a passive stance of wanting education to improve to one that demands quality responses from self, family and service provider?
- How can community engagement move to a position of radical expectation and revolutionary reform?
- What forms of information, material support, incentives and inducements do parents and caregivers need in place if the highest aspirations for their children are to be met?

Within education specifically, the PYEC has demonstrated its determination to exercise greater direction over education services on the APY Lands. It is imperative that it is given the funding it actually deserves to engage with national and international experts in indigenous education to build its capacity for this next accelerated reform effort.

The stakes are clear. Attaining the cognitive skills, the political tools, the social health and economic status necessary for an easy ability to ‘orbit’ in and out of the global community, with the sagacity and power of a strong cultural identity, requires no less than complete dedication to quality schooling on behalf of providers, families and students.

Building on existing strengths

The ingredients for rapid improvement are already in place. The schools on the APY Lands are deeply committed to an ethic of community engagement. The Review witnessed deeply imaginative and creative programs that were united in their shared ambition to create conditions under which students could be motivated to learn, either by making what they were learning congruent with their community and cultural contexts, or by basing it around topics of universal youth appeal. These efforts, and the consciousness about the importance of appealing to under-motivated and high poverty students that such efforts signify, provide the vital ingredients for revitalising education for APY Land communities. It means that APY Lands schools are already well underway in taking responsibility for building students’
motivation and self-identity as high achievers. Unlike many Indigenous education settings, APY Land schools are not waiting for some kind of ‘super toddler’ to emerge who is self-ready for school before they can do their job properly.

Given that APY Lands schools have already taken to heart their role as the key institution that shapes the lives of children, they are also well-placed to incorporate other critical components for sustained high performance.

Indeed, as the following summary shows, taken together, our recommendations aim to build on the solid platform and thoughtful efforts that are already embedded in APY Land schools.

First, the key variable in student performance is teacher quality.

Admittedly, defining what is meant by ‘quality’ or ‘high performing teacher’ is very difficult; but put simply, aiming for the highest calibre recruits one can attract is a key to transforming APY Lands education and training outcomes.

For APY Lands schools, this also requires that the existing commitment to building a highly skilled corps of Anangu educators is strengthened and made even more determined. The recommended residential post-secondary college facility is envisaged as a key part of this reinvigoration program where Anangu and non-Anangu instructors will receive co-coaching in the forms of instruction, languages, interventions and programs that research and community experience have shown to be effective.

Our emphasis on leadership and investment is aimed at helping Anangu leaders to broaden the parameters of what can be expected whilst being clear on what it will take to realise their goals. This emphasis on Anangu leadership does not lessen the equal pressure required of non-Indigenous contributors to also fully meet their responsibilities.

Second, high performing schools offer every student powerful and enduring relationships with teachers, tutors and provide mentors from the local and national community and wider worlds of work and enterprise.

A student's self-identity and motivation are fostered by intense relationships with interested, caring, trustworthy and intelligent adults. Again, the foundations for such committed pastoral links are already in place on and off the APY Lands. School leaders are working hard to create links between school and community and to broker relationships with other service providers and potential employers. (The Gateways for Youth program is an exemplary instance.) Our recommendations seek to dramatically amplify these existing efforts, by calling on the full range of regional and national resources that are available to assist Indigenous education reform.

We understand that many of the barriers we’ve identified will be difficult to overcome, and the training and up-skilling we’ve recommended will be difficult to implement, given locality issues (distance and logistics); crowded school agendas; small staff numbers, rapid turnover and high proportion of new teachers – all of which make it difficult for schools to be enthusiastic about taking on a swag of new responsibilities. We do not think teachers should be given more to add to their workloads or to the clear sense of guilt and incapacity they conveyed to the Review Team. A different approach is taken in this report. Given schools are the most significant socialisation site outside family and communal contexts; they need to have full capacity to respond to all that is being asked of them. Our recommendations, taken together, would both establish residential teams with diversified skill sets to assist schools in their foundational, revolutionary tasks and create links to multidisciplinary expertise from non-school sources. Like
communities, schools cannot be exhorted to improve through cheer-leading or cajoling, penalty
and external domination. Consistently available targeted resources and supports are required.

**Third**, high performing schools provide individualised student learning plans tailored to each student’s skill level, learning style, maturity and interests.

We do not mean by this a framework for letting anything happen in the name of individualisation. Rather, what we have seen of the schools’ and other training brokers’ focus on a student’s strong points and interests are to be commended and strengthened. Instructors and mentors need to be able to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their students with precision to select the appropriate instructional methods to help them reach their full potential.

The Review saw much effort invested in mapping students’ interests and encouraging a tailored program around those interests. To strengthen this good work, educators on the APY Lands also need high quality professional development, aligned to the charter of the schools, and the vision of the APY communities. Teachers and leaders have to be inspired and replenished, to in turn inspire their students to great heights.

**Fourth**, to attain greater success in post primary and post secondary pathways, APY Land schools need to establish the idea that university is a likely path for every student, regardless of the student’s actual destination.

This is not to denigrate vocational training programs; but rather, to reverse the disdain in which preparation for academic success tends to be held, when people think they are protecting the interests of the many people in our society who either have different inclinations or are struggling with academic attainment. Yet, designing educations systems to the goal of higher education eligibility for every student would set the preconditions for successful pathways to learning and earning, whether this is in the trades or elsewhere. Indeed, one of the major barriers to successful completion of vocational training programs remains the poor literacy and numeracy skills of trainees. Successful trade-based enterprises and other forms of skilled employment (including mining operations) still require literacy, numeracy and code-switching competencies to at least Year 10 academic benchmark levels.

Supporting this view, one of the main reasons provided by contributors to explain why more Anangu aren’t employed in the range of standard community jobs on the APY Lands were the continuing low levels of English literacy and numeracy. It is an issue even for the less skilled jobs available within communities: as workers in stores, garages and municipal services, for instance. Paradoxically, it is through systematically avoiding the temptation to stream students into vocational training programs before academic skills are mastered; and ensuring that vocational programs are also academically challenging, that the enabling conditions for success in trade apprenticeships, vocational courses and workplace training can be met. The culture of education needs to be supportive of academic excellence for workplace readiness, cultural innovation and enterprise alike. Such a determination will ensure that all students have every opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for their full participation in the knowledge society: what happens after that will be genuinely their choice. Their life options will not have been predetermined and delimited through incipient forms of anti-intellectualism and protective, racialised practice, however well-intentioned.

**And fifth**, successful education, training, further learning and employment relies heavily on partnerships with institutions in the broader community and draws on research connections to feed innovation and the development of locally attuned best practice.
To provide students with experiences that will help them develop career goals, schools and training providers need to team up with colleges and universities, cultural institutions, businesses, government, and community organisations. We saw signs of this effort, led by under-resourced individuals at grave risk of burning out. In the first instance, these partners should be linked via carefully delineated memoranda of understanding to the primary school’s core curriculum, reform and identity-building activities, not just in marginal add-on programs. As a longer term and more substantive solution we recommend exhaustive investigation of, and subsequent investment in, separate secondary and post-secondary facilities. The latter will provide a focus for teacher improvement, capacity building, vocational training, further learning, research and innovation on the APY Lands.

Creating the structural preconditions to raise the benefits of adolescent and adult learning and employment begins with, but does not end with, the school system. Our discussion of training and employment also looks at the need to improve interagency and industry policy coordination and coherence. At present, the diversity of stakeholders involved in policy-making and workforce development, training and (un)employment management, aggravates the fragmentation more than it provides solutions. APY Land residents encounter a moving feast of programs, projects and associated officers who ‘reinvent the wheel’ – at Anangu and resident personnel expense. Indeed, it is impossible to look at issues on the APY Lands and not have the high levels of service fragmentation and multiple governance mechanisms come to attention. As the Reverend Tim Costello and Lowitja O’Donoghue (2005) note in their brief report:

> In a short trip we can detect a maze of often fragmented associations, NGO’s and incorporated bodies operating in the Lands to deliver services then that is exactly the same spaghetti bowl of overlapping donor processes, expectations and departments at State, Federal and Not-for-Profit level….Just as there needs to be a sane simplified delivery system in the Lands, there needs to be a similar sane simplified system of coordination of government services as the donor communities. (p. 6)

Mirroring this syndrome, schools likewise have to manage a passing parade of people arriving or phoning every second day with something to offer that will ‘solve the problems’ of Indigenous employment, education and training. While what is on offer may not always represent best practice or evidenced approaches, it sure creates a lot of noise and distraction. The term calendar fills with a cascade of visits that have to be managed on top of everything else.

In terms of reducing early school dropout rates and developing lifelong learners, coherence in all the linkages is required. The good news is – while there is much room for improvement – the groundwork has already been prepared. There are attempts to create coordination between education and employment policy objectives; in the use of adult learning to assist the unemployed and the under-educated in finding and keeping desirable jobs; in linking adult learning to social welfare programs, so that benefit recipients can also develop their skills; and in coordination with social venture and industry partners, in the definition of skills needs and the development of enterprise opportunities.

Further, the South Australian Government has elevated responsibility for coordinating Indigenous affairs to the Department of Premier and Cabinet, which sends a clear signal about its importance and place. This has seen a greater determination to bring together the multiplicity of agencies whose past interaction with communities has been so confusing and frustrating. Broadening the strategic inputs even further to include members outside education and outside government – from the ‘third sector’ of research and social enterprise – will ensure the breadth and depth of analysis required to truly break the odds on the APY Lands.
Put simply, education outcomes are too important and too difficult to be left to education to solve alone. Equally, it is important that future policies are not built around a tacit hesitation that enabling people to live and work anywhere means the end of Anangu cultural identity. There is a need to educate current and future Anangu for competitive pursuits in the world at large, without the anxiety that seems to pervert the quality of service delivery efforts about the effects this might have on people’s sense of self; or the waste of resources it would represent for communities that have no futures. To return to our beginning, if these are the continuing hesitations, schooling itself should be reduced to a minimalist model.

The next section details chapter overviews and recommendations, clustered according to priority areas. Recommendations are listed in priority implementation order. Recommendation numbers give indication of where the supporting analysis and particular recommendations can be found in the main body of the report.
Secondary (and Primary) Education Chapter Overview

- Downstream improvements in early childhood and primary education are part of the solution to one of the most persistent explanations of under-employment and failures in ‘capacity building’ efforts on the APY Lands: namely, the shortage of highly literate and academically capable people to staff key positions and command successful enterprises.

- There is no guiding national or regional consensus on the role and purpose of schooling in remote Indigenous communities. Most APY Lands schools are attempting to ‘do it all’ and are experiencing a widening gap between their ability to deliver quality services and to meet external (local community and otherwise) expectations. As a matter of urgent priority, supports and resources should be provided to the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) and Anangu Education Services (AES) to bring together key community leaders, service providers and external experts to establish the details of Anangu goals for Anangu education, with a view to confronting all existing contradictions explicitly.

- The PYEC needs to be resourced and empowered so that they are able to set curriculum targets, apply standards, base decisions on data, commission research, reliably depend on high commitment from their own membership and otherwise exercise true control of the education agenda.

- Confident, skilled and highly motivated Anangu staff form the backbone of education provision on the APY Lands. Anangu educators and support staff need to have clear career pathways, refresher courses and intensive development to be instructional experts and education leaders.

- Aboriginal families position education as a priority and have high expectations that mainstream education will deliver jobs and employment. Yet the reality of remote communities is that Aboriginal students receive only an approximation of mainstream schooling, which falls well short of the standard needed to equip them to take up the types of jobs they are expected to fulfil, let alone the jobs that are tacitly denied. All parties need to be convinced that greater Anangu control of political, economic and social futures can be had now, with intensive commitment to advanced academic attainment from families, students and service providers alike.

- High quality bilingual programs are the most effective way to confer lasting academic achievement for English language learners. The approach taken on the APY Lands needs to be made explicit and resourced to be effective.

- Literacy and numeracy results from national benchmark tests are demonstrably poor and recent evidence suggests Anangu students are worse off now than ever before. Specialist tutors (teacher-trained, with skills in English as a Second Language [ESL], reading, numeracy, special education/learning disorder diagnosis and remediation) are needed for one-on-one instruction with those students experiencing difficulty in keeping up with their peer group.

- To provide safety and support to at-risk children whilst enabling advanced secondary education, Wiltja should be relocated to a high-performing school with an exemplary academic record.

- In view of the strong desire among Anangu for high quality secondary facilities to be residentially available on the APY Lands, the Department of Education and Children’s Services (DECS) should undertake a comprehensive cost-benefit appraisal of location, demographic target and curriculum options, in partnership with Anangu leaders and pertinent stakeholders from within and without the education sector.
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<tr>
<td><strong>Planning, Visioning and Governance</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee and Anangu Education Service</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 1.1</td>
<td>As a matter of urgent priority, that support and resources are provided to the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee and Anangu Education Services to bring together key community leaders and service providers, expert practitioners and external dialogue partners to establish the details of Anangu goals for Anangu education.</td>
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<td>Recommendation 1.2</td>
<td>That this definitional work specifies a charter of education reform, drawing on scientific research about best methods for conferring advanced skills in reading, writing and mathematics to disadvantaged learners. The exact nature of the effort required from all participants and resourcing mix must also be hammered out; backed by a determined accountability regime characterised by evidence-based programs, transparent targets and regular reporting.</td>
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<td>Recommendation 1.7</td>
<td>That the PYEC be resourced and supported to invite international and national experts on Indigenous education, bilingual/literacy education and secondary education to inform and guide its decision-making. Congruent with its role as a board, the PYEC should be informed by the data generated from high quality research conducted in APY schools and nationally in order to make evidence-based decisions about the best-practices for APY students.</td>
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<td>Recommendation 1.6</td>
<td>In the short term, that the PYEC continue lobbying for education on the APY Lands. This lobbying should be informed and focused, and adhere to the evidence-based decision making process recommended above.</td>
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<td><strong>Schools</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 1.4</strong></td>
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<td>That APY schools are seen as one school and run centrally but are be better resourced to work with the wider school community to develop their own personalised/localised school vision or mission that aligns with that of the PYEC.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.42</strong></td>
<td>That local school councils open up their membership to draw on the expertise of concerned resident professionals (scientists, medical staff, mining engineers, etc) well positioned to assist community members with raising expectations for Anangu education. This widened pool of contributors should be drawn on the basis of capacity to contribute resources, networks and ideas, regardless of whether or not these professionals have children enrolled at APY schools.</td>
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| **Leadership Development** | **Recommendation 1.3**  
That district-wide effort is dedicated to leadership development of Anangu and non-Anangu school staff and council members to carry the PYEC education vision into local community schools. This leadership development must also be extended to students, council members and others in schools.  
**Recommendation 1.10**  
That select Anangu leaders (from within and beyond education) are matched with senior mentors drawn from corporate, philanthropic and social sector communities.  
**Recommendation 1.9**  
That work begun by the *Dare to Lead* team on school leadership development be continued, as part of a planned program of leadership capacity building for Anangu education reform, to be linked to research endeavours targeting identified priorities for action. |
| **Attendance**         | **Recommendation 1.28**  
That current efforts to highlight the importance of attendance and to attract students to school be continued and strengthened and immediate work undertaken to provide advice to parents on:  
- The impact of non-attendance on the children’s educational development  
- The expectations of parents in encouraging and mandating attendance and the processes to be followed if, for exceptional reasons, children cannot attend school.  
**Recommendation 1.29**  
That student attendance and persistence be privileged over student enrolment to more accurately assess Anangu participation in education on and off the APY Lands. |
| **Schools and Community** | **Recommendation 1.5**  
That parent and other community members are involved in the process of clarifying APY schools' precise role and purpose and, further, parents' and community members’ own roles and responsibilities are also clearly specified.  
**Recommendation 1.11**  
That accountability to Anangu parents and caregivers be rigorously maintained, regardless of their apparent level of (non)engagement in their children’s learning. This means adherence to standard procedures for informing and involving parents in their child’s academic and developmental progress including regular, honest and transparent reporting. This reporting should be accessible and come in the form of regular parent-teacher conferences with translators; school open houses where parents are invited to come and view the school; open-invitation days where parents can join their children in classrooms ('bring your parent to school' day); and otherwise proactive solicitation of parental/community engagement. |
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| **Schools and Community cont’d** | **Recommendation 1.12**  
That the PYEC, AES and DECS develop an educational service guarantee which articulates the common goals of schooling and the specific ways in which parents can expect to hold schools accountable; including an outline of the role Anangu Education Workers (AEWs) and Anangu Coordinators are authorised to take in prosecuting commitment to schooling  

**Recommendation 1.13**  
As part of the service guarantee, communication strategies must be developed to articulate the reciprocal responsibilities of parents and caregivers; and assessment made of the supports parents might need to be able to foreground and reinforce formal learning objectives through their domestic routines. |
| **Curriculum and Instruction** | **Recommendation 1.34**  
Current creative solutions aimed at providing students access to a wider range of quality teachers and mainstream subjects, which can then be accredited as legitimate education and training, should be formalised by ensuring:  
- That the extensive experience embodied in the numerous visitors and agencies on the APY Lands is harnessed to provide diverse offerings and forms of specialist tuition (e.g., at a basic level, visiting researchers required to deliver a talk at the school about their work) and these efforts are organised around a scheduled programs.  
- Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is used to enable specialist subject teachers to deliver classes remotely – this could also be networked to other schools providing students with opportunities to interact with a diverse range of students outside the APY Lands.  
- Distance education providers (such as the Open Education Centre) are engaged to provide correspondence delivery of specialist units on an official and formal basis.  

**Recommendation 1.33**  
To immediately make current efforts to supply secondary education options on the APY Lands more robust, that all existing schools are equipped with standardised Information and Communications Technologies and associated capacity for internet access to enable greater use of proven multi-media pedagogical tools targeting adolescent learners.  

**Recommendation 1.14**  
That the PYEC, AES and DECS clarify their decision on the precise bilingual or two ways pedagogy and approach to be adopted and implement the approach rigorously in all APY Lands schools.  

**Recommendation 1.15**  
Regardless of the approach chosen, DECS must engage linguists with a demonstrated commitment to evidence-based teaching to develop a full suite of requisite curricula and teacher training materials. Schools must be appropriately resourced to provide quality instruction and exemplary reinforcement of best practice in the first and second language on a consistent basis. |
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| Curriculum and Instruction    | **Recommendation 1.18**<br>If APY Lands commit to continue using Accelerated Literacy as their preferred pedagogy for literacy, as a matter of immediate priority, close attention should be paid to conditions of implementation fidelity and teacher professional development.  
In particular, that consideration be given to joining the Anangu Education Service Accelerated Literacy program with that offered by the South Australian Accelerated Literacy Program, for greater quality assurance, concentrated teacher development, and more intensively resourced and research-informed levels of implementation support. |
| cont’d                         | **Recommendation 1.19**<br>That APY Lands schools implement homework programs for all students Grade 3 and above, in accordance with mainstream expectations and standards. These should involve parents and older siblings as homework supervisors, who might be reimbursed for their involvement (through, for example the Community Development Employment Projects [CDEP] scheme). Supervisory assistance might also be provided by skilled and/or qualified Anangu and non-Anangu staff. |
| Staffing                      | **Recommendation 1.22**<br>That DECS review its country teaching and practicum scholarship programs, assessing them for both quality and quantity of teacher recruits in the APY Lands. Particular attention needs to be paid to ways of making APY Land postings the most sought after positions.  
**Recommendation 1.23**<br>In the short term, selection and induction processes for teachers assigned to the APY Lands schools are explicit in the high expectations and demands of these roles. A comprehensive training and induction program specific to the context be developed including ongoing support in the early stages of the assignment (for example through establishing mentoring relationships with experienced teachers).  
**Recommendation 1.24**<br>That DECS and other South Australian government agencies, with the PYEC, interrogate other national and international strategies for teacher recruitment and intensive professional development for ways to maximise attraction and retention of quality teaching staff for the APY Lands. This rethinking needs to be **bold and radical**, canvassing such options as:  
- paying high-performing trainee students the equivalent of a salary during their training, to be competitively assigned, and following high performance in practice, linked to later fellowships and exchanges at national and international learning and teaching institutes of high renown, as part of a targeted strategy for developing a cadre of outstanding remote area teachers; and,  
- paying high performing individuals in specialist academic areas (linguistics, mathematics, science) and professions (legal, architectural and creative industries, etc) close to their current salary whilst they undertake one year’s teaching training, to again create an advanced pool of elite content specialists for sessional work in schools and post-school learning training settings. |
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<td><strong>Staffing cont’d</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.31</strong></td>
<td>That schools’ secondary staffing ratios be more generously calculated to enable Anangu students on the APY Lands access to at least two male and two female teachers, even in smaller schools, to assist with coordinating access to residential, out-sourced and virtual training and education modules.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.32</strong></td>
<td>That future resourcing models also calculate housing and support needs, teacher relief supplementation and associated expenses.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.20</strong></td>
<td>That staffing provision is allocated for expert reading and numeracy teaching tuition within schools, up to six per school depending on school size. This should include a focus on early childhood to ensure the students are acquiring foundational literacy skills to prepare them for secondary classes.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Recommendation 1.21</strong></td>
<td>That any additional (non-identified) staffing provision be matched with Anangu positions, to greatly increase both the employment options for Anangu within the schooling sector and to create co-instruction teams with technical expertise in literacy and numeracy instruction.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.16</strong></td>
<td>Where co-instruction models are used, teams should minimally comprise one fluent and grammatically advanced Pitjantjatjara speaker and one fluent and grammatically advanced English speaker but ideally both members of the team would be highly proficient in both languages.</td>
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<td><strong>Professional Development</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.25</strong></td>
<td>That the teacher-AEW relationship be defined of as one of mutual mentoring where teachers and AEWs learn with and from one another. Teacher-AEW pairings should be made with this mentoring relationship in mind, where experienced teachers are paired with newer AEWs and experienced AEWs are paired with new teachers, for example.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.27</strong></td>
<td>That AEWs and teachers learn together and build a co-mentoring relationship. Courses immediately needed for non-Anangu teachers, assisted by Anangu mentors, include Pitjantjatjara language and culture, classroom behaviour management and literacy and numeracy instruction.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Recommendation 1.26</strong></td>
<td>That the AEW role be clarified and supported to include the planning and delivery of classroom curriculum. The curriculum delivered should not just be Anangu Domain, but also literacy, numeracy and other core academic content.</td>
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<td><strong>Professional Development cont’d</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 1.17</strong>&lt;br&gt;That DECS ensure other Anangu and non-Anangu school staff members are instructed in effective (validated) bilingual reading and numeracy interventions from early childhood through to secondary.</td>
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</table>
| **Monitoring, Research and Evaluation** | **Recommendation 1.43**<br>That DECS critically examine current practices to ensure they reflect an expectation that students are capable of participation and achievement to mainstream standards. All secondary programs delivered through AES should aim for all students to achieve the TER or equivalent language and academic skills for direct entry to post-secondary VET courses or the workforce.  
**Recommendation 1.8**<br>That substantial investment is directed towards locally attuned research and development, ensuring Anangu decision makers and school communities can be involved in and have greater access to an evidence-base to inform their educational programming.  
**Recommendation 1.30**<br>In line with the DECS School Self Review process, that regular appraisals of progress be undertaken by the schools with attendance counted as only one measure of success along with more meaningful measures of the student progress (e.g. AL assessment results).  
**Recommendation 1.35**<br>That the implementation of the new SACE on the APY Lands should be carefully monitored to ensure new flexibilities are not manipulated to award qualifications when the students have attained few transferrable skills or have not progressed academically. |
| **Wiltja** | **Recommendation 1.36**<br>In light of new pressures following the Mullighan Inquiry, and in view of current practices at Wiltja, that the mission and purpose of the Wiltja program is immediately reviewed to explicitly recognise Wiltja’s two fundamental objectives: namely, to ensure a safe and nurturing environment for those many students who may have come from abusive or neglectful home environments, or who are at risk of such; and to provide education of the highest quality to ensure even those most at risk the best chance of academic success.  
**Recommendation 1.37**<br>That this newly articulated mission for Wiltja (including the co-related roles of Wiltja as both a safe house and an institution of academic excellence) is explicitly communicated to parents, students and communities, to avoid misguided understandings and to enable the exercise of informed parent and student choice. |
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<td><strong>Wiltja cont’d</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 1.38</strong>&lt;br&gt;That the resourcing and location of Wiltja is immediately reviewed by DECS in order to ensure the program can satisfactorily meet its two co-related and fundamental objectives. In particular, it is strongly recommended that consideration be given to the re-location of Wiltja alongside a high-performing, well-resourced secondary school in an affluent area of Adelaide. Co-location of Wiltja alongside a high-performing institution will ensure Wiltja students genuine access to the highest quality instruction and resources that best practice ‘mainstream’ public and/or private schooling sector has to offer.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.39</strong>&lt;br&gt;In the meantime, a critical examination of current practices must occur to ensure the expectations of Wiltja students’ participation and achievement are in line with the general student population. The default aim should be for students to achieve a TER or the equivalent language and academic skills to enable direct entry to post-secondary VET courses or the workforce. Specific practices to be reviewed include:&lt;br&gt;- Support mechanisms for Wiltja students in Woodville classes (with training provided to Woodville staff where necessary)&lt;br&gt;- The automatic ‘return’ of Wiltja students to Wiltja for years 11 and 12&lt;br&gt;- The pros and cons of physical segregation of Wiltja annex.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.40</strong>&lt;br&gt;To ensure the expansion of Wiltja does not dilute the intensive and exemplary pastoral care currently provided by Wiltja residential and academic staff:&lt;br&gt;- Formal referral services and networks with appropriate health services need to be established to support Wiltja staff and students&lt;br&gt;- Additional resources (i.e., increased staff numbers and support and training for existing staff) need to be allocated.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 1.41</strong>&lt;br&gt;The program piloted with the Indigenous Youth Mobility Program should be adopted as part of as systematic pathways advice and careers counselling program. It cannot be assumed that the SACE or support mechanisms can provide this dedicated support.</td>
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<td><strong>Options for Secondary Delivery</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 1.44</strong>&lt;br&gt;In view of the strong desire among Anangu for high quality secondary facilities to be residentially available on the APY Lands, that DECS immediately undertake a comprehensive cost-benefit appraisal of location, demographic target and curriculum options, in partnership with Anangu leaders and pertinent stakeholders from within and without the education sector.</td>
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### Options for Secondary Delivery cont’d

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| **Recommendation 1.45** | To enable the APY Lands community leaders, parents and the PYEC to consider the most viable options, that this planning stage include site visits of existing models and be minimally undertaken over a twelve-month period. This will enable Anangu to formulate a considered idea of the options available and the effort required to drive excellence in both primary and secondary systems. Case studies should focus on successful and unsuccessful examples of services for small, dispersed populations located in expensive to access and administer locations, both domestically and internationally.  

Note that several desired features have already been suggested, including: |
| **•** | The potential need to locate the facility away from main communities, to minimise distractions from troubles and excitements there; |
| **•** | Generous resourcing for specialist content teachers; ‘student success’ mentors; special student service resources; attractive salary benchmarks and real infrastructure cost increases within the funding formula that recognise the higher costs of building new additions and undertaking maintenance and repairs in remote areas; |
| **•** | Attractive amenities for daily physical activity (dance studio, gymnasium, track and field oval, courts for ball sports); |
| **•** | Anti-bullying programs; |
| **•** | Separate boys and girls accommodation facilities and appropriately gender matching in teacher and pastoral care personnel; |
| **•** | Capacity to transport students home on weekends and ability to welcome parents; |
| **•** | Tracked pathways for individual students linking to employment opportunities on and off-the APY Lands; |
| **•** | Memoranda of understanding with industries in the region: particularly mining, feral animal and land management program providers; the education and health sectors; the SANFL; and university researchers and training providers; |
| **•** | Well-constructed training and learning laboratories, covering among other things retail management; construction and automotive; a performing and visual arts centre; science and environmental monitoring laboratories; and, |
| **•** | The ability for older Anangu to teach values and traditions as part of accredited learning. |

**Recommendation 1.46**  
That an unbiased assessment of the full range of possible governance and operating models be undertaken (including that of establishing extra-mural campuses of established private boarding schools; or establishing independent not-for-profit or charter schools). It may well be that a solely government funded and run facility is not the best option for high performance residential secondary schooling on the APY Lands but a third-model of private and not-for-profit involvement in an otherwise government-funded independent or ‘charter’ school is. |

**Recommendation 1.47**  
That a full cost benefit appraisal of the soft and hard infrastructure required is undertaken, with a view to ensuring that should secondary facilities be established, these are state of the art, not state of current remote practice.
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| Options for Secondary Delivery cont’d | **Recommendation 1.48**  
That communities are reassured that exploration of possible models for residential secondary schooling on the APY Lands is not intended to replace the Wiltja program (the latter to be subject to a separate process for increasing its elite coaching capacities).  

**Recommendation 1.49**  
To avoid duplication of amenities and investigative effort, that consideration be simultaneously given to the pros and cons of linking the secondary facility with the post-secondary ‘community college’ model also recommended by this Review. |
Psycho-Social Health and Adolescence Chapter Overview

- Without minimising the serious impact of severe instances of abuse, neglect and disability, it is important that schools do not homogenise explanations of inability but instead take the position that the majority of Anangu children enter school with the capacity to learn advanced academic content.

- While socio-economic factors, child health and cultural background are relevant, and the conditions leading to school readiness important; racial and class stratification effects, and even the impact of poor health, can still be overcome with high quality instruction delivered on an intensive and consistent basis, most critically during the primary school years.

- The research is very clear that for both Indigenous ESL issues and fluctuating conductive hearing loss, soundfield amplification is the single most important intervention that schools can undertake. For best effect, ideally this should be implemented together with individual hearing aids. Use of soundfield amplification in APY schools must be mandated and supervised to ensure reliable daily use by teachers and Anangu educators.

- Schools need to be supported to deal with the psycho-social traumas affecting many of their students through access to expert case management and diagnostic services. It is important that further responsibilities for therapeutic intervention are not loaded onto teachers and schools, but that schools are given the resources and support to respond appropriately to expertly-derived individual profiles of students at risk and those experiencing forms of psychosis, trauma, depression or drug addiction. Every effort must be made to assist the education sector to maintain its focus above all on consistently delivered and high quality instruction.

- As a prevention and intervention service, Nganampa Health Council should be resourced to allow full implementation of a rolling program of young women’s and young men’s mental health and wellbeing outreach services across the APY Lands.

- Bullying contributes greatly to lower academic achievement, poor attendance and compromised health and appears to be an endemic issue in APY schools. Schools must be made into safe places for all students and simultaneously, where positive coping and shame management skills are taught and internalised.

- Anangu leaders need to be supported to examine different options and models to develop an informed menu of characteristics such a secondary facility needs to satisfy.
**Psycho-Social Health and Adolescence Recommendations**

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| Hearing                     | **Recommendation 2.1**  
That use of soundfield classroom amplification equipment is mandated as policy within the schools, to be used without exception, by all instructors (that is, by Anangu and non-Anangu alike), day in, day out.  
**Recommendation 2.2**  
That this message be reinforced by the PYEC and AES leadership and instituted through all classrooms for all forms of verbal instruction.  
**Recommendation 2.3**  
That focus group research be conducted among students, teachers and AEWs to further investigate why they do not like to use the equipment that has been provided and what would make it easier and more practical for them to do so (e.g., having batteries supplied as regularly as other consumables in a staffroom; or having a dedicated administration worker check all equipment is good to go before classes begin).  
**Recommendation 2.4**  
That ambient noise in all classrooms is reduced by implementing measures to improve acoustics generally (e.g., carpets, stoppers on tables and chairs, muffled doors).  
**Recommendation 2.5**  
That forms of instructional delivery via multi media formats (e.g., headphones for computers use) are investigated.  
**Recommendation 2.6**  
That non-Indigenous school based staff learn pertinent common forms of Anangu sign language to assist students to ‘fill in the gaps’. |
| Adolescent Health and Wellbeing | **Recommendation 2.7**  
In line with the recommendations of the Mullighan Inquiry, that schools are supplied with expertly derived individual diagnoses and case management plans to provide the best forms of attention and care for children who may have attachment and post-traumatic stress disorders. A child protection framework is required for adolescents, as a means of assisting the education sector to maintain its focus above all on consistently delivered and high quality instruction. |
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<td><strong>Adolescent Health and Wellbeing cont’d</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 2.8</strong>&lt;br&gt;That the South Australian Government establish and resource (that is, provide the necessary salaries, infrastructure, housing, classroom space, relief funding for teachers) for two positions, one male and one female, to be attached to Nganampa Health Council to allow full implementation of a rolling program of young women’s and young men’s mental health and wellbeing outreach services across the APY Lands. <strong>Recommendation 2.9</strong>&lt;br&gt;That APY Lands schools collaborate in the implementation of the mental health and well being outreach programs that are supervised by Nganampa Health Council.</td>
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<td><strong>Bullying and Harrassment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 2.10</strong>&lt;br&gt;That AES and PYEC immediately review their bullying reduction protocols and professional development supports, with a view to increasing their effect and consistent application. <strong>Recommendation 2.11</strong>&lt;br&gt;That effort is made to place bullying elimination efforts on an empirically tested basis, drawing on verified approaches. <strong>Recommendation 2.12</strong>&lt;br&gt;That parents are alerted to the new expectations concerning harassment and the explicit supports that can be expected for families of victims and victimisers alike.</td>
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<td><strong>Gender and Identity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 2.13</strong>&lt;br&gt;That anthropologically informed research is resourced, to take place over a minimal two to three year period, and using Anangu co-researchers, to fully explore issues of male belief and interest in, understanding of, and barriers to greater ownership and dedication to education and all that this signifies. This would include analysis of how well men are involved in education decision making across the APY Lands; how determinedly teaching is promoted as a major career pathway for male Anangu; current and past efforts to engage young men in schooling; and sensitivities surrounding female education and empowerment. <strong>Recommendation 2.14</strong>&lt;br&gt;That ways of linking initiation to a certain level of educational attainment are explored. This level and how it is measured is to be agreed upon and mandated by the Anangu families and the school and embedded in an overall charter for Anangu education.</td>
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| Gender and Identity     | **Recommendation 2.15**  
That efforts to ensure teenage or young motherhood do not disrupt continued schooling and pathways to further training and employment be further strengthened through provision of reliable childcare support in association with school attendance and training.  
**Recommendation 2.16**  
That effort is made to identify and/or develop evidenced-based approaches for interrupting patterns of truancy and drop out rates among young men.  
**Recommendation 2.17**  
That the SA Government, working with relevant Commonwealth agencies, audit and critically evaluate the outcomes of current initiatives to improve self-esteem, create interest in projected aspects of youth culture (such as hip hop music), or provide distraction from more negative pastimes underway within schools and communities, with a view to dismantling those programs that are compounding the issues (e.g., by increasing the expectation that programs have to provide entertainment not education) and intensifying efforts that genuinely link creativity with productivity (e.g., ceramics classes at Ernabella). | cont’d                      |
Training and Post Secondary Options Chapter Overview

- The purpose of vocational education and training is to provide skills and knowledge for work, enhance employability and assist learning throughout life. In Indigenous contexts, training is successful where linked to actual projects and enterprises. There are a number of training initiatives on the APY Lands that meet both these criteria and should be expanded and strengthened, however, there is also a lot of activity resulting in little gain for the Anangu participants.

- Much of the training delivered is driven by provider or government interests rather than client demand and there seems to be no forum (other than this Review) to canvas genuine opinions from young people – especially those that have left school– about their pressures and priorities. Yet such a forum is precisely what is required to guide planning and resource decisions.

- There a number of programs from which lessons can be learnt but many of these rely on the efforts of individuals and need to be supported at a system level to ensure their survival and development. This includes mechanisms for case management of students.

- The rebuilding of the Tertiary and Further Education South Australia (TAFESA) program on the APY Lands is admirable especially given the high cost of delivery of the APY Lands. However, the training delivered is limited by the immediate opportunities, lecturers available and the perennial challenges of servicing a small, dispersed population. There is a significant body of research on successful VET delivery in Indigenous contexts which could be used to inform and improve VET delivery on the APY Lands. APY TAFE, and other Registered Training Organisations (RTO’s) operating on the APY Lands, should be striving to establish themselves as leaders in the field of remote VET delivery.

- VET in Schools (VETiS) is a valuable feature of contemporary secondary schooling, requiring many of the same foundational skills as traditional academic subjects, and should be seen as a complement, not a substitute, for these. Resourcing for VETiS does not reflect the logistical challenges of operating on the APY Lands and the lack of formalised service agreements with RTO’s and the funding environment in which VETiS operates are barriers to success.

- Low levels of literacy and numeracy are uniformly cited by all training providers as a major barrier to attainment of competencies and subsequent employability. A seamless, early childhood-through-college system for learning is an essential component of the education reform needed on the APY Lands. The viability and health of Anangu control of or involvement in business and enterprise on and off the APY Lands is dependent in large part on the “output” of the ‘P-20’ education and training system.

- Nganampa Health Council, while faced with many of the same issues as other providers, is one of the few examples of training linked to meaningful, ‘real’ work opportunities through the Tjilipi Pampa Ngura (respite care facility) at Puktata. Similarly, AnTEP provides another example of training linked to employment but requires significantly more investment and support if it is to achieve its goal of graduating a highly skilled, professional Anangu workforce for schools on the APY Lands and beyond.

- The state and territory borders are artificial to the APY Land residents but have a huge impact on their ability to source the best, most cost-effective training. The APY Lands are disadvantaged by the Commonwealth funding model which funds jurisdictions to provide training to their residents only, in effect meaning that training delivered by Northern Territory (NT) and Western Australian (WA) providers to APY Land residents can only be supplied on a fee-for-service basis.

- Many of the barriers to best-practice training provision could be removed through the establishment of a post secondary training and education college. The college is strongly recommended to operate simultaneously as a focal point for linking other education and training institutions from the north, west and south; a forum for discussing and prioritising problems to be addressed through applied research partnerships; and a training ground for young and older adult residents.
### Training and Post Secondary Chapter Recommendations

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<tr>
<td><strong>Post Secondary Training College</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.26</strong></td>
<td>That a post-secondary training and education facility or ‘college’ is established on the APY Lands, based on an integrated or dual model for high quality tertiary and vocational education. The college would provide both Anangu and non-Anangu access to a broad range of training and education opportunities; generate 'home-grown' solutions to the challenges faced by the APY Lands; help drive community development ambitions; as well as creating economies of scope and scale within a coordinating hub.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.27</strong></td>
<td>In the first instance, that efforts should be concentrated on education’s workforce requirements; expanding and improving on AES and the Anangu Tertiary Education Program’s (AnTEP) current programs to skill and up-skill both Anangu and non-Anangu professionals and paraprofessionals.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.28</strong></td>
<td>That the following should be features of any post-secondary training college:</td>
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<td>• Courses in research and consulting techniques to enable local Anangu to conduct both self-directed community based inquiries and commissions from government and industry;</td>
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<td>• Capacity for applied research and development, with relevance to the APY Lands sustainability and development, through partnerships with universities and other research institutions;</td>
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<td>• Contemporary infrastructure for accessing vocational and higher education distance learning opportunities;</td>
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<td>• Partnerships with existing RTO’s and higher education institutions in South Australia, the Northern Territory and Western Australia;</td>
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<td>• Co-financing arrangements between the South Australian Government, Commonwealth Government and industry.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.29</strong></td>
<td>That the post secondary facility coordinates all training delivered on the APY Lands (or off the APY Lands to large cohorts of Anangu). This would require unique governance arrangements, commitment from all training providers and, above all, a customer focussed approach.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.30</strong></td>
<td>That, drawing on their experience of linking training with vital applied research and development work, Nganampa Health Council play an integral role in the design and governance of the post-secondary training college model, and that other expert advice is sourced to ensure the most appropriate model is developed including consideration of co-location with a secondary facility.</td>
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| Improved Planning and Delivery | **Recommendation 3.25**  
To provide the full suite of specialist instructional expertise required, and to manage the learning demands associated with dramatically increasing the academic attainment of Anangu students, that a greatly enlarged pool of skilled professionals and paraprofessionals are attached to education efforts on the APYlands.  

**Recommendation 3.1**  
That, in the absence of national data, DECS negotiate with TAFESA and other RTO’s to establish a data collection and reporting system that allows for analysis on training delivery and outcomes for Anangu. This would have the multiple purposes of recording past training delivery, monitoring delivery trends and coordinating future delivery.  

**Recommendation 3.10**  
That effort is made to embed critical success factors for effective workplace training in all government sponsored efforts on the APY Lands: namely, that the work is important and not artificial; that work conditions are demanding yet respectful; that training is directly related to the professional or technical requirements of the position; that a career pathway exists; and that multiple positions are funded on an exaggerated full-time equivalent (FTE) calculation.  

**Recommendation 3.17**  
In the short term, that a case management system be established and one of the key training providers on the APY Lands be resourced to manage it. In the long term this would be incorporated as a service function of the post secondary training college. |

| Funding                  | **Recommendation 3.21**  
That the bilateral funding agreements between the Commonwealth and SA, NT and WA make specific provision for appropriately resourced training on the APY Lands specifically and for tri-state Anangu residents generally; and that this not be limited to agricultural and rural training.  

**Recommendation 3.22**  
That the Commonwealth ensures state funding barriers are removed to enable Anangu to source the best value for money training regardless of its source.  

**Recommendation 3.23**  
Stable intermediate term funding that enables institutions to move across borders and which institutions can plan against is required. To enable planning and to reduce the tendency for training to be provided around RTO preferences rather than client need, this funding cannot be in piecemeal competitive pots. |
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| Communication      | Recommendation 3.2  
That DECS work with the relevant other agencies and parties on the APY Lands to determine how best to draw advice from young men and women to inform future training and workforce development strategies on the APY Lands.  
Recommendation 3.3  
That the preferred model for enabling fluid communication between young people and other decision-makers (on and off the APY Lands) be established through a ‘market intelligence’ consultation exercise, as a formal committee or other institutional mechanism may not be the best or preferred medium. |
| Agency Specific Recommendations | VET in Schools (VETiS)  
Recommendation 3.4  
That the VET-in-Schools position be more appropriately resourced with greater security of tenure to reflect the complexities of the role on the APY Lands.  
Recommendation 3.5  
That the relationship between DECS VETiS, TAFESA and other RTO’s are formalised so the synergies and creative solutions created through the efforts of individuals are not lost if staff move on.  
Indigenous Youth Mobility Program (IYMP)  
Recommendation 3.6  
That the transition and brokering services offered under the IYMP are closely monitored and evaluated, and include ‘client satisfaction’ measures; to ensure these important attempts to create transition frameworks are meeting their mark and that DECS support IYMP in their efforts to promote the services on the APY Lands.  
APY TAFE  
Recommendation 3.7  
APY TAFE should examine their own practice and delivery in light of the extensive research on successful VET delivery in Indigenous contexts. This will enable them to make informed decisions about their own delivery and further negotiate appropriate delivery targets. |
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<td><strong>Agency Specific Recommendations cont’d</strong></td>
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<td><strong>APY TAFE cont’d</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.8</strong></td>
<td>APY TAFE should expand their visiting lecturers program to provide Anangu access to broader training opportunities.</td>
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<td><strong>Industry Training Education Council (ITEC)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.9</strong></td>
<td>That, as a matter of course, interpreters are available to ITEC clients and, if Anangu are providing this service, they are appropriately remunerated.</td>
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<td><strong>Nganampa Health Council</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.11</strong></td>
<td>That the links and mutual interests between health and education be recognised in the first instance by facilitating a stronger presence of Nganampa Health Council members and medical personnel in formal education decision making and evidence generation. In the first instance, this could be as ex-officio members of the PYEC, assisting members to demand and analyse performance data.</td>
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<td><strong>AnTEP</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.12</strong></td>
<td>That AnTEP be resourced to radically increase the number of students. In particular AnTEP should seek to recruit greater numbers of male students to provide a stronger message to Anangu ‘youngfellas’ that education is men’s business too.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.13</strong></td>
<td>An Anangu Tertiary Enabling Program be developed by the University of South Australia (UniSA) to provide students with the literacy, numeracy and academic skills to complete AnTEP and other tertiary programs.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.14</strong></td>
<td>That a fourth and fifth year program be offered on the APY Lands that would qualify Anangu teachers for registration to instruct in ANY Australian school.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.15</strong></td>
<td>That AnTEP be funded to employ expert lecturers to deliver workshops and modules to an upgraded and evidence-based curriculum. AnTEP tutors should focus on assisting students with assignments and remedial instruction.</td>
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<td>Agency Specific Recommendations cont’d</td>
<td>AnTEP cont’d</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.16</strong></td>
<td>That a post secondary training facility on the APY Lands offer tertiary training courses and programs that would train Anangu and non-Anangu to pursue qualifications in the skills required to provide high quality education from primary to secondary on the APY Lands. These include courses and certificate programs in early childhood education, techniques for remediating hearing and vision deficits and literacy and numeracy instruction and tutoring and a mainstream education degree for Anangu teachers.</td>
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<td><strong>Gateways for Youth</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.18</strong></td>
<td>That the Gateways for Youth program be resourced to continue for at least a further two years to enable sufficient time for the program to build traction and evidence of success.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.19</strong></td>
<td>That consideration be given to funding an additional project officer position to support the coordinator; particularly for dealing with the many extraneous administrative tasks related to ensuring the students are as work-ready as possible (e.g., establishing tax file numbers, organising travel, arranging contracts with other training providers, writing funding submissions, so on and so forth).</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 3.20</strong></td>
<td>That ITEC Employment (or other relevant job agencies or service providers) be required to refer clients to the program in negotiation with the coordinator.</td>
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Employment Chapter Overview

- Australia-wide macroeconomic restructuring since the 1960s coupled with pervasive ambivalence about the economic viability of remote area communities has severely limited the nature and type of infrastructure and enterprise investment in the APY Lands, with the result that too many hopes are vested in projects and initiatives developed with piecemeal resources and short term remits. A discernable withholding pattern underlies the level and type of investments that are made, reflecting the ambivalence that all governments hold about arid and scarcely populated regions. The result has been the promulgation of severe socio-cultural dysfunction, with every effort at autonomy, enterprise and aspiration on the part of Anangu almost completely undermined.

- The longest standing successes in formal employment on the APY Lands have materialised in organisations that were established for an essential and guaranteed purpose (for example, health, schools) and not as tentatively resourced pilots. This longevity and reliability has enabled workplace cultures to develop which incorporate Anangu and non-Anangu habits and preferences.

- ‘Good’ ideas have a history of failure and reinvention, at least in part because they are often based on external conceptualisations of what would be ideal to have (e.g., market gardens for fresh fruit and vegetables) that are then developed as short term projects; rather than as guaranteed ventures informed by exquisite business planning and market research, developed with the same assumption of long term asset investment as other essential services. It is not so much that policies have failed but have never been set up with a reasonable prospect of succeeding.

- Young people and adults alike also felt like they had little control over their community, or the organisations in it, and were subordinate to non-Anangu. And many Anangu felt that education was the key – education that had a local focus and drew on local strengths, but which produced competitively placed graduates. Compared to all the misgivings articulated by non-Indigenous participants about Anangu employability, Anangu ideals for education and employment are quite clear on these issues.

- Moves by the South Australian and Australian Federal Government to restore conditions of safety and civic order on the APY Lands through increased policing meets the need for community security. Building on that fundamental requirement, the key solution to under- and unemployment on the APY Lands is securing the conditions for dramatic improvement in education outcomes in early childhood, primary and secondary schooling; and supporting people on the ground to lead their own enterprise and development. Insistent attention to the conditions that create quality in schooling is the fundamental prerequisite for improved employment, enterprise and innovation for Anangu.

- The potential for and of mining is worthy of note. The key question is how best to ensure Anangu are in a position to take advantage of the opportunities that will develop. The benefits of employment; career; owning and running businesses that provide services to the mining and tourism industries; and so forth are potentially huge but it is entirely feasible that windfalls will benefit only a few and that the majority of enterprise benefits will take place off the APY Lands, led by non-Indigenous entrepreneurs and corporations. All care must be taken to ensure negotiations for future benefit are guided by impartial experts and that time is dedicated to such a process to take place.
### Employment Chapter Recommendations

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<th>Priority Area</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
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| **Macro and Micro Challenges**                    | **Recommendation 4.1**  
That any lingering concerns about detrimental effects of economic development and ability to work elsewhere will undermine community futures and key aspects on Anangu identity are prevented from influencing investment decisions, education and training quality on and off the APY Lands.  

**Recommendation 4.2**  
That Anangu leadership, in partnership with and with advice from suitably qualified external individuals and organisations from both public and private sector, develop a comprehensive workforce development strategy for the APY Lands. This should incorporate what is known or can be predicted about the impact of climate change; affordable food, fuel and water resource challenges; and current and future industry needs locally and in surrounding regions. |
| **Community Development and Employment Projects (CDEP)** | **Recommendation 4.3**  
That there be closer analysis of apparent resistance to CDEP take up, led by Anangu community-based researchers, exploring issues among people choosing not to participate in CDEP programs, despite their eligibility. What are their demographic characteristics and why? What policy and program needs may help change this?  

**Recommendation 4.4**  
As part of the same commission, that analysis of current CDEP work is undertaken, to explore Anangu perceptions of what is real and essential work, and who should be paying? What is pointless and should be de-funded from the CDEP scheme? How can the CDEP funds be best invested in individuals and their targeted training needs, to see real employment/business outcomes? What is required for the inter-agency support mechanisms to link welfare and education, to on-the-job training and further study, to real employment and business opportunities? |
| **Mining**                                         | **Recommendation 4.5**  
If Anangu are supportive of mining development on the APY Lands, and if APY communities have aspirations and expectations that local community members will have employment and enterprise development opportunities arising from such mining, that the work to develop such tailored training plans commences now, especially for those older secondary aged students and adults interested in employment in the industry but who do not currently have the literacy and numeracy skills to cope with the standard pre-employment programs. |
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<td><strong>Mining cont’d</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 4.6</strong> Should mining on the APY Lands proceed, that Anangu are assisted to seize the opportunity for restored control and empowerment over APY assets and future directions, via non-partisan legal, financial, cultural heritage and development and business advice. Commercial developments off-country that are associated with mining on Anangu country should be required to incorporate Anangu interests.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 4.7</strong> To ensure genuine negotiation, engagement and informed consent, the front-end thinking period needs to be intense and conducted over a substantial period of time, not in one workshop but a long process of dialogue and consideration of options, including site visits to equivalent mines, to develop and agree upon an integrated model of development based around a vision for the population’s future.</td>
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<td><strong>Emerging Innovations and E-Enterprise</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recommendation 4.8</strong> That government and industry support and enable Indigenous enterprises, including skilled community based language workers and knowledge holders, to be signed up as consultants for commercial and commissioned consultancies and exploratory community research.</td>
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<td><strong>Recommendation 4.9</strong> That the current push to expand broadband satellite capacity for remote area schools be extended to enable Anangu to explore various e-ventures and cultural business initiatives.</td>
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Common Misconceptions

Conducting this Review, the team encountered a series of truisms and beliefs that, taken together, perfectly explain why things can never be improved. To avoid repeating objections and explanations throughout the report, common preconceptions are dealt with here.

- **There are no real jobs so what's the point?**

  Participants in this Review repeatedly expressed their concern that Anangu students and families would not be able to see a purpose to education and training when the local options for employment are so limited. This is a very common misinterpretation of the complexities involved, one that imposes a linear logic and mentality on children and young adults rather than being based on what is known to be the truth about motivation, behaviour and psychology. A pragmatic response to this thinking is to tutor people in forms of ‘functional literacy’ and such like, with the aim of them eventually attaining vocational occupation in relatively low-skilled jobs.

  That children disengage from school because it stops being relevant is not in dispute. But the reduced horizon for students is not a direct consequence of the limited number of immediately available employment options on the APY Lands. Rather, it is the sum of all the little decisions and practices which, together, serve to compress and contain what can be imagined and aspired to.

- **The students are happy being themselves**

  On the APY Lands, lack of motivation for advanced learning and career achievement was listed as one of the key barriers for Anangu education by almost all contributors. We heard repeatedly that students do not come to school motivated to learn or that they often lack the self-identity of successful students.

  Commentators attribute this foreshortened horizon to many socio-cultural effects: welfare dependency is often blamed; together with the claim that a strong sense of Anangu identity in which deeper values about self, family and country prevail over ideas of entering the white ‘rat race’. To be sure, many young people have no idea how schooling connects with what they care about, or how it can shape their futures in the ‘real world’. They are deeply alienated from the experience of schooling and don't identify their own interests with the abstract goals of lifelong learning. With some key exceptions, they do not see themselves as university bound, nor do they seem to aspire to a mobile and challenging career on or off the APY Lands.

  Does this mean they are simply happy to be themselves? While this has to be partly true, it is not the entire truth: the dramatic rise in parasuicide (attempted suicide) and substance abuse rates in the last twenty years tells a different story. It is also the case that a form of pragmatism among service providers in the face of multiple and increasing challenges over many years has lowered expectations about what should and can be achieved. This has to be turned on its head before anything can change.

- **Everything is relationship based**

  Another vigilantly-defended ‘truism’ commonly encountered during the course of our fieldwork was that the success or otherwise of engaging Anangu in employment, or working with Anangu more generally, is entirely relationship-dependent. At the end of the day, the success, failure or cessation of the various services, programs or enterprising projects that had come and gone was invariably explained by the presence or absence of this or that (usually non-Anangu) person who either did or
did not know how to work with and engage Anangu. Accordingly, the key to success of any particular program or venture that engages and employs Anangu is said to lie in the embodied presence of one especially hard-working, charismatic, committed, unique and hence irreplaceable individual.

At one level, the secret to sustained success of employing Anangu in the APY Lands is no different to the secret to sustained success in other domains; ‘success’ is always dependent on the actions and activities of unique individuals in the context of a dynamic web of interrelatedness. The difference in the APY Lands, as in other remote Australian Indigenous communities, is that the mobility of those unique individuals (both Anangu and non-Anangu) is especially high relative to the population size, thereby making it incredibly difficult to maintain any form of continuity or consistency (‘sustainability’) in the face of inevitable changes to those individuals and their relationships.

The key issue is not the scarcity of special individuals but why current policies, systems and structures make getting anything done sensibly and well an act of sheer bloody-minded determination and force of will. When we invite the idea that it is all up to individual effort, we are accepting that systems and processes have no role to play. In other words, the idea that for anything good to happen, systems are beholden to unique individuals, sweeps under the carpet all the difficult and expensive issues that otherwise need to be attended to. For APY Lands schools to be outstanding learning institutions, analysis should instead turn to distribution of resources, facilities and amenities, accommodation, salaries, and other structural enablers of high performing organisations.

- **It was better during the mission days**

Many people point to the (perceived) higher literacy and numeracy levels of older adults on the APY Lands and declare that things were better in mission times. Back then, Anangu had a far more enthusiastic approach to life and work; were better able to read; they ran a bakery in which they baked their own bread. For all that contemporary helpers (Review Team members included) might wish to distance themselves from those times; the fact that so many older Anangu express a desire to recreate that not-so-distant past is not easily dismissed. It is related to an equally common view that students now leave school with less English literacy and numeracy than their elders. As one community elder said:

> Years ago we had different teaching. One-on-one with a book, fast mathematics, 30 seconds to see how good we are. Teachers worked on each individual’s needs. It was a different method then. These days people never really follow it up.

So what are people recalling? We think it is probably true that these days, many visiting white service providers have less meaningful connection with the Anangu than did the missionaries and their attendant workers. Then, staff were selected or removed based on a clearly defined sense of fit; whereas today, white longevity in positions is rare outside core parts of the health service and to a lesser extent, education. Language learning by the mission staff was mandated; and they had superior capacity to ensure that what they said was going to happen was made to happen. They could coordinate activities around a centralised purpose; and they did not have to worry about stop-start funding and the shape-shifting of government policies. They benefitted from isolation, clarity of purpose and autocracy. Students had to go to school, or else the only source of food for all Anangu, young and old, would be stopped.

Pedagogically, it is entirely possible to have instructional systems that are as clear and purposeful as they were during mission times. What is needed is not an impossible to realise return to an idealised time past, but a collective vision and sense of possibility that calls people to a meaningful direction now.
• **These children have distinct ways of learning**

There can be no doubt that the APY Lands have many unique features. It is a privilege to witness Anangu country and the vibrancy of Anangu people. But in terms of education, these distinctions can be amplified at the expense of understanding what is needed in terms of professionalism, service quality, data driven decision making and smart investment. These are the same prerequisites for maximising Australia’s human capital, its productivity and competitiveness, or for overcoming forms of race and class under-education the world over.

Bilingual programs should be implemented rigorously not simply because of their sentimental value but because – under important implementation conditions – they give students a cognitive advantage in learning. Those conditions include implementation by people with advanced skills in the grammatical properties of English and vernacular languages alike, and instructional programs that embed scientific principles of reading and numeracy instruction. Cultural respect and language renewal might be valued side benefits; but the original purpose, in the context of formal state-funded schooling, needs to be that of securing maximum learning advantage for academic skilling. Clarity about this will both raise the odds and the outcomes.

• **Customary behaviours make employment of Anangu too risky**

The Review heard several times that Anangu cannot generally be entrusted to work in stores or to operate cash registers, as they will be too compromised by the obligation to give food, money and other items to family members for free. A similar justification was used to explain the lack of Anangu life guards or pool attendants, despite concerted training efforts in first aid with exactly these roles as the end-point justification; namely, that it is too ‘dangerous’ for Anangu to take on that level of responsibility. The implication is that if anything were to happen (such as, for example, a drowning), then an Anangu employee would be subject to retribution or ‘payback’ from other members of the community. A similar reason was given to explain why school principals and other non-Anangu staff may spend up to ten hours a week driving school vehicles picking up and dropping off school children when there are sufficient funds to employ another person. ‘What if something happened? It's too dangerous, too risky, for an Anangu to do this.’

The risk of retribution or ‘payback’ is real and on the APY Lands, it is a real issue for non-Anangu too (who may also find themselves implicated in an illness, teenage pregnancy or death). But because non-Anangu residence on the APY Lands is always more tenuous than that of Anangu, some outsiders see themselves as doing Anangu a favour by taking responsibility for a role that an Anangu person could do. While most non-Anangu could leave the APY Lands forever if necessary to avoid paying the price of customary retribution, most Anangu are held (to returning) there through strong kinship and family ties. Or, at least, this is the rationalisation that non-Anangu contributors provide; and at face value, it seems reasonable enough.

Yet we also know that entrusting Anangu with vehicle usage comes with a whole set of other complications from the perspective of non-Anangu managers. There is also the question of DECS' responsibility to those (Anangu and non-Anangu) facing customary retribution. Thus, if the resistance is coming from non-Anangu, it is possible that ‘payback’ may simply be an excuse behind which to hide. If, however, the resistance is coming from Anangu, then it is almost definitely an excuse, as Anangu put themselves in such ‘high risk’ situations (for example, driving around a carload of kids without seatbelts) all the time. Our point is not to question the authenticity of these explanations but to highlight their role in perpetuating the many stand-offs that ensure the full range of employment options available on the APY Lands are not exploited but are instead obscured by a smoke screen of rationalisations. These micro-practices and circular logics need to be unpacked in a series of fierce discussions between Anangu and those who work with them, or else the lip-service, paternalism, mutual avoidance and disappointment will continue.
Being employed is too much humbug…

The argument here is that Anangu quickly lose the incentive to be in a job because of all the hassles this invokes. Relatives who are not working demand money, there is the requirement to prioritise work over other obligations and in the end it is easier to earn as little as everyone else. Followed logically, either everyone has to work, or no-one works at all.

The problem with this is not simply the implication that the only incentive for work is financial; it is the assumption that earning a significant amount of money and being able to share this with other people is not in itself a source of empowerment and pride. It also lets employers off the hook of further investigating why the jobs on offer might be deeply unattractive. And it lets communities off the hook from examining how they can resurrect authority structures within families so that young men and women understand what achievement in the ‘real world’ of competitive work actually requires.

We need to link education and training to existing work opportunities

The Review read many reports and was advised by a number of contributors that since work opportunities were limited on the APY Lands, and because many young Anangu do not seem to have aspirations for metropolitan careers, vocational training and education needs to relate more concretely to the conditions and opportunities presented on the APY Lands. These sentiments are reiterated in the Mullighan Report, which asserts:

Employment opportunities for Anangu must be substantially increased. They should be trained to undertake essential work in communities including in relation to housing and services. Children should be able to see that there is a purpose in education.

While we agree with the practicality of this approach, we are concerned that students must also receive high-expectations instruction, delivered with a sense that they have open-ended potential talent and are capable of advanced academic attainment, lest all systems of delivery shape themselves around the default ambivalence about the end-point of education. As education activist Jonathan Kozol (2005) argues of public schooling for black Americans, “It is harder to convince young people they ‘can learn’ when they are cordoned off by a society that isn’t sure they really can” (p. 37).

They just take off…

Commentators often pointed to poor attendance and high levels of student mobility as proof that Anangu support for education is not substantive. It is true that a culture of high mobility exists amongst Aboriginal people living in remote Australia. Yet mobility is not uniformly ‘bad’. Movement patterns are not as haphazard as they appear to the external gaze but are usually well-considered and planned: contained within a region, following particular calendar events and providing purposeful access to a range of services. Mobility also serves to alleviate tension within closely-confined communities in times of family, relationship or community conflict.

For Anangu, remoteness makes mobility a necessity in accessing goods and services, particularly, engaging with education, health and other government services. Access to medical services, particularly for renal dialysis patients, often means the enforced movement of entire households to major service centres like Alice Springs, Port Augusta and Adelaide. Funerals are too many. They are not invented, but reflect real deaths. And unlike affluent Piranpa, arrangements for funerals are not outsourced but have to be organised by families. The only commercial remote bus service operating in the APY Lands is the Centre Bush Bus based in Alice Springs; which provides weekly round trips to communities, departing Alice Springs every Monday with the return journey made on Tuesday. From Alice Springs, stops are made at Amata, Nyapari, Kanpi, Pipalyatjara and Kalka. Of course, there are many Anangu who come from but don't live on the APY Lands; and an increasing
number of families have left the APY Lands mainly in an attempt to make education opportunities better.

Mobility among other Australians is high too. For non-Aboriginal teaching staff living and working in the APY Lands, remoteness is connected to issues of social and professional isolation. Teacher mobility and absenteeism are concerns in all remote schools. While there may perhaps be less weekly mobility by non-Aboriginal people who are resident within remote regions, there is a greater pattern of movement between remote communities and coastal Australia. Often service providers are appointed on a regional basis, which by definition incurs another form of appearance and reappearance. Finally, as data supplied in this report reveal, Anangu residential patterns are among the most stable in Australia.

Is mobility an all round problem? Yes. Can it be predicted and planned around? At least some of the time. Should attendance and mobility bear all responsibility for poor education results? No.

- **Anangu don’t value education**

Without doubt, Anangu want the ability to move in and out of good jobs, training and education throughout their lives, to suit their family commitments, their talents and their needs. Whether they are truly across the dedication this requires from them as participants to the process is not so clear. Yet it would also be the case that most Australian parents do not really know what they have to do to ensure their children's academic success. Most parents trust that schools and training providers know what they are doing and how best to do it; and if they are triggered out of this complacency, they will be driven by concern with what they believe is happening or failing to happen to and for their child; and because they have the social capital to realise that they need to intervene and the wherewithal to do so constructively.

When the preconditions for success in high performing schools in otherwise disadvantaged or high poverty settings are analysed, one uniting feature is that they have sustained high expectations of the staff and students alike and a ‘take no prisoners’ approach to the realisation of those expectations. The schools do not assume that it is solely up to a child's family to prepare her or him for school and provide all the motivation to learn; and they do not point to lack of school readiness or antithetical surrounding cultures as the reasons why education cannot deliver to the highest standards.

Given the ubiquity of assumptions about how poorly Anangu understand and support the regimes of schooling, surprisingly little is known about what families really do believe or know about what is required from them and from their children if they are to succeed in schools. Sympathetic outsiders frequently list overcrowding and poverty as barriers; but little is known of the material means and forms of social capital that need to be at Anangu families’ disposal, even if they know to demand and expect more than what they have now. Certainly it is unclear, in the absence of sustained family based research, what kinds of daily messages are sent to young people within families and what forms of habitual domestic reinforcements are present or absent.

But at no time when speaking to parents, students and community members did anyone ever say that education was unimportant; or even that Anangu cultural learning offered more enticing and ultimately more satisfying forms of world belief, rendering western education obsolete – despite explicit probing on this very issue. Most often, the importance of education to the future leadership and viability of APY communities was articulated with grave emphasis, even if the full implications of the ongoing sacrifices and domestic disciplines this entails may not be totally understood as an essential part of the compact.
Overview

• Downstream improvements in early childhood and primary education are part of the solution to one of the most persistent explanations of under-employment and failures in ‘capacity building’ efforts on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands: namely, the shortage of highly literate and academically capable people to staff key positions and command successful enterprises.

• There is no guiding national or regional consensus on the role and purpose of schooling in remote Indigenous communities. Most APY Lands schools are attempting to ‘do it all’ and are experiencing a widening gap between their ability to deliver quality services and to meet external (local community and otherwise) expectations. As a matter of urgent priority, supports and resources should be provided to the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) and Anangu Education Services (AES) to bring together key community leaders, service providers and external experts to establish the details of Anangu goals for Anangu education, with a view to confronting all existing contradictions explicitly.

• The PYEC needs to be resourced and empowered so that they are able to set curriculum targets, apply standards, base decisions on data, commission research, reliably depend on high commitment from their own membership and otherwise exercise true control of the education agenda.

• Confident, skilled and highly motivated Anangu staff form the backbone of education provision on the APY Lands. Anangu educators and support staff need to have clear career pathways, refresher courses and intensive development to be instructional experts and education leaders.

• Aboriginal families position education as a priority and have high expectations that mainstream education will deliver jobs and employment. Yet the reality of remote communities is that Aboriginal students receive only an approximation of mainstream schooling, which falls well short of the standard needed to equip them to take up the types of jobs they are expected to fulfil, let alone the jobs that are tacitly denied. All parties need to be convinced that greater Anangu control of political, economic and social futures can be had now, with intensive commitment to advanced academic attainment from families, students and service providers alike.

• High quality bilingual programs are the most effective way to confer lasting academic achievement for English language learners. The approach taken on the APY Lands needs to be made explicit and resourced to be effective.

• Literacy and numeracy results from national benchmark tests are demonstrably poor and recent evidence suggests Anangu students are worse off now than ever before. Specialist tutors (teacher-trained, with skills in English as a Second Language [ESL], reading, numeracy, special education/learning disorder diagnosis and remediation) are needed for one-on-one instruction with those students experiencing difficulty in keeping up with their peer group.

• To provide safety and support to at-risk children whilst enabling advanced secondary education, Wiltja should be relocated to a high-performing school with an exemplary academic record.

• In view of the strong desire among Anangu for high quality secondary facilities to be residentially available on the Lands, SA DECS should undertake a comprehensive cost-benefit appraisal of location, demographic target and curriculum options, in partnership with Anangu leaders and pertinent stakeholders from within and without the education sector.

• Anangu leaders need to be supported to examine different options and models to develop an informed menu of characteristics such a secondary facility needs to satisfy.
In accordance with the Terms of Reference of the Review, this chapter is primarily concerned with post-primary education and pathways on the APY Lands. However, the Review Team found it necessary to also include primary and early childhood education as pathways to secondary education. What happens in children’s early lives, including their physical and mental health, exposure and success in early education and family and community environments combine to open up or else foreclose future possibilities. Indeed the Review Team frequently heard school staff and community members speak to the need to improve early childhood and primary education in order to better prepare students for secondary instruction, and school administrators and school staff encouraged us to speak with primary teachers in order to better understand the challenges and successes of preparing students to enter secondary classrooms with the requisite competencies.

Downstream improvements in early childhood and primary education are part of the solution to one of the most persistent explanations of under-employment and failures in ‘capacity building’ efforts on the APY Lands: namely, the shortage of highly literate and academically capable people to staff key positions and command successful enterprises.

**Purpose and Role of Schooling**

There is no guiding national consensus on the role and purpose of schooling in remote Indigenous communities, beyond generalist statements about the unacceptability of continuing poor outcomes for the nation’s Indigenous people; of the need to close a poorly-specified ‘gap’ between two generic enumerators (Indigenous and non-Indigenous); and an unarguable call for ‘genuine partnerships’. Yet there are some fundamental tensions in Anangu education that must at least be articulated before they can be reconciled. To the extent that formal western-style schooling can be seen to compete and even conflict with ‘culture’ in Indigenous communities, serious thought must be given to determining the broad role of education in general and the local role of schooling in remote Indigenous contexts. The necessity and importance of this thinking cannot be overstated.

The lack of a clear mission or purpose for Anangu education was evidenced time and time again during the course of the Review when we asked stakeholders (including school administrators, teachers, students and parents) various versions of the question: ‘What is the purpose of schooling on the APY Lands?’ The most common responses were alternately too simplistic and well rehearsed (“So that Anangu can gain meaningful employment”; “So that Anangu can learn about the outside world”); idealistic and lacking substance (“So that Anangu can become self-determined”; “So that Anangu can have choice”); or sadly honest and given to ward off nihilism (“I try not to think about that too much”).

But we would be remiss to ignore the work, however hidden or under-articulated, of the APY Land’s educational governing body, the PYEC, to construct a vision for education on the APY Lands. After our field visit we heard about a painting that hangs in the Ernabella Education Office, apparently depicting the aim of PYEC: that all aspects of schooling on the APY Lands be run and administered by Anangu. In the painting a few non-Anangu remain, acting on the outside, in an advisory capacity. The Review Team is uncertain if this vision remains germane to the PYEC, as it was rarely articulated or even vaguely suggested in the course of our conversations with Anangu and non-Anangu leaders.

One school, however, did articulate a clear purpose for education: “To be equipped to bring proven leadership skills to their families and communities and above all, to continue to have the power to choose’. The school’s website also lists specific strategies for attaining this purpose, including “seeking the best teachers and providing the support they need to be effective in the context”. The principal of this school consulted Jim Collins’ book *Good to Great: Why Some Companies Make the Leap ... and Others Don’t* (2001) for guidance on what it takes to ensure an organisation is not just effective, but exceptional:

> I sort of translated some of those principles of leading change in to our work here and one of the things we did over the last two years was to work with our governing council and our staff and the community just to reflect on – it is quite simple – what people did is they just worked out who they
were. They just answered some identity questions and they framed this thing, it is called the hedgehog concept under three questions and it is – you have to identify what your core business is, you have to identify the things that you are really passionate about and then you identify anything that you reckon you can be the best at the world at and you stick to it. You don’t be like a fox running all over the place, you just plod on that line and you know, they talk about the fact that, you know, years later you will cop criticism for being over simplistic or too black and white or whatever, but the fact is you’ve forged new territory where it was thought to be impossible.

This principal is recognised as an important leader in the local community and, indeed, the principal’s ability to engage the community in crafting a purpose for the school that resists the default position of ‘do it all,’ is a testament to his strengths as a leader.

Nonetheless, all APY Lands schools remain under extraordinary pressure to serve multiple roles in their communities; from delivery of mandated curricula through to brokerage of public services and family functions for community members and visitors. The recent Children on Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands Commission of Inquiry: A Report into Sexual Abuse, presented to the South Australian Parliament by the Hon. E.P. Mullighan QC, Commissioner Children on APY Lands Commission (hereafter ‘the Mullighan Report’) noted that:

… schools are very important to the communities in many ways. The schools are long-standing and the most reliable institutions in each community. They are stable places; a port in a storm for children. The schools provide important child protection services, including meals, washing and showering facilities, clothes, a sanctuary, counselling and support. (2008, p.194-5)

And, in the absence of any focused local, state or national mandate or consensus as to the role and purpose of education in remote Indigenous contexts, most APY Lands schools are attempting to ‘do it all’.

However, APY Land schools simultaneously demonstrate a mixed ability to achieve this. Stretched too thin, the majority of APY Land administrators and school staff are understandably satisfied just to survive the day. To view survival as a success is not a failing on the part of schools or their staff, but reflects the reality of just how hard it is to teach in a remote context when the purpose of ‘two way’ teaching is ill-defined, the targets are more rhetorical than real in terms of systemic and consistent matching with expert resources and instructional programs, and the default of doing it all is entirely unsustainable.

The Review Team observed a widening gap between schools’ ability to deliver quality, evidence-based services and the responsibility and expectations placed on schools both within communities and externally. And while both represent bodies of work that clearly had widespread input, neither the Aboriginal Lands’ District Three Year Strategic Directions and Objectives 2007-2009 nor the PYEC Three Year Strategic Directions and Objectives 2007-2009 articulate a clear mission or vision with respect to the purpose and role of education for Anangu.

The Review Team therefore recommends that the PYEC, AES and individual APY Lands schools work to define more clearly their purpose and role in the community in order to focus their delivery of high quality instructional programs and services. This definitional work needs to move beyond general objectives toward a specific charter of education reform, or service guarantee, backed by a determined accountability regime characterised by evidence-based programs, transparent targets and regular reporting. To support staff in this important revolution in delivery, active research links should be established so school leaders and educators are drawing on high quality advice and developing a powerful knowledge base, derived from both scientifically validated research and deliberate study of practice, and aimed at improved student outcomes. As outlined further in this report, this requires that DECS focus not only on the training, support and development of quality teachers; administrators; leaders; but the parallel requirement for investment in education training standards, research and scholarship that addresses the key challenges confronting Anangu education. Education reform theorist Richard Elmore (2005) describes this virtuous cycle elegantly:
For each unit of performance I demand of you, I have an equal and reciprocal responsibility to provide you with a unit of capacity to produce that performance, if you do not already have the capacity. (p. 245).

There are no half-way or second best measures.

**Recommendation 1.1**
As a matter of urgent priority, that support and resources are provided to the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee and Anangu Education Services to bring together key community leaders and service providers, expert practitioners and external dialogue partners to establish the details of Anangu goals for Anangu education.

**Recommendation 1.2**
That this definitional work specifies a charter of education reform, drawing on scientific research about best methods for conferring advanced skills in reading, writing and mathematics to disadvantaged learners. The exact nature of the effort required from all participants and exact resourcing mix must also be hammered out; backed by a determined accountability regime characterised by evidence-based programs, transparent targets and regular reporting.

**Recommendation 1.3**
That district-wide effort is dedicated to leadership development of Anangu and non-Anangu school staff and council members to carry the PYEC education vision into local community schools. This leadership development must also be extended to students, council members and others in schools.

**Recommendation 1.4**
That APY schools are seen as one school and run centrally, but are better resourced to work with the wider school community to develop their own personalised/localised school vision or mission that aligns with that of the PYEC.

**Recommendation 1.5**
That parent and other community members are involved in the process of clarifying APY schools' precise role and purpose and, further, parents' and community members' own roles and responsibilities are also clearly specified.

**Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC)**

Schools on the APY Lands are jointly managed by DECS and the PYEC. The PYEC was granted policy control over APY schools in 1987, followed by operational control in 1990. The formal PYEC is composed entirely of Anangu members: Anangu Coordinators, representatives from each of the nine APY Land communities, a director and two chairpersons. The PYEC director and chairpersons are assisted by two non-Anangu DECS employees, the APY Lands District Director and the Coordinating Principal. The PYEC meets once a term.

In 1996 a group of PYEC members and DECS (AES) staff hosted a workshop at the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference in New Mexico. A later paper describing the workshop discussed the PYEC's struggles to model and promote educational self-determination on the APY Lands (Iverson & Thomas, 1999). The authors said the PYEC understood it would need much support to learn to effectively navigate Western educational systems and policies:

> They are generally aware of their currently limited management expertise. They have expressed this awareness at PYEC meetings through comments such as "wanting to learn to crawl before they run freely". However, the process of developing skills and expertise to manage education across a vast geographic area and within a complex socio-cultural context is a major challenge (Iverson & Thomas, 1999, p. 5).
Steps have been taken toward developing as a strong politically proactive body from 2000 onwards. For instance, PYEC exercised its politically proactive skills to great effect in working directly with the education minister to reject and prevent a power grab bid over the PYEC itself. Under the leadership of its immediate past director, Katrina Tjitayi, and well before national hue and cry about child sexual abuse, the PYEC instigated the development of an Anangu specific "Keeping Safe" (Protective Behaviours) curriculum for all levels of schooling, from Early Years to Secondary. The work grew from Anangu educators’ exposure to Mandated Notifier Training; and as a project, in turn drew on the skills and knowledge developed in the collaboration between PYEC and schools and the Australian Principals Association Professional Development Council’s (APAPDC) MindMatters project. As one contributor informed the Review:

There would have been no "Protecting Our Children, Protecting The Future" (Mandated Notifier Training) package for Anangu school communities without the direction and involvement of PYEC. This was a package that they instigated in 2002! They were way ahead of the intervention! … not one page of the training package was written without direct input from PYEC and PYEC took over the actual delivery of the package for community members.

The Review Team's two meetings with the PYEC and interviews with its members showed much learning about writing culturally congruent curriculum, establishing general district directions, and managing the district has occurred over the last nine years with the support of DECS staff and other educationalists. We also had occasion to directly witness the PYEC enter into a more (pro)active engagement in educational politics. Concerned that the Anangu Tertiary Education Program (AnTEP) had not hired a Co-ordinator, for example, the PYEC wrote to the UniSA to request an explanation. The AnTEP director and Head of School responded and were invited to the following PYEC meeting to discuss the current recruitment efforts.

Such lobbying efforts on behalf of the APY schools are to be commended; but it would be a loss to all involved if PYEC authority is rested in the symbolism of processing administrative correspondence. Despite having policy and operational control, there was little in the PYEC’s governance structures and procedures overall that showed the Review Team Anangu educators were either able to set curriculum targets, apply standards, base decisions on data, commission (not just approve) research, reliably depend on high commitment from their own membership or advisors; be at the table when major resourcing and policy decisions were being decided in Canberra or Adelaide; or otherwise exercise true control of the education agenda; or that Anangu educators were able to convince other Anangu community leaders and families of the premium importance of education to aspirations for greater Anangu control of political, economic and social futures.

We were concerned that while clear efforts are being made to develop the leadership skills of younger members of the PYEC that a great deal of hope and reliance are still being placed on the shoulders of one or two key members. We would also recommend that the lobbying and political advocacy increase in scale as the PYEC informs itself about best-practices for teaching students at an educational disadvantage to read and write, for example; to be better equipped and able to argue with greater authority and power about issues of quality, approach, accountability and resource needs. Further, the leadership skills to take on such an activist role in education should be developed through high quality leadership training and corporate-level mentoring. Pairing of Anangu leaders with non-Anangu support staff is already in place. Yet it is not always the case that non-Anangu staff have the high order skills to effectively navigate Western political systems and processes at senior strategy levels; which accords with Iverson and Thomas’ (1999) finding that:

Anangu are not in a position to challenge professionals about issues of quality on the basis of equal or superior knowledge, as a senior officer may do with them. Furthermore, given the general lack of experience of school Principals in these remote areas, the professionals themselves may not be the appropriate individuals to make quality assessments. Nevertheless an inferior educational product or service simply cannot be allowed to evolve. (p.10)
Without devaluing the expertise and contributions of educationalists on the APY Lands, the Review Team believes the PYEC requires additional resources and processes for its decision-making and exercise of leadership. The PYEC should have ready access to national and international education research expertise to help it make informed and evidence-based decisions, especially in the areas of literacy and numeracy instruction, effective bilingual approaches and secondary education. Deciding, for example, whether to house a secondary school on the APY Lands and then on the best curriculum, structure and staffing for that facility should be an evidence-based and data-driven process. An APY Lands model for such strategic decision making is available at Nganampa Health Council, which is a significant local resource for the PYEC to draw upon.

There are multiple issues to be addressed here to assist the PYEC to be independently governing and leading, with expert support and resourcing:

- Work begun by the Dare to Lead team on school leadership development (Building Leaders, Building Communities) should be continued, as Stage One of a planned program of leadership capacity building for Anangu education reform, to be linked to action research endeavours targeting identified priorities for action;
- Stage Two would see select Anangu leaders (from within and beyond education) matched with senior mentors drawn from corporate, philanthropic and social sector communities. Social Ventures Australia are one organisation that might be approached with this in mind; although others exist and would need to be canvassed. This should build on the pattern established by the Dare to Lead work to date, in being strongly based in personal relationships and mutual cultural understanding/respect. This would see the development of mechanisms to engage mentors within a framework of personal relationships and mutual cultural understanding / respect;
- Stage Three would radically expand and embed leadership support and associated professional growth programs within the post-secondary training centre, as part of an integrated effort to enable Anangu community renewal through evidence-based reform. A model here is the Cape York Institute (CYI) of Policy and Leadership’s Leadership Academy program, which ‘focuses on the individual development of leaders and potential leaders through a personalised program of learning, professional development and support. Members have the opportunity to learn those skills that are important to them and to get the kind of support they need to better fulfil their leadership roles’ (CYI website, accessed 1 June 2008);
- Finally, more needs to be done to connect current and emergent Anangu leaders to think and work cooperatively at national levels; to connect with people driving good local projects and to work on ways of scaling these without losing the original ingredients for success. This is not something government education agencies have done well in Indigenous education and training. Government dollars are needed to resource the linkages but otherwise, the business of creating intelligent networks should be assisted by those with track records in this domain.

As we heard many times on the APY Lands, taking people from the known to the unknown takes courage for both parties to the process. As one senior Anangu woman explained:

> When I was young, I got all this experience in me. When I trained and studied about management training – it was all here in my heart and head [pointing to heart and head]. You can’t do it if you are empty. So when you train and study, thing start to come out. You find that “I can do this”. Most young people have those skills and experience; put them in the right place to train and study. What’s in the heart and head will come out and can be used in the workplace. [Now] I learn everyday.

No reform effort can take place without the leadership and backing of community authority figures. The PYEC has demonstrated its determination to exercise greater direction over education services on the APY Lands. It is imperative that it is given the funding and support it actually deserves to engage with national and international experts in indigenous education; to develop research agendas; to drive decision making with evidence; and otherwise be enabled to truly control and lead the reform agenda.
Recommendation 1.6
In the short term, that the PYEC continue lobbying for education on the APY Lands. This lobbying should be informed and focused, and adhere to the evidence-based decision making process recommended above.

Recommendation 1.7
That the PYEC be resourced and supported to invite international and national experts on Indigenous education, bilingual/literacy education and secondary education to inform and guide its decision-making. Congruent with its role as a board, the PYEC should be informed by the data generated from high quality research conducted in APY schools and nationally in order to make evidence-based decisions about the best-practices for APY students.

Recommendation 1.8
That substantial investment is directed towards locally attuned research and development, ensuring Anangu decision makers and school communities can be involved in and have greater access to an evidence-base to inform their educational programming.

Recommendation 1.9
That work begun by the Dare to Lead team on school leadership development is continued, as part of a planned program of leadership capacity building for Anangu education reform, to be linked to research endeavours targeting identified priorities for action.

Recommendation 1.10
That select Anangu leaders (from within and beyond education) are matched with senior mentors drawn from corporate, philanthropic and social sector communities.

Student, Family and Community Interest and Involvement in Education

Education is valued by Anangu. At no point did anyone claim it did not matter, or that Anangu ways of being in the world were more important or more satisfying than success in schooling. Instead, there is a great desire for young Anangu to manage communities and fill the office jobs currently held by non-Anangu people. We encountered a number of parents who were acutely conscious that their children were not being held to the same standards that children in mainstream classrooms in metropolitan schools receive. These parents had personal evidence to back their suspicions. For instance, one mother spoke of the notable difference in feedback about her child’s academic progress and expectations of homework when her daughter went to school in Melbourne contrasted with her experiences back on the APY Lands, where what happens during the day in terms of lesson plans and new learning was more mysterious. A father was puzzled about why schools seemed to have such an aversion to giving Aboriginal children difficult work or parents honest advice on the standards being attained and if these are commensurate, age for grade, with mainstream schools in Adelaide:

… The only papers my daughter was getting back from … school, she was getting five stars for going to school for five days...like “whoa you are top of the class, you’ve come to school for five days, then we’ll give you five stars”; but it doesn’t tell you what they did for that five days .... So there was no feedback around the actual education. There was no feedback on where her numeracy was or what she knew about counting or what she knew about [the] alphabet or word spelling ... it was just “you’ve come to school for five days, you are a really good student, we’ll give you five stars.” “Oh, you didn’t cause any trouble in the class this week, so you’re really a number one student, you haven’t been causing trouble.” That’s really good feedback! There is nothing around exactly [what is happening academically]: e.g. the kid doesn’t know about spelling so she has to improve spelling or something.
This parent suspected the lack of information was also a result of Indigenous parents not knowing what they needed to be demanding in terms of school feedback. Instead, he suggested that ‘[other Anangu] just think ... "I’ll send my kid to school, they’ll be alright and they’ll get the education needed” and [then they] come home after school and no worries, you know?’

Such parents were anxious that their children would not be able to secure jobs outside the APY Lands or even positions of responsibility on the APY Lands without competitive academic skills. They also recognised that there are foundational skills that have to be acquired via hard work and well-organised sequential processes of learning; they expect their children’s teachers to provide the framework in which this is possible; and are worried and/or disappointed that school options on the APY Lands, both primary and post-primary, fail to do this. These parents had several shared characteristics: they were themselves at least partially literate, employed, and had seen enough of other systems to have a subjective comparison by which to rate education on the APY Lands versus that of metropolitan schools. They also knew that success in education called for sustained discipline and input from them as parents, to the point of not only insisting on attendance but of relocating their children to a more successful school context if required.

Anangu leaders and those employed in mainstream positions all spoke of being ‘pushed’ by their parents to stay at school. Many spoke about their parents conveying the importance of education. It is not likely that the parents of this middle aged generation had more involvement with the school than the current generation of parents. However, the difference is that these parents in the 1960s to 1970s, under different education circumstances, were in a better position to maintain the integrity of family life and push for their children to get an education when the risk of exclusion was real.

The diversity of these concerns in turn draws attention to the catch-22 of high performance in education. It takes a push-pull system of expectations from community and providers to move from ‘good to great’. In urban societies, among the families of the professional middle class, when there are concerns about the quality of the schooling options available to children, or if attempts to remediate feelings of victimisation in a particular school are not successful, families will move schools, suburbs and in extreme cases, parents will change occupations and relocate to a new town or state. On the APY Lands, the choices are more limited, but within those limits, parents and caregivers are still attempting to stitch together the best solutions for their children. In some cases, this has meant relocating a child to Adelaide or Alice Springs, where they can attend suburban schools under the care of other relatives, in a boarding facility or under a home-stay arrangement. It was also clear that parents have anxieties about the schooling of their children – especially teasing issues – and what they can do about it. There were a number of instances where Anangu parents and families blamed teachers for their children ‘not learning properly’ or for ‘young people not going to school properly.’ During our consultations, members of the Review Team were asked for advice and guidance on which schools on the APY Lands offered better teaching and learning outcomes: perhaps, parents speculated, if they could relocate their child to a different community, the child’s interest in school, academic attainment and attendance would improve. The conversation would quickly move on to the difficulties of coping with the transport, accommodation and income issues related to the exercise of such choice, even if relocations could be recommended. It was clear that the option of Wiltja is not suitable for everyone and, being available at secondary level only, comes too late for some families.

There is thus evidence that some parents have grave concerns about the options that are currently available for their children on the APY Lands and where they can, are ‘voting with their feet’. At the same time, other parents were content with local schools and listed existing programs and activities with approval. Certainly the school principals in a number of communities commanded widespread support and admiration. If these parents had concerns, they were to do with the options available for young men and women once they leave school. It is difficult to say if such parents are aware of what outsiders and some Anangu clearly see as the delivery of ‘race specific pedagogies’ and the delimiting of education’s overall potential. It seems they assume instead that their child is getting a quality education, and that all efforts are being entirely managed within and by schools. This could be because of the all-round high regard and celebration of success that APY Lands early childhood and primary educationalists enjoy; or because their children are happily going to school (at least some of the time); or because Anangu and
non-Anangu have different measuring sticks when it comes to assessing what constitutes a quality education; or lack of awareness of how much parental vigilance and awareness extracting an education from schools requires; or a combination of all this and more. Unfortunately, it is one of the cruel deceptions of western education that attendance alone is a prerequisite for success, when there is so much more required from all parties.

Similar differences were noted in parental and student ambitions. Some students wanted to be qualified professionals, perhaps nurses, or teachers; and were keen to otherwise run the communities; whilst others were less forthcoming, offering ideas about working in the store, or collecting rubbish, as options for life post-school. Specifically, secondary students’ responses to our questioning on their aspirations for their futures ranged from wanting to work for Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP), to wanting to be a grader-driver based at Umuwa, to wanting to work in Kmart in Alice Springs, to wanting to go to prison! While the highest aspiring student we spoke with wanted to attend University in Adelaide and study to become a nurse, many students saw their options as much more limited, and were quite dispirited as they droned out the list of menial opportunities available to them, such as sweeping the floor of the local community store. For these students, “what you want to be when you grow up” was obviously a well-rehearsed performance; and the limited range of responses that acceptably answer the question is well known by all.

Likewise, some parents did not have great heights imagined for their children’s careers; while others would talk of wanting their children to go to university and to come back as leaders and credentialed professionals. On hearing this last aspiration, non-Anangu within and without the schools, on and off the APY Lands, would alternately raise a sceptical eyebrow, suggesting the aspiration was borne of practiced rhetoric with no depth; or nod in commiseration, acknowledging the cruelty of the dream, given neither the parents, the students nor the schools were in a position to systematically deliver on such lofty aspirations. The ambivalence about this is expressed in the frequently put propositions that “not all Anangu students need a TER [tertiary entrance ranking]” and “we cannot afford to set these children up for more failure”.

Parents’ engagement with school and explicit foregrounding of the importance of school above all other issues is a different matter entirely. While we believe firmly that involvement in education does not have to be directly through the school, and can be done by supporting children from within the family; where there is little family involvement, there is an expectation that the school will provide an education without any community involvement in the process of education. This (‘blind’) faith that people have in a service they expect to be trustworthy and autonomous might reflect limited knowledge about the dedication and discipline required of families for successful academic attainment; or the constraints by other forms of capital, such as transport and telecommunications. For many Anangu families it is hard to maintain a consistent focus on education when there are more basic day-to-day difficulties and life crises taking place. For instance, we had limited evidence that Anangu parents would like to monitor and follow-up on their children’s progress and experiences at boarding schools, but struggle to do so for want of reliable transportation. It is surmisable that consistent and reliable transportation may be a limiting factor for parents who desire to send their children to boarding schools in Alice Springs or Adelaide. As Pleshet (2006) notes, ‘A transport system that relies on low quality vehicles, used intensively over poor roads, is vulnerable; as then are the settlements which rely on it’ (p.12). One informant was disappointed that the school made no effort to contact her when it was clear her eight year old son was no longer attending. A victim of bullying, he was refusing to catch the school bus (they lived some distance from the school), forcing her to eventually enrol him at a primary school in Alice Springs, boarding with houseparents. But his decreasing presence at the school was never chased by an AEW or teacher; nor was she able to pursue the issue of bullying in person, being without a vehicle herself.

In many instances, schools are working hard to engage with families but, without underestimating the dimensions of this challenge, there is always more that can be done. The readiness of Anangu families to become involved in education is a challenge that can be overcome through the activities of Anangu Coordinators and AEWs. It is also essential that schools put structures in place that support family involvement. The involvement of parents, grandparents, siblings and extended families in events like family reading nights and homework centres can help families gain an understanding of what happens at
school. Not understanding what happens at school is the greatest disincentive for family and community engagement; and was raised with the Review repeatedly as an issue by caregivers. It should not be assumed that failure to visibly display interest in ways that are recognisable to the school is an absence of interest. Put simply, parents don’t need to be visibly in the school to be interested in their children’s education.

**Recommendation 1.11**
That accountability to Anangu parents and caregivers be rigorously maintained, regardless of their apparent level of (non) engagement in their children’s learning. This means adherence to standard procedures for informing and involving parents in their child’s academic and developmental progress including regular, honest and transparent reporting. This reporting should be accessible and come in the form of regular parent-teacher conferences with translators; school open houses where parents are invited to come and view the school; open-invitation days where parents can join their children in classrooms (*bring your parent to school* day); and otherwise proactive solicitation of parental/community engagement.

**Recommendation 1.12**
That the PYEC, AES and DECS develop an educational service guarantee which articulates the common goals of schooling and the specific ways in which parents can expect to hold schools accountable; including an outline of the role AEWs and Anangu Coordinators are authorised to take in prosecuting commitment to schooling.

**Recommendation 1.13**
As part of the service guarantee, communication strategies must be developed to articulate the reciprocal responsibilities of parents and caregivers; and assessment made of the supports parents might need to be able to foreground and reinforce formal learning objectives through their domestic routines.

**Bilingual or ‘Two Way’ Education**

As with Anangu education generally, bilingual education reflects the tensions that exist between the acquisition of knowledge and skills that will enable Anangu to live without disadvantage whilst orbiting in and out of the wider society on the one hand; and the strengthening of Anangu culture and identity on the other. We are aware that the issue of bilingual or ‘both ways’ education is a contentious one on the APY Lands, and we make no attempt to resolve or even outline the history and content of this long standing dispute here, other than to note that, done intensively and well, the international research is in favour of high quality bilingual programs as the most effective way to confer lasting academic achievement for English language learners (see, for example, Thomas & Collier, 2002).

Instead, the Review takes the position that, regardless of whether literacy and education is delivered in one language or two, the key to high level academic attainment is having and implementing a clear policy and precise evidence-based approach. Our concern is that such a policy and approach is not currently in evidence on the APY Lands, and that the lack thereof is contributing to the poor outcomes in literacy and numeracy education for Anangu. While it was frequently assumed that Anangu children have wholly different kinds of psychological and pedagogic needs because of the culturally, geographically and linguistically distinctive forms of being in the world; clarity about what constitutes an effective bilingual program or two way approaches was not reflected in our conversations with educators or policy makers.

The Review Team heard that, in the past, education in APY schools was delivered in both the vernacular and English across all curriculum areas; that is, bilingually. Then, some time during the late 1980s or early 1990s and due to community dissatisfaction with academic outcomes, the APY bilingual education programs were suspended. Not long after, vernacular programs were reintroduced to APY schools, but
this time with separation of the domains; that is, in the form of ‘two way’ schooling. This means that in APY schools, English is supposed to be the sole language of instruction in all curriculum areas except Anangu Domain. During Anangu Domain lessons, however, students are encouraged to learn about all things Anangu, including reading and writing in the vernacular.

During the course of our fieldwork, the Review Team entered classrooms that included pictures of local animals and plants identified by their English and Pitjantjatjara names, and we heard of students learning about oral history by interviewing community elders about ‘bush tucker’. At the same time, the Review observed that much of the disciplining, if not the instruction, during non-Anangu Domain lessons was done by the AEWs in the vernacular. By corollary, most non-Anangu teachers were obviously limited to continuing to teach in English during Anangu Domain lessons. Meanwhile, back at the AES office in Ernabella, copies of The Hungry Caterpillar were being printed out in Pitjantjatjara for literacy learning during Anangu Domain lessons. However, what the Review Team did not witness was any data verified evidence of the effectiveness of the separation of the domains; or ‘two way’ approach for either fostering deep vocabulary proficiency in sophisticated versions of Pitjantjatjara or enabling Anangu to acquire high level English academic skills. Compounding the problem s, forms of broken English were being spoken by the non Indigenous staff to Anangu colleagues and students alike, which further undermines the other key plank for effective two way instruction. If the desired attainment is true bi-linguality—that is, effective speaking and writing in both one’s first and learnt languages—then providing quality instruction and exemplary reinforcement of best practice in the first and second language on a consistent basis is absolutely necessary.

The confusions here are plentiful. The APY schools’ ‘two-way’ approach reflects a well-minded attempt to help reinforce the centrality of Indigenous knowledge, but when attempted in schools whose role and purpose in the community is ill-defined, its potential for success as either a means to reinforce vernacular sophistication or to platform academic attainment is weakened. Indeed, as far as the Review was able to determine, APY schools, DECS, AES and the PYEC possess no clear argument for how or why the current, diffuse approach might work, let alone thoroughly researched evidence of its effectiveness. One Anangu leader expressed this uncertainty thusly:

What are we trying to get out of Anangu education for the APY Lands? Is it for the staff or the students? Is it full-on mainstream or bilingual? To me it is all a bit watered down. The targets are not mainstream targets. Why should we teach culture in school with teachers who know so little, when we have the best professors in the country to teach that outside the school?

As noted earlier, the key question here is actually the first: What is wanted from Anangu education for the APY Lands? Deciding on which English only, bilingual or two way approach will work best in the APY Lands’ context is secondary. However, from conversations on the APY Lands and meetings with the PYEC, it would seem that most are strongly in support of a bilingual or two way approach over English-only education, and presumably this support is underpinned by a commitment to some kind of inchoate or yet to be articulated vision of who Anangu want to be. Nonetheless, the policy of which approach is to be adopted must be firmly based in evidence, clearly harnessed to a vision and implemented consistently.

So what does the external evidence suggest?

Firstly, international research shows that the quality of instruction is more important than either the language of instruction or the particular pedagogical approach. This is because brilliant, creative, highly literate and professionally exceptional teachers can work around low English oracy skills and will tend not to adhere to ineffective teaching methodologies; hence, this Review’s ongoing emphasis on state-of-the-art training and recruitment of high performing and professionally competent school staff.

Secondly, the effectiveness of literacy education in one or more languages depends on the oracy language and skills of the instructors and the students. Again, this is in part reflective of the literacy levels and quality of the teaching staff. Thus, so long as literacy is taught in the vernacular by instructional staff who are hindered in their pedagogical techniques by either low levels of literacy
themselves (this is the case, in the main, for Anangu staff); or minimal knowledge of the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara languages (this is the case, in the main, for non-Anangu staff); then the outcomes of students’ literacy learning in the vernacular is at risk. To put this clearly, for students to have a sophisticated written and oral vocabulary, and capacity to articulate complex constructs, one has to study the language in question formally and intensely; transfer to English is thus made more fluid. Meanwhile, many Anangu students on the APY Lands currently do not have the early childhood education experiences and the foundational English oracy skills to become highly proficient and adept first literacy learners through haphazard immersion in English, and without substantial remedial instruction from specialist bilingual intervention teaching staff.

Thus, the focus on the APY Lands where many language and literacy learners are already at risk of reading difficulties (for example, because of their reduced exposure to books at home, cognitive impairment arising from low birth weight or premature delivery, hearing impairment or sight difficulties) should be on systematic and explicit instruction in oral language and reading by trained bilingual reading intervention teachers. This has been established in the research literature as an effective measure, yielding improvements across multiple measures of English letter naming, phonological awareness and other language skills, as well as reading and academic achievement. Such a measure is of critical importance if the language and literacy learning of students is not to be truncated or limited by the teacher’s own limited skills (either in vernacular oracy, or written literacy).

From the literature, the components of effective work here also include:

- Concentrated early literacy and numeracy development – preferably in the vernacular or first language (August & Shanahan, 2006); and in all cases ensuring high quality instructional content with complex vocabulary exposure.
- Addressing the characteristic problems which upset quality instruction in immersion or bilingual schools alike, namely: staffing, training, complex curriculum encouraging high levels of achievement in primary and secondary languages, correct diagnosis of impairment.
- A well trained, well paid and stable cohort of Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers are required en masse in early childhood with skills in direct and explicit instruction of basic and more advanced language, literacy and numeracy skills. This requires the alignment of standards of learning with standards of Anangu and Piranpa teacher preparation and competency.

In other words, the question is not so much ‘is bilingual effective?’ (to which the answer is ‘YES! under the right circumstances’); but rather, ‘How should bilingual programs be organised to ensure the success of students coming from non-English and non-literacy-based language backgrounds in their vernacular language(s) and ultimately in English?’

**Recommendation 1.14**
That the PYEC, AES and DECS clarify their decision on the precise bilingual or two ways pedagogy and approach to be adopted and implement the approach rigorously in all APY schools.

**Recommendation 1.15**
Regardless of the approach chosen, DECS must engage linguists with a demonstrated commitment to evidence-based teaching to develop a full suite of requisite curricula and teacher training materials. Schools must be appropriately resourced to provide quality instruction and exemplary reinforcement of best practice in the first and second language on a consistent basis.

**Recommendation 1.16**
Where co-instruction models are used, teams should minimally comprise one fluent and grammatically advanced Pitjantjatjara speaker and one fluent and grammatically advanced English speaker but ideally both members of the team would be highly proficient in both languages.
**Recommendation 1.17**
That DECS ensure other Anangu and non-Anangu school staff are instructed in effective (validated) bilingual reading and numeracy interventions from early childhood through to secondary.

**Literacy and Numeracy**

The Review Team heard, from employers, trainers, educators and parents on and off the APY Lands, that English literacy and, to a lesser extent numeracy, are essential for participation in school, training and employment. Amongst the students interviewed there was clear connection between English literacy and employment. When asked why they were in school, the most common response given by students was “to get a job.” When asked what they did in school, “learn English” topped the list.

But the results of national benchmark tests for Indigenous students, including students on the APY Lands, are demonstrably poor. The percentage of students reaching reading benchmarks in the last 3 years on the APY Lands has never been more than 50% at any level tested (see Table 1). Further, the percentage of students on the APY Lands who reach reading and numeracy benchmarks decreases from Year 3 to Year 7. Comparing trends in reading and numeracy, there is also some evidence that students are performing worse now than ever (see Table 2). While 50% of Year 3 students met reading proficiency benchmarks in 2005, this dropped to 45% in 2006 and 29% in 2007. This finding appears in the Mullighan report (2008) that described the DECS 2007 review of literacy strategies:

> During 2007, a ‘major review of literacy strategies at all schools’ was conducted. According to DECS figures, literacy and numeracy outcomes, after previously rising, did not improve in 2006 or 2007. Literacy and numeracy outcomes are still well below the South Australian average. (p. 196)

This downward trend could be explained by an increase in the number of students being tested across the three years. Indeed as DECS’ plans to “make a more determined effort” (Mullighan, 2008, p. 201) in May 2008 to get all children assessed and thereby identify more children with educational difficulties, it seems likely the percentage of students attaining benchmarks will continue to decline. Until all students are tested annually, trend patterns will remain opaque.

Compared to very remote communities in the Northern Territory (NT), APY Land students are as proficient as their ‘very remote’ counterparts in reading and numeracy in 2005 and 2006. In 2007, a fewer percentage of APY Land students performed as well as comparable students in the NT (although the numbers involved are very small and cannot be used as trend data). Whilst Western Australia (WA) would also provide a good comparison, this cannot be done as its reading and numeracy benchmarks are not broken down by geo-location.

The Review Team is cautious of over-emphasising the comparison between ‘like schools’ in the NT and WA. What conclusions, for example, can be drawn from the finding that remote Indigenous education outcomes are equally poor in the NT as in the APY Lands? Other than to note that the problems facing the APY Land schools and communities are not unique.

The most important story these figures can tell is that of the massive gap between APY Land students and SA’s total student population, as high as 82% (Reading Year 5, 2005) and only as low as 37% (Numeracy Year 3, 2005). Part two of the story is that the percentage of students reaching benchmarks decreases over time. This clear downward trend points to the absolute necessity of early childhood literacy programs to provide students with foundational skills that must be supported by high quality literacy and numeracy instruction at all points in later years. It is obvious that, to the extent that the Multilevel Assessment Program (MAP) data is a good indicator of student performance, whatever is being done now in schools to teach APY Land students reading and maths, while commendable, is not working well or intensively enough.
Table 1 - Percentage of South Australia, Northern Territory and Western Australia State and Remote Indigenous Students Meeting Year 3, 5 and 7 Reading Benchmarks, 2005-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Territory</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yr 3</td>
<td>Yr 5</td>
<td>Yr 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APY Lands\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory\textsuperscript{d}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Remote Indigenous</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous\textsuperscript{e}</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. These percentages include Yalata and Oak Valley students
c. Not released
d. Data obtained from NT Department for Education, Employment and Training (DEET) website and data request

Table 2 - Percentage of South Australia, Northern Territory and Western Australia State and Remote Indigenous Students Meeting Year 3, 5 and 7 Numeracy Benchmarks, 2005-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Territory</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Yr 5</td>
<td>Yr 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APY Lands\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory\textsuperscript{d}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Remote Indigenous</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous\textsuperscript{e}</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. These percentages include Yalata and Oak Valley students
c. Not released
d. Data obtained from NT DEET website and data request
To deliver high quality literacy and numeracy programming requires three things. First, the program taught should be evidence-based and continually assessed in schools and classrooms for its impact on student outcomes. Second, teachers have to be well trained in the quality implementation of tested instructional methods. This includes not just preliminary training, but also continued professional development. Third, students must be held accountable for their learning and held to high standards.

Currently the literacy program delivered in APY Land schools is Accelerated Literacy (AL). This program is recognised to improve students’ literacy performance, and has the advantage of national investment in high quality teaching support resources that have been developed with remote area teachers’ needs in mind; but anecdotes from AL’s most recent evaluation and from Review contributors in South Australia suggest AL produces the best outcomes in the hands of highly trained and experienced teachers. Obviously a well-devised and tested program alone does not teach itself; nor is Accelerated Literacy sufficient on its own. From concurrent evaluation efforts on the National Accelerated Literacy Program (NALP) underway in the NT, we know that across Australia, AL joins other interventions in being unable to overcome the vicissitudes of staff turnover, poor or unimaginative implementation, family mobility and inattentive leadership.

Regardless of the dominant program paradigm, supplementation in early childhood and focused programs for other core academic subjects (mathematics etc) is also required. One-on-one tutoring has been shown to be a far more effective measure for intensifying instructional effect than reducing classroom sizes (Wasik & Slavin, 1993). The tutors should be teacher-trained, with specialist skills in ESL, reading, numeracy, special education/learning disorder diagnosis and remediation, pastoral care; or a combination of all of these. The tutoring should be prioritised for those students who are having difficulty keeping up with their peer group, and be available in every grade. It should take place in twenty-to thirty minute sessions outside of whole-class lessons in maths and literacy. The tutors would work to the classroom teachers’ objectives and co-plan sessions to ensure core concepts are being reinforced, working with an Anangu counterpart to build critical mass, but otherwise identify learning problems and apply targeted strategies to meet the shared teaching objectives. During core mathematics and literacy sessions with the whole class, these same teacher-tutors can be used to help break the classes into smaller learning groups. Tutors, AEWs and teachers should meet regularly to discuss individual student and whole group learning progress and coordinate their approaches.

Recommendation 1.18
If APY Lands commit to continue using AL as their preferred pedagogy for literacy, as a matter of immediate priority, close attention should be paid to conditions of implementation fidelity and teacher professional development.

In particular, that consideration be given to joining the Anangu Education Service Accelerated Literacy program with that offered by the South Australian Accelerated Literacy Program, for greater quality assurance, concentrated teacher development, and more intensively resourced and research-informed levels of implementation support.

Recommendation 1.19
That APY Lands schools implement homework programs for all students Grade 3 and above, in accordance with mainstream expectations and standards. These should involve parents and older siblings as homework supervisors, who might reimbursed for their involvement (through, for example the Community Development Employment Projects [CDEP]). Supervisory assistance from other more skilled and/or qualified Anangu and non-Anangu staff should be provided by DECS.
Recommendation 1.20
That staffing provision is allocated for expert reading and numeracy teaching tuition within schools, up to six per school depending on school size. This should include a focus on early childhood to ensure the students are acquiring foundational literacy skills to prepare them for secondary classes.

Recommendation 1.21
That any additional (non-identified) staffing provision be matched with Anangu positions, to greatly increase both the employment options for Anangu within the schooling sector and to create co-instruction teams with technical expertise in literacy and numeracy instruction.

Non-Anangu Teacher Turnover and Instructional Quality

The primary focus of this section is on the recruitment and ongoing development of non-Anangu school staff. Meanwhile, the training and development of Anangu teachers and Anangu Education Workers through the Anangu Tertiary Education Program (AnTEP) program is discussed in detail in the Training chapter. Nonetheless, where this section deals with instructional quality in general, it refers to all instructional school staff, including AEWs. In particular, the Review is adamant that all school staff—both Anangu and non-Anangu, teachers and AEWs—must be trained and qualified to the highest standards, and provided ongoing, consistent and accessible professional development.

The Review considers that DECS’ country teaching and practicum scholarship programs—whereby student teachers are encouraged to work in non-metropolitan schools for their pre-service teacher practica and are sponsored into positions upon graduation—are successful strategies for attracting and retaining new non-Anangu teachers to some of the state’s most remote schools. The Review Team did not come across schools with no staff, or with the endemic term-by-term turnover featured in other schools in remote Australia.

However, DECS’ and school principals’ impressive efforts at recruiting highly motivated young teachers notwithstanding, akin to other remote Indigenous schools, it remains the case that many APY teacher recruits are still new to their craft. This can be a disabling characteristic when placed among some of the most demanding schools where children's needs are greatest and demands upon a teacher's ingenuity and ethical stamina the most extreme. As is, most teachers on the APY Lands are new to the profession, typically having only a few years’ experience teaching. One non-indigenous secondary teacher new to teaching spoke of her first year teaching on the APY Lands:

It’s not as bad emotionally as I thought it would be. I’ve learned not to be disappointed about students not getting results. The interruptions, AEWs not turning up, these things are not in my hands. There’s only so much I can do. Thinking this way helps me survive.

New non-Anangu teachers especially lack the experience and training to adequately handle the challenges of teaching in remote Indigenous communities, and it is understandable that many quickly move into ‘survival mode’ where making it through the day without a major incidence or by having a full classroom is counted a success. Still, one principal felt that there were specific professional development strategies that could be employed to help graduate teachers ‘hit the ground running’ on the APY Lands:

... most of our teachers are graduates and the most successful teachers are graduates as well but they are graduates that have done prac with us and they stay in contact with us so when they start their career they have actually got a really good concept and we know them, they know us and they know what they are getting in to. They actually go away and train in AL, they get some math 300 skills behind them etc. etc. Some of them have done two or three or more visits or stints at our school before they’ve begun their career so when they start their career they hit the ground running
These new teachers are not alone in being ill-equipped to teach in remote Indigenous contexts. The Review Team also encountered several experienced teachers on the APY Lands who had taken up their positions after having endured recent personal traumas, including long term care of chronically ill family members, past abusive relationships and marriage break-ups. In the midst of their own private struggles, some teachers were barely managing to maintain composure, let alone cope with the daily challenge of providing quality instruction in such a demanding context. Given that many teachers on the APY Lands are either inexperienced or unnerved, it should come as little surprise that teacher turnover is about 40% in any given year (deduced from data showing that 41% of teachers in 2005 and 46% of teachers in 2006 were teaching their first year on the APY Lands). Conferring the tools for autonomy and self-empowerment in a remote Indigenous context might be all too much for those who are still developing or else radically questioning their own lives, values and identities.

The issue of attracting the highest calibre instructional personnel to regional and remote education is a universal challenge and is in no way isolated to the APY Lands; nor are these comments meant to cast doubt on the credentials or efforts of current non-Anangu teaching staff on the APY Lands and their managers. But with research suggesting

1. that an instructor's ability to improve students' understanding of mathematics and capacity to be sophisticated readers and writers correlates with the instructor's own literacy and numeracy skills (Walsh & Tracy, 2004); and
2. the importance of intensification in instructional quality as the key means for creating breakthroughs in otherwise educationally disadvantaged settings (Elmore, 2005)

an even greater onus is on the South Australian Government to break through the instructional quality quandary. Remote area teaching needs to become one of the top three most sought after careers to make available a critical mass of high performing personnel from which the PYEC and schools are then able to selectively recruit.

Admittedly, the levers available to any state government, and even for the Australian government, in this regard are limited. Important variables, like the valuing of teaching as a profession, are not easily amenable to the ‘campaign’ and marketing strategies available to policy makers. Even so, a recent analysis of the common characteristics of top performing school systems using international comparisons (Barber & Mourshed, 2007) reveals that countries that have made teaching a preferred career for high-performing candidates have done so via critical policy choices and structural developments. The following list is not definitive but aims to render a sense of the policy rigour required:

- Increasing class sizes to effectively double in South Korea and Singapore has enabled these countries to spend more money on each individual teacher (on the APY Lands, this could also be a means by which more Anangu paraprofessionals and co-teachers are brought in to team-teach);
- Nation-wide screening and testing in Singapore and Finland has ensured teacher candidates meet national standards prior to selection and commencement of university-based training;
- Swiftly removing poor performing or damaging teachers from the system altogether;
- Limiting university teacher-training places to candidates with cut-off scores in the top five percent (South Korea); and paying teachers a salary during their training (Singapore);
- Where university selection procedures cannot be altered (Boston and Chicago), creating selective fellowships and residencies for competitive candidates;
- Dedicating 10% of working time to concentrated professional development and one-on-one coaching via master teachers (Japan, England, Chicago and Boston);
- Ensuring the majority of a teacher’s training is conducted in real-life settings;
- Ensuring principals are enabled to be instructional leaders first and foremost, with time to ‘walk the halls’ prioritised over the concerns of the in-tray and central office;
- And so on.
The Review is unable to suggest the correct pathway for DECS and wider South Australian Government to pursue, but we must stress the urgency of this examination, with a particular focus on the salary and tax inducements required to get high performing, high credentialed specialist staff into APY Lands schools.

**Recommendation 1.22**
That DECS review its country teaching and practicum scholarship programs, assessing them for both quality and quantity of teacher recruits in the APY Lands. Particular attention needs to be paid to ways of making APY Lands postings the most sought after positions.

**Recommendation 1.23**
In the short term, selection and induction processes for teachers assigned to APY schools are explicit in the high expectations and demands of these roles. A comprehensive training and induction program specific to the context be developed including ongoing support in the early stages of the assignment (for example through establishing mentoring relationships with experienced teachers).

**Recommendation 1.24**
That DECS and other South Australian government agencies, with the PYEC, interrogate other national and international strategies for teacher recruitment and intensive professional development for ways to maximise attraction and retention of quality teaching staff for the APY Lands.

This rethinking needs to be bold and radical, canvassing such options as:

- paying high-performing trainee students the equivalent of a salary during their training, to be competitively assigned, and following high performance in practice, linked to later fellowships and exchanges at national and international learning and teaching institutes of high renown, as part of a targeted strategy for developing a cadre of outstanding remote area teachers; and,

- paying high performing individuals in specialist academic areas (linguistics, mathematics, science) and professions (legal, architectural and creative industries, etc) close to their current salary whilst they undertake one year’s teaching training, to again create an advanced pool of elite content specialists for sessional work in schools and post-school learning training settings.

**The Teacher-AEW Relationship**

One strategy the APY schools have developed for alleviating the strain on non-Anangu teachers is through pairing teachers with AEWs. The AEW role is not clearly defined in terms of a set of required technical skills, but is more broadly understood as supporting teachers by providing a “detailed knowledge concerning students’ cultural background and advice concerning student welfare” (Indulkana School Context Report, 2005).

In some schools, the Review Team observed teachers and AEWs working productively together to manage classrooms, teach Anangu domain, plan lessons and school events and convey classroom activities and assignments. The effectiveness of these pairings seemed to be based on the strength of the relationship between the teacher and the AEW. In most cases, teachers and AEWs spoke highly of one another, and the Review heard of a number of successful strategies for building the co-teaching relationship. For example, one teacher invited her classroom AEW over for tea; and then received a reciprocal invitation, establishing a relaxed form of relating that is vital for good collegial exchange. Investment in the AEW-teacher relationship outside of school hours was invariably beneficial to working relationships inside the classroom.
However, there is a difference between stating that “diversity is our greatest strength” (as many schools did in their self-review documents) and actually ensuring daily practices and the overall workplace culture enable (cultural and other) differences to be productively negotiated. Indeed, the Review Team found that the extent to which all of the factors necessary to successfully engage and employ Anangu actually combined and coalesced at the individual site level to vary considerably. Thus, in some cases it seemed that ‘valuing difference and diversity as a strength’ was simply lip service being paid to well-intentioned rhetoric.

For example, it was clearly apparent that the non-Anangu staff at some schools formed a great team, often indicated by comments and jokes shared at lunchtime in the staff room. But the same indicators of camaraderie simultaneously revealed that the non-Anangu school staff’s sense of shared experience was based on a mutual dissatisfaction with the Anangu school staff, the Anangu kids and their families. In such cases, the sense of ‘unity’ exists at the expense – rather than on the basis of – Anangu engagement. In other schools, however, the opposite appeared to be the case. In one school in particular, non-Anangu staff saw themselves very much as working in partnership with their Anangu co-workers.

Non-Anangu classroom teachers’ reliance on the language and cultural skills of AEWs was everywhere apparent, and one secondary teacher was clear that his ability to teach newly initiated male students depended entirely on the presence of the AEW:

> I have a problem teaching the lads. When they come back from initiation they want to challenge my manhood. So they ask, ‘Are you a man?’ The only way I can get them to pay attention is to have an AEW, an older, stronger man, come in every day for an hour. Only when he’s there can I get past the first two AL steps.

But non-Anangu classroom teachers have perhaps become overly reliant on AEWs to support classroom instruction. As one non-Indigenous principal noted:

> I keep coming up with the statement when people come in, I say ‘this school doesn’t work without strong teams in every class’ and I know that because the times where all of our AEWs are here doing training, I’m basically drawing containment lines around the classroom and trying to hold them [the students] inside the doors.

Indeed, the Review witnessed AnTEP training sessions in the APY Lands that were poorly attended because AEWs were sorely needed in classrooms. The responsibilities of the AEW appeared to be almost entirely to translate teacher instructions into Pitjantjatjara and manage classroom behaviour. The Review Team rarely witnessed AEWs planning or teaching lessons in mainstream curricula; although we were frequently assured that this happens to be best of current ability.

Another unintended consequence of pairing without a clear charter of expectation is the diminution of English oracy, literacy and numeracy skills among the AEWs. As non-Indigenous teachers depend more and more on AEWs for translational work and ‘crowd control’, the time available for AEWs to further develop their own academic and professional leadership skills can be threatened. Particularly when written work is being generated, it is often the case that the non-Indigenous team member holds the pen or operates the keyboard, inadvertently minimising opportunities for refinement of literacy and numeracy skills among AEWs. This has multiple implications; including creating barriers for further tertiary training among AEWs and for succession planning to build a new cadre of future Anangu education leaders.

Some AEWs and Anangu Coordinators stand accused of not demonstrating sufficient community leadership, with the feeling being that they do not turn up to school every day, on time, with a demonstrable commitment to schooling above all priorities as role models for students and parents alike.

While allowance has been made by DECS in leave arrangements to make provision for cultural events, funeral organisation and attendance, sick and carer leave, the issues of non-attendance were less to do with these legitimate causes and more to do with an inconsistent ethic toward work itself. Some teachers complained of AEWs who “spend the whole class time on the internet and don’t help” and “don’t show up
because of football or whatever.” It is important to note that these concerns were whispered to the Review by Anangu and non-Anangu contributors alike.

There was also evidence of teacher-AEW relationships that were not so strong, either because the complementary roles and responsibilities were not clearly defined, or else not fully lived up to. Anangu complain that, from their perspective, the investment goes one way:

*AEWs teach white teachers more than the white teachers teach them – then the teachers leave after three years taking that knowledge with them. On the other hand, the AEWs are here for long haul, so what should the AEWs be doing?*

As is, even the most functional teacher-AEW relationship is built around damage control and crowd control. With better resourcing, training and infrastructure, AEWs and teachers should be able to establish a mutual mentoring relationship through which AEWs would be supported to maintain and develop their academic skills and to take over more and more curricula delivery in the classroom. At the same time, teachers should become more knowledgeable of Pitjantjatjara and take more responsibility for classroom management and monitoring of bullying.

A post-secondary training facility on the APY Lands could provide the instruction and mentoring framework to support the further learning of AEWs and teachers (see concluding recommendations, Training Chapter). Combined classes focusing on behaviour management, Pitjantjatjara and literacy instruction, for example, would help AEWs and teachers work together better to share the responsibility of maintaining classroom behaviour and delivering instruction.

**Recommendation 1.25**  
That the teacher-AEW relationship be defined of as one of mutual mentoring where teachers and AEWs learn with and from one another. Teacher-AEW pairings should be made with this mentoring relationship in mind, where experienced teachers are paired with newer AEWs and experienced AEWs are paired with new teachers, for example.

**Recommendation 1.26**  
That the AEW role be clarified and supported to include the planning and delivery of classroom curriculum. The curriculum delivered should not just be Anangu Domain, but also literacy, numeracy and other core academic content.

**Recommendation 1.27**  
That AEWs and teachers learn together and build their co-mentoring relationship. Courses immediately needed include Pitjantjatjara language and culture, classroom behaviour management and literacy and numeracy instruction.

**Enrolment and Attendance**

While student attendance is certainly essential for students to learn, attendance has become ‘the’ measure of school success, privileged over attention to quality delivery and assessment of academic content. In essence, attendance remains a measure of students’ presence in classrooms and not the quality or degree of their learning or time on task.

The attendance-learning equation is not uni-, but bi-directional. And while stricter policies may improve student attendance, just as important is the school’s capacity to deliver a rigorous and standardised curriculum that will enable students to pursue further education and training. Indeed, the intermittent attendance of many Indigenous children across remote Australia threatens to steal attention from a more substantive issue: for the range of reasons outlined in this report and elsewhere, the education they are getting is not sufficiently intense and not of the sustained high quality needed to get already
educationally disadvantaged students over the line. At the same time, given enrolment and attendance are necessary for formal school-based learning to occur at all, these issues are discussed below.

In 2007 the nine APY Land schools served a total of 561 students. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2006)⁴ the number of school eligible students (4 -18 years of age) on the APY Lands in 2006 was 632, suggesting a portion of school aged students in the APY Lands are not enrolled in school. Of the 561 students enrolled in school in 2007, 183 were secondary students (enrolled in grades 8 to 12). In 2006 the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census recorded 266 secondary aged students (13-18 years of age) living on the APY Lands in 2006. This suggests there are likely to be about 80 secondary students who are not enrolled in secondary school on the APY Lands. Students do attend secondary schools off the APY Lands, however, most commonly at Centralian College in Alice Springs, with boarding at Yirara, at the Wiltja urban secondary annexe at Woodville High School in Adelaide, or at Port Augusta Secondary School.

Taking Wiltja and Yirara’s current secondary enrolment of Anangu students of 51 and 12 respectively, it appears there may be as few as 10 (3%) secondary aged students who are not enrolled in school. This number seems fairly low given the widespread concern the Review Team witnessed about secondary aged students not coming to school. The Review Team suspects this finding reflects that most students on the APY Lands are reported as enrolled in school, even if they rarely or only intermittently attend. As one former teacher noted of their time on the APY Lands, “I had 35 [secondary] kids on my roll, or rather, I had books for 35 kids and I never had more than 12 or 13 kids in the classroom.”

Table 3 - Total and Remote Indigenous Attendance Rate for South Australian⁵, Northern Territory⁶ and West Australian Schools, 2005-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Territory</th>
<th>2005 Attendance Rate</th>
<th>2006 Attendance Rate</th>
<th>2007 Attendance Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Australia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APY Lands</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
<td>75.4%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>91.2%</td>
<td>91.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northern Territory</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Indigenous</td>
<td>NA⁷</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Australia</strong>⁸</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous⁹</td>
<td>81% primary</td>
<td>81% primary</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70% secondary</td>
<td>68% secondary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Indigenous</td>
<td>94% primary</td>
<td>93% primary</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91% secondary</td>
<td>90% secondary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Data received from DECS, 1 May 2007
b. Data obtained from NT DEET website. Territory attendance calculated as weighted total across indigenous status and geographical region.
c. Not available
e. All indigenous students in WA. Data not reported geographically.

† Data available for download on the ABS website: http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/home/Census%20data
The apparent retention of full-time students supports the above teacher’s account of what is happening with student participation in education, particularly secondary education, on the APY Lands. In 2007 the apparent retention of full-time students from Year 8 to Year 12 was 47.4%. This means less than half of the students who commence Year 8 continue on to Year 12 on the APY Lands. Thus, it would seem that many APY Lands students are likely to be leaving school, when permitted, at the age of 16 (Department of Education and Children’s Services Youth Engagement Team, 2008), while a small handful of others (five students at Wiltja in 2007, for example) complete their secondary education off the APY Lands.

Nonetheless, it is important to note post-compulsory school retention (from Year 8 to 12) has improved over time in South Australia, from 66.9% in 1997 to 72.7% in 2007 (ABS, 2007). Also, the APY Lands Indigenous retention rate is slightly better than the national figure for Indigenous students in 2007 (42.9% nationally vs. 47.4% APY Lands), which is no mean feat for a remote area education sector pitted against metropolitan and provincial schooling averages (ABS, 2007).

Attendance is a problem at every level of education, not just secondary classes. In Term 2 2007, APY Lands students attended school approximately 72% of the time. This attendance rate for APY Lands students has changed little over time, and is comparable to (and in some cases an improvement on) the attendance rates of remote Indigenous schools in the Northern Territory and Western Australia (see Table 3).

The Review heard that schools in the APY Lands had successfully bolstered student enrolment and attendance by implementing such initiatives as the “no school, no pool” policy; offering breakfast programs; picking students up for school from their homes; placing secondary classrooms outside the school boundary; and actively working with community elders and respected male AEWs to get young men back to school after initiation. These are no mean feats and compared with like schools in other jurisdictions, the APY Lands are punching above their weight when it comes to a coherent focus on enrolment and attendance.

**Recommendation 1.28**
That current efforts to highlight the importance of attendance and to attract students to school be continued and strengthened, and immediate work undertaken to provide advice to parents on:
- The impact of non-attendance on the children’s educational development
- The expectations of parents in encouraging and mandating attendance and the processes to be followed if, for exceptional reasons, children cannot attend school.

**Recommendation 1.29**
That student attendance and persistence be privileged over student enrolment to more accurately assess Anangu participation in education on and off the APY Lands.

**Recommendation 1.30**
In line with the DECS School Self Review process, regular appraisals of progress be undertaken by the schools with attendance counted as only one measure of success along with more meaningful measures of the student progress (e.g., AL assessment results).

**Current Capacity to Deliver Secondary Education on the APY Lands**

The Review Team heard that getting secondary aged students to school is ‘only half the battle’, and that schools do not have adequate teaching staff to teach secondary students. Teachers claimed this was not so much because the schools are given less than the system-wide recommendations for staff-student ratios, but due to the specificity and difficult nature of teaching Anangu secondary students in remote Indigenous contexts.

Firstly, teachers and principals argued that as Anangu students age it becomes increasingly problematic for older (initiated) male students to be taught alongside younger (uninitiated) male students; thus, secondary instruction needs to be split between junior and senior levels. However, as students age it
also becomes inappropriate for males and females to share classrooms and to be taught by opposite
gender teachers. Only larger schools were able to divide their senior secondary classrooms into male
and female and provide same gender teachers. Meanwhile, schools with lower enrolments and therefore
fewer numbers of teachers were unable to divide their classes in this way, and this became the basis of
justifications for the low rates of enrolment and/or attendance for older secondary students, particularly
males. Yet the Review Team also observed schools operating successfully with only one co-educational
Senior Secondary class. As one contributor observed, “It’s really hard to know how much any of this is
Anangu culture dependent or just young men whose attitude to women is never challenged. The same
principle applies to intimidatory sex demands on girls. Is it cultural or just whites seeing things
selectively?”

A second limitation to the APY Lands schools’ capacity to deliver a broad range of quality secondary
instruction is the fact that students have access only to a very limited number of teachers. Whereas in
mainstream urban secondary schools, students would be offered a smorgasbord of subjects delivered by
teachers with specialised content knowledge, most students on the APY Lands are taught for the entire
year by just one teacher, and (as with Vocational Education and Training [VET] and Tertiary and Further
Education [TAFE] offerings), the opportunities available to them are constrained by that one teacher’s
interests, skills and abilities. Even when that one teacher’s personality, skill range and interests do
articulate well with at least some of the students’, the high teacher turnover rates mean that students will
not necessarily have continued access to that teacher/program over a period of years. The research on
the impact of intermittent instruction on disadvantaged learners is salutary in this context. Students learn
to distrust a teacher who comes in with high expectations and energy, as they know they are likely to be
let down. Instead, they bide their time, or attempt to ‘spook’ the newcomer, testing to find the limits of the
new teacher’s forbearance.

Probably most telling of the APY Land schools’ struggles to deliver secondary education, however, is the
schools’ hard-fought efforts to encourage students to attend Wiltja or Yirara. One school principal,
realising the school’s limited capacity to deliver secondary education said:

*I try to encourage parents to send their kids to Wiltja. We don’t have the capacity to teach a full
secondary curriculum here. Good students won’t go as far as they could at a school with more
resources.*

Yet sending students far away to a boarding school in Alice Springs or Adelaide is not the best or
preferred option for at least some parents and students on the APY Lands. After one year at Wiltja, one
family found their children were getting “too cheeky” and therefore decided to keep them at home and
school them on the APY Lands for a term or so (with seemingly little sense of what such chopping and
changing might entail in terms of academic deskilling). For many other students and families,
homesickness was a major issue impacting on students’ focus on learning when attempting to study
away from home. However, what is glossed as ‘homesickness’ may mean more than simply missing
family and place, but a more intensive longing for all that is familiar and meaningful. In the words of one
principal:

*I think mentally, you know we would never probably do this openly, but probably mentally if we
are smart we do a little test which would probably be a 0 – 10 scaling of their level of assimilation
… Most of our kids can’t even cope with Wiltja, which is our school, just for Lands’ kids … Unless
there is a fair level of assimilation already kids just don’t cope …*

Thus, for most APY Lands schools, the aim is to:

*… provide the very best we can here and encourage those kids that can succeed at the next step
up in terms of stretching their education …*

For those students who, for whatever reason, don’t “cope” with secondary education, even in a
scaffolded boarding facility away from the APY Lands, one way to enable more students broader access
to a wider range of teachers and subjects locally is to develop good inter-agency networks. This is a form
of service brokerage where the many visitors and agencies on the APY Lands can be harnessed into diverse offerings, and forms of specialist tuition, which the creative educator then sets about accrediting as legitimate education and training. As one non-Indigenous Principal said:

…I think the challenge for us remains to provide the very best local education that we can and that’s why I say inter-agency is our only way to provide diversity because I just don’t know what teacher I’ll get with what skills… and so it may be someone that is extremely practical that has no concept of teaching literacy or numeracy or it may be someone that is strong in primary school literacy, but has to take up a secondary position…

However, this cannot be loaded onto already stretched secondary teachers. As the APY Lands’ VETiS Project Officer points out:

Secondary teachers have enough stress on them. …I have got to be careful that all the stuff I am applying for, the multi-media, supporting the South Australian National Football League…the trips away, the community services, the work experience in the Child Care Centres, home maker centres, that it’s not the poor single secondary teacher, who has been teaching for a year and a term who has got kids from 14 year olds up to 20 year olds in their class with literacy probably ranging from Year 6 to zero, [that we don’t] say “okay, now do this, now do this, now do this” …

While it is not a new recommendation to suggest the allotment of teachers for APY Lands schools be calculated on a different model than simply numbers of students, the Review joins others in recommending that staff allocations be premised on a recognition of the high demands of teaching in remote Indigenous communities where the disabling effects of multiple disadvantage are widespread.

**Recommendation 1.31**
That school’s secondary staffing ratios be more generously calculated to enable Anangu students on the APY Lands access to at least two male and two female teachers, even in smaller schools, to assist with coordinating access to residential, out-sourced and virtual training and education modules.

**Recommendation 1.32**
That future resourcing models also calculate housing and support needs, teacher relief supplementation and associated expenses.

**Recommendation 1.33**
To immediately make current efforts to supply secondary education options on the APY Lands more robust, that all existing schools are equipped with standardised Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) and associated capacity for internet access to enable greater use of proven multi-media pedagogical tools targeting adolescent learners.

**Recommendation 1.34**
Current creative solutions aimed at providing more students broader access to a wider range of quality teachers and mainstream subjects, which can then be accredited as legitimate education and training, should be formalised by ensuring:

- That the extensive experience embodied in the numerous visitors and agencies on the APY Lands is harnessed to provide diverse offerings, and forms of specialist tuition (e.g., at a basic level, visiting researchers required to deliver a talk at the school about their work) and these efforts are organised around a scheduled program.
- ICT is used to enable specialist subject teachers to deliver classes remotely – this could also be networked to other schools providing students with opportunities to interact with a diverse range of students outside the APY Lands.
- Distance education providers (such as the Open Education Centre) are engaged to provide correspondence delivery of specialist units on an official and formal basis.
SACE and SACE Completion

According to the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia (SSABSA), the South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE) is premised on flexibility and quality. Thus, SSABSA’s Flexible Learning Programs enable recognition of a wide variety of learning activities. At the same time, SSABSA endeavours to ensure quality through prescriptive assessment policies and moderation. Similarly, the future SACE will allow for a level of flexibility that maintains responsiveness to community needs by enabling recognition of the learning that takes place both in and out of school.

On the APY Lands, many schools have taken advantage of SACE’s flexibility in order to recognise students’ contributions to community and/or cultural activities as valid learning experiences. For example, a Language Intensive SACE unit in Pitjantjatjara was developed in 2007 and other context specific subjects such as Ernabella Dance have been approved as units within the Integrated Learning subject. However, secondary teachers on the APY Lands are often not secondary trained, and are therefore unfamiliar with SSABSA and secondary curriculum accreditation requirements. This, together with the high turnover of staff, means training needs are constant.

To address this, SSABSA provides an Assessment Field Officer (AFO) who works collaboratively with AES, teachers and schools on the APY Lands to support teachers in the assessment of SSABSA’s curriculum statements and provide advice on assessment plans, ESL eligibility and which students to nominate for the South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE) units. The AFO visits the APY Lands at least four times per year to support teachers. Meanwhile, some principals on the APY Lands have volunteered to play the role of SACE Coordinator to help ensure continuity.

While SACE can be seen as an advantage for teachers and students on the APY Lands in terms of enabling a larger number of Anangu students to complete the SACE (which is not to be confused with a Tertiary Entrance Rank), with such flexibility comes the inherent risks that standards will be lowered and that teachers will spend valuable time manipulating learning outcomes to ‘fit’ the curriculum framework. If something that can be made feasible on the APY Lands can also be made to fit within the parameters and objectives of the SACE framework, then every effort on the part of support personnel in Adelaide and those on the APY Lands is made to support the initiative.

To some outside observers, this flexible model results in curriculum offerings that bear little resemblance to the classical education trajectory they expect to see, and there is suspicion that the offerings are of a lesser standard than those leading to a mainstream Year 12 qualification. And yet, even with the level of flexibility currently offered by the SACE curriculum, and regardless of teachers’, SSABSA staff and others’ impressive acrobatic work to create locally achievable unit offerings, many students from the APY Lands still fail to achieve what some purport to be a watered-down version of SACE. In the last 3 years only one student has completed the SACE certificate on the APY Lands. In 2007 Wiltja graduated five Anangu students.

Like so many issues canvassed in this Review, the reality combines elements of all these confounders. It is imperative that a greater number of students are able to achieve a full Year 12 qualification and for this to be enabled on and off communities. And, as told to the Mullighan Inquiry by DECS, “until 1999, no [APY lands] secondary student had graduated with a SA Certificate of Education (SACE). By the end of 2007, more than 30 students had achieved their SACE” (Mullighan, 2008, p.196). Thus, the combined efforts of APY Lands schools, SSABSA, AES and the PYEC to offer SACE accreditation for subjects that have appeal to the students must be acknowledged as the extraordinary breakthrough it is. Tellingly, the pioneering efforts of the APY Lands have since been adapted in remote Northern Territory schools as a model for enabling remote area students to reach Year 12 without having to leave their home country.

At the same time, however, DECS, SSABSA, AES and the PYEC must ensure these progressions are based on real academic gains rather than (albeit well intentioned) forms of educational boosterism. Children who know how to read at advanced levels with comprehension and compute arithmetically (to
at least a Year 10 average) do not lose their skills at graduation. Real gains are able to be carried forward. Increasing SACE graduation figures must not become an end in itself.

**Recommendation 1.35**
That the implementation of the new SACE on the APY Lands should be carefully monitored, to ensure new flexibilities are not manipulated to award qualifications when the students have attained few transferrable skills or have not progressed academically.

**The Wiltja Academic and Residential Program in Adelaide**

In addition to schools on the APY Lands, APY Lands students often attend boarding schools in Alice Springs or Adelaide for their secondary education. While a select few attend schools such as St Philip’s College in Alice Springs and Immanuel College in Adelaide, such students are, in the main, from the more powerful, affluent and well-educated Anangu families. A slighter larger but highly variable number of APY Lands students (averaging around 15) attend Yirara College in Alice Springs, which offers specialist education for Aboriginal students from Central Australian communities. The Review did visit St Philip’s College and Yirara in Alice Springs as well as the Wiltja Program in Adelaide; however, the main focus of this section is on Wiltja, as by far the majority of APY Lands students who continue their post primary education off the APY Lands attend this academic and residential education service specifically for Anangu. Any reference to St. Philip’s College or Yirara is therefore made simply for comparative purposes.

The Wiltja Program is comprised of two parts: a Residential Program and an Academic Program. While the Wiltja Residential Program is generally responsible for providing a safe and supportive residential facility, and the Wiltja Academic Program provides students with links into mainstream schooling at Woodville High School, the two programs work closely together, with both responsible for the overall case management of the students. Daily faxes are sent between the two sections - academic and residential - highlighting any particular issue with individual students and regular meetings are held with both groups of Wiltja staff. The Wiltja Residential Program also provides a range of recreational and learning programs designed to complement the students’ academic program. The Wiltja Residential Program can accommodate up to 55-60 Anangu students at any one time, though not all students are necessarily from the APY Lands, as places are open to all Anangu from isolated and remote communities across the Tri-State Western Desert Region of NT, WA and SA. Additionally, some APY Lands students may attend the Wiltja Academic Program whilst living in Adelaide with family or under a home-stay arrangement.

As reported in the recently released *Children on the APY Lands Commission of Inquiry Report* (2008), ‘the Wiltja program is able to provide a much greater breadth and depth of secondary education than is available on the APY Lands’ (p.194). Whereas secondary school numbers may range from as few as 3 to only 20 on the APY Lands, the larger number of students at Wiltja and Woodville High School ensures students’ access to a larger pool of teachers with, presumably, a more diverse range of specialist skills. That five (out of five) Year 12 Wiltja students graduated with their SACE in 2007, each being the first member of their family to complete Year 12 (*Dare To Lead*, 2008b) is indicative of the commendable and pioneering efforts of the Wiltja Program, and these have been recognised nationally. For instance, Wiltja was a High Achievement Award Winner in the 2007 *Dare To Lead Excellence In Indigenous Education Awards* (*Dare To Lead*, 2008a). However, the high expectations of community and other stakeholders of the Wiltja Program as an exemplar institution create unique pressures for the Wiltja Academic and Residential Program.

The Review heard that limited opportunity for a broad spectrum of secondary education offerings on the APY Lands together with concerns about quality are key drivers for parents who actively choose to send their children to Wiltja. Yet the Wiltja Program is not immune to the multitude of pressures faced by schools on the APY Lands. Indeed, many of the challenges confronting Wiltja in its endeavour to provide a quality mainstream education for Anangu are the same as those faced by schools on the APY Lands, and these often tend to deflect resources and attention away from the main game of academic
credentialing. For instance, while attendance is not as significant an issue for Wiltja students during term time as it is for APY Lands' students (since Wiltja students are transported to and from the Wiltja boarding facilities to Woodville High School by bus), Wiltja students may still opt to return home during term time to fulfill community and cultural responsibilities (e.g., attendance at funerals), and such eventualities might keep students away from school for a period of several weeks. Meanwhile, homesickness was frequently cited as a major problem for continued attendance of Wiltja students (as it was also at Yirara); with many students often electing not to return after term break. Wiltja staff and others also expressed concern about the impact of the deteriorating socio-economic situation on the APY Lands, and the narrowing options for further training and employment for students returning to their communities. Similarly, low literacy levels were reported to be the single biggest challenge for teachers in the Wiltja Academic Program. To cite Wiltja Academic's Acting Principal Ashley Dorr, here speaking at the 2007 *Dare to Lead Convention*: ‘They don't all come down ready to rip through Year 8 - on the contrary, most are several years behind their mainstream equivalents’ (Dare To Lead, 2008b).

To mitigate the fact that most APY students are allegedly behind the eight ball from the start, students new to the Wiltja Program commence schooling in a bridging class called 8W. This was described to the Review as a both a ‘safety’ class and a way of getting the students used to the language and culture of a city high school. Students in 8W are also assessed for their academic knowledge, and this is used for future ‘streaming’ of classes. As described to the Review Team, once students have completed the bridging class (over anything from a three to a twenty-four month period), the academic pathway is structured to integrate students into mainstream Woodville High School classes during years 8, 9 and 10. During each of these years, Wiltja students undertake four subjects at Woodville High School (ESL, Maths, Science, and one elective). While there are some exceptions to this pathway, they are rare, and, in the majority of cases, a Wiltja teacher accompanies students attending Woodville classes. The Review was told that this support is provided to mitigate students' perceived lack of ability to cope with the language and/or content of mainstream classes. However, one contributor also suggested that the extra support was provided to alleviate Woodville teachers' difficulties in managing Wiltja students in their class. Certainly it was unclear to the Review Team from site visits and document review what evidence is drawn on to ensure that the different subject lines and habit of accompanying the students is to their integration and academic advantage.

Once Wiltja students reach Years 11 and 12, all lessons are conducted by the Wiltja teachers who staff the Wiltja annexe of Woodville High School. This is not mandatory but, according to staff, Wiltja students cannot cope with being independent learners in mainstream Stage 1 SACE classes; and at any rate, there are insufficient Wiltja staff members to support and accompany Wiltja students to the full suite of ‘mainstream’ Year 11 and 12 classes. And while the Review heard that Wiltja students have been known to take ‘mainstream’ ESL classes at Woodville High School during Years 11 and 12, in the instances described to us, this was mostly driven by student demand rather than academic ability. Teachers suspected the requests were primarily on the basis of relationships formed between Wiltja students and other ESL students.

Yet it remained unclear to the Review Team why Wiltja students were, in the main, treated differently, even from other ESL students (of whom there are many at Woodville). It may well be that other ESL students come from a literate background and are therefore, despite their ethnicity, more familiar with western models of schooling and institutional expectations than Anangu students, which would be a form of deductive reasoning, but the rationale or evidence base for this – assuming such evidence exists - was not made explicit to the Review. Moreover, this example of ESL is only indicative of the differential instruction Wiltja students might receive. Again, for the same reasons as those featured elsewhere, there is more a focus on community studies and VETiS programs (such as Doorways to Construction) for Year 11 and 12 Wiltja students than on the mainstream or core academic subjects that are preparatory sequences for tertiary studies. Such programs are clearly valuable as part of a broader curriculum and theoretically articulate to the needs of and opportunities on APY Land communities, but again, it seems that in doing what is practical to do, other boundaries are established for Anangu.

Thus it would seem that, what started out as a clear determination to take the most academically gifted and able students from the APY Lands and support them in a culturally secure environment that
nonetheless delivered to mainstream standards within a mainstream school, is now more complexly applied. This was in evidence to the Review first and foremost in the selection process of Wiltja students. While there was no clear consensus or consistent application of selection criteria for admission, questions put by the Review relating to how the students came to be at Wiltja elicited a variety of responses. These included nomination by family, community or school; students’ suspected ability to cope with being away from home and in a boarding facility; students’ ability to engage at a social and academic level; the need to remove at risk children from their communities; “because their brothers and sisters are here”; and because of good attendance records at schools on the APY Lands. Indeed, Acting Principal Ashley Dorr, speaking at the 2007 Dare To Lead convention, specifically notes that: ‘We are not out there with an assessment scheme cherry-picking the best and brightest. We look for kids who are interested in having a go’ (Dare To Lead Website, 2008b). In addition, Wiltja is not routinely provided with student achievement records (an issue identified as an area for improvement by Wiltja staff in their self review process).

While the Review makes no judgment on the privileging of other (equally worthy) selection criteria over academic aptitude, both the intended and unintended effects of this privileging must be unpacked and addressed. For instance, the lower levels of literacy and numeracy of Wiltja intakes leads to a greater need for remediation in the endeavour to reach mainstream benchmarks than a different ordering of selection criteria might otherwise achieve. Wiltja does implement a number of programs (such as Accelerated Literacy) and strategies (such as a bridging course on entry) to address this, with anecdotal evidence and assessment data suggesting that these interventions are impacting positively on students’ overall achievement levels. However, the possibility that a de-emphasis on students’ prior academic success may unintentionally serve to dilute Wiltja teachers’ expectations of Anangu students’ capacity and potential for high order academic success – and hence the students’ own ideas of themselves and their ability to perform academically – is not addressed. If it is the predominant opinion of the teachers that the majority of the Anangu students will not be eligible for university courses anywhere in Australia and are not capable of passing mainstream SACE units without intense assistance, then the students will not only accept the limitations placed on them but will perform to them. The Wiltja students’ responses to the Review’s questionnaire (“I like [school] because it is good, nothing is hard”; “[At school] nothing is hard but sometimes it’s easy”; and “I learnt more at primary school”) would seem to support this.

The Review’s overall impression of Wiltja’s Academic Program is that, despite some shared governance arrangements between Wiltja and Woodville (Principal and Deputy are members of Woodville High School Executive), integration and interaction between Wiltja and Woodville students is limited and the integration of Wiltja and Woodville High School programs also has restrictions. To test our impressions, it would be an interesting exercise to explore the experiences of Woodville High students themselves: young people tend to know about cliques and alliances in greater detail than adult observers and it could be there is far more integration in the school yard than the Review Team were able to witness in all-too-brief visits. But the segregation is also reflected in the spatial relationship between the Wiltja Academic Program and Woodville High School; despite their physical co-location, the Wiltja annexe enjoys a separate reception area to that of Woodville High, presumably for ease of administration for Woodville and Wiltja staff and students alike. The scaffolding of students and acceleration of their learning through a co-location model can only succeed if the school to which Wiltja is annexed has the ability and resources to provide the necessary support. This should be a high-performing school with an exemplary academic record, not one itself struggling with the challenges of diverse student population with a high proportion of ESL students, such as Woodville.

Indeed, the combined effect of Wiltja’s pathways and practices (which are not mandated but have nonetheless become standard procedure) seems not to remediate initial academic disparities, as intended, but instead to reify racialised differences. In part, this helps explain the frustrated and angry parents the Review encountered on the APY Lands, parents who had consciously sacrificed spending time with their children during their adolescent years for the sake of sending them to Wiltja. Hoping that their children would receive a quality mainstream secondary education at Wiltja, and be imbued with the skills to acquire further credentials and professional careers, these parents were sorely disappointed and let their views be known to the Review. This is not to negate, however, the very real educational
challenges facing the majority of students in the Wiltja Program and the well-intentioned desire among teachers and pastoral care staff not to set students up to fail. As one teacher put it, "we want them to see success" – though, currently, this means lowering the bar.

But the lowering of standards and expectations in response to students’ literacy levels and anticipated future opportunities is not the only challenge the Wiltja Program staff and students must surmount. The Review notes also that, in response to the recommendations listed in the Mullighan Report (2008) the Australian Government has vowed it will immediately commit more than $19 million as part of a new partnership with the Government of South Australia to address issues related to child sexual abuse on the APY Lands. While the majority of these funds will be used to station more police as a resident presence on the APY Lands, $2.8 million has been allocated for 30 additional places for secondary students in the APY Lands to attend the Wiltja Program in Adelaide, and personnel at AES and Wiltja in Adelaide are already busily attending to these new funds. However, the Review is conscious that, in many ways, the committal of a further 30 places for the Wiltja Residential Program is as much an acknowledgment that, for some young people, Wiltja may be the safest place for them to be, as it is a reflection of the quality of education provided by Wiltja (see, for example, Mullighan Report, p.147). Indeed, the report specifically notes that ‘children who attend school are in safe care; by not attending, they are at risk of being in abusive situations’ (p.192), in which case, what could be safer than full-time residential care?

Certainly, providing safe places for children and young people at risk or suspected of abuse is essential, and to the extent that the Wiltja Program is able to provide this for APY Lands students at the same time as ensuring their academic advancement, the Review is supportive. As is, selection for the Wiltja Program is already based in part on assessment of a student’s likelihood of exposure to past or future neglect or abuse, and not necessarily academic competency. Anecdotally the Review heard that there is an upwards trend in the number of at risk students being steered toward Wiltja by concerned school staff. Meanwhile, existing Wiltja staff members appear skilled or at least practiced in the support of at-risk children, and demonstrate strong working relationships with a host of referral services in the greater Adelaide district. Wiltja staff are also trained to deal with behavioural and psychological problems and bullying is dealt with via a ‘zero-tolerance’ policy (see also Psycho-social Health and Adolescence Chapter).

Indeed, one of Wiltja’s clear strengths is the collaborative relationship between the education and residential programs in dealing with these issues professionally, using case management techniques and expert assessment and diagnosis procedures. Overall there is a consensus that students at Wiltja benefit from the safe environment provided there and the isolation from the myriad pressures and responsibilities (social and cultural), as well as from the potential for neglect and abuse they face in their home communities.

The Review is concerned, however, that Wiltja Program staff are not necessarily resourced to handle large numbers of students traumatised by past and continuing abuse. As the Acting Principal of the Wiltja Academic Program, Ashley Dorr says of the selection process for Wiltja: ‘We take on some kids who are extremely challenging, but we monitor how many we have at any given time’ (Dare To Lead, 2008b). The inadequate resourcing of staff to deal with such pressures from a large number of students was also indicated by a Wiltja informant to the Mullighan Inquiry who told of her response to a telephone call from a refuge in Adelaide requesting that seven girls (NB not from the APY Lands) supposedly under welfare protection and alleged victims of child sexual abuse be placed at Wiltja: ‘I said, “Well, look, we are not in a position to do this. We don’t have trained personnel in that regard. If they were going to be here, we would need support and all of the rest of it”’ (Mullighan, 2008, p.147).

The key point here is that Wiltja is set up and purports itself to be first and foremost a program of advanced academic attainment for Anangu students. To the extent that Wiltja’s students require therapy, counselling and other forms of support to ensure the overall health and wellbeing of their students, as well as their continued academic development, then Wiltja Program staff should be resourced to provide this. But we find ourselves in dangerous territory when Wiltja comes to be viewed primarily as a refuge or shelter for Anangu; without additional thought given to how this might impact on their ability to...
simultaneously maintain high academic expectations. All these ambitions can be met: how and with what means needs to be attended to, lest Wiltja staff be inadvertently set up to fail and then blamed anew for what they cannot deliver.

Wiltja staff also identified a need for pathways support for the students. There is no-one fulfilling this role at present (although informal counselling and advice does occur). There were also recurring comments regarding the lack of familiar scaffolding for students if they did choose to continue on to University or TAFE in Adelaide. Having spent their secondary school years in a highly supported environment, they are then expected to fend for themselves. Thus there was a perceived lack of guidance, pathways and support for students who may not wish to return to the APY Lands but are not yet ready to confront tertiary or adult vocational education environments without ongoing scaffolding. Staff talked of the need to have “years 13 and beyond” incorporated within the Wiltja model, to enable ongoing assistance to be provided to Wiltja graduates as they take up post secondary adult learning and training opportunities.

Recognising this need Wiltja ran a pilot program, to be repeated this year, during which six senior students attended a three day program run by Indigenous Youth Mobility Program (IYMP). The IYMP is discussed further in the Training chapter.

**Recommendation 1.36**
In light of new pressures following the Mullighan Inquiry, and in view of current practices at Wiltja, that the mission and purpose of the Wiltja program is immediately reviewed, and Wiltja’s overarching mission exquisitely articulated and acted on. In particular, it is vital that this new mission and purpose explicitly recognises Wiltja’s two fundamental objectives: namely, to ensure a safe and nurturing environment for those many students who may have come from abusive or neglectful home environments, or who are at risk of such; and to provide education of the highest quality to ensure even those most at risk the best chance of academic success.

**Recommendation 1.37**
That this newly articulated mission for Wiltja (including the co-related roles of Wiltja as both a safe house and an institution of academic excellence) is explicitly communicated to parents, students and communities, to avoid misguided understandings and to enable the exercise of informed parent and student choice.

**Recommendation 1.38**
That the resourcing and location of Wiltja is immediately reviewed by DECS in order to ensure the program can satisfactorily meet its two co-related and fundamental objectives. In particular, it is strongly recommended that consideration be given to the re-location of Wiltja alongside a high-performing, well-resourced secondary school in an affluent area of Adelaide, rather than alongside Woodville which has enough on its plate trying to raise non-Wiltja students to mainstream standards. Co-location of Wiltja alongside a high-performing institution will ensure Wiltja students genuine access to the highest quality instruction and resources that best practice ‘mainstream’ public and/or private schooling sector has to offer.

**Recommendation 1.39**
In the meantime, a critical examination of current practices must occur to ensure the expectations of Wiltja students’ participation and achievement are in line with the general student population. The default aim should be for students to achieve a TER or the equivalent language and academic skills to enable direct entry to post-secondary VET courses or the workforce. Specific practices to be reviewed to include:

- Support mechanisms for Wiltja students in Woodville classes (with training provided to Woodville staff where necessary)
- The automatic ‘return’ of Wiltja students to Wiltja for years 11 and 12
- The pros and cons of physical segregation of Wiltja annex.
Recommendation 1.40
To ensure the expansion of Wiltja does not dilute the intensive and exemplary pastoral care currently provided by Wiltja residential and academic staff:
- Formal referral services and networks with appropriate health services need to be established to support Wiltja staff and students; and,
- Additional resources (i.e., increased staff numbers and support and training for existing staff) need to be allocated.

Recommendation 1.41
The program piloted with the IYMP should be adopted as part of a systematic pathways advice and careers counselling program. It cannot be assumed that the SACE or support mechanisms can provide this dedicated support.

Lowering of Educational Standards

Many contributors to the Review suspect that what is being delivered in secondary classrooms, both on the APY Lands and at the Wiltja annexe of Woodville High School in Adelaide, would not meet acceptable criteria for secondary education in mainstream schools. In part this is because most Anangu secondary students do not have the foundational literacy and numeracy skills required to fully engage a secondary curriculum; and essential habits of regular classroom attendance and assignment completion may be lacking. However, the Review also observed secondary classrooms in which students participated in educationally dubious activities for their year level (such as colouring in a Senior Secondary class).

It is true teachers learn quickly, as a matter of survival, not to expect too much from students or risk disappointment at not seeing improvement. Nonetheless, the temptation to expect less from students can and must be resisted. In part this can be accomplished through school leadership and even greater investment in, coaching of and support for Anangu and non-Anangu instructors. One non-Indigenous principal worried about teachers’ expectations:

...there are a few teachers that come up to a place like this... and say things like, ‘I want to see one person get through university and then I can retire’ or ‘if one person could become and AFL footballer then its all worth it.’ I just think it is ridiculous and I tell them that – you know, why is one person becoming an AFL footballer going to herald and mark our arrival at something?

Lowered expectations for secondary students seemed endemic across the APY Lands but it is not unique to APY Lands schools. Rather it reflects a nationwide and well-meaning inclination to want Indigenous students to feel successful. The danger is that educational practices and policies built around the desire to accommodate pre-defined ideas about cultural difference and remediate Indigenous students’ poor prior learning run the risk of cutting students off from any possibility of experiencing real success and transportable gains (i.e., knowing how to read and write to at least a mainstream Year 10 benchmark level).

This is not to say that students should not be met where they are at; indeed this degree of individual diagnosis and targeted instruction is precisely what is needed. As one senior Indigenous participant said:

Like what I tell teachers – you gotta remember that’s a person in front of you, an individual person ...

However, it is our view that expecting students to succeed and to work hard in school, no matter their current level, is what is currently missing in many APY Lands classrooms, schools and policies. Indeed, in response to the question ‘Do you like school?’ many of the Wiltja students replies were along the lines of ‘Yes, because it is easy’, thus suggesting they were not being challenged to work at their full potential. The Review Team is also concerned about the proposed “future SACE,” and how it may permit more Anangu students to graduate, but with fewer academic skills. While we certainly agree that education
should be better linked to training and work, and the new SACE is likely to effect that outcome, we would also recommend that implementation of the new SACE program be carefully monitored to ensure that important core learning (such as reading and maths, for example) is not de-prioritised or devalued. Thus, whenever more mainstream subjects (such as history, for example) are replaced with more vocationally-oriented offerings, the standards and expectations of academic accomplishment should remain the same. That is, the “alternative” should be in terms of the content of the material, subject focus and delivery style rather than in the standards, challenges and expectations of continuing development in literacy and numeracy.

DECS articulates a clear commitment to its schools having high expectations for their students, and this is evidenced by the inclusion of high expectations as a principle in the mandated Self Review process. While the Review Team applauds this commitment, we simultaneously encourage APY Lands schools and government administrators to think very seriously about what high expectations for their students actually looks like in practice and what soft and hard infrastructure needs to be in place to support it. There is no doubt that the difficulty of this thinking is amplified by the specificity of the APY Lands context. But this only serves to make consideration of questions such as ‘Do current practices and policies serve to undercut or uphold expectations for student success?’ and ‘Do high expectations exist at all levels of education?’ that much more important.

More practically, as outlined later in this Review, the Review Team recommends that PYEC decision-making be oriented toward selecting and implementing evidence-based educational programming, and that this derives from a large scale program of APY education research and development in the long term. The PYEC and local schools should additionally access external support and expertise by co-opting relevant academics and professionals; philanthropists; and industry members to contribute in advisory and resourcing capacities to fund and guide the work necessary to implement and test best practice solutions to the range of education challenges facing APY Land schools. As noted in our discussion of the PYEC, such outside links should be formalised into one-on-one coaching arrangements for Anangu and non-Anangu school leaders, to enable the energy required to drive high expectations schooling to be replenished through expert mentoring and regular access to strategically-useful help. These links should extend beyond the DECS and South Australian government network. Additionally, local school councils should open up their membership to draw on the expertise of concerned resident professionals. In the long term, a post-secondary education facility should be built on the APY Lands, offering teacher professional development as part of its regular course delivery (see Training Chapter).

Recommendation 1.42
That local school councils open up their membership to draw on the expertise of concerned resident professionals (scientists, medical staff, mining engineers, etc) well positioned to assist community members with raising expectations for Anangu education. This widened pool of contributors should be drawn on the basis of capacity to contribute resources, networks and ideas, regardless of whether or not these professionals have children enrolled at APY schools.

Recommendation 1.43
That DECS critically examine current practices to ensure they reflect an expectation that students are capable of participation and achievement to mainstream standards. All secondary programs delivered through AES should aim for all students to achieve the TER or equivalent language and academic skills for direct entry to post-secondary VET courses or the workforce.

Options for Secondary Delivery

In considering the optimum solutions for secondary (‘post-primary’) options for students on and off the APY Lands, the issues raised in the preceding discussion – such as attendance, quality, purpose and meaning – must be held in mind. That is, the solutions must be those which theory and experience suggest are the best to successfully improve attendance, engage young men and women, increase academic attainment and retention through to year 12, and create individualised learning pathways (that
do not become an excuse for lowering the graduation bar to Certificate I and II training outcomes). We would also re-emphasise that the critical issue to consider for secondary, above all else, is resourcing radical improvement efforts in primary and early childhood education to enable provision of an equal education in highly disadvantaged settings from the outset. And we would stress again that schools on their own do not work: they have to have a reason for being, that is expressed in a vision for total community renewal and assertion.

The options for creating viable remote area secondary programs and training pathways are well known. All forms are in evidence on the APY Lands to a greater or lesser degree. These include:

- Having trained secondary staff who broker face-to-face and virtual education modules and manage associated certification requirements, usually as an extension of an original primary school complex
- Using virtual and information communications technology and networks to access distance education options
- Linking vocational education and training to career pathways to enable students to assemble academic and vocational credentials (aligned with curriculum certification requirements)
- Attending secondary schools in larger urban centres, using private or supported accommodation
- Attending residential boarding facilities in larger centres.

All these options have advantages and limitations.

- Under current funding arrangements, it is difficult to have a critical mass of trained secondary teachers and associated support personnel to support a comprehensive secondary curriculum. Primary schools do not have the orientation to young adulthood that secondary and mixed-mode senior colleges offer; and struggle to respond to the psycho-social needs of adolescents whilst also maintaining a focus on their early childhood and primary foundations.
- Remote area ICT is notoriously vulnerable to broadband limitations and the inaccessibility of ‘help-desk’ support, maintenance and upgrade services. Too often, distance delivery is seen as a means of withholding residential resources, when in fact it remains highly dependent on having dedicated and enthusiastic deliverers who can support students available at both ends. To be of any use, the distance education modules have to be of even higher content quality and user-accessibility than conventional course material; leaving aside the need for hardware that operates at optimal levels all of the time.
- The option of attending secondary schools in larger settings is only available to families who can draw on a network of contacts to put this solution in place and, as with boarding schools, this can mean long stretches of time where parents are separated from their children.
- Finally, boarding school does not suit every child and family; and reliance on residential boarding facilities as a substitute for residential schooling can have a catch-22 effect on the quality and provision of secondary schooling in home regions, as the student numbers are not there to justify higher quality resident facilities.

There is no question that Anangu families, young people and leaders would prefer purpose-built secondary facilities to also be available on the APY Lands. SA DECS and other government respondents were more equivocal. Some felt that there is too much being wasted on the APY Lands as it is. Yet others were convinced that there if there is to be a future for young people on the APY Lands, all stops should be pulled out to provide high performing education services through to secondary. The Review Team did not have sufficient time to undertake comprehensive research on how secondary education has been offered for small, dispersed populations located in expensive-to-access and administer locations nationally and internationally. With this caveat in mind, we believe that serious consideration needs to be given to provision for secondary students on the APY Lands who choose not to go away for boarding school, and for whom, for whatever reason, the school in their community is
inappropriate or fails to provide an adequate secondary education. Certainly, given the risks and the expense, the scope and style of this residential capacity needs to be subject to exhaustive examination of the options available, taking in the best and worst features of remote area residential facilities and ensuring Anangu education and community leaders are not given air-brushed accounts of the benefits without close analysis of the risks, the lessons and the challenges of maintaining high quality outcomes in hard-to-staff regions.

For examples of the ‘good, the bad and the ugly’ in specialist and residential secondary models, models to be examined include the new Tiwi College at Pickertaramoor on Melville Island, which six months in, is on a very steep learning curve; the Western Cape College in Far North Queensland; the Australian School of Science and Mathematics at Flinders University in Adelaide, and Nyangatjatjara College campuses in Central Australia. International examples might include the University Preparatory Academy in Detroit. Without clarity about the mandate and charter of a new facility, and determination to staff it with expert personnel who are determined to design for advanced academic attainment around an Anangu cultural renaissance, there is every risk that a secondary facility will join the ranks of sub-par institutions on the APY Lands. On the other hand, it represents an opportunity for Anangu leaders and parents to become fully informed about the available options and to develop a considered menu of characteristics they would like in an APY Lands secondary school.

The South Australian Government has admirable experience in establishing educational facilities that represent the highest standards of innovation and excellence. The Australian School of Science and Mathematics, on the campus of Flinders University, is a case in point. As part of an endeavour to embody the new sciences which are at the heart of the new economy, it is linked to research and it has state of the art facilities that were themselves subject to exhaustive design work and consultation on best practice in 21st century pedagogy. APY schools could be differently shaped (for instance, around the applications of Indigenous knowledge in industry and innovation), but have no less a commitment to cutting edge design and innovation.

There are many issues that need to be deliberated. It may well be that a government facility is not the ideal solution but a third-model of private and not-for-profit involvement in an otherwise government-funded independent or ‘charter’ school is. It may also be the case that primary schools could have a middle school responsibility to Year 9; with the secondary college taking in Years 10 and above. We cannot be more prescriptive at this point, as further research into best-practice models from as open-minded a perspective as possible needs to be undertaken.

Contributors to the Review have expressed a number of desirable features and issues, including:

- The potential need to locate the facility away from main communities, to minimise distractions from troubles and excitements there;
- Generous resourcing for specialist content teachers; ‘student success’ mentors; special student service resources; attractive salary benchmarks and real infrastructure cost increases within the funding formula that recognise the higher costs of building new additions and undertaking maintenance and repairs in remote areas;
- Attractive amenities for daily physical activity (dance studio, gymnasium, track and field oval, courts for ball sports);
- Anti-bullying programs;
- Separate boys and girls accommodation facilities and appropriately gender matching in teacher and pastoral care personnel;
- Capacity to transport students home on weekends and ability to welcome parents;
- Tracked pathways for individual students linking to employment opportunities on and off-the APY Lands;
- Memoranda of understanding with industries in the region: particularly mining, feral animal and land management program providers; the education and health sectors; the SANFL; and university researchers and training providers;
- Well-constructed training and learning laboratories, covering among other things retail management; construction and automotive; a performing and visual arts centre; science and environmental monitoring laboratories; and,
- The ability for older An̓angu to teach values and traditions as part of accredited learning.

Given the need to avoid duplication of amenities, if both were to proceed, consideration should be given to closely associating the secondary facility with the post-secondary ‘community college’ model recommended in the following chapter. Following the model currently being implemented on the Tiwi Islands, albeit problematically, consideration could be given to establishment of a learning ‘village’, which integrates staff accommodation, senior secondary and adult learning facilities.

For those that would argue these are expensive investments in an area of the world that does not offer much in the way of economic return to the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP), we would offer the counter-arguments:

- The current systems are not working and the failures are expensive to remediate
- The frustration and energy required to pull-off even the smallest achievements on the APY Lands are disproportionate to the yield. At a systems level, current investment levels are perfectly designed to produce the high rates of burn out and turnover that are experienced on the APY Lands. Stabilising this system by an appropriate infusion of expertise and resources is the alternative.
- Second rate and piecemeal education foster and contribute to the poor self esteem and anomic in turn yield conditions of violence, ill-health and family breakdown. Excellence in education is the solution; while half-hearted education serves to aggravate and entrench the plethora of psycho-social, economic and political problems governments of all persuasions profess such continuing alarm about.
- There are approximately 300 secondary aged students and an unknown number of younger adults forming the potential cohort for residential facilities.

**Recommendation 1.44**
In view of the strong desire among An̓angu for high quality secondary facilities to be residentially available on the APY Lands, that DECS immediately undertake a comprehensive cost-benefit appraisal of location, demographic target and curriculum options, in partnership with An̓angu leaders and pertinent stakeholders from within and without the education sector.

**Recommendation 1.45**
To enable the APY community leaders, parents and the PYEC to consider the most viable options, that this planning stage include site visits of existing models and be minimally undertaken over a twelve-month period. This will enable An̓angu to formulate a considered idea of the options available and the effort required to drive excellence in both primary and secondary systems. Case studies should focus on successful and unsuccessful examples of services for small, dispersed populations located in expensive to access and administer locations, both domestically and internationally.

Note that several desired features have already been suggested, including:

- The potential need to locate the facility away from main communities, to minimise distractions from troubles and excitements there;
- Generous resourcing for specialist content teachers; ‘student success’ mentors; special student service resources; attractive salary benchmarks and real infrastructure cost increases within the funding formula that recognise the higher costs of building new additions and undertaking maintenance and repairs in remote areas.
- Attractive amenities for daily physical activity (dance studio, gymnasium, track and field oval, courts for ball sports)
- Anti-bullying programs
- Separate boys and girls accommodation facilities and appropriately gender matching in teacher and pastoral care personnel
- Capacity to transport students home on weekends and ability to welcome parents
- Tracked pathways for individual students linking to employment opportunities on and off-the APY Lands
- Memoranda of understanding with industries in the region: particularly mining, feral animal and land management program providers; the education and health sectors; the South Australian National Football League (SANFL); and university researchers and training providers
- Well-constructed training and learning laboratories, covering among other things retail management; construction and automotive; a performing and visual arts centre; science and environmental monitoring laboratories
- The ability for older Anangu to teach values and traditions as part of accredited learning.

**Recommendation 1.46**
That an unbiased assessment of the full range of possible governance and operating models be undertaken (including that of establishing extra-mural campuses of established private boarding schools; or establishing independent not-for-profit or charter schools). It may well be that a solely government funded and run facility is not the best option for high performance residential secondary schooling on the APY Lands but a third-model of private and not-for-profit involvement in an otherwise government-funded independent or ‘charter’ school is.

**Recommendation 1.47**
That a full cost benefit appraisal of the soft and hard infrastructure required is undertaken, with a view to ensuring that should secondary facilities be established, these are state of the art, not state of current remote practice.

**Recommendation 1.48**
That communities are reassured that exploration of possible models for residential secondary schooling on the APY Lands is not intended to replace the Wiltja program (the latter to be subject to a separate process for increasing its elite coaching capacities).

**Recommendation 1.49**
To avoid duplication of amenities and investigative effort, that consideration be simultaneously given to the pros and cons of linking the secondary facility with the post-secondary ‘community college’ model also recommended by this Review.
Chapter Two: Psycho-Social Health and Adolescence

Overview

- Without minimising the serious impact of severe instances of abuse, neglect and disability, it is important that schools do not homogenise explanations of inability but instead take the position that the majority of Anangu children enter school with the capacity to learn advanced academic content.

- While socio-economic factors, child health and cultural background are relevant, and the conditions leading to school readiness important; racial and class stratification effects, and even the impact of poor health, can still be overcome with high quality instruction delivered on an intensive and consistent basis, most critically during the primary school years.

- The research is very clear that for both Indigenous English as a Second Language (ESL) issues and fluctuating conductive hearing loss, soundfield amplification is the single most important intervention that schools can undertake. For best effect, soundfield amplification should ideally be implemented together with individual hearing aids. Use of soundfield amplification in APY Lands schools must be mandated and supervised to ensure reliable daily use by teachers and Anangu educators.

- Schools need to be supported to deal with the psycho-social traumas affecting many of their students through access to expert case management and diagnostic services. It is important that further responsibilities for therapeutic intervention are not loaded onto teachers and schools, but that schools are given the resources and support to respond appropriately to expertly-derived individual profiles of students at risk and those experiencing forms of psychosis, trauma, depression or drug addiction. Every effort must be made to assist the education sector to maintain its focus above all on consistently delivered and high quality instruction.

- As a prevention and intervention service, Nganampa Health Council should be resourced to allow full implementation of a rolling program of young women’s and young men’s mental health and wellbeing outreach services across the Lands.

- Bullying contributes greatly to lower academic achievement, poor attendance and compromised health and appears to be an endemic issue in APY schools. Schools must be made into places that are safe for all students, places where positive coping and shame management skills are taught and internalised.
It has long been established that improvement in education is strongly linked to improvements in health and social outcomes: that education is a health issue and vice-versa. Inability to control the myriad of circumstances leading to poor health is exacerbated by poor education; while the education consequences of poor health from the early growth years on have ongoing and long term impact.

This chapter briefly touches on the ways in which health issues impact upon Anangu abilities to negotiate the key transition points between education, training and employment: entering pre-school, moving through primary school, progressing to secondary school, and graduating as well-prepared young adults, to enter the workforce, vocational training or higher-level studies, and to assume the cultural and familial responsibilities of adulthood with maturity and aplomb. While many issues are relevant, here we canvass cognitive and developmental health; hearing; adolescent health and wellbeing, and the related issues of bullying; gender and identity, as most pertinent to the key questions of this Review.

Cognitive and Developmental Health

DECS supplied the Review with system-level data on the number of Students with Disabilities (SwD) enrolled in APY Lands schools, defined as follows:

- students identified with Autistic disorder or Asperger’s disorder, global developmental delay, physical disability, intellectual disability, or sensory disability (hearing), sensory disability (vision), speech and/or language disability and/or disabilities in communication and language (as verified until the end of 2006), who have been assessed as eligible under the Department’s Students with Disabilities Policy. Students with disabilities need to be verified as eligible for the Disability Support Program by a departmental guidance officer and/or speech pathologist.

The global data indicated that 10.1% of APY Land students in 2007 were SwD, compared to 8.9% of all South Australian students. As provided by Anangu Education Services, the current number of SwD by impairment code appears in Table 4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impairment Code</th>
<th>Total Student Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication and Language</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global developmental delay</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At first glance, it would seem that the prevalence of SwD on the APY Lands is not much different to that of the rest of Australia, except perhaps for hearing impairment. However, this does not take into account the fact that SwD may be under-reported in the APY Lands due to a variety of reasons including the greater difficulty for service providers in screening for and accurately diagnosing disabilities for students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

There was less information available on the cognitive aptitude of children and any developmental delays arising. Some educators pointed to Foetal Alcohol Syndrome as an issue, arguing it affected student’s ability to concentrate or remember content from one day to the next. This hard-to-diagnose syndrome is complex and data were not available to the Review to be able to comment on the nature of its incidence and impact on schooling. Advice from Nganampa Health Council was that while some pregnant mothers drank heavily, maternal drinking was not the relentless problem people claim. While Foetal Alcohol
Syndrome cases exist, the number of clinically established cases is very small. This said, it would also be the case that ‘clinically established cases’ represent the extreme end: by definition, people with milder symptoms would be under-diagnosed. Further, very little is known about the rate of Foetal Solvent Syndrome, which is also likely to be an issue for at least some of the children.

Other health issues that clearly do affect student learning include low birth weight, other substance abuse and forms of neglect, including the impact of violence within families on a child’s socio-emotional and cognitive development. Of the approximately fifty births per year on the APY Lands, around nine percent are of low birth weight (LBW: defined as less than or equal to 2500g or 2.5kg). The impact of LBW on later academic achievement in reading and mathematics is well known. Infants with low birth weights are at risk of impaired development, which may include delayed motor and social development, and are more likely as well to fail or repeat grades. One study found that, at age 17, LBW children were 50% more likely than normal birth weight children to score below the standardised population mean in both reading and mathematics (Breslau, et al., 2004).

Yet, important as infant and child health is to the cognitive development of the child, it is important neither to underestimate nor to make too much of the effect of poor health on the learning abilities of Anangu children when explaining of the ongoing achievement gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. Without minimising the serious impact of severe instances of abuse, neglect and disability, it is important that schools do not homogenise explanations of inability but instead take the position that the majority of Anangu children enter school with the capacity to learn advanced academic content. Indeed, nine percent LBW is only marginally higher than the Australian average of seven percent, reflecting Nganampa Health Council’s long-standing efforts in maternal and child health. Instead of overly focusing on deficits, it should be acknowledged that coming from semi-literate households means that most Anangu children are at higher risk for academic failure before they arrive and thus intensive early instruction is required, to ensure early achievement disadvantage does not compound to an irretrievable point; but that the children are otherwise intelligent and able, bringing an extraordinary range of skills, aptitudes and cultural knowledge to the classroom. In the main, Anangu children are as malleable, bright, energetic, smart and adaptable as children anywhere. They are not born with depression, alienation or a sense of failure; and no child is unteachable.

Affirming the important role of high quality schooling in remediating class and race-based disadvantage, research conducted by Fryer and Levitt, whose work at the ‘American Inequality Lab’ is dedicated to understanding the causes and consequences of inequality in American society, found that at eight months to one year, there was no racial gap in cognitive ability. What gaps existed disappeared entirely when they added controls for such things as low birth weight; yet by two years, an achievement gap started to show up that does not disappear but widens with age. To cite their paper:

Large racial gaps in test scores have been found in children as young as two years old (Scott and Sinclair, 1997), and the full racial gap observed later in life is present by age three (Rushton and Jensen, 2005). Even after accounting for a host of demographic and socio-economic factors such as parental income, education, occupation, home environment, birth weight, region, and urbanicity, a substantial Black-White test score gap generally remains. (Fryer & Levitt, 2008, p.1; see also Fryer & Levitt, 2004)

The key point is, if the gap is originally absent in young babies – unless they are suffering the effects of small organ size at birth – later disparities are most likely caused by environmental factors. This in turn raises other questions for schools and policy makers. Do children need better nutrition? More stimulation in the home? Better pre- and primary schools? Which of these factors matter more and in what order of intensivity should the government seek to offer remediation? Recent Australian research conducted by Leigh and Gong (2008) offers further clues. They found that a small gap in Indigenous and non-Indigenous scores from cognitive tests administered to four and five year old Australian children, widens between grades 3 and 7, which in turn suggests that interventions targeting an intensive improvement in primary school academic skills are likely to have a significant impact.
In other words, while socio-economic factors, child health and cultural background are relevant, and the conditions leading to school readiness important, racial and class stratification effects, and even the impact of poor health, can still be overcome with high quality instruction delivered on an intensive and consistent basis, most critically during the primary school years.

**Hearing**

Several contributors, together with previous reviews (NIELNS, 1999; Collins & Lea, 1999: Recommendations 129 & 130), have pointed to hearing impairment as a remediable disability affecting Indigenous students’ ability to learn. While the research evidence on the impact of conductive hearing loss and hearing impairment on education, training and employment is mostly speculative or based on case studies with small convenience samples, there is strong suggestion that it is more difficult for the affected Aboriginal children to acquire language skills, whether in vernacular or English. Early language deprivation can play an important role in a student's later vocabulary development and literacy learning, and hearing impaired students may also be absent more often. Left unattended, childhood hearing problems can be further exacerbated by teacher orientations to the student and the level of ambient noise in classrooms, which are often acoustically poorly designed.

Prevalence of middle ear infection in advantaged populations around the world is approximately 5% in childhood, falling to less than 1% after the age of 12 years. Among Indigenous Australian children, prevalence of the disease has been found to range from 40-70%, with younger children experiencing more frequent episodes (NIELNS, 1999, p.26). Advice from Associate Professor Paul Torzillo, Medical Director of Nganampa Health Services and also chair of the Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health’s committee for the development of Guidelines for the Management of Ear Disease in Indigenous Children (OATSIH, 2001), indicated that the last time hearing was investigated on the APY Lands, in the late 1990s, 60% of students at school entry had hearing loss that could potentially interfere with learning (personal communication, Torzillo, April 2008). Of the 26 students examined in a more recent, separate screening effort at an APY school, 21 had visible and unmistakable middle ear infections.

For students to be verified with a conductive hearing loss, two audiograms must be conducted within an 18 month period showing hearing loss in both ears of 20dB or greater (40dB or greater if hearing loss is unilateral). Additional tests are required to demonstrate the disabling effects of this hearing loss on an individual’s learning in order to access DECS’ support services. In the context of remote Indigenous communities, however, it is always difficult to disentangle the effects of hearing loss on students’ learning from the many other factors at play (e.g., language and cultural differences, semi-literate households, hyper-active behaviour and potentially other mental and physical health issues).

Currently, there are 43 school students in APY Lands schools designated as having a hearing disability and in need of support. But assessments on the APY Lands conducted by Flinders University Department of Audiology and Hearing Australia in the last six years have resulted in 186 referrals for hearing services. This number includes the 43 already identified as having a hearing loss that impacts on learning. Further, while approximately 20 APY Lands students are currently fitted with hearing aides, only 3 students are good wearers of them. Despite Australian Hearing’s attempts to make hearing aides “cool” (by disguising them with/attaching them to headbands, hearing caps, and football beanies), many students still find the equipment uncomfortable and stigmatising to wear.

While optimal approaches to managing the excessive burden of ear disease in school settings are known, they are not as frequently implemented. In particular, the favoured emphasis on ear toilets in the classroom (lessons on nasal clearing, ear swabbing and the like) are not as supported by the evidence on what works as other actions (see also Couzos, Metcalf, & Murray, 2001, p. 10; Massie, 2004).

Of all these recommended practices, that of attending to classroom sound amplification is the highest priority. A classroom sound amplification system consists of a receiver/amplifier; wall-mounted multiple speakers and one or two teacher transmitters/microphones. The teacher’s voice is transmitted from a
microphone to a receiver and amplified evenly throughout the classroom, no matter where the teacher is in the room and when the teacher’s back is turned. As reported by the Australian Hearing Service (AHS, 2004), over two decades of research has shown that improved academic achievement, speech recognition, attending skills and learning behaviours can be expected from soundfield amplification. For instance,

... improved reading test scores were demonstrated for first grade children, 85% of which were Native Americans (Flexer, 2000); while benefits identified for teachers include reduced vocal strain and vocal fatigue, increased ease of teaching, increased versatility of instructional techniques and increased teacher mobility (Rosenberg, et al., 1999). (AHS, 2004, p. 4)

As the AHS go on to note, closer to home

... a study of the effects of soundfield amplification intervention with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children indicated that short and intermittent use of this technology produced changes in the dynamics of classroom communication (Massie, Theodorous, Byrne, McPherson and Smaldino, 1999). An additional finding was that using soundfield amplification facilitated increased classroom communicative interaction with peers (Massie, 2000). ... A study by Massie and Dillon (2003) concluded that the use of soundfield amplification advanced the acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills for children in mainstream classrooms, and not only for those children with identified hearing loss or with ESL backgrounds. At present in Australia, there are no enforceable standards for classroom acoustics. However, soundfield amplification may be viewed as a cost-effective part of the solution to improving classroom listening environments for all children. (AHS, 2004, pp. 4-5)

The Review was advised that, on the APY Lands, all new DECS classrooms are built to the NZ standards for acoustic treatment, which reduces ambient background noise to about 45dB (the teacher’s voice is about 15dB greater than that). Additionally, in old classrooms where the acoustics have been assessed as being really bad, funding has been made available for renovations to occur, and this has so far occurred for the Child Parent Centre (CPC) classrooms at Indulkana and Fregon. Most APY Lands classrooms are also fitted with sound amplification systems – either the old soundfield amplification system or the new phonic system – but are often not used. Even the new phonic system which is better as it allows for dual transmission without interference (i.e. both the teacher and the AEW can have a transmitter) is more likely to lie idle in storage rooms suffering battery loss; and is rarely used to the point of normalised classroom practice. We were advised that at Mimili school in particular, a number of teachers are committed to using the equipment. It was also reported to the Review that, in one school, new teachers were happy to use the new system, whereas teachers who had been around before the system was introduced were more reluctant, the suggestion being the teachers might be thinking that “The kids could always hear me before, so…”

This would be to fundamentally misunderstand the nature of the issues. Children with:
- fluctuating middle ear hearing impairment
- unilateral hearing impairment
- "minimal" permanent hearing and
- forms of impairment where hearing aides are not even recommended

are all at risk of learning debility. Yet controlled intervention studies undertaken by the Commonwealth’s National Acoustic Laboratories (NAL), have shown that attending to sound amplification alone has a learning effect similar to that of increasing each semester by one third (see Massie, 2004).

Unfortunately, at no time did the Review witness sound amplification systems being used in classrooms in the course of visiting many classrooms in operation in five APY Lands schools. This is despite the fact that contemporary equipment has been provided on a uniform basis by the SA Government, and information about its importance is repeated for every new intake, each and every year, via focused in-service training sessions. Clearly, there are reasons why AEWs and teachers alike are reluctant to use...
the equipment with the religious perseverance required for effect. These might include the possibility that it adds yet another hassle in an already crowded list of things to do and remember; it is difficult to transport the equipment if non-amplified rooms are used during the day; and the equipment does not work in open-plan classrooms. The reasons underlying staff reluctance need to be investigated, with a view to determining ways of slip-streaming the use of sound amplification equipment so that it becomes a routinised, mandated expectation among staff and students alike.

The importance of this measure cannot be over-emphasised. The research is very clear that for both Indigenous ESL issues and fluctuating conductive hearing loss, sound amplification is the single most important intervention that schools can undertake. For best effect, ideally this should be implemented together with individual hearing aids.

In order of priority:

**Recommendation 2.1**
That use of sound classroom amplification equipment is mandated as policy within the schools, to be used without exception, by all instructors (that is, by Anangul and non-Anangul alike), day in, day out.

**Recommendation 2.2**
That this message be reinforced by the PYEC and AES leadership and instituted through all classrooms for all forms of verbal instruction.

**Recommendation 2.3**
That focus group research be conducted among students, teachers and Anangul Education Workers to further investigate why they do not like to use the equipment that has been provided and what would make it easier and more practical for them to so (e.g., having batteries supplied as regularly as other consumables in a staffroom; or having a dedicated administration worker check all equipment is good to go before classes begin).

**Recommendation 2.4**
That ambient noise in all classrooms is reduced by implementing measures to improve acoustics generally (e.g., carpets, stoppers on tables and chairs, muffled doors).

**Recommendation 2.5**
That forms of instructional delivery via multimedia formats (e.g., headphones for computer use) are investigated.

**Recommendation 2.6**
That non-Indigenous school based staff learn pertinent common forms of Anangul sign language to assist students ‘fill in the gaps’.

**Adolescent Health and Well Being**

The recently tabled Mullighan Report (2008) provided serial testimony of the grave issues concerning sexual abuse, substance abuse, homicidal and suicidal behaviours on the APY Lands. Our own review did not extend to hearing expert advice on these issues; yet to the extent that such matters clearly impact on post primary education and pathways to further training, post-secondary education and employment, we discuss their impact briefly here.

The Review did access Nganampa Health Council estimates on the incidence of threatened self-harm, suicide and ‘near hanging’ episodes on the APY Lands. Over a ten month estimate period, there were 184 such presentations. These ranged from near deaths to empty threats; from people upset on the day over a trivial incident to people seriously intending suicide. Correlated with police data, greater than 40% of these presentations involved some form of intoxication. Health professionals take this further and estimate that 60% or more of those threatening suicide were responding to someone else who was
intoxicated with one drug or another. While this is not hard data it gives a useful estimate of the level of mental health, self esteem and competence issues that young people and the people who tend to them are facing on the APY Lands.

Threatened suicide is not the only challenge:

- Injury and trauma is the leading cause of death among Anangu male youth. Among Indigenous men in the Northern Territory, injuries account for 70% of deaths for males aged 5–24; and 40% for males aged 25–44; and similar patterns are noted for Anangu (Brown, 2004, p.5);
- An Anangu boy has a one in three chance of going to prison in his lifetime (which greatly exceeds the number expected to go to universities);
- A number of children live in households where a fog of substance abuse prevails; and,
- Many Anangu continue to live in conditions of overwhelming poverty.

These difficult and traumatic issues clearly implicate education, both in terms of increasing the challenges faced by educators on the APY Lands; and in terms of amplifying education’s role in amending the destructive orientations to the world that contribute to such high rates of injury, death and incarceration.

There is much more that schools could be resourced and supported to do to enhance the outcomes for young men and women whose exposure to trauma is unacceptably high. Individual diagnoses and case management plans are needed to provide the best forms of attention and care for children who may have attachment and post-traumatic stress disorders. The Review notes the efforts made in recent years to increase the presence of social workers in APY communities and the announcement of child protection workers as a result of the Mullighan Inquiry. We would stress that a child protection framework is also required for adolescents, as a means of assisting the education sector to maintain its focus above all on consistently delivered, high quality instruction.

The Male and Female Health programs being pursued through Nganampa Health Council form a key strategy for overcoming youth anguish and circumventing acts of desperation and anomie among young men and women in adolescence. Among other activities, Ngapampa developed gender specific health education programs for young males and females aged 12 and over to use in partnership with APY schools. They have also run “Young Fella Choosing Wisely” workshops which specifically target male health promotion, including prevention and treatment of substance abuse, risk behaviours, mental illness and social and emotional wellbeing, chronic diseases, imprisonment, injury and family violence. These are not hesitant programs that avoid frank discussion. With the male health program for instance, dialogue with young men is entered into about standard health issues that men across Australia often avoid – nutrition, exercise, regular health screening and so forth – and the more edgy topics that require deeply thoughtful analysis and intimate, trusting discussion, such as the perpetration or experience of rape. To deal with the poorer literacy of the students, visual and verbal media are emphasised; but the entire program is based on a comprehensive curriculum package that took considerable time to test and develop.

Given the intensive and intimate nature of its content and the depth of the package, Nganampa Health Council has found that it is best delivered by dedicated staff. This is not always possible, as the quarantining of skilled resources for non-clinical concerns is a ‘should and ought’: in competition with clinical care, the best intentions for outreach take second place. At the end of the school semester, perhaps only one of the multi-session packages has been delivered.

Yet, given the skill set and duty of care issues involved, the solution is not to assign the task to school counsellor or youth worker positions. The work is sensitive and needs to be handled by those with the content knowledge and aptitude to handle the tough material. Another concern is that focusing on schools is not sufficient: the target group are not necessarily attending; and may have lost their respect for teachers’ authority. Thus there are advantages to having the health centre operate this outreach service, as opposed to locating it within the education system. This said, the impact of the program is
considerably enhanced when schools collaborate in its implementation. Ideally the program implementers would combine content knowledge with teaching expertise, but in reality, it is rare to have these skills combined in the one individual. Given the gender specific and intimate content, it is also essential that the modules are delivered by one male and one female deliverer.

Recommendation 2.7
In line with the recommendations of the Mullighan report (2008), that schools are supplied with expertly derived individual diagnoses and case management plans to provide the best forms of attention and care for children who may have attachment and post-traumatic stress disorders. A child protection framework is required for adolescents, as a means of assisting the education sector to maintain its focus above all on consistently delivered and high quality instruction.

Recommendation 2.8
That the South Australian Government establish and resource (that is, provide the necessary salaries, infrastructure, housing, classroom space, relief funding for teachers) for two positions, one male and one female, to be attached to Nganampa Health Council to allow full implementation of a rolling program of young women’s and young men’s mental health and wellbeing outreach services across the APY Lands.

Recommendation 2.9
That APY Lands schools collaborate in the implementation of the mental health and well being outreach programs that are supervised by Nganampa Health Council.

Bullying and Harassment

The Review Team made a deliberate effort to consult families, parents, and past and present students to gather their views, including reasons why students might not like going to school. In this context, ‘teasing’ was frequently mentioned as a reason why previously engaged students might turn from school. Probed, informants explained that ‘teasing’ was not the benign joking that standard-English speakers might associate with the term but a more insidious and relentless form of bullying and aggression, ranging from forms of verbal harassment to emotional and physical violence (such as having rocks thrown at a young girl as she tries to get a drink of water or make her way to a toilet).

Teaching styles, learning activities, classroom management, student culture, school-community relations, teacher’s responses to early signs of victimisation and aggression -- all play a role in the sequels of bullying. For the teachers who may already be hesitant and ill-prepared for the multiple cultural shocks of remote area schooling, the issues may seem insurmountable. Indeed, some teachers describe older Anangu students as just about impossible to work with; or suggested that what ‘whites’ might consider to be bullying is culturally biased. Yet parents and students alike felt that teachers were not sufficiently across the issues, as often the harassment would be taking place in vernacular languages. The teachers may themselves be the object of derisive commentary, unbeknownst to them. Parents complained that the AEWs, who are potentially in a position to be more aware of classroom and schoolyard tensions, were reluctant to intervene, either to avoid later community ‘humbug’ or because responding with alacrity to each and every instance is either not clearly mandated within schools or is too much of a burden for AEWs to shoulder alone. As one commentator put it:

The teasing is relentless. The kids do a real number on each other. The kids are teasing in Pitjantjatjara. The Anangu educators don’t really discipline and police the boundaries with the kids – it is unacceptable with the communities. Running amok is also about child rearing: letting them run free is the go. Anangu cannot discipline someone else’s child.

When asked to elaborate on the consequences of being ‘teased’ and why it occurs, Anangu explained that sometimes it is because children are from different communities to those predominating at the school; or that it is a way in which boys and girls are brought into line with harsh systems of childhood equalisation, where everyone is brought to the same level; no one being better than anyone else;
everyone underachieves in the same way to be accepted. Shame and feelings of incapacity and helplessness, lethargy and incapacity compound the problems. Students also listed teasing as reason fellow students will fail to attend or eventually drop out of school altogether. Health professionals advised it is associated with somatic disorders, interpersonal struggles, loneliness, anxiety, depression and suicidal thoughts. Some contributors discussed potential strategies that might reduce the likelihood of violence and harassment recurring at the school. An advocate for small community schools argued that at a large school like Ernabella’s, where students' personal circumstances are not fully known to teachers, it is hard to be on top of bullying and victimisation (even though it is not at all clear that bullying is less a problem in the smaller schools). Spatial aspects of the schoolyard were mentioned as potential problems too. The schoolyard was in ‘full view of the community’ so if a teacher came down hard on a victimiser, community members would see and the school would soon pay via a visit from irate parents.

The impression one derives from much of this is that the tensions are spatial and are benignly approved by the community, which in turn moderates the school’s ability to respond. In the context of other forms of social anomie on the APY Lands, it is salutary to remind ourselves of what bullying portends:

Evidence has steadily accumulated about the negative consequences of student involvement in bully/victim problems. On the basis of longitudinal studies, it has been concluded that repeated exposure to being bullied can, and indeed often does, undermine the health and wellbeing of vulnerable students (Egan & Perry 1998; Rigby 1999). It is also known that the perpetrators of bullying not only tend to experience depression and engage in suicidal thinking but also, if not corrected at school, are more likely to act violently as adults in the home and workplace (Farrington 1993). Children who are both bullies and victims are seen as especially prone to mental illness. (Rigby, 2003, p. 1)

Staff at the Wiltja Boarding facility in Adelaide also identified teasing as a serious issue they must ‘ride’ every day. Wiltja have a clear policy of ‘zero tolerance’, with no exceptions. Staff members are adamant that this was essential to clear space for children from different family groups and affiliations to not only co-exist but to focus on learning. They were sceptical about the ability of schools on the APY Lands to deal with bullying with the same fierce resolve, acknowledging Wiltja’s isolation and competition for residential places among Anangu students provide more ideal conditions for dealing with inter-student harassment.

Given the importance of this issue to poor attendance and attrition, the Review recommends Anangu Education Services and the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) review their bullying reduction protocols and professional development supports, with a view to increasing their effect. Acknowledging that achieving empirically successful policies in this area is formidably difficult, the Review draws attention to the work of the Child Health Promotion Research Centre (CHPRC) at Edith Cowan University in developing a rigorous scientific approach to whole-school bullying reduction efforts under randomised controlled trial conditions (Child Health Promotion Unit, 2008).

Recommendation 2.10
That AES and PYEC immediately review their bullying reduction protocols and professional development supports, with a view to increasing their effect and consistent application.

Recommendation 2.11
That effort is made to place bullying elimination efforts on an empirically tested basis, drawing on verified approaches.

Recommendation 2.12
That parents are alerted to the new expectations concerning harassment and the explicit supports that can be expected for families of victims and victimisers alike.
Gender and Identity

Many contributors to the Review drew attention to the issue of gender and its differential impact on the educational experiences of young people in the APY Lands. In most instances, this related specifically to the issue of ‘men’s business’ and young men’s reluctance to return to school following initiation. However, ‘falling in love’ or becoming pregnant was also sometimes reflected on as the female equivalent of becoming a man (i.e., becoming a woman). For example, one Anangu school staff member who was raised off the APY Lands spoke of her sister’s non-attendance at school in the following way:

*My sister lost interest in coming to school because she’s got a boyfriend. She thinks she doesn’t need it because she’s grown up. This is what happens when girls fall in love.*

This view was also supported by a number of current Wiltja students, many of whom listed having boyfriends or girlfriends as reasons for why their peers no longer attended school.

Consistent with the perspective of young people themselves, most adult participants were of the opinion that these eventualities (falling in love, falling pregnant, becoming a man) led young people to view themselves as adults, and school-based education as therefore no longer relevant. However, it was a commonly held view that the impact of this way of thinking was far more detrimental to the educational outcomes of young men than women. According to most contributors, the drop-out rate of young men from secondary school on the APY Lands was much higher than that of young women due to the fact that initiation ceremonies are being conducted at an earlier age now than ever before. Thus, it is claimed, boys and men are likely to be distracted from school at an earlier age than their female counterparts; although the number of young women who drop out the moment they have a baby on their hip should also be accounted for.

We have concerns about the veracity of some of these claims, but the apparent disconnect between the routines and edicts of the school, and the values of young Anangu men, was consistently raised as an issue by many contributors to the Review. Whereas young Anangu women are more likely to return to formal learning environments, even if they did leave school early after having ‘fallen in love’ or fallen pregnant, Anangu boys are less likely to do so after having been ‘made’ men. Admittedly, many of those young women may not return to formal learning for some years, and their return may be as an AEW and AnTEP student rather than as a school student.

But the fact that the school and AnTEP combine to provide a clear pathway from school into further training and employment for many Anangu women - a pathway that is not necessarily compromised by teenage or young motherhood and early school leaving - is heartening. This pathway might be further strengthened if childcare were consistently provided at the school or in the community; and if it were further assumed that being a teenage mother does not decrease one’s interest in being a highly effective ‘first teacher’ of one’s baby. What is distressing, however, is firstly that this represents one of the only clear pathways from school into tertiary learning and employment for those on the APY Lands, and secondly that not many Anangu men choose to take it up. According to many contributors, the initiations of secondary boys are more likely to represent the endpoint of school-based learning for men, and at an earlier age than for women.

The Review heard that some schools had implemented strategies to address the gendered effects of initiation on young men’s education, and that the practices that proved the most effective in terms of keeping secondary students in school were those that involved a co-ordinated effort by the school and the community. For example, at one school, five young male initiates stopped coming to school, and so the principal and the Anangu Co-ordinator spoke with both women and men elders in the community over the course of several weeks, continuously stressing the importance of the continued education of these young men. Eventually, all five returned to school, thus suggesting that, with community and family support, students can be encouraged or even required to return to school. The Review takes the position that, if initiation processes are as disruptive as many claim, then agreement on how it is to be integrated...
into schooling needs to be established on a more consistent basis, as part of an overall education charter.

However, getting young men to return to school is not in itself sufficient, and their subsequent engagement as successful learners in the classroom is vital. One group of young men, found playing away from the school grounds during school hours, responded in something of a panic to the question ‘why aren’t you at school today?’ with the urgent query: “Why? What’s on? Is something happening?” They were concerned they might be missing an entertainment (a visiting celebrity ‘role model’, a band, or performance of some kind), revealing something of how school has become associated with social events rather than sustained instruction for older children. It is said that many young initiates who do return to school do so with a new source of alienation and with few alternatives for what to go on to. Young male Anangu students were also reported as showing little respect for their teachers, even if they were of the same gender. As one non-Indigenous principal described it:

You know I think that is one of the issues for Accelerated Literacy with the older guys in that it is not that they aren’t familiar with AL, it is not anything like that, it is just that resistance to learning something from some white guy that they don’t know or respect for whatever reason and there is no reason … [except] that they think they are pretty alright and that they can do what they like.

Indeed, many participants considered that young, newly initiated men may not be willing to learn from uninitiated (i.e., non-Indigenous) men, and many secondary male teachers reported having their manhood directly challenged on a daily basis. ‘Are you a man? Are you a man?’ those returning from men’s business are said to persistently ask of their uninitiated (non-Anangu) male teachers.

Other non-Anangu mentors and participants in this Review claimed that it is possible to combat the recalcitrance and persistent pestering delivered by young initiates by showing these young men there’s more than one way to be a man:

... because I’m not a man, I have been told that probably about 50 times, more than that, 500 times especially by one of the young men … [so] I said “Come on let’s go. Let’s work”, [and one youngfella said], “You can’t tell me what to do, you’re not a man”. Alright! So I get on the horse and bolt past him or kick a footy and take a flier over the top of him and things like that. You only need to do it once, turn your back and walk away and don’t give them - don’t give any of these young guys an ultimatum, don’t back them into a corner, don’t give them anything like that – and that’s one of the most empowering things with these guys, you just say ‘look, don’t do that again, that’s just bull’, you’re just basically stating [‘your intimidation will not work with me’], without raising your voice, [just] turn your back walk away.

Another non-Anangu male secondary teacher spoke of his experience of earning the respect of young male initiates in this way:

Even in my first year one of the young guys that was from quite an important family, his grandfather was an important ngangkari man, he’d say “You’re a tjiitji”, you’re a child talking to me, no authority, not an initiated man, not a wati but then a couple of years later they are calling me tjiitji, because you’re getting a bit grey and, you do earn that respect, but you have to be doing things. You have to be camping out with them, rolling your swag out next to them, walking through the bush with them, taking trips where, trips that are valued by them and if you do, you take a few tough ones away you don’t just take the good ones and you build up respect and they get to know you’re there for the right reasons. You earn that.

Thus it would seem that it is possible for young, newly initiated Anangu men to be encouraged to return to school, and for uninitiated non-Anangu men to become their respected mentors and teachers. Indeed, in many respects, what is required in terms of family and community pressure and the earning of respect is the same as what is required in order to engage any young adolescent, no matter the cultural specificity of the context.
That enticing young men into various forms of educational engagement and thereby instilling in them the values of lifelong learning is a crucial intervention point for breaking the pernicious cycle of gender-based violence in APY communities was also indicated by a number of Review participants. Worried (mainly white) contributors spoke of the way that young and middle aged male Anangu feel powerless and humiliated; with life stripped of meaning because of white interference, welfare dependency and poor education, ‘men who once lived vibrantly as hunter-gatherers are now profoundly, existentially, bored’ (Manne, 2007). These same contributors simultaneously expressed concern that Anangu men’s sense of self may be further undermined by the literacy levels of women in their households, which are reportedly often higher than those of the men, thus helping to fuel gender based violence.

It is further conjectured that men express their feelings of disempowerment by downplaying the importance of schooling, training or even employment, and instead look to manufacture excitement and a (false) sense of empowerment through substance (ab)use, agitating fights, becoming obsessed with football and, specifically, malformed customary rites. Thus, the Review heard, older Anangu men have begun ‘taking’ away younger and younger boys for initiation ceremonies, at times against the express wishes of the women and other family members. But, as many of these young men are unlikely to re-engage with school learning following initiation, this only serves to further reduce the literacy and numeracy levels of the next generation of men, thereby fuelling the cycle of gender-based violence.

It was also suggested to the Review that men’s business or initiation ceremonies are cheapened or adulterated versions of the original cultural forms; that they lack the sustained disciplining and maturing of men’s minds and bodies that once formed the substantive societal contribution of these key customs (see, for example, Wallace & Wallace, 1977). One anecdotal claim put to the Review painted a picture of boys who were initiated in a dome tent 100 yards from their house with a power lead connected to a play station. Another observer speculated on the changes to Anangu male rites of passage in the following way:

… this is just my observation which may be worth nothing but – I think what’s happened is that the ceremonial and the celebration sort of aspect of business has increased and the length of time [quickened] … [yet] the discipline of learning has totally gone to the pack. So twenty years ago they would have taken guys between 19 and 21 … They would then, you know, go through certain parts of ceremony and then, for up to two years be separated in what you could call tertiary and further education in a normal society, which is going to learn about looking after country through the stories and the other attachments as well as the physical, you know, keeping the water holes preserved as well as hunting … So, you know, when they come back to the community their body and their mind are strong to contribute back in. Now what happens is the whole process takes two to three weeks, [and] it is mainly ceremonial. … families come and heat up their garlic bread, pizza, take out the Coke and then Tim Tams, the marijuana, the cigarettes and the chips … They get in a tizz because they need it now because they are getting hungry, you know, this sort of business. I mean, that is just a little window in to the transition.

It is not actually clear if initiations are taking place at younger ages or if this is just yet more Piranpa hearsay. Nor is it clear that initiations are in fact as quick as two weeks. As one informant noted, “I was visiting camps of initiates in 1984. They were never isolated for these long periods. Even then people used to say that “years ago” kids would stay out bush for a year or two.” But to the extent that young male initiates do not re-engage with school (where they might be inculcated into the ‘hardening of mind and body’ available to them through grappling with an intellectually challenging education) then the ‘taking’ away of younger and younger boys for men’s business may be accelerating the cycle of Anangu men’s sense of disempowerment and its manifestation in acts of violence.

Community violence and domestic abuse are not easy topics to talk about, particularly under recent circumstances of policy panic about Aboriginal community dysfunction in the Northern Territory and the bringing down of the Mullighan Report. In the short time available and with our blunt research methods, the Review Team were unable to undertake the intense ethnographic work and careful investigation, in full partnership with Anangu, that would be required to more fully explore masculinility, femininity, violence and life value issues, as these impact on family function and ‘true’ (non-rhetorical) support for formal
education. Such an exploration is strongly recommended, to be conducted over an appropriate timeframe, using anthropologically and linguistically trained partners to Anangu in the research process.

Where possible, team members did take the opportunity to ask Anangu students and adults what they thought of such verdicts, but the idea that men feel ‘emasculated’ by women’s greater English literacy was not widely supported by Anangu men. If anything, as one leader put it, men would rely on their womenfolk for reporting on outsider comings and goings, and for interpreting non-Indigenous communication, review and policy efforts (although this reliance is precisely what some outside observers would point to as simultaneously ‘threatening’ to men). Nonetheless, the spectre of violence against women and girls, or among drinkers, was repeatedly brought to the Review’s attention as a major impediment to success in education, training and employment. Drinking, rape, suicide, homicide and violence at rates that exceed national averages were described in heartbreaking and confronting ways, and their impact on families and the ability of families to prioritise education was repeatedly mentioned as fundamental to explanations of poor education and employment outcomes on the APY Lands.

Despite our inability to research these issues in the depth they clearly deserve, they introduce critical questions of relevance to education and employment reform on the APY Lands, namely: How well are men involved in education decision making across the APY Lands? How determinedly is teaching promoted as a major career pathway for male Anangu? and critically, How best to engage young men in schooling? This last speaks to the most dominant concern of all, for, despite its clear importance in declining education and employment outcomes among alienated black youth the world over, evidenced-based approaches for interrupting patterns of truancy and drop out rates among young men are few and far between. Indeed, in most government policies, the social turbulence experienced by adolescents is subject to incoherent approaches, manifest in stop-start efforts to create enticing yet somewhat artificial programs that are intended to improve self-esteem, create interest in projected aspects of youth culture (such as hip hop music), or provide distraction from more negative pastimes.

**Recommendation 2.13**
That anthropologically informed research is resourced, to take place over a minimal two to three year period, and using Anangu co-researchers, to fully explore issues of male belief and interest in, understanding of, and barriers to greater ownership and dedication to education and all that this signifies. This would include analysis of how well men are involved in education decision making across the APY Lands; how determinedly teaching is promoted as a major career pathway for male Anangu; current and past efforts to engage young men in schooling; and sensitivities surrounding female education and empowerment.

**Recommendation 2.14**
That ways of linking initiation to a certain level of educational attainment are explored. This level and how it is measured to be agreed upon and mandated by the Anangu families and the school and embedded in an overall charter for Anangu education.

**Recommendation 2.15**
That efforts to ensure teenage or young motherhood do not disrupt continued schooling and pathways to further training and employment be further strengthened through provision of reliable childcare support in association with school attendance and training.

**Recommendation 2.16**
That effort is made to identify and/or develop evidenced-based approaches for interrupting patterns of truancy and drop out rates among young men.
Recommendation 2.17
That the SA Government, working with relevant Commonwealth agencies, audit and critically evaluate the outcomes of current initiatives to improve self-esteem, create interest in projected aspects of youth culture (such as hip hop music), or provide distraction from more negative pastimes underway within schools and communities, with a view to dismantling those programs that are compounding the issues (e.g., by increasing the expectation that programs have to provide entertainment not education) and intensifying efforts which genuinely link creativity with productivity (e.g., ceramics classes at Ernabella).
Chapter Three: Training and Post Secondary Options

Overview

- The purpose of vocational education and training is to provide skills and knowledge for work, enhance employability and assist learning throughout life. In Indigenous contexts, training is successful where it is linked to actual projects and enterprises. There are a number of training initiatives on the Lands that meet both these criteria and should be expanded and strengthened, however, there is also a lot of activity resulting in little gain for the Anangu participants.

- Much of the training delivered is driven by provider or government interests rather than client demand and there seemed to be no forum to canvas genuine opinions from young people – those that have left school especially – about their pressures and priorities; and to use this to guide planning and resource decisions.

- There a number of programs from which lessons can be learnt but many of these rely on the efforts of individuals and need to be supported at a system level to ensure their survival and development. This includes mechanisms for case management of students.

- The rebuilding of the TAFESA program on the APY Lands is admirable especially given the high cost of delivery on the Lands. However, the training delivered is limited by the immediate opportunities, lecturers available and the perennial challenges of servicing a small, dispersed population. There is a significant body of research on successful VET delivery in Indigenous contexts which could inform and improve VET delivery on the Lands. APY TAFE, and other RTOs operating on the Lands, should be striving to establish themselves as leaders in the field of remote VET delivery.

- VET in Schools (VETiS) is a valuable feature of contemporary secondary schooling, requiring many of the same foundational skills as traditional academic subjects, and should be seen as a complement to these, not as a substitute. Resourcing for VETiS does not reflect the logistical challenges of operating on the Lands. Similarly, the lack of formalised service agreements with RTOs and the funding environment in which VETiS operates are barriers to success.

- Low levels of literacy and numeracy are uniformly cited by all training providers as a major barrier to attainment of competencies and subsequent employability. A seamless, early childhood-through-tertiary system for learning is an essential component of the education reform needed on the APY Lands. The viability and health of Anangu control of or involvement in business and enterprise both on and off the Lands is dependent in large part on the “output” of the ‘P-20’ education and training system.

- Nganampa Health Council, while faced with many of the same issues as other providers, provides one of the few examples of a training linked to meaningful, ‘real’ work opportunities through the Tjilipi Pampa Ngura (respite care facility) at Pukatja. Similarly, AnTEP provides another example of training linked to employment but requires significantly more investment and support if it is to achieve its goal of graduating a highly skilled, professional Anangu workforce for schools on the APY Lands and beyond.

- The state and territory borders are artificial to Lands residents but have a huge impact on their ability to source the best, most cost-effective training. The APY Lands are disadvantaged by the Commonwealth funding model which funds jurisdictions to provide training to their residents only, in effect meaning that training delivered by Northern Territory and Western Australian providers to APY Lands residents can only supplied on a fee-for-service basis.

- Many of the barriers to best-practice training provision could be removed through the establishment of a post secondary training and education college. The college is strongly recommended to operate simultaneously as a focal point for linking other education and training institutions from the north, west and south; as a forum for discussing and prioritising problems to be addressed through applied research partnerships; and as a training ground for young and older adult residents.
At present, credentialed training available on the APY Lands ranges from Vocational Education and Training in Schools (VETiS) subjects through to specialised tertiary programs such as An\textsuperscript{TEP} (delivered by the University of South Australia) and the Aboriginal Health Worker training program (delivered by Nganjampa Health Services). The purpose of vocational education and training is to provide skills and knowledge for work, enhance employability and assist learning throughout life (ANTA, 2004). While there are other perceived advantages or drivers in undertaking VET programs (such as personal development or pathways to further study), it is indisputable that training is primarily about jobs – it is intended to provide people with the skills to enter, or re-enter, the workforce, to retrain for a new profession or improve their skills in their chosen vocation. It is in this context that training provision on the APY Lands was investigated. It is also considered in relation to the significant body of work on VET in Indigenous contexts more broadly, which affirms that, to be successful, training approaches ‘must be connected to Indigenous enterprise contexts and steeped in reality through actual projects or enterprises’ (Wallace, Curry & Agar, 2008, p. 1).

The relationship between training and viable employment and enterprise is not at all straightforward. Training on its own is not guaranteed to lead to anything in particular and in the history of remote Indigenous delivery across Australia, a much lower percentage of participants have been able to utilise training as a pathway for higher level qualifications or employment. Instead, a scattergram of Certificate I and II credentials in assorted programs are testimony to past attempts to get things off the ground around whatever ideas were then current about what would be useful or viable. Lasting skills transfer has been limited to a few key areas, such as health; education; conservation and land management; art and craft activities; and to a lesser extent, organisational management and governance.

The training situation on the APY Lands also reflects the almost complete demise of TAFE services on the APY Lands during the 1990s, until concerted effort by the South Australian Government, working in partnership with the University of South Australia, to resurrect options was commenced in 2003/04. The negative consequences of this lapse in training on the Lands were further compounded by the effective suspension of CDEP programs during 2007/2008 whilst service delivery mechanisms were being reorganised. Meanwhile, today’s training offerings on the Lands still reflect an Adelaide-centric service orientation, but signs of a more strategic brokering of training options by other providers with an established record of regional and remote delivery are in evidence.

This section of the Report details the scope and scale of training being delivered on the APY Lands and identifies the links between school-based education and training and pathways into employment. It also provides an overview of a series of recent projects developed around enterprise development and training; and examines the challenges and opportunities associated with offering post-secondary training and further learning opportunities for An\textsuperscript{angu}. Particular attention is given to infrastructure, funding and technology issues, and identification of the relevant skills sets necessary for the people who are involved to make these important efforts have any traction.

Data Limitations

Obtaining accurate historical data on the training delivered to APY Lands’ residents is problematic. The most comprehensive national data source for vocational education and training is the National Centre for Vocational Education and Research (NCVER), which is responsible for the collection, analysis and reporting of information about VET in Australia.

However, the smallest geographic unit NCVER is able to analyse is the postcode region of clients. The APY Lands postcode, 0872, is common to all Central Australian desert regions. There are 487 students residing in postcode 0872, in which the data was submitted by South Australian training providers, who undertook training in 2006. Of these students, a small number identified themselves as residing in Amata and Ernabella, but the majority of students had their suburb as Alice Springs (many APY Lands residents have an Alice Springs postal address), with a small group not reporting a suburb/town.
Thus, NCVER data was not useful for us in terms of being able to isolate APY Lands training data from others. Instead, in this section of the report, we have relied on the quantitative data able to be provided by the relevant RTO. The data provided is limited to 2007, and the reliability of the data source is not known.

Recommendation 3.1
That, in the absence of national data, DECS negotiate with TAFESA and other RTO’s to establish a data collection and reporting system which allows for analysis on training delivery and outcomes for Anangu. This would have the multiple purposes for recording past training delivery, monitoring delivery trends and coordinating future delivery.

VET in Schools

VET in Schools (VETiS) “allows school students to combine vocational studies with their general education curriculum. Students participating in VETiS continue to work towards their secondary school certificate. The VET component of their studies gives them credit towards a nationally recognised VET qualification” (Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST), n.d.).

VETiS is a vital step linking education to post-school vocational training opportunities. As we have observed, occasional VET programs are currently the only post primary education options on offer in some schools, where they ‘assume uneasily the role of secondary education substitution within their core business of mainstream work-oriented training’ (Young & Guenther 2008: p.179).

The South Australian DECS VET in Schools Project Officer is responsible for identification and coordinator of VETiS offerings on the APY Lands. Where this one Project Officer is responsible for all nine of the APY schools, the Review Team understands the majority of other South Australian schools have a dedicated Project Officer per school. Presumably, the decision to have only one position for the APY Lands was based on the lower than average number of secondary students per school on the APY Lands. This defendable decision does not however take into account the logistical challenges faced in servicing dispersed APY schools across such a large geographic area; and the need to provide additional support to secondary teachers who are themselves spread thinly. The incumbent is not only expected to have educational expertise and be responsible for case management of students, but must also be prepared to manage the demanding logistics of cross-APY Lands delivery, including having to ferry students between schools to access training. All this, yet the position itself is insecurely (year-by-year) funded.

The limited budget associated with the VETiS program means the Project Officer must also be highly creative in tapping into existing initiatives and finding alternative funding sources. If school students are involved in TAFESA activities that are already scheduled there is no charge for the training. Other training is provided on a cost recovery basis by TAFESA. As with post-secondary VET training, if services can only be sourced from Registered Training Organisations based in Alice Springs (i.e., not SA-based), such as the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT), Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education (BIITE) and Charles Darwin University (CDU), then training is delivered on a fee-for-service basis.

VETiS comprises both accredited TAFE delivery and training delivered and assessed by the school (linked to SACE subjects) with quality assurance support from TAFE (see Tables 5 and 6 for a description of VET training categories and providers on the APY Lands). In theory, teachers should attempt to link all VETiS activities to SACE units (and are encouraged and supported to do so by SSABSA), but this does not appear to happen on a strictly uniform basis, possibly because of the onerous nature of the paperwork involved for what are often opportunistic and one-off offerings. Resource limitations on the APY Lands mean the training delivered by TAFESA community-based lecturers is limited in scope and in more likely to be concentrated on community services oriented subjects than building and construction, pastoral or mining preparation. This orientation has a logical rationale but can limit the opportunities available to young men in particular. The availability of the
lecturers and location of training in turn places limitations on access and choice. The following is the proposal for VETiS delivery for 2008 (as provided by the VETiS Project Officer and TAFESA).

Table 5 - Training Categories and Providers on APY Lands I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Business Retail Tourism</th>
<th>Community Services - Child Care Support Work</th>
<th>Hair and Beauty</th>
<th>Conservation and Land Management</th>
<th>Rural Operations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indulkana</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>Offered with by CDU near Alice Springs, TAFE on the APY Lands and Gateways at Mataranka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimili</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fregon</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenmore Park</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernabella</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amata</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murputja</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipalytjara</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watarru</td>
<td>DECS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 – Training Categories and Providers on APY Lands II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Art</th>
<th>Mining</th>
<th>Pool Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indulkana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimili</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fregon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenmore Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernabella</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gate-ways</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murputja</td>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipalytjara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watarru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For all its difficulty, it is strongly argued by many advocates in Indigenous education that VETiS may be one way of increasing retention, especially for young male students. VETiS provides workplace training and a way of learning which may be more attractive to young men who are, or consider themselves to be, beyond ‘normal’ schooling. Again, due to time limitations, the Review Team was unable to explore the veracity of this particular assertion; and predictably, the artificiality of time-constrained interviews with young people within and without schools proved a poor means of exploring the issues.

As an aside, we note there is no youth advisory council for education, employment and training on the APY Lands that draws on youth views in and of our schools, and no organised way of hearing from people aged 15 to 25 about their pressures and priorities. This is despite the fact that young people have lines of communication among each other that can constitute an alternative consciousness about and critique of contemporary cultural and socio-economic issues. Determining how to connect with young men and women in significant ways across their multiple lines of difference is recommended for future training and workforce development on the APY Lands. This is particularly important in the context of research suggesting that training systems have to respond to client demand rather than employer or government interests to have significant impact (Guenther, Young, Boyle, Schaber, & Richardson, 2005).
The first step toward establishing the structures that would enable fluid communication between young people and other decision-makers (on and off the APY Lands) is to explore preferred models with them as part of a ‘market intelligence’ exercise, as a committee or other institutional mechanism may not be the best or preferred medium.

This Review has repeatedly stressed the importance of maintaining a commitment to academic credentialing and resisting the temptation to stream Anangu students into lower level VET qualifications as a ‘way out’ of the challenge of providing a high expectation mainstream secondary curriculum.

This is not meant to imply that vocational orientations are lesser, easier or should be minimised. Rather, it remains the case that key reasons why workplace training programs fail to produce graduates proportionate to their intake are the poor literacy and numeracy skills; and related achievement orientation of the candidates. In the main, Australia’s employment and further systems are predicated upon these attributes; and designing for these competencies to at least Year 10 mainstream standards of aptitude remains a key priority. Too often, the training opportunities offered to Indigenous youngsters are protective, highly scaffolded and somewhat artificial, under the logic that this is what it takes to get the young people through. As Milton James (2008) puts it: ‘Most, if not all, of these programs are based on a rehabilitative welfare style whereby Indigenous people are usually patronised and infantilised’. (p. 7).

Nonetheless, pathways must still be available for youth and adult men and women who, for whatever reasons, lack advanced literacy and numeracy skills or the confidence and inclination to persevere with conventional schooling; and more importantly, whose natural interests and inclinations are toward trade and vocational work. VETiS and other training efforts, when thoughtfully delivered by competent adults, can provide such exposures, enabling students to participate in learning ventures that are of more direct interest and apparent application. To this end, the Review came across exemplary efforts being put in place by schools and workplace training coordinators, from which pertinent lessons can be drawn. These are further elaborated below.

**Recommendation 3.2**
That DECS work with the relevant other agencies and parties on the APY Lands to determine how best to draw advice from young men and women to inform future training and workforce development strategies on the APY Lands.

**Recommendation 3.3**
That the preferred model for enabling fluid communication between young people and other decision-makers (on and off the APY Lands) be established through a ‘market intelligence’ consultation exercise, as a formal committee or other institutional mechanism may not be the best or preferred medium.

**Recommendation 3.4**
That the VETiS Project Officer position be more appropriately resourced with greater security of tenure to reflect the complexities of the role on the APY Lands.

**Recommendation 3.5**
That the relationships between DECS VETiS, TAFESA and other RTOs are formalised so the synergies and creative solutions established through the efforts of individuals are not lost if staff move on.

**Indigenous Youth Mobility Program (IYMP)**

The Indigenous Youth Mobility Program (IYMP) is a Commonwealth-funded national initiative; the Adelaide program to which Wiltja connects is managed through Mission Australia. The program targets Indigenous youth from remote areas and gives them the opportunity to move to an urban centre to access training and gain qualifications. Importantly, participants must commit to returning to their communities on completion of their course.
Supported accommodation for participants is provided at minimal cost by Aboriginal Hostels Limited. The hostel staff members teach the students basic life-skills when needed. The case management approach of IYMP is commendable: the 3 day program (attended by the Wiltja students) is an assessment exercise which leads to a training plan. Both parties must sign off on the agreement. IYMP brokers the training required by the students which ranges from pre-vocational training through to full undergraduate degrees. Although the program is only in its second year in Adelaide, already it faces the perennial issues of low literacy levels, pressure from families for students to return to community and homesickness. Staff members also accept the high drop out rate as inevitable, yet continue to strive to provide an effective combination of career counselling, mentoring and pastoral care.

Theoretically at least, the IYMP is precisely the ‘stepping stone’ that some of the Review’s informants believe is missing for Wiltja students. Yet it may well be that greater transitional support mechanisms are required than what the IYMP is able to provide, in terms of helping young adults from remote communities settle into higher education and advanced training options; deal with the plethora of challenges (such as money, accommodation, sorting through timetables, handling exposure to practically all-white training sessions in new institutional settings); and maintain communication with families and other students who have ‘been there and done that’.

**Recommendation 3.6** (see also Education section for links to Wiltja)
That the transition and brokering services offered under the IYMP are closely monitored and evaluated, and include ‘client satisfaction’ measures; to ensure these important attempts to create transition frameworks are meeting their mark, and that DECS support IYMP in their efforts to promote the services on the APY Lands.

**APY Technical and Further Education (TAFE)**

As noted, the history of TAFE on the APY Lands is chequered. Over the years, staffing levels have fluctuated; with between 14 to 15 full time lecturers based on the APY Lands back in the 1980s reduced to one or two by the end of the 1990s. However, under direction from the South Australian Government as part of its commitment to restoring safety and amenity on the APY Lands, TAFESA Regional has sought to rebuild the program and now APY TAFE employs four full time staff members in Adelaide, and ten full and part time lecturers in the APY Lands.

(Ironically, the radical reduction in TAFE lecturers on the Lands occurred at about the same time that the federal government rewarded the governance efforts of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Council – a body formed out of previous struggles among Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people to secure land rights – by funding construction of an Anangu Pitjantjatjara Training Centre. This centre was built over the summer of 1994/95, with the idea of establishing a major training complex where people could come and stay for periods of one week or more. The former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) funded the construction of a visitors’ complex to meet the accommodation needs of the students. But, according to contributors to this Review, the Training Centre has only ever been used opportunistically, as a convenient venue for gatherings of all kinds, and its establishment (albeit by a different arm of government) coincided with the ‘gutting’ of TAFESA services on the APY Lands.)

As with VETiS delivery, the scope of training is constrained by the availability of TAFESA lecturers and the logistical demands of servicing geographically dispersed communities. A critical mass of students is required to make comprehensive and expertly delivered training viable. In the context of the APY Lands, this inevitably requires students to travel to access the training, which is not always a feasible or attractive proposition for the students. TAFESA attempts to manage this through a combination of community based lecturers, lecturers with responsibilities across the APY Lands and a visiting lecturer program.

Thus, TAFESA is a major provider of VET on the APY Lands, with 254 enrolments through APY TAFE in 2007.
Internal TAFESA ‘grey literature’ provides the following information on staffing of the APY TAFE program:

Community based lecturers located at: Indulkana, Mimili, Fregon, Ernabella, Amata, and Pipalyatjara. Their role is to:
- deliver accredited units from the Certificate I in Introductory Vocational Education, such as learner’s permit, internet banking, literacy and numeracy, computing, finding a job, personal income;
- deliver accredited training in areas of expertise for example: Certificate II in Hair and Beauty and Certificate I and II in Conservation and Land Management at Amata; Certificate II in Business at Indulkana;
- support students who are studying with a visiting lecturer; and,
- support visiting lecturers.

Lecturers with responsibilities across the APY Lands enable access to qualifications in these areas: Music, Metalliferous Mining (Load shifting equipment), Business, Community Services & Health, Interpreting.

TAFESA considers that its role in communities is to respond to training requests from both individuals and organisations where they are able. As well as responding to community requests, they also negotiate with other job-finding agencies such as ITEC Employment and Bungala Aboriginal Corporation (which administers CDEP) to assist with matching identified training needs for their clients. TAFESA also develops programs through partnerships such as the current agreement with South Australian National Football League (SANFL) to delivery the Introductory Vocational Education Qualification.

When questioned, TAFESA staff members conveyed the sense that training demand is driven more by Commonwealth and State agencies than communities or individuals. This contradicts the research literature on effective practice for training and enterprise initiatives with Indigenous people, which reports that training is most successful when it is consumer-driven.

Details of training delivered during 2006 and 2007 and provided by TAFESA are shown in Tables 7-9. Together, these tables provide evidence of the admirable efforts of a committed workforce working in difficult circumstances. At the same time, they also provide insight into the limitations and failings of TAFE delivery on the APY Lands.

**Table 7 - Breakdown of TAFE Student Enrolment by Age and Gender, 2007**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 – 14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35 – 44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 – 19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45 – 54</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>55 - 65</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8 – Number of TAFE Graduates by Qualification, 2007**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cert I in Conservation and Land Management</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert II in Business</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert III in Aged Care</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9 - Student Enrolments in TAFE Courses by Qualification, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Description</th>
<th># of Students</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cert I in Introduction Vocational Education Certificate</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert II in Business</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert III in Business</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert IV in Frontline Management</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert III in Aged Care</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert III in Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert II in Metalliferous Mining, Open Cut</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert I in Conservation &amp; Land Management</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cert II in Conservation &amp; Land Management</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Access Courses</strong></td>
<td><strong>254</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
<td><strong>130</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, despite the high numbers of enrolments, a large number of students are enrolled in units with no expectation of them completing qualifications (see Table 8). For example, of the 32 students currently enrolled in the Certificate II in Metalliferous Mining, the majority will be completing trade ‘tickets’ to operate equipment. There is nothing wrong with this, as completion of these ‘tickets’ as discrete units is common practice and the first step in acquiring basic trade skills. Also, when harnessed to a comprehensive program of ‘real-world’ training, they are very effective bridging steps to further learning (see also below, ‘Gateways for Youth’). However, in mainstream environments these tickets are generally gained as part of a broader skill set and with specific industries or occupations in mind. They do not become an end in themselves, which is often the case when training is delivered in remote Indigenous communities.

In interviews, APY TAFE echoed the concerns of other education and training providers and employers that there was little or no case management of individual students. For example, they cited examples of students returning from the Wiltja Program with no direction and no-one to advise them on further training opportunities. Particularly with VETIS programs, students should be given the opportunity to build on skills already gained by continuing into higher qualifications.

The cost of delivery for TAFE on the APY Lands is prohibitive. Whereas the average cost of delivery in South Australia is $16.90 per Actual Curriculum Hour (ACH), on the APY Lands this increases to $60 per ACH. APY TAFE cited students’ low literacy and numeracy levels as a major contributor to this increased unit cost. Lecturers feel they are playing ‘catch-up’ with the students and doing the job that primary and secondary schools ought to be doing. To make things worse, RTOs including APY TAFE must also compete for Commonwealth funding sources from separate pots such as the Indigenous Tutorial Assistance Scheme and Away From Base funding, which once again diverts time and resources away from the main game of delivery.
Despite the South Australian Government’s commitment to an inter-agency approach for the APY Lands, the laying of blame on other agencies is common, as is the practice of agencies taking on multiple roles with thin technical competence. While it was not this Review’s remit to comment on the justification or otherwise of this blame, of concern are the cost-implications of this eternal shifting of responsibility. As the South Australian Government has recognised to its credit, Aboriginal policy has to be dealt with at a whole-of-government level, if for no other reason than the budget implications for agencies providing services which other agencies are resourced to provide with (allegedly) greater depth and expertise.

Despite APY TAFE having negotiated flexible Key Performance Indicators within TAFESA in recognition of the challenging context in which they work, they must still comply with state and national regulatory requirements. The Australian TAFE system is lauded for its consistent, national approach which assures quality and portability of qualifications Australia wide. In compliance with these standards, APY TAFE stated that they discouraged double standards as a “matter of policy”. At the same time, staff members admitted they were aware of ‘dumbing down’ of programs occurring on the APY Lands. Similarly, while APY TAFE is adamant that they do not delivery training ‘for training’s sake’, when asked about future employment options, the perspective was limited to existing, visible, routes: the school, swimming pools, child care and so forth. However, APY TAFE staff members were not alone in this, as the Review encountered this delimited and hyper-pragmatic perspective time and again, and considers it part of the problem to be overcome in the pursuit of reformed outcomes for Anangu.

Mining as a future employment prospect is being considered by TAFESA in its planning, and is certainly talked up on the APY Lands as an important option for Anangu; but at a central policy level in the Government, the view is more sanguine. There is a recognition that the South Australian Government is playing catch-up with mining industry demand for skilled workers. Thus the priority will be investing in infrastructure and services off the APY Lands, especially since the mining sites in existence or proposal to date are also outside the APY Lands (see also Employment).

Recommendation 3.7
APY TAFE needs to examine its own practice and delivery in light of the extensive research on successful VET delivery in Indigenous contexts. This will enable APY TAFE to make informed decisions about its own delivery and further negotiate appropriate delivery targets.

Recommendation 3.8
APY TAFE should expand its visiting lecturer program to provide Anangu access to broader training opportunities.

ITEC Employment

In December 2007, the Australian Government’s Centrelink lifted the Remote Area Exemption for the whole of the APY Lands, following a ‘trial run’ in the APY Lands’ western area communities. Though it is unclear whether or on what basis the ‘trial run’ was deemed successful, ITEC Employment (based in Alice Springs) is now the sole Job Network Provider contracted to service APY Lands communities. What this means in theory is that APY Lands’ recipients of unemployment benefits are obliged to participate in mutual obligation activities that ITEC is contracted to arrange/provide. In practice, however, ITEC is simply the newest and greenest agency on the APY Lands endeavouring to broker training for people who have already had a lot of training with too little outcomes and too few results.

The difficulties so far encountered by ITEC Employment in the short time it has been servicing the APY Lands include the usual complaints such as finding and persuading appropriate trainers to come and provide training on the APY Lands; finding and persuading willing and able Anangu participants to sign on and attend the training; finding suitable office and training space to conduct their business on the APY Lands; and, finding and arranging suitable accommodation for training providers, as well as for their own staff. ITEC Employment Consultants travel from Alice Springs to the APY Lands every second week, staying a week at a time, and thus each community receives a visit from ITEC once every 6 weeks.
However, by far their primary concern relates to communication with their clients. Actually letting people know when they will be coming to the APY Lands to ensure that people take the opportunity to make face-to-face contact with ITEC employment consultants has proven exceedingly difficult, as has communicating to the clients exactly what their new responsibilities are. Family members are usually enlisted to act as interpreters without remittance. Indeed, people without the most basic levels of English literacy are handed Job Search Training booklets they are expected to fill in and return to the ITEC employment consultants in 3 months time, or risk financial punishment.

Although it is too early to tell, there are a number of paths this ‘new’ arrangement of mainstreaming unemployment responsibilities on the APY Lands could take. Firstly, ITEC is supposed to be liaising with TAFESA as one of the main training providers on the APY Lands, but apparently there are some unidentified ‘issues’ impeding that intent. Secondly, if assessed, it is highly likely that the vast majority of APY Lands’ recipients of unemployment benefits would be eligible to go on a Personal Support Program, on the basis of low levels in English language, literacy and numeracy alone. However, ITEC is currently resisting this option as it would then need to renegotiate its entire contract with Centrelink, which presumably has been calculated on the basis of having only a limited number of Personal Support Program clients.

Finally, and what seems to be the most likely option at this stage, given what the Review Team witnessed in the field, ITEC are likely to continue visiting the APY Lands “rounding people up” and convincing people they have to sign on for training programs that ITEC will either find itself unable to provide (hence, the client’s requirement to attend training will simply be renewed); or, conversely, ITEC will broker someone in to provide forms of training that goes nowhere. For example, during April this year, ITEC Employment contracted an RTO to provide a one week training course at Indulkana that covered basic and general Occupational Health and Safety, Language Literacy and Numeracy, First Aid and Driver’s Licence Training. It is hard to imagine participants from any background actually learning anything, let alone successfully completing the requirements of that course without magnificent feats of interpretation, rapid immersion and recall.

Recommendation 3.9
That, as a matter of course, interpreters are available to ITEC clients and, if Anangu are providing this service, that they are appropriately remunerated.

Nganampa Health Council

Nganampa Health Council has been operating on the APY Lands for over two decades. As a community controlled organisation, they have a dedicated intent to employing a maximum number of Anangu in key positions throughout the organisation. This is reflected in their management philosophy, which lists as driving principles the following:

- Nganampa Health Council is an Aboriginal controlled organisation;
- The Board of Management is Anangu. They make the key decisions about policy, resource allocation and staffing;
- The Director and all the clinic managers are Anangu. Their jobs include working closely with all Anangu in communities to make sure Nganampa Health Council is providing the services that Anangu want;
- Where specialist programs are implemented, Anangu are employed in various capacities (program coordinators, advisors and malpas); and,
- Whilst ensuring that key policy, staffing and resourcing allocation decisions are made by Anangu, the Board of Management recognises and values the important roles played by non-Anangu technical advisers in the delivery of health services.

This ethic of Anangu control is also reflected in the organisation’s employment figures (see Table 10).
### Table 10 – Employees as at 22nd October 2007: Nganampa Health Council

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Anangu</th>
<th>Non Anangu</th>
<th>Non Anangu</th>
<th>FTE</th>
<th>FTE</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>FREGON</td>
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<td>7.5</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIMILI</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
In 2003, the Health Council became an accredited Registered Training Organisation (RTO) for delivery of nationally accredited Anangu Health Worker (AHW) training to Certificate IV level. Under the auspice of AP Services accreditation as a Registered Training Provider, Nganampa Health also delivers Certificate II and III in Aboriginal Primary Health Care. The organisation took the route of becoming an RTO in order to exercise greater control over the quality of health worker training – to avoid, in other words, the ‘biggest nightmare’ that accessing externally provided training in Adelaide had become.

As an RTO, organisationally congruent ‘on-the-job’ training can be delivered to trainees within their workplace setting, in ways that are tangibly linked to people’s employment and career progression within the organisation. It is scaffolded by respectful and respected technical experts who have developed relationships with Anangu over many years; while the training schedules and delivery are coordinated on the APY Lands by a two person team (one Anangu; the other non-Anangu). The Council currently has close to 30 trainees.

Despite these focused efforts to coordinate in-house training at their centre in Umuwa, and the clear commitment to supporting and developing staff, recruitment and retention remains a key challenge for the Health Council. Nurse turnover is high (with one-third the workforce at any given time being locums), yet the demand for health services will not lessen in the foreseeable future. Hence the notion of supporting Anangu to assume key roles at all levels in the organisation permeates the Council’s operating philosophy as more than a rhetorical flourish: the organisation is genuinely concerned to build staff succession into its planning. Yet, even for an organisation as committed to Anangu employment and advancement as Nganampa, the poor literacy and numeracy skills of school graduates makes the goal of bringing Health Workers through to Certificate Level IV difficult to realise in large numbers – let alone as graduate nurses.

To promote the greater possibility of ‘Anangu doctors, nurses, accountants and managers’, in 2006 Nganampa staff established a scholarship fund (paid by staff salary contributions and donations), open to any Anangu undertaking tertiary studies. Recipients can receive a scholarship amount of $100 per week. Importantly, the scholarship is open-ended. It is not for health-related study exclusively but can be accessed for any formal tertiary level of study in a recognised university or institution. (Indeed, given the importance of (re)creating a cadre of highly credentialed Anangu for key services, it was a surprise to the Review to learn that this is the first scholarship specifically directed to Anangu youths from the APY Lands – and that it arose as an initiative of volunteers from the health service).

In 2006, scholarships were awarded to two young women who had finished year 12 and were hoping to enrol in nursing courses. Initially, neither scholarship holder was accepted for direct admission into the Bachelor of Nursing program in Adelaide as their academic standard was not at the required level. Instead they were offered bridging courses to help develop areas of academic weakness. Despite intensive scaffolding and one-on-one tutoring, however, one of the students conceded defeat after a semester of intense struggle and returned to the APY Lands, where she has since assumed project officer work with another organisation.

The difficulties here were immense and proved salutary for all parties. Nganampa staff were shocked that the students’ technical literacy and numeracy skills were not sufficient for mainstream tertiary studies, and were dismayed at their inability to mediate the outcome, despite exhaustive mentoring and assistance. At a senior leadership level they are keen to investigate ways they can forge stronger relationships with the school system to help create more successful outcomes.

Nganampa Health Council’s most successful program of linked training and work is the Tjilpi Pampa Ngura (Respite Care facility) at Pukatja (Ernabella). This special-purpose 16 bed facility provides opportunity for older, frail Anangu community residents to enjoy safe accommodation with trained support workers. People might want to stay to relieve pressures at home; to give a break to their families and carers; or to convalesce after surgery. A number of staff are employed at the facility, including a Residential Care Manager, an Anangu Manager, a cook, and multiple carers – the majority of whom are
Anangu. Workers also assist in the preparation, serving and delivery of twice-daily Home and Community Care (HACC) meals for frail, elderly and infirm members of the Pukatja community. These meals are prepared at and delivered from the facility.

Many informants to the Review nominated this program as an exemplary instance of valued and valuable work where Anangu employees enjoy a reputation for reliability and commitment. Such descriptions formed a stand-out contrast to the more usual complaints of APY Lands employers, who typically described hellish battles with Anangu workers whose substance use, unreliability, poor work ethic and general apathy undermined their faith in the whole idea of Anangu autonomy and economic viability (see also Employment Chapter).

The following features give clues as to why the respite facility is such a notable exception:

- The work is important. Without the respite care facility, older and frail Anangu that cannot be well cared for by families would have to leave their country and be placed in urban facilities in Alice Springs and Adelaide (indeed, before the facility was built, this was the experience). Working in the facility is a key means of keeping old people on country, an option Anangu clearly value very highly;
- The work conditions are respectful. Anangu carers and staff are provided with transport to and from work; have access to professionally catered meals; and are working in roles that are essential and non-gimmicky. Without their labour, the hostel would find it difficult to function and high care residents in particular would suffer. It is not insubstantial or pretend work;
- Training is directly relevant to the professional requirements of the workplace; not an indeterminate future opportunity. A clear schedule of workplace training is in place, and trainers from TAFESA visit at assigned times to deliver intensive modules related to client care and property maintenance. This training is enabled by careful rostering of release time for attending staff; and planning around known community events; and,
- More Anangu are employed than are strictly necessary on a full time equivalent workforce calculation. This not only enables people to work on full-time, part-time and casual bases; but also creates a critical mass of Anangu workers for professional support and workplace bonhomie.

**Recommendation 3.10**

That effort is made to embed critical success factors for effective workplace training in all government sponsored efforts on the APY Lands: namely, that the work is important and not artificial; that work conditions are demanding yet respectful; that training is directly related to the professional or technical requirements of the position; that a career pathway exists; and that multiple positions are funded on an exaggerated FTE calculation.

**Recommendation 3.11**

That the links and mutual interests between health and education be recognised in the first instance by facilitating a stronger presence of Nganampa Health Council members and medical personnel in formal education decision making and evidence generation. In the first instance, this could be as ex-officio members of the PYEC, assisting members to demand and analyse performance data.

**The Anangu Tertiary Education Program (AnTEP)**

The Anangu Tertiary Education Program (AnTEP) is the only tertiary level course and degree provider on the APY Lands. A collaboration between Uni SA, DECS and the PYEC, AnTEP’s purpose is to train and credential Anangu Education Workers and Anangu teachers to teach in Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara schools.

AnTEP is one of few long-term education programs (the other is the Nganampa Health Council) that directly links education, training and work. Most AnTEP students are employed by schools on the APY
Lands and almost all AEWs are enrolled in AnTEP. Many of the Anangu women who hold senior community leadership positions are AnTEP graduates and it was obvious to the Review Team that AnTEP is also critical in credentialing and preparing Anangu for school-based employment.

AnTEP is delivered in three stages:

- Stage 1 – Advanced Certificate in Education,
- Stage 2 – Diploma in Education (Anangu Education), and
- Stage 3 – Batchelor of Teaching (Anangu Education).

Stage 1 prepares students to be AEWs, Level 1. Stages 1 and 2 prepare Level 2 AEWs; while Stages 1, 2 and 3 prepare Anangu to teach independently in classrooms. A stage 3 AEW can then receive registration to teach on the APY Lands; but not elsewhere.

Since its inception in 1984, AnTEP has graduated 84 Stage 1, 39 Stage 2 and 20 Stage 3 students. The Review Team was told the number of currently enrolled students is approximately 60. According to AnTEP, the typical AnTEP student enrolls for periods of fulltime and part time study, with breaks for employment, family or cultural reasons, completing AnTEP’s three stages in around 8 years. About half of the AnTEP students, whether enrolled full- or part-time, successfully complete the stage in which they are enrolled.

Despite its obvious value, AnTEP’s fulltime enrolment has significantly decreased in recent years while its part time enrolment has steadily increased (see Table 11 and Figure 1). It was suggested to the Review Team this decrease in fulltime enrolment is in part due to stricter ABSTUDY requirements for course progression. Fulltime students are meant to complete AnTEP’s 3 stages within three years, while part time students are given three years to complete just one stage. The Review Team heard from AnTEP tutors that attendance of fulltime students is often lower than that of part time students. While we have no direct evidence from our interviews with AnTEP students, a host of personal and familial factors such as poor mental health, substance abuse, parent/childcare, domestic violence and poor health likely make fulltime attendance difficult if not impossible for most students. As there seems to be no compelling reason to insist students complete AnTEP in three years, the Review Team recommends that the DECS negotiate more flexible tertiary study support arrangements with the Australian Government. We further recommend that AnTEP carefully screen its fulltime applicants, to ensure good support systems are in place to enable full-time students every chance of success. At the same time, part time enrolments should continue to be supported and encouraged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Fulltime</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The AnTEP program enrols a wide array of students and, according to one AnTEP tutor:

"Generally we don’t say ‘No’ to anybody. There are a number of students enrolled in AnTEP who may have poor hearing, little schooling and need a lot of one-on-one attention."

This broad acceptance makes AnTEP a definite pathway to post-secondary education as students are not required to have achieved a high level (i.e., SACE graduation) of formal school education prior to enrolment. Added to this, AnTEP’s on-site delivery makes it the only program on the APY Lands that is both physically and educationally accessible.

But this essential accessibility comes at a cost. AnTEP courses are primarily delivered by tutors who volunteer for the positions through an expression-of-interest recruitment process within the primary schools. Tutors are thus current or former teachers, with primary or occasionally, secondary school backgrounds, employed in full- or part-time positions. These tutors are challenged to deliver basic literacy and numeracy instruction that simultaneously enables less academically prepared students to be independent learners (ready to engage AnTEP’s courses) and to deliver the AnTEP curriculum that prepares academically ready students to perform advanced Anangu Education Worker and Anangu teacher roles. At the same time, AnTEP’s enabling function is not currently built into its attainment structure. In other words, there is no “Pre-Stage” program that aims to bring Anangu up to a certain level of literacy and numeracy prior to enrolment in the Stage 1 course, although the need for such a general study skills option has been discussed for some time. It is strongly recommended that an Anangu Tertiary Enabling Program be developed and supported by UniSA in order to provide Anangu with the literacy and numeracy skills required to complete the AnTEP and other tertiary programs.

An Anangu Tertiary Enabling Program would assist students who are less academically skilled. Of equal importance is the need to provide tertiary instruction for students on the APY Lands with aspirations to teaching beyond APY schools. In line with mooted changes to teacher certification processes being
driven by the Australian Government, the Review recommends a fourth and fifth year program be offered on the APY Lands that would qualify Anangu Teachers for registration to instruct in mainstream schools.

AnTEP clearly does not have the capacity to deliver a mainstream teacher certification program given its current delivery structure. A description of AnTEP’s delivery in 2002 (Underwood, 2002) indicates AnTEP instruction has not always been the responsibility of AnTEP tutors:

The AnTEP program is delivered by four University of South Australia staff, three of whom are located in the AP Lands and one of whom travels between Adelaide and the AP Lands (and also Yalata). There is occasional input from specialist staff in other areas of expertise. AEW Tutors located in the Anangu Schools are employed by DECS for varying amounts of time to work with part-time students using AnTEP materials. AnTEP also makes considerable use of local Anangu for teaching in those curriculum areas that include a component of Anangu knowledge (i.e. Health, Vernacular Literacy etc).

According to AnTEP, this model changed in 2003 as a result of funding re-negotiations between Uni SA and DECS. Instead of transferring funds to UniSA, it was agreed DECS could better support AnTEP by employing AnTEP tutors. This decision resulted in an increase in study locations for Anangu students and greater school commitment to AEW and Anangu teacher training. But it also cost the AnTEP program its ability to employ a cadre of experts and tertiary specialists for course delivery.

While all the AnTEP tutors we interviewed and observed were clearly committed to their students and doing the best they could with the resources and skills they brought to their positions, to the point where the AnTEP program would be severely compromised without the ongoing and consistent support of its dedicated tutors, the Review Team found AnTEP lacking the expert personnel to deliver instruction across all key areas of teacher and teacher assistant training. Already AnTEP attempts to accomplish this in an ad hoc fashion, where tutors jump on serendipitous opportunities for qualified visitors to assist with workshop instruction and module delivery. But for in-sourcing of external expertise to be effective, this effort should be co-ordinated in advance and run according to a systematic delivery plan. Experts in key areas such as bicultural and bilingual reading and numeracy in early childhood; hearing and eyesight remediation/accommodation; and case-management of students at risk should be sourced in strategically to deliver masterclasses and workshops. With expert lecturers delivering workshops and modules to an upgraded and evidence-based curriculum, AnTEP tutors could focus on assisting students with assignments and remedial instruction.

That AnTEP is an essential post-secondary education provider on the APY Lands is undoubtable. Indeed AnTEP’s success over the last three decades is partially attributable to its consistent vision and mission to educate Anangu to work in Anangu schools. Therefore the Review Team recommends AnTEP continue its focused delivery, but work to increase its number of students and employment of expert instructors. In particular AnTEP should seek to recruit greater numbers of male students to provide a stronger message to Anangu ‘youngfellas’ that education is men’s business too. Currently, AnTEP students are almost all female.

AnTEP clearly cannot meet all the Land’s post-secondary education needs, even in the area of training the full range of people who are needed to work in and with schools. The success and limits of AnTEP point to a high need for and probable success of providing additional post-secondary education on the APY Lands. To this end, the Review Team recommends DECS, PYEC and UniSA develop a post-secondary education program, drawing on the precedence of AnTEP, to meet some of the needs not under the purview of the AnTEP undergraduate program (see Post-Secondary Training College section).

**Recommendation 3.12**
That AnTEP be resourced to radically increase the number of students.

In particular AnTEP should seek to recruit greater numbers of male students to provide a stronger message to Anangu ‘youngfellas’ that education is men’s business too.
Recommendation 3.13
That an Anangu Tertiary Enabling Program be developed by UniSA to provide students with the literacy, numeracy and academic skills to complete AnTEP and other tertiary programs.

Recommendation 3.14
That a fourth and fifth year program be offered on the APY Lands that would qualify Anangu teachers for registration to instruct in ANY Australian school.

Recommendation 3.15
That AnTEP be funded to employ expert lecturers to deliver workshops and modules to an upgraded and evidence-based curriculum. AnTEP tutors should focus on assisting students with assignments and remedial instruction.

Recommendation 3.16
That a post secondary training facility on the APY Lands offer tertiary training courses and programs that would train Anangu and non-Anangu to pursue qualifications in the skills required to provide high quality education from primary to secondary on the APY Lands.

These include courses and certificate programs in early childhood education, techniques for remediating hearing and vision deficits and literacy and numeracy instruction and tutoring and a mainstream education degree for Anangu teachers.

Gateways for Youth

Gateways for Youth was formed "by an amalgam of people who shared a disillusionment with their respective public service masters, consensus being that the services designed to assist often imposed greater barriers than support" (internal Gateways document description). Led by a small team of seven people who are based in Port Pirie, Gateways is a Commonwealth funded Local Community Partnership (LCP) which services Northern South Australia, working collaboratively, networking and liaising with schools, parents, students and industry to provide accurate and meaningful information and pathways for young people. Geographically, the region extends from Port Pirie, Whyalla in the south, to the NT/WA border in the North/North West.

Gateways operates in partnership with the schools but is funded independently of DECS and the AES, receiving its money from the Australian Government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR). The team aims to work with parents, students, schools and industry to provide transition information and pathways into employment, targeting males and females aged 13-19 years. Their contract is to provide Career and Transition Services, Structured Workplace Learning, and an Industry engagement program known as "Adopt a School".

On the APY Lands, the program focuses on ways of introducing young men to the rigours and expectations of mainstream work, through programs that are crafted to be an end in themselves – such as a generic Certificate I qualification – and as a component of a pathway, with various outcomes, including raising:

- personal life skills;
- independent living skills;
- personal preparation for work; and,
- employability skills.

In other words, en route to gaining Australian Quality Framework (AQF) competency skills, other aspects of personal growth are attended to, without this being a ‘soft and fuzzy’ justification for an ‘anything goes’ approach. Using a website database, each student has a mapped pathway. Individual work styles/
strengths, personal preparedness, hygiene, teamwork, communications, Occupational Health, Safety and Welfare requirements, problem solving, initiative, planning and organising, and self management are all designed in, with the overall aim of graduating through to specific AQF competency outcomes. This comprehensive approach is driven by an appreciation that:

‘One–off’ courses, no matter how engaging, are cautioned against, as we determined [that] the “so, what now?” factor often left people with net disillusionment.

This matches with the observations of an expert on adolescent development consulted by the Review, who asserted:

There should be a moratorium on people going into [Anangu] schools with twee programs where balls are thrown around, some music is made, some rap CD, a few people have fun for a while and go. It is not focusing on the great need of those kids for boundaries, for case management around whole problems – I know it is hard to ask for this, because getting even little things done is so hard. [But] strip away the travel time, the excursions, and the entertainment, the bar is pretty low.

Because successful transitions to work necessitate time away from the APY Lands – an experience that can heighten a student’s anxiety and increase their risk of dropping out – the team has also introduced the idea of the ‘staging post’ or staged immersion process, so that students experience time away in manageable doses, yet still in a manner that closely mimics the rigours they can expect to encounter in mining or other general off-APY Lands employment. Above all, patronising and unworldly conditions of hyper-protection are avoided, without throwing students into the deep end. Finally, working with senior men as part of the program is also critical, to reinforce cultural continuities and authority lines. It thus incorporates the key characteristics of successful pathways to employment identified in a recent review of best practice in desert pathways (Young, Guenther and Boyle, 2007). Namely, that the delivery model goes beyond the securing of a formal VTE qualification, to incorporate a suite of innovations: mixing job readiness, specific work skills, mentoring by Piranpa staff and Anangu elders, engagement of families (including supports for families in learning how best to support and not undermine the young people’s efforts), exposures to authentic challenges and the like.

Looking around for work-related training opportunities that wove these key elements together, the Gateways team have negotiated with Charles Darwin University (CDU) to expose a small group of Anangu students to life at CDU’s Katherine Rural College and working station at Mataranka. Here, in tropical savannah country a long way from the desert, they undertake units from the Certificate I level of the Rural Operations course. This entry-level qualification incorporates units covering preparation for work, ride-on vehicle operation, ride-on machinery maintenance; livestock and horse work. The Certificate I competencies from the horse training module are more or less transferrable across most entry level courses, but it is hard, hot work, and initially, some of the young men resisted and threatened to drop out. This was a big part of the point: being exposed to something arduous, being forced to draw on self-resources and stamina; and coming through the other side. The aim is to build participants' familiarity with the structure and task orientation of private sector manual employment away from the easy excuses for bailing out and distractions so readily available at home. The next stages involve transferring these pre-employment skills to mining and pastoral ventures (see Employment Chapter).

The Gateways’ program is wary of adding to the work and complexities of school staff, and so attends to the organisation of course logistics, duty of care issues, preparation and follow up, prosecution of SACE and VET outcomes, participants’ time and commitment. In 2008 the plan is to build on progress to date, but the work is restricted by two factors: financial constraints (see discussion concerning CDU below); and the sheer logistical hassle of piecing the programs together against the multiple forces that conspire to make doing anything sensibly and well such an exhausting hassle on the APY Lands. The figure overleaf gives some indication of the multiple connections that have to be made to realise the simplest gains.
Figure 3 – Multiple Connections between Gateways program and Other Programs on and off the APY Lands

NOTE: Competencies achieved in Certificate 1+2 Rural Operations and Operational Maintenance are transferable into many other pathways aside from those indicated above. Case management will negotiate the needs of individuals as they progress through the fundamental certified base competencies. Mathematical and literacy competencies and Employability Skills to meet aptitude, interest and needs.
Much of the coordinator’s time is spent chasing funds to purchase training and equipment; working long hours doing the multiple tasks that should be undertaken by a well resourced team; and struggling to get basic ICT infrastructure installed in schools so that other enabling programs (such as ‘Mathletics’) can be reliably run: “It is not the kids, but all the other peripheral issues, just hurdle after hurdle after hurdle that we’re trying to overcome.” Coordination of delivery is an ongoing issue and information is being collated on a database for the purpose of individual case management. The aim is to enhance Gateway’s ability to work collaboratively with other agencies and manage referrals.

However, this important case management role cannot be left to chance or the isolated initiative of one organisation. Without intelligent support, the risk is that efforts such as these – thoughtful, connected workplace preparation and training efforts – will join earlier attempts at sensibly joined programs and fall over. In the time available it was not possible for the Review Team to determine what the conditions of funding are for the Gateways for Youth program (e.g., its length of funding), or what the criteria for refunding might be. Nor was it clear whether the job referral programs (for example, via ITEC Employment) are expected to refer clients to the Gateways program, which might be an instance of an integrated training and employment service.

What is clear is that it is vulnerable to all the issues that place good activities at risk in Indigenous domains. The quality of the work that Gateways for Youth can undertake is dependent on the quality of the programs that can be brokered; the competence and resourcefulness of the people involved and being networked with; the availability of relevant infrastructure within facilities; the ebb and flow of ongoing support of Anangu families, men and ‘youngfellas’. Our recommendations here seek to strengthen the capacity of the people involved to drive the work that they are doing on a more sustainable basis.

Recommendation 3.17
In the short term, a case management system should be established and one of the key training providers on the APY Lands be resourced to manage it. In the long term this would be incorporated as a service function of the post secondary training college.

Recommendation 3.18
That the Gateways for Youth program be resourced to continue for at least a further two years to enable sufficient time for the program to build traction and evidence of success

Recommendation 3.19
That consideration be given to funding an additional project officer position to support the coordinator; particularly for dealing with the many extraneous administrative tasks related to ensuring the students are as work-ready as possible (e.g., establishing tax file numbers, organising travel, arranging contracts with other training providers, writing funding submissions, and so on and so forth).

Recommendation 3.20
That ITEC Employment (or other relevant job agencies or service providers) be required to refer clients to the program in negotiation with the coordinator.

Charles Darwin University (CDU)

As described above, CDU’s most recent involvement in training on the APY Lands has been in the provision of rural operations training as a residential program at CDU’s Katherine Rural Campus and Mataranka Station. This training was provided on a fee-for-service basis and CDU is currently negotiating delivery of a 3 week horse-starting course on the APY Lands, again on a fee-for-service basis. Anecdotally, CDU was asked to deliver this training because TAFESA were not resourced to deliver anything similar and they considered it prohibitively expensive and logistically difficult to deliver.
The Review Team was also told that, in previous years, CDU has consistently delivered a small amount of training to Anangu under recurrent funding arrangements for Indigenous vocational training from the Northern Territory Government. While this funding is supposed to be used exclusively to deliver training to Northern Territory residents, delivery to APY Lands residents was formerly possible because place of residence is assessed on postcode and many Anangu use Alice Springs post office boxes. However, in 2008 the Northern Territory Government (NTG) tightened regulations and from this point, CDU has been advised it will have to comply strictly with the requirement to deliver exclusively to bona fide NT residents when accessing NTG recurrent funding. CDU also previously delivered a small amount of training under recurrent funding to remote areas of Western Australia; this too will cease in 2008. CDU training coordinator’s have advised that their ability to respond to requests from the APY Lands only came off because they had one-off access to FarmBis funding for the horse starting course as well as top up from the Indigenous Land Corporation. FarmBis was a Commonwealth program designed to provide assistance for primary producers and rural land managers to undertake approved training activities to build business and natural resource management skills; but is defunct as of 30 June 2008, with nothing in the wings to replace it.

CDU and TAFESA recognise that there are opportunities for collaboration to deliver a breadth of training on the APY Lands using their respective resources and expertise. The Review Team understands negotiations for a funding agreement are underway between the two organisations. There are a number of advantages to such an agreement. It will enable CDU to deliver on the APY Lands and will give APY Lands’ residents access to this training either free of charge or at minimal rates.

A coordinated cross border approach to planning and delivery is desirable. CDU joins other RTO services in being familiar with the challenges of operating in Central Australian desert communities and especially the difficulties in servicing an enormous geographic area with a dispersed, mobile population. TAFESA is specifically knowledgeable about the APY Lands environment and could facilitate requests for training outside its scope – acting as a broker for the communities. There is an obvious logistical advantage in sourcing training from Alice Springs, evidenced by the significant amount of fee-for-service training already provided by RTOs based in Alice to Anangu residents. An appropriate agreement with TAFESA and the SA Department of Further Education, Employment, Science and Technology (DFEEST) would allow Anangu to access a broader range of training at minimal cost. The APY Lands sits between three state borders and Anangu people are mobile between SA, WA and the NT. Different state and territory policies can result in services that are highly variable causing inequities and unnecessary hardship for Anangu people.

**Recommendation 3.21**

That the bilateral funding agreements between the Commonwealth and SA, NT and WA make specific provision for appropriately resourced training on the APY Lands specifically and for tri-state Anangu residents generally; and that this not be limited to agricultural and rural training.

**Recommendation 3.22**

That the Commonwealth ensures that state funding barriers are removed to enable Anangu to source the best value for money training regardless of its source.

**Recommendation 3.23**

Stable intermediate term funding which enables institutions to move across borders and which institutions can plan against is required. To enable planning and to reduce the tendency for training to be provided around RTO preferences rather than client need, this funding cannot be in piecemeal competitive pots.
Recommendation 3.24
That the additional expenses and time required to build literacy and numeracy are made integral to programs, to the point that it is standard practice to assess student needs – recognising that such funding sources as ITAS tutor assistance are both time consuming to broker in and that ITAS tutors do not often have the specialist skills required.

SANFL Sport and Recreation Traineeships

The South Australian National Football League’s (SANFL) commitment to game development includes a focus on Indigenous participation and development. The development program on the APY Lands comprises a number of initiatives. The Far North West Sports League had its inaugural season in 2007. The pilot saw a men’s football and women’s softball competition run across the APY Lands. This is being expanded in 2008 to include juniors and there is an ambitious training program associated with the establishment of the league.

The development program is managed by three staff based with the SANFL in Adelaide and by two Development Coordinators based on the APY Lands (East, based at Ernabella and West, based at Amata). SANFL have established 7 traineeships across the APY Lands. Under the supervision of the SANFL staff, trainees assist in the coordination of league fixtures. In February 2008, SANFL entered into an agreement with SportSA to link the traineeships with a Certificate II in Sport and Recreation. The program is funded by the Commonwealth (through FAHCSIA and DEEWR) under funding initiatives to “improve social outcomes”. To date, four females and three males have commenced traineeships.

In addition to the traineeships, SANFL are offering accredited training in umpiring and have initiated a schools based program to be offered to Year 11 students in the school holidays (with a view to aligning training to a Stage 1 SACE unit). They interviewed all the Principals on the APY Lands to design the program. Understandably, given the history of failed and temporary past enthusiasms, the biggest challenge from their perspective is to convince schools that they are there for the long haul. Other challenges identified by SANFL were managing ‘the politics’ on the community and the state/territory border issues (while WA and NT communities would like to be part of the league, SANFL cannot support them because of funding constraints). Once again, low literacy levels limit the pool of students and SANFL have engaged TAFESA to deliver Certificate courses in Introductory Vocational Education Qualification courses; while ‘logistics’ was cited as the biggest challenge for them in training delivery.

The program is new and it is impossible to comment on its success based on retention or completion data. Its strength is in providing training linked to future career opportunities, in an area which clearly interests participants. However, there is some criticism of the program on the APY Lands. There is scepticism about the recruitment and selection process of staff and trainees, which SANFL also recognise is not ideal. Processes for equitable recruitment and selection (e.g., advertising, application process, assessment against requirements of the position) do not exist and candidates have been nominated through word-of-mouth networks on the APY Lands. Candidates are drawn from a small group of privileged or well connected Anangu. There are also frequent complaints about the football carnivals taking up too much time and taking people away from school and work. SANFL have tried to address this, with some degree of success, by having fixtures for games set for the season and providing fuel for teams to travel to and from the games so they are not stranded on other communities.

SANFL described the program as being in its embryonic stage with constant lessons being learnt. The scheme offers the training and creates the associated employment opportunities through the development of the Far North West Sports League. Training is not aligned to existing opportunities on the APY Lands, although SANFL suggested there may be other pathways for the youth they have trained into youth worker training or as AEWs. The aim of the program is sustainability but SANFL recognise that it will take a long time and immense effort for the program to be sustained without some level of recurrent Commonwealth and/or State Government support.
This has also been the experience of similar efforts to link football with school achievement in other jurisdictions. For these initiatives to work, as in anything for remote communities, attention to:

- sustainability
- expertise
- high quality management, coordination and delivery systems
- high expectations
- staff recruitment and retention

remains paramount.

**Forward paths**

With the limitations of both accepted, AnTEP and Nganampa Health Council are effective because of their focus and clear links to employment outcomes. This is best demonstrated through another Nganampa initiative, the Pukatja Respite Care Facility. Beyond these there are numerous examples of training based on supply rather than demand; yet the evidence is clear that training systems must respond to clients' needs rather than be driven by suppliers' interest (Guenther, et al., 2007). Suppliers' 'interest' on the APY Lands includes their resource constraints, the wish to avoid logistical nightmares, and desire to see something happening even if this means delivery of training for training's sake with no lasting impact.

Given the minimal training delivered on the APY Lands, the majority of costs should be met by recurrent funding or targeted programs (e.g., Flexible Response Funding), particularly since recent changes to VET funding models have resulted in more and more funding allocated to user choice. Unfortunately on the APY Lands, however, and as we have seen, this is not currently the case. Instead, Anangu are forced to access training on a fee-for-service basis assisted by RTOs who broker or coordinate the inputs of multiple organisations which then put considerable further effort into finding alternative funding sources (either VET funding or other Commonwealth or State funding initiatives) to create opportunities that may or may not lead to work.

It is hard to see how any strategic, long term, coordinated approach to training provision which meets the aspirations of communities and is matched to economic development and opportunity can be implemented, based on such a fragmented delivery system. Add to this the aggression, criminality, substance abuse, boredom, hyper-sexualisation and myriad other dysfunctions, and the scene is set for the unpromising state of play as many perceive the APY Lands today.

There are two important interventions that can turn around this depressing and self-fulfilling scenario: education and work. To create the conditions – the habits of mind, the behaviours and cultural expectations, the service standards and talent-attracting systems – for Aboriginal people to be the primary workforce driving the viability of remote areas, action is needed on a broad range of fronts. Some of these have been outlined. The Gateways for Youth approach, for instance, seeks to change participants' learnt behaviours and self expectations by exposing young men to challenging and tough realities within non-patronising systems of support. It is currently the clever work of key individuals who are exceeding their strict contractual requirements out of a sense of the greater 'public good'. Nganampa Health Council arguably does things at a larger and more sustainable scale. They have translated long standing principles about Anangu control into viable training and employment options which all employees are expected to understand and support. Yet Nganampa maintains the quality of its efforts by controlling as many of the variables as it can; and its work is subtended by an invisible support structure. Nganampa has a strong Indigenous board; but it also has technically competent non-Indigenous staff who are able to resist the passing enthusiasms and flurries within government; the wheel reinventions of newly appointed public servants with ground zero corporate memories; and multiple other forms of external interference, by being able to write clever submissions, undertake targeted research, and otherwise hold their own – bullishly and intelligently, and often to their political cost. In this sense, it is not an easily replicable model.
Accessing mainstream universities and further learning should remain an ambition for Anangu students, and we are optimistic that, if the recommendations for lifting the quality, zeal and focus of education are prosecuted with integrity and spirit, the number of university- and work-ready Anangu school graduates will increase dramatically. At the same time, there are a number of adults, Anangu and piranpa, who could benefit from residentially-enabled access to adult learning and research opportunities. The following discussion sketches a recommended way forward.

**Post Secondary Training College**

The Review Team were asked to consider the case for post-secondary training facilities on the APY Lands. Certainly, the argument can be made that currently, adult learning opportunities are extremely fragmented and in many instances, a waste of resources and effort. A seamless, early childhood-through-tertiary system for learning is an essential component of the education reform needed on the APY Lands. The viability and health of Anangu control of or involvement in business and enterprise on and off the APY Lands is dependent in large part on the “output” of the ‘P-20’ education and training system.

As with the secondary facility, focused consultations are also required to establish the parameters for priority curricula offerings. To begin with, we have argued that teacher training and professional development need to be intensified. We thus recommend that in the initial stages, that residential post secondary program offerings concentrate on education’s workforce requirements. These include, for example, the need for non-Anangu teachers to have ready access to state-of-the-art professional development, especially in the areas of bicultural and bilingual reading and numeracy and Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara language (written and verbal); and strategies that integrate language acquisition and academic achievement. Similarly, Anangu teachers should have the opportunity to pursue mainstream teaching degrees that enable registration across South Australia (and nationally); and advanced opportunities for professional development.

Post-secondary education on the APY Lands should also be open to Anangu and non-Anangu community members to pursue qualifications in the full gamut of skills required to offer high expectations education from primary through to secondary and beyond on the APY Lands. This would especially cover the technical competencies for establishing and driving high standards for language acquisition and academic achievement (including but not limited to the areas of literacy and numeracy); research and performance data interpretation skills; how to ensure assessment methods align to instructional objectives to inform instructional planning and delivery; risk management for key transitions in early, middle, and senior phases of schooling; and techniques for remediating the effects of known and proven health issues (e.g., hearing, vision and mental health).

To provide the full suite of specialist instructional expertise required, and to manage the learning demands associated with dramatically increasing the academic attainment of Anangu students, a greatly enlarged pool of skilled professionals and paraprofessionals is required. Delivering high quality and evidence-based post-secondary training would broaden the pool of qualified people able to operate as transition support personnel and who would be credentialed to provide much needed regular contact and discussion of learning need diagnoses between school and family. It would also provide opportunities to develop a capacity for directed support for students at risk of academic achievement (via one-on-one tutoring); and provide a means of at least partially mitigating the impact of having non-Anangu come and go from the APY Lands.

Finally, courses in research and consulting techniques should be offered, building on the interpreting courses now offered by TAFESA, to greatly expand the number of local Anangu who are able to conduct community based inquiries under commission from government (for example, for reviews such as this), and industry (for example, for market research inquiries, or assessments of such things as people’s financial literacy and issues with banking). This is itself a currently untapped source of employment and innovation for Anangu that has been successfully trialled in parts of the Northern Territory (see, for
example, www.cdu.edu.au/centres/yaci). The consultancy work provided by trained, community-based Indigenous researchers is not only professional, but taps into perspectives, strategies and tactics that are just about impossible for external parties to access in the timeframes usually laid down for commissioned reviews and assessments.

While investment in Anangu people to meet the labour intensive resourcing mixes we have outlined in this Review should dominate thinking; it would be a mistake to create yet another facility that from the outset has been designed around racialised concepts of what is ‘appropriate’ for Anangu people. Too often this translates into artificial ‘training for menial employment’ options that would not withstand scrutiny in non-Indigenous settings. It cannot be seen as a place where people get ‘trained’ but not educated; or where standards are reduced in order that credentials can be somewhat dubiously conferred. As with other recommendations in this Review, we would argue strongly that any new endeavours must be based on an expansive vision of what can be achieved; not a quick capital solution with no design and integrated planning, based on dejected ideas about who Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara people are. Conceivably, it could be a college where Anangu leaders and ambassadors are fostered; targeted research is conducted; skills for white and black are developed. The post-secondary college would operate as a hub for brokering training, higher education and research offerings from a range of existing providers, on a consortia basis rather than attempting stand-alone status. The college should be the central coordinating point of ANY training happening on the APY Lands. This would overcome problems of duplication and competition for clients and allow for better planning for delivery.

A common complaint from agencies was that there was no record of who held which qualification and therefore who to seek out when an employment opportunity came up (such as forklift driving for example) often meaning another round of training was delivered. For students, it is difficult to obtain training records and for providers/students to develop training plans when these records are not easily accessible. A central coordination and record keeping service would address these concerns but needs to be driven by client needs not by provider requirements to meet targets or obligations imposed by their funding bodies. To recap, “a supplier driven programme [is] typified by choosing courses based on the available teachers, using generic assessment from an alien environment or being driven by funding models rather than positive learning models” (Wallace, Curry & Agar, 2008, p. 3).

It is essential that capacity for sponsoring applied research is also part of the picture. As a mini-community college/training centre with links to universities, the ‘college’ governance would establish priorities for the development of research activities specifically designed to solve APY Lands problems. Again, Nganampa Health Council provides an existing model for the importance of driving targeted research and development when local challenges are not being addressed by mainstream projects. Their pioneering work on housing maintenance – begun as a small pilot project at Pipalyatjara in the mid 1980s – has since become a national program that sets policy frameworks and design standards across the country (see www.healthabitat.com). Similarly, applied research conducted to high clinical standards on ways to screen for sexually transmitted infections have since become standard operating protocols in Indigenous health. APY schools also have a tradition of partnering with applied researchers to attend to key issues, for instance in its formative work with the University of Canberra to develop the pilots for Scaffolding Literacy.

Research connections are not only important for generating locally attuned solutions and ensuring that resident personnel are accessing news of the latest advances in their professional interest areas; they are also a means of attracting high calibre human resources (scientist and social researchers alike) to remote regions on a regular basis and of generating additional funding sourced from competitive and philanthropic avenues for local employment, hard and soft infrastructure. Given Nganampa Health Council’s current track record in driving applied research and attracting skilled expertise to prosecute key projects with full Anangu involvement, and in the interests of establishing a collaborative structure that links education and health from the outset, it is recommended that Nganampa Board members and personnel be called upon to advise on the design and governance of the college model.
In connection with planning around the options and models for secondary education and training, contemporary infrastructure for accessing vocational and higher education learning should be incorporated into the design of the facility, to also enable distance delivery options. The two facilities (secondary and post-secondary) might be best co-located in the one learning precinct, although this would need to be weighed against the potential disadvantages of not having a secure enclave for younger adolescents away from adult distractions. Some easier issues, such as funding dual enrolment in high school and college, can be worked out in discussions; but the pastoral responsibility of the high school model should not be confused with the need to provide continuing education options for Indigenous and non-Indigenous adults.

To make such a service effective, participation cannot be mandated. It would require a unique governance model, a rethinking of mission for many of the providers concerned and openness of funding bodies to a new model. There are practical considerations such as mandatory requirements for individual RTOs to maintain student records and protect students’ privacy; special arrangements would need to be made to allow a central record keeping facility, again one requiring a new model. Above all the service needs to add value for providers and students as a ‘one-stop shop’ for both.

To ensure the post-secondary training model has diversified start up and recurrent funding, we further recommend that the South Australian Government engineer co-financing arrangements with the Australian Government, philanthropic, mining and other industry interests in the region.

To summarise, the post secondary college should simultaneously be a focal point for linking other education and training institutions from the north, west and south; a forum for discussing and prioritising problems to be addressed through applied research partnerships; and a training ground for young and older adult residents. To successfully integrate secondary and higher education key community members, the social venture sector, industry, state and national policy makers must come together around a shared mission to improve the labour force and the economy that is itself nested in a vision for the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara population as a whole. Business interest is vital, but so is broader public concern and engagement—civic groups, philanthropic foundations, employer, parent groups, and other interests are crucial.

**Recommendation 3.25**

To provide the full suite of specialist instructional expertise required, and to manage the learning demands associated with dramatically increasing the academic attainment of Anangu students, that a greatly enlarged pool of skilled professionals and paraprofessionals are attached to education efforts on the APY Lands.

**Recommendation 3.26**

That a post-secondary training and education facility or ‘college’ is established on the APY Lands, based on an integrated or dual model for high quality tertiary and vocational education. The college would provide both Anangu and non-Anangu access to a broad range of training and education opportunities; generate ‘home-grown’ solutions to the challenges faced by the APY Lands; help drive community development ambitions; as well as creating economies of scope and scale within a coordinating hub.

**Recommendation 3.27**

In the first instance, efforts should be concentrated on education’s workforce requirements; expanding and improving on AES and AnTEP’s current programs to skill and up-skill both Anangu and non-Anangu professionals and paraprofessionals.
Recommendation 3.28
The following should be features of any post-secondary training college:

- Courses in research and consulting techniques to enable local Anangu to conduct both self-directed community based inquiries and commissions from government and industry;
- Capacity for applied research and development, with relevance to the APY Lands sustainability and development, through partnerships with universities and other research institutions;
- Contemporary infrastructure for accessing vocational and higher education distance learning opportunities;
- Partnerships with existing RTO’s and higher education institutions in South Australia, the Northern Territory and Western Australia; and,
- Co-financing arrangements between state and territory and federal government, philanthropy and industry.

Recommendation 3.29
That the post secondary facility coordinates all training delivered on the APY Lands (or off the APY Lands to large cohorts of Anangu). This would require unique governance arrangements, commitment from all training providers and, above all, a customer focussed approach.

Recommendation 3.30
That, drawing on their experience of linking training with vital applied research and development work, Nganampa Health Council plays an integral role in the design and governance of the post-secondary training college model, and that other expert advice is sourced to ensure the most appropriate model is developed including consideration of co-location with a secondary facility.
Chapter Four: Employment

Overview

- Australia-wide macroeconomic restructuring since the 1960s coupled with pervasive ambivalence about the economic viability of remote area communities has severely limited the nature and type of infrastructure and enterprise investment in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands, with the result that too many hopes are vested in projects and initiatives developed with piecemeal resources and short term remits. A discernable withholding pattern underlies the level and type of investments that are made, reflecting the ambivalence that all governments hold about arid and scarcely populated regions. The result has been the promulgation of severe socio-cultural dysfunction, with every effort at autonomy, enterprise and aspiration on the part of Anangu almost completely undermined.

- The longest standing successes in formal employment on the APY Lands have materialised in organisations that were established for an essential and guaranteed purpose (for example, health, schools) and not as tentatively resourced pilots. This longevity and reliability has enabled workplace cultures to develop which incorporate Anangu and non-Anangu habits and preferences.

- ‘Good’ ideas have a history of failure and reinvention, at least in part because they are often based on external conceptualisations of what would be ideal to have (e.g., market gardens for fresh fruit and vegetables) that are then developed as short term projects; rather than as guaranteed ventures informed by exquisite business planning and market research, developed with the same assumption of long term asset investment as other essential services. It is not so much that policies have failed but have never been set up with a reasonable prospect of succeeding.

- Young people and adults alike also felt like they had little control over their community, or the organisations in it, and were subordinate to non-Anangu. And many Anangu felt that education was the key – education that had a local focus and drew on local strengths, but which produced competitively placed graduates. Compared to all the misgivings articulated by non-Indigenous participants about Anangu employability, Anangu ideals for education and employment are quite clear on these issues.

- Moves by the South Australian (SA) and Australian Federal Government to restore conditions of safety and civic order on the APY Lands through increased policing meets the need for community security. Building on that fundamental requirement, the key solution to under- and unemployment on the APY Lands is securing the conditions for dramatic improvement in education outcomes in early childhood, primary and secondary schooling; and supporting people on the ground to lead their own enterprise and development. Insistent attention to the conditions which create quality in schooling is the fundamental prerequisite for improved employment, enterprise and innovation for Anangu.

- The potential for and of mining is worthy of note. The key question is how best to ensure Anangu are in a position to take advantage of the opportunities that will develop. The benefits of employment; career; owning and running businesses that provide a service to the mining and tourism industries; and so forth are potentially huge but it is entirely feasible that windfalls will benefit only a few and that the majority of enterprise benefits will take place off the APY Lands, led by non-Indigenous entrepreneurs and corporations. All care must be taken to ensure negotiations for future benefit are guided by impartial experts and that time is dedicated to such a process to take place.
The Terms of Reference for this Review asked among other things that we consider current employment opportunities and case management processes on the APY Lands. With the exception of CDEP, many of the ‘case management’ or brokerage services that are available to organise employment opportunities and create pathways to training, work or further learning for Anangu are detailed at length in the previous chapter and so are not repeated here. Our analysis concentrates instead on the socio-cultural, economic and demographic challenges to be overcome; on the ways in which past and present policies, procedures and modes of practice aid and abet conditions for and against viable employment on the APY Lands; on existing work opportunities; on the larger industry groupings that are most commonly suggested as viable options for future employment; and on the lessons that can be learnt from examining two of the longest standing employer bodies on the APY Lands.

For a number of reasons, this chapter does not contain detailed recommendations following discussion of each of these themes. First, concurrent with this Review, the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) commissioned another review, aimed at analysing the current and future culture of work from both an Anangu and an employer perspective on the APY Lands, and to identify potential training and employment opportunities, as well as any employer support requirements that would help maximise retention and recruitment of Anangu in local jobs. This more detailed examination of work issues is important. For instance, our work did not explore the extent to which local people want to be employed but cannot find worthwhile and desirable jobs; versus the rate at which people do not even search for work, unless coerced, and the reasons why this might be the case. It is important not to assume, as so many review contributors did, that ‘indolence’ prevails because welfare payments otherwise provide for a perfectly satisfactory income and lifestyle.

Second, in analysing the employment opportunities that are currently available and how these might best be amplified for Anangu contenders, we have found that existing policy directions and program efforts are already doing what is available to be done within existing constraints. For instance, the Australian and SA Governments have introduced significant changes aimed at reducing reliance on welfare payments and creating the potential for economic independence, including opportunities to attract private capital for enterprise development through revision of land title conditions, or securing conditions of civic safety and protection by vastly increasing policing capacity on the APY Lands. There are also indications that a variant of the Northern Territory welfare sequestering, introduced under Federal Government's emergency response to child sex abuse in NT Aboriginal communities, is soon to be introduced on the APY Lands, to be tied to school, work and perhaps compulsory income management. The precise nature of these changes is not known to the Review, but we can anticipate that they will impact on school attendance, household finances and perhaps also employment programs.

Third, there is clear evidence that both levels of government are pursuing a practical agenda of linking training to immediately available opportunities within APY communities; and, as was described in the previous chapter, are further trialling programs that assist young people to take up mainstream private sector employment off the APY Lands, targeting pastoralism and mining in particular. Also, in 2005, a coordinating committee was established - the Tjungungku Kuranyukutu Palyantjaku (TKP) - in an attempt to develop a whole-of-government approach to revoking the conditions that have produced gross dysfunction on the APY Lands. The TKP involves both levels of government working together with Anangu organisations to systematically attend to the crisis issues that affect the ability of individuals, families and communities to develop and sustain higher order hopes and aspirations for Anangu from the APY Lands. The objective of the TKP is to work on the following five key priorities for improving ‘the lives and services available to people living on the APY Lands’ (DP&C, 2008, p. 2). These are:

1. Housing, Infrastructure and Essential Services
2. Safety
3. Leadership and Management
4. Health
5. Employment, Education and Training.
The TKP’s propriety framework implicitly acknowledges that successful schooling and further learning has to occur in conditions of fundamental security and shelter. With support from the SA Department of Premier and Cabinet, and building on the strength of the foundation of the TKP, many initiatives have been recently undertaken on the APY Lands, including the establishment of bush food plots at Amata and Mimili (see the Outback Pride website’s Mimili and Amata pages at www.outbackpride.com.au/communities). Another example of important changes since the instigation of the TKP has been the appointment of SA Department of Families and Communities funded social workers to work through Amata and Indulkana Schools, with a third position currently being recruited for Fregon School. These social worker positions currently work in collaboration with DECS personnel and existing School Counsellors. Further, in response to the Mullighan Report (2008), an additional five social worker positions have been committed for the APY Lands (DP&C, 2008, p. 5).

In terms of the TKP’s achievements to date against the priority area most relevant to this report, Priority Area Number Five, Employment Education and Training (DP&C, 2008, p. 12), May 2008 progress data from the SA Department of Premier and Cabinet lists the following:

- Provision of employment for 56% of the enrolled Anangu trainees from 2003 in 2006
- 70% completion and 100% employment rate for all of the 11 young people who entered schools administration traineeship program
- Completion of the plant and machinery TAFE training by 30 students
- Enrolment of 27 students in community services training in 2007 in areas such as aged care, food handling, disability services and youth work
- A 35% increase in the retention rate of Anangu students in years 10 to 12 in the past 6 years
- Graduation of 20 SACE graduates from the Aboriginal APY Lands secondary programs during the past 4 years
- Ernabella ceramics enterprise
- Employment of youth workers in every major community
- An increase in TAFE employees from 2 in 2001 to 10 lecturers on the APY Lands with 4 Adelaide-based support staff
- Provision of TAFE courses in plant and machinery, horticulture, construction skills, repairs and maintenance, literacy and numeracy, driving learners permit, personal banking, and community services
- Office Administration – trainees – located at Ernabella Art Centre, PYKU Centres, and community offices.
- Traineeships in schools administration, ceramics, land management and administration
- Child Parent Centres at all school sites across the APY Lands
- School holiday activity programs for young people
- DECS Early Years Coordinator appointed
- Strategies to improve attendance and retention rates.

This list of achievements clearly indicates governments’ determination to exploit every available opportunity for linking training to all locally and regionally available forms of employment, and to cover related areas that speak to the necessary conditions for self-reliance (such as being able to budget, manage banking, shop, cook and maintain households). While there is little evidence across Australia that employment training schemes actually succeed en masse; it can be said that policies to provide pathways for Indigenous people of exceptional sporting, artistic, or managerial/public policy talent seem to be working well; and that a great deal of current government effort is directed at the highly reasonable hope that Anangu will be able to fill jobs that either currently exist or can be created on the APY Lands drawing on existing capacities.

Finally, the recommendations and arguments outlined to this point already specify the key solution to under- and unemployment on the APY Lands: namely, securing the conditions for dramatic improvement
in education outcomes in early childhood, primary and secondary schooling; and supporting people on the ground to lead their own enterprise and development. Without diminishing the importance of current training-to-work efforts, it remains the case that lack of employment growth among Indigenous people is not easily fixed by policy initiatives that focus on skill development and job finding skills for under-educated adults. For such efforts to work on a small dominion basis, they need to be founded in and driven by Anangu conceptualisations of enterprise they want to see succeed. At the same time, whilst-so-ever education remains so substandard, it is hard to see employment outcomes altering beyond the successes by the small subset of people who either are already in institutional positions, or who are in a structural position to stand to gain from current training and employment efforts (described further below). Improved education and heeding Anangu ideas for employment and enterprise are the key ways to open work opportunities on and off the APY Lands and to better position current and future Anangu to drive and shape their own prosperity at a population level.

We do not under-estimate the size of this challenge and believe that, of all the questions canvassed by this review, finding means of immediately improving employment for the majority of adults currently living on the APY Lands represents one of the hardest challenges. Resolution confronts longstanding issues within Indigenous policy about the level of responsibility and resourcing that government is prepared to make to enable people to earn an income where they want to live; the deemed viability of remote area communities; long term welfare dependency and structural unemployment; and responding to the collateral damage wreaked by overarching changes to the Australian economy.

The macro and micro challenges

For the most part, this section of the report is about under- and un-employment of Anangu, rather than employment. While the 2006 Census data shows only 5.7% unemployment for the 46.7% of the population aged 15 and over in the labour force (an unemployment rate comparable to the national average), 75% of those counted as employed were participants in the CDEP program, thus indicating that there are only 150 Indigenous people with non-CDEP jobs living and working on the APY Lands. At the same time, Census data indicates that there were 224 non-Indigenous people living and working on the APY Lands in 2006 – a raw number higher than the number of employed Anangu, and yet non-Indigenous people only made up 15% of the APY Lands residents (Australian Bureau of Statistics Website; accessed 23 June 2008). Even the briefest of visits to the APY Lands immediately confirms this Census data. Very few ‘mainstream’ employment opportunities for Anangu exist outside of CDEP. Those that do are concentrated in government funded entities such as the family centres, clinics and schools.

In their account of Aboriginal learning and work opportunities in desert regions researchers Metta Young and John Guenther (2008) make the important point that

Aboriginal people comprise one fifth of the total arid desert population – nearly one third of youth aged 15 to 24 – compared with about 2% of the population nationally. This proportion is predicted to increase to 23.7% by 2016 with a 34% increase in the prime working age cohort – 25 to 64 years (Taylor, 2002b). Based on ABS census data (ABS 2003c, 2007a). (Young & Guenther, 2008, p.178)

They further explain that between 1991 and 2006, the non-Aboriginal population of the desert region declined by almost 4000 (~3%), while the Aboriginal population increased by more than 5000 (~20%) during the same period (Young & Guenther, 2008). In other words, the future workforce for the vast tracts of arid desert is Indigenous.

Yet, looked at structurally, there is no evidence that across-the-board employment prospects are improving. To this day, much of the income that flows to Anangu still comes from the federal government either as income transfers through the Australian welfare system or as reimbursement for participation in
The following table provides some observations drawing from available reports and data about the economic and demographic profile of the APY Lands, compared with Australia as a whole.

**Economic Development**

Compared with Australia as a whole, Indigenous residents of the APY Lands:

- Have a median individual income of $207 per week, compared with $466 per week nationally.
- Have a median household income of $745 per week, compared with $1027 nationally, whilst also having more than double the number of occupants per household (5.4 is the average household size for Indigenous residents on the APY Lands, compared to 2.6 nationally).
- This means that Indigenous residents have approximately one-third the national average of household income per occupant.

**Education and Training**

Compared with Australia as a whole:

- Only around 5% of Indigenous residents of the APY Lands aged 15 years and over have completed Year 12 or its equivalent, compared with about 60% nationally.
- Only around 4% of Indigenous residents of the APY Lands aged 15 years and over have a non-school qualification (certificate, diploma, degree or other), compared with about 38% nationally.
- Approximately 30% of Indigenous residents on the APY Lands are currently attending an education institution, which is comparable with the national participation rate, if we exclude consideration the younger population profile of Indigenous APY Lands residents.
- Thus, half of those attending education institutions nationally are attending a post secondary institution, whereas this is not the case for Indigenous APY Lands residents who are, in the main, primary and secondary students only.

**Employment**

- 46% of Indigenous APY Lands residents aged 15 years and above are in the labour force, compared with 60% nationally.
- 44% of the Indigenous APY Lands resident population aged 15 and above is employed, compared with 57% nationally.
- While the unemployment rate of those in the labour force is similar for both the APY Lands and nationally (about 5%), by far the majority (74%) of those Indigenous APY Lands residents considered “employed” are part-time CDEP participants. This means that employment, net of CDEP, is actually very low.
- Also, 77% of those employed nationally work more than 35 hours per week (i.e. are full-time), compared with only 18% of employed Indigenous APY Lands residents.
- Meanwhile, similar percentages of the Indigenous APY Lands population require assistance with core activities (such as self-care, mobility and communication) compared with nationally (about 4% of the population), but 15% of Indigenous APY...
Lands residents provide unpaid assistance to those with disabilities, compared with only 10% nationally.

- Similarly, 47% of Indigenous APY Lands residents are involved in unpaid childcare, compared with only 27% nationally.

- As at last census, nearly all (97%) of Indigenous APY Lands residents employed were working in community services, such as education and training, health care and related social service, and public administration and safety, compared with about 20% of all employees working in these areas nationally.

- This accords with Young and Guenther’s (2008) finding that, across desert communities, Aboriginal learners and employees are significantly under-represented in the fields of study where most mainstream jobs in the desert are found – mining, engineering, retail and hospitality (Young & Guenther, 2008).

Housing

- Indigenous residents of the APY Lands have an average of 2.1 people per household bedroom, compared to an average of 1.1 persons per bedroom nationally.

- Indigenous residents of the APY lands have an average household size of 5.6, compared to 2.6 nationally.

- Put another way, 42% of Indigenous APY Lands (usually 3 bedroom) households have 6 or more people living in them, compared to only 3% of households nationally.

- By comparison, there are 101 (one, two, three and four bedroom) households on the APY Lands, with only one non-Indigenous person resident.

- Thus, 30% of all dwellings on the APY Lands are occupied by one or two non-Indigenous residents, who constitute only 15% of the APY Lands population.

Mobility

- In the 2006 ABS Census, the APY Lands had 85% of its population identify as Aboriginal compared with 2% nationally.

- 88% of Indigenous APY Lands residents had the same address 1 year ago, compared with only 77% nationally.

- A similar percentage (88%) of Indigenous APY Lands residents aged 5 and above had the same address 5 years ago, compared to only 53% nationally.

- Meanwhile, a mere 30% of non-Indigenous residents on the APY Lands had the same address 5 years ago.

Youth Services

- More than 30% of the APY Lands Indigenous population is aged less than 15 years old, compared with less than 20% nationally.

Despite all this, in the course of conducting the fieldwork for this Review, many of the people we spoke with articulated a hope that enabling Anangu to become the doctors, nurses, teachers and managers of their own communities (without compromising their ‘Anangu-ness’) was the underlying aim of formal education and the main objective of their own work. Young people and adults alike also felt like they had
little control over their community, or the organisations in it, and were subordinate to non-Anangu. And many Anangu felt that education was the key – education that had a local focus and drew on local strengths, but which produced competitively placed graduates. Compared to all the misgivings articulated by non-Indigenous participants, Anangu ideals for education and employment are quite clear.

This raises the question of why, after more than 40 years of education with a view to enabling Anangu to command their own communities, this goal still seems elusive. By way of brief and over-simplified answer, we would point to the macro-economic changes within the Australian community at large since the late 1960s, which have seen job options for unskilled labour systematically decrease, as a result of workplace restructures and transformation of global trade relations. Put simply, the number of positions available for unskilled labour has decreased across the board; and those that are available rely on the job-seeker’s capacity to migrate to the opportunities, unburdened by chronic disease, physical disability, records of time in custody, child care or other restrictions (Taylor, 2005). Unfortunately, at the same time, Aboriginal people have been caught in a second pincer movement that accompanied this Australia-wide economic restructuring. These are the suite of more racialised or at least more ambivalent policies, which have danced around the question of whether or not Australia’s desert communities are to be made economically viable. Governments of all persuasions have not quite known what to do with the legacies of mission settlements and ration stations whose original establishment were not necessarily based on proximity to economic resources, promising employment or viable markets. What Australians have witnessed over past decades is deep uncertainty on the part of successive state and federal governments about how best to proceed in terms of investment in remote Indigenous people’s futures, and a suite of legislative and policy measures that might best be described as putting a bet each way. Governments have been caught between the decision to invest on the APY Lands (which can be viewed as a ghettoisation and segregation of Anangu from mainstream society even as it allows for continued Anangu connection to country); or not to invest (which might amount to “forcing” Anangu to move out into the “real” world and hence can be considered a form of cultural genocide), the result has been the promulgation of severe socio-cultural dysfunction, with every effort at autonomy, enterprise development and aspiration on the part of Anangu almost completely undermined.

This is evidenced in the historical limits placed on infrastructure and capital investment on the APY Lands. We need only look as far as the state of housing, where the majority of Indigenous households have more than 6 people (as compared to the average national household size of 2.6). Meanwhile, 55% of houses on the APY Lands are occupied by non-Indigenous people, who nevertheless comprise only 15% of the APY Lands residents. This also explains why it is only now that office facilities and housing for essential service personnel (such as police) are being constructed, despite the longstanding need to restore civic order and provide legal protection for vulnerable members of the community. Rumour further has it that there is a ‘black market’ operating on the APY Lands whereby funds are siphoned into the pockets of a few entrepreneurial profiteers. This endemic corruption thwarts efforts to establish above-board (sanctioned) initiatives, and while it represents a form of economic activity, is not of the type needed to rebuild dispirited communities through knowledge innovation and honest leadership.

The indecision is further reflected in the provisional resourcing allocated to training and employment initiatives: uncertain of the likelihood of success, given past failures, funders hedge their bets; and are not really settled in their minds on the degree of permanence they should incorporate within the design of what they are creating. In turn, this helps explain why most existing training opportunities and employment creation schemes are opportunistic and based on relatively short-term planning and expenditure timeframes. Symbolic efforts are sustained by people who are doing the maximum with the minimum pieces at their disposal. To illustrate: a tourist venture on the APY Lands is inevitably a small enterprise led by a small band of enthusiasts who hope to make it work; a tourism venture where government is seriously committed to create something where nothing was before looks like Yulara tourist resort.

Clearly, these questions are bigger than this Review but are signalled here because of their relevance to the success or otherwise of government policy. It is clear that current education and training services have been designed around a minimalist model of what can pragmatically be done, whilst the question of
whether the communities in question are ‘sustainable’ (a dubious and undefined term) and warrant all-out expenditure efforts hovers unanswered, yet influencing the shape of programs and initiatives even so.

It is essential policies are not built around the tacit hesitation that enabling people to live and work anywhere means the end of Aboriginal cultural identity. That is to say, the Review Team strongly advocates for the need to educate current and future Anangu for competitive pursuits in the world at large, and that any anxiety about the effects this might have on people’s sense of self must be eradicated, since such anxieties inevitably pervert the quality of service delivery efforts, being at once paternalistic and constraining. To reiterate the key message of this Review, we believe that consistent attention to the conditions which create quality in schooling is the fundamental prerequisite for improved employment, enterprise and innovation for Anangu. We also believe that a comprehensive workforce development strategy for the APY Lands that incorporates climate change; affordable food, fuel and water resource challenges; and current and future industry needs locally and in surrounding regions needs to be developed around an assertive belief that Anangu cultural integrity is critical to what Australia is and might yet be. Finally, working in partnership with Indigenous people to realise their own ideas for micro-business and enterprise development requires genuine attention to processes of engagement and facilitation. How this last might best be achieved is considered under ‘Emerging Enterprise’ later below.

Recommendation 4.1
That any lingering concerns about detrimental effects of economic development and ability to work elsewhere will undermine community futures and key aspects of Anangu identity are prevented from influencing investment decisions, education and training quality on and off the APY Lands.

Recommendation 4.2
The Anangu leadership, in partnership with and with advice from suitably qualified external individuals and organisations from both public and private sectors, develop a comprehensive workforce development strategy for the APY Lands. This should incorporate what is known or can be predicted about the impact of climate change; affordable food, fuel and water resource challenges; and current and future industry needs locally and in surrounding regions.

Community Development and Employment Projects (CDEP)

The Community Development and Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme ostensibly provides another possible pathway from compulsory education into further training and employment for Indigenous people, especially those living in remote areas. However, the scheme has been perennially hamstrung in a number of ways. On the APY Lands, as elsewhere, the scheme has struggled with issues of fragmentation and a lack of coordination in implementation, as well as with the endemic problem of attracting and retaining professionally qualified and proficient remote area staff who can commit for the duration. As a result, in many cases, CDEP has proven more disabling than enabling for its employee-participant-clients. As noted in the Australian Government’s recently released Increasing Indigenous Economic Opportunity: A Discussion Paper on the Future of the CDEP and Indigenous Employment Programs (2008: p.4):

  CDEP provides work experience, skills and training for participants, but it should not be a barrier to education, training and employment outside CDEP.

In further asking the question ‘How do we make sure CDEP wages do not create a disincentive for people to study, train or take up other work outside of CDEP?’, the current Australian Government (2008, p. 5) reveals, firstly, that it does not consider CDEP to be providing ‘real’ employment; and, secondly, that CDEP may sometimes act as a disincentive to pursuing such opportunities.
The uncertainty surrounding the precise nature and purpose of CDEP is perhaps one of its most disabling features, making it difficult to decide how to fund the program, and on what basis it might be deemed a ‘success’. CDEP was originally conceived as a valid employment option for Indigenous people wanting to work part-time on meaningful projects in their communities. However, the scheme has increasingly come to be seen as “for all intents and purposes … a welfare payment” (Brough, 2007). As indicated, CDEP is generally regarded today as neither employment nor welfare; and as such accords participants neither the social status, responsibility, professional development opportunities associated with proper paid work, nor the job search and job readiness skills training to which welfare recipients are entitled. Meanwhile, the uncertain status of CDEP simultaneously acts to skew unemployment figures, especially in remote areas where CDEP participant numbers are especially high relative to the total labour force or working population. Depending on whether we choose to view CDEP as welfare or work, the gap between compulsory education and further training and employment for remote Indigenous people is either massive or minimal.

On the APY Lands, the Review saw and heard about many of the same issues that have been raised for CDEP nationally, though at least the issues of fragmentation and lack of coordination appear to have been addressed recently on the APY Lands. According to the Anangu Lands Paper Tracker (accessed 23 May 2008), in the past there were up to 16 separate organisations providing CDEP on the APY Lands. However, the Australian Government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) awarded a single contract to Bungala Aboriginal Corporation ('Bungala') in June 2007, after conducting a review of CDEP on the APY Lands in late 2006. Bungala is “a Port Augusta-based organisation with a long history in delivering training and jobs to Aboriginal people across regional and remote South Australia” (DEWR, 2006, p. 6), which is now tasked to deliver CDEP across the whole of the APY Lands. Presumably, a single contract was awarded in the hope of improving both the coordination and consistency of CDEP projects on the APY Lands, as well as assisting in the retention of participants who may be mobile between communities.

It is probably too soon to tell whether and to what extent the alteration to the service delivery of CDEP on the APY Lands has been effective since the awarding of a single contract to Bungala, and in any case it was not this Review’s remit to fully evaluate CDEP on the APY Lands in terms of both its past and present history. Nonetheless, the Review Team did take the opportunity to speak with CDEP supervisors and managers whenever possible during the course of the Review, and we generally found the organisation to be a professional and experienced deliverer of remote area CDEP. Even so, Bungala struggles to attract and retain quality professional staff to remote areas, and the Review encountered some CDEP supervisors in the field who were either extremely young, or highly unqualified and inexperienced, or both. As in other areas of remote service delivery, the effectiveness of Bungala’s CDEP delivery on the APY Lands is heavily reliant on the individuals the organisation is able to recruit on the ground – their professional training and qualification, as well as their personalities – and in many communities Bungala revealed fractured and strained relationships between CDEP supervisors and participants, as well as between Bungala staff members and those of other organisations. At an organisational level, the relationship between Bungala and ITEC and between Bungala and TAFE were particularly weak, though these would seem to be the most crucial in terms of progressing APY Lands welfare clients into CDEP, and CDEP participants into further training and ‘real’ work.

Nonetheless, in May 2008 Bungala reported to have transitioned 35 CDEP participants into employment over the ten months previous (Anangu Lands Paper Tracker; accessed 23 May 2008). This is, as Bungala says, “a great result”, but the Review was able to find no other CDEP-to-employment transition figures with which to compare this figure, nor do we yet have evidence of its sustainability (i.e. will Bungala continue to transition CDEP participants into real jobs at a similar rate, and for how long on average do these newly transitioned employees remain employed?). Bungala also reports to have 581 registered CDEP participants on the APY Lands currently (Anangu Lands Paper Tracker; accessed 23 May 2008). This represents the vast majority of the APY Lands’ Indigenous labour force, with the ABS Census figures indicating there to be between 609 and 662 Indigenous persons aged 15 years and over in the labour force and resident on the APY Lands in 2006 (ABS Website; accessed 23 May 2008). However, CDEP participants are counted as employed for ABS Census purposes. Thus, if we are to take
the 2006 ABS Census data literally, the unemployment rate of the Indigenous labour force on the APY Lands is only around 5% and favourably comparable to the unemployment rate nationally. Yet if instead we discount CDEP participants from the employment count, then the APY Lands’ Indigenous unemployment rate is closer to 90%. This issue of (un)employment for APY Lands’ Indigenous people is discussed further in the next chapter, but these figures indicate the extent to which CDEP can skew unemployment rates depending on whether it is considered welfare or work.

While the Review heard that there are a number of Anangu on the APY Lands who meet the eligibility criteria but are still not actively engaged with CDEP and are instead opting for “sit down” money through Centrelink payments, the figures provided above would seem to contradict this. From Bungala’s figures and the 2006 ABS Census data, it would seem that all except for a small number (between 34 and 87) of Indigenous people resident on the APY Lands and in the labour force are either CDEP participants or are otherwise employed. And while it is possible that the people who are listed in the 2006 ABS Census as not in the labour force may also be eligible to partake in CDEP activities, only 645 of the 1307 or approximately 50% of APY Lands’ Indigenous people aged 15 years and above are listed as such. This is slightly higher than the 33% of the whole Australian population aged 15 years and over identified as not in the labour force, but perhaps not that much higher if we take into account the much higher incidence of unpaid childcare on the APY Lands (approximately 47% of Indigenous APY Lands residents aged 15 years and above provide unpaid childcare as opposed to 27% or residents aged 15 years and above Australia-wide).

The point to be made here is that while non-take-up of the CDEP option tends to be blamed on a passive welfare mentality, which is undoubtedly part of the problem, it is not the full explanation. Any difference in the rates of (non-CDEP) welfare recipiency on the APY Lands as compared to nationally might be equally explained by the higher rates of child bearing, substandard education outcomes and more widespread poverty in the APY Lands. While those who are more affluent in Australia are less likely to be having children and therefore less likely to be out of the labour force, they are simultaneously more likely to be supported by well-paid partners if and when they do leave the paid labour force to bear children. Meanwhile, APY Lands residents are perhaps less likely to have the option of relying on a dependable and well-paid partner, and are more likely to be receiving welfare payments whilst caring for young children – though this alone may not disqualify them from CDEP eligibility. Thus, many on the APY Lands with young children who are either single or with low-income partners and who invariably have little access to childcare services may be being labeled ‘passive welfare recipients’ for not ‘choosing’ CDEP over welfare payments when there is really very little choice. In any case, to the extent that a ‘passive welfare’ mentality does exist on the APY Lands and there are APY Lands residents opting to be Newstart recipients rather than CDEP participants, it is hoped that the recent lifting of the Remote Area Exemption on the APY Lands and its subsequent enforcement will turn this around.

On the APY Lands, CDEP projects include such things as work in community gardens, arts centres, schools, clinics, child care, housework, road works and other community improvements, and CDEP guidelines dictate that a participant must work 14 hours on one or more specified projects in their communities to receive their full CDEP entitlement. Additionally, CDEP participants have the option of working more than their obligatory 14 hours per week (which pays only slightly more than the dole) for more money or “top up”. These opportunities exist largely due to the inconsistent attendance patterns of many participants, as “top up” is made available through wage savings created through others’ non-attendance. However, “top up” also exists through external agencies such as schools and clinics, where Bungala has host agreements for participants to undertake their CDEP activities.

The Review heard that Bungala is strongly promoting the opportunity for participants to work up to 28 hours per week, and that there are currently in excess of 100 participants working more than their required 14 hours per week. Bungala puts its ‘successful’ transition of 35 CDEP participants into employment over the past 10 months down to this push for CDEP participants to demonstrate their ability to consistently work more than 14 hours a week. Similarly, while it is rumoured that past CDEP providers on the APY Lands were lax with the “no work no pay” rule, and that Indigenous supervisors
regularly “ticked off” family members for work they did not attend and did not do, Bungala claims to be now enforcing this rule without exception.

What emerges from the above analysis aligns very closely with what the current Australian Government appears to be pushing for – that CDEP be examined more closely for what it does and doesn’t do for its client-employee-participants.

- First, there needs to be a closer examination of who is not choosing to participate in CDEP programs, despite their eligibility, and why? If, as suggested above, these people are for the most part parents of young children with no or low-income partners and little access to trustworthy and reliable childcare, then the first requirements for successfully involving such people in CDEP or other forms of training and employment would be the provision of free or affordable childcare. We accept this may not be the case. But the claim that many who are eligible for CDEP are opting instead for passive welfare is a serious one, and while it is very voguish as a form of policy conclusion at present, it must be further substantiated, explored and analysed if it is to be successfully addressed.

- Second, any work which is necessary and essential and which is currently being undertaken by CDEP participants must be converted to ‘real’ jobs and paid in their entirety by the relevant government department, business or other agency. This includes jobs such as any work in the schools, clinics, and arts centres currently being subsidised by CDEP money. At the same time, any jobs that have been invented for the sake of simply ticking the box should be scrapped immediately. The Review Team did not witness any examples of these sorts of fake jobs on the APY Lands, and indeed there may well be none, but it is an argument often given for why CDEP does not constitute ‘real’ work.

- Finally, any money that is saved in the process of shifting the costs of ‘real’ work back onto the appropriate government department, business or other agency and eliminating any jobs that aren’t really jobs should instead be channelled into investing into real training and employment assistance for those who are still on welfare. Clearly, this is what ITEC is currently tasked to do on the APY Lands; but for this to happen successfully (as opposed to superficially), it will need to be well-resourced, employ an individual case-management approach (similar to that currently employed by ITEC, but made more appropriate to the local context), and involve strategic partnerships with government departments, local businesses and employing organisations, and training bodies including SA TAFE and CDU. The aim, as always, is for individual aspirations and mentoring needs to be identified, and for specific training to be brokered and harnessed to real employment outcomes and business opportunities.

**Recommendation 4.3**
That there be closer analysis of apparent resistance to CDEP take up, led by Anangu community-based researchers, exploring issues among people choosing not to participate in CDEP programs, despite their eligibility. What are their demographic characteristics and why? What policy and program needs may help change this?

**Recommendation 4.4**
As part of the same commission, that analysis of current CDEP work is undertaken, to explore Anangu perceptions of what is real and essential work, and who should be paying? What is pointless and should be de-funded from the CDEP scheme? How can the CDEP funds be best invested in individuals and their targeted training needs to see real employment/business outcomes? What is required for the inter-agency support mechanisms to link welfare and education, to on-the-job training and further study, to real employment and business opportunities?
Existing Local Community Employment Opportunities

The most cynical of the APY Lands employers we interviewed scoffed when we explained that one task of the Review is to talk about job opportunities for Anangu. “It'll be a short review, then,” they quipped, “There are no jobs.”

While it certainly isn’t true there are no jobs for Anangu on the APY Lands, our Review did find Anangu work options to be very limited in terms of readily available positions and types of employment. With very few exceptions, such as the Director of Aged Care at Amata, professional positions on the APY Lands are filled by non-Anangu. The largest employers of Anangu are Nganampa Health Council and the Anangu Education Service (AES) that collectively account for an estimated 75% of the total non-CDEP employed Anangu. (Nganampa Health and AES case studies are discussed in detail at the end of the chapter, in a section entitled ‘Learning from Promising Practice’). Most of the remaining 25% of Anangu who hold non-CDEP fulltime or, more often, part-time positions work with police, community stores and garages, art centres, community councils, and aged care. This section discusses the past and present employment opportunities for the latter list of employers, including the issues employers cited as barriers for Anangu employment.

The police, community stores, art centres, community councils and aged care are all past and/or current employers of fulltime or part-time Anangu staff. It is important to note we are talking about a small number of Anangu here. As previously stated, the ABS census indicates only 150 Anangu are non-CDEP employees. Given that around 75% of these are employed by AES and Nganampa Council, the number of Anangu employed either part- or fulltime by police, community stores, art centres, community councils and aged care is approximately 40; or 4 per community at any given time. Yet, alongside CDEP project workers, Anangu Education Worker and Anangu Health Worker, the jobs associated with these workplaces and sectors were cited most often by Anangu when asked “What kinds of jobs do Anangu do?”. This may reflect their desirability as jobs, or else reflect a set of categories that are ready-to-think in response to a mundane and frequently asked question. Either way, they represent existing opportunities that people are aware of, and so warrant further examination.

Police

The police force on the APY Lands has two main bases: one covers the eastern part of the APY Lands, and is located in Umuwa; the other covers the lands west of Amata, and is located in Murputja. Importantly, both of these bases are located outside of the main communities, and there is therefore no permanent non-Anangu police presence or facilities within communities on the APY Lands. Instead, the South Australian Police (SAPOL) rely on Community Constable Officers “to preserve the peace” in communities (Osborn, 2004, cited in Paper Tracker, 2008). Currently there is funding for 10 Community Constable positions across the APY Lands, but only three of these were filled as of April 2008. The Review heard that these are long-standing vacancies, and recruitment to them has rarely moved beyond two filled roles at any one time. The reason given for the difficulty of recruiting, training and appointing Anangu to these positions is two-fold. First, the Review heard that the Community Constable role is very difficult and undesirable, one that potentially alienates Anangu from their friends and family. Second, Anangu who are nominated as Community Constables by communities often do not meet SAPOL’s recruitment criteria: they are illiterate and/or have criminal records. It has been suggested SAPOL relax its recruiting requirements, but SAPOL holds that doing so would be detrimental to its ability to enforce the law without discrimination (Carroll, 2007).

More recently, SAPOL has redirected some of the Community Constable salary funding toward recruiting and training Police Liaison Officers. These positions are predominately intended for Anangu women (who are less likely to have criminal records) to assist in domestic violence and sexual abuse investigations. After completing a week-long training course in March 2008, four Anangu have become Police Liaison Officers.
Arts Centres

Arts centres on the APY Lands purchase and sell artwork, help artists with materials, mount exhibitions and tours, provide some on-the-job training, and have some connection with vocational training for older school students. From our interviews with arts centre managers, we learned that the 100 or so Anangu artists associated with community arts centres on the APY Lands are typically not paid salaries, but instead upon sale of their work. One manager said hiring Anangu as part- or fulltime artists isn’t financially feasible as they would “need to pay $500 per week to give people a reason to work here, to take on the ‘real jobs’”. The current strategy, paying artists on a piecework basis, instead allows artists to work according to their own schedules and to continue receiving Centrelink payments. It is thus more of a cash-in-hand arrangement than a workplace career, which nonetheless can be highly valued for its practicality, recognition, respect and flexibility. But the Review also heard that artists who do not easily sell their work would like to be compensated for their time, especially those who no longer receive CDEP payments for working in the arts centres.

On the administrative side the Review team did not hear of any Anangu employed as arts centre administrators on either a full- or part-time basis. But one arts centre manager did express interest in hiring Anangu, saying, “It would make my life a lot easier to have someone to do the administration and co-ordination.” In the last three years there have been some co-ordinated attempts, through the funding of mentoring programs, to train Anangu staff to take over the arts centres’ business management. Three separate funding initiatives at Kaltjiti (Ernabella Arts) and Amata and Iwantja pair Anangu art staff with training mentors to gain skills and experience in art centre administration. But the Anangu Lands Paper Tracker reports these initiatives are undermined by a shortage of staff accommodation – where arts centre managers either have to agree to accommodate mentors in their own homes or fail to appoint a person to fully funded positions. Despite these challenges, arts centres are highly successful and established commercial enterprises on the APY Lands. It is likely that, mandated in conjunction with funding in two cases, arts centres will employ Anangu as managers and trainers in the future.

Community Councils

Community Councils guarantee at least one opportunity for Anangu employment, as the Community Council Chair. The Community Council Chair is a recognised community leader who governs the elected Community Council. Across the APY Lands there are eleven Anangu Community Council Chairs (one per major community), and in most cases the Community Council Chair works alongside a Municipal Services Officer (MSO, almost invariably a non-Indigenous person). Together the Community Chair and MSO are responsible for community governance and business decision-making.

In addition, Community Council offices are potential sites for Anangu to also work in administrative support roles, although there appear to be few Anangu filling such roles at the present time. In one community the Review team was told that while several Anangu used to work in the Community Council office, at present, no Anangu support staff are employed.

Aged Care, Child Care and Family (Homemaker) Centres

The Training Chapter discussed the successes of the respite care facility, Tjilpi Pampa Ngura, Nganampa Health Council’s program that links respite care training and work at Pukatja (Ernabella) and currently employs 12 Anangu staff.

Aside from this program, “aged care” on the APY Lands amounts, for the most part, to a “meals-on-wheels” service provided through the Family or Homemaker’s Centres. These programs and centres are funded by the SA Department of Families and Communities, and most major communities have a Family Centre, with the exception of Indulkana and Mimili (which currently have temporary sites) and the Murputja/Kanpi/Nyapari region (which has no site for a Family Centre). Family or Homemaker Centres sometimes also provide a child care service, as well as support for families to gain skills in home maintenance, parenting, budgeting, meal preparation and hygiene. However, the Review Team heard...
that at least one Family Centre on the APY Lands is currently struggling to find and keep Anangu aged care employees, although it is likely that all Family Centres experience similar frustrations, and that at any given time every centre has at least a couple of part-time or full-time positions waiting to be filled by Anangu.

**Community Stores and Garages**

Stores and garages are also potential places for Anangu employment. Anangu have been employed by stores to stock shelves, check out customers, unload delivery trucks and sweep floors. And Anangu have worked at garages pumping fuel and assisting with vehicle repair and maintenance. Yet during our visit the Review observed very few Anangu working in such positions. The following section discusses the explanations the Review Team frequently heard as justification for why so few Anangu are employed in even these positions requiring very little training or skill.

**Problems with Existing Employment**

During our fieldsite visits, the Review Team heard many viewpoints on the challenges of employing Anangu and explanations for why more Anangu aren’t employed. In some cases these perceptions functioned as excuses for not employing Anangu and in others they presented real or perceived barriers around which employers had to navigate in order to maintain Anangu employment. The most common viewpoints and explanations can be summarised as follows:

1. Literacy and numeracy. Anangu cannot work (here) because they do not have the basic English literacy and numeracy skills to perform the job.
2. Work readiness. Anangu do not have a “work ethic.” They do not understand the importance of coming to work on a daily basis and committing to work for a long period of time. Anangu family responsibilities, such as attending funeral, make them unreliable employees.
3. Desire. Anangu don’t want to work. They are welfare dependent, have mastered the arts of living on demand sharing and piecework, and do not live in a system where they have to work to eat. So what incentive is there for working?

The dominant of these three reasons pointed to low levels of English literacy and numeracy. As one MSO pointed out, a recent Year 12 SACE graduate from Wiltja was unable even to fill out a standard form without substantial assistance, so how could the graduate possibly be employed?

Whilst there was some sympathy for the multiple difficulties faced by teachers in instructing under-attending and poorly motivated students, in many communities employers were inclined to blame the schools for not instilling people with the basic literacy and proactive scanning skills that would enable them to, in the case of community stores, stack shelves according to the item that was missing.

Unreliability and unpredictability were also noted repeatedly by employers as key work-readiness factors affecting the rate of Anangu employment. Newly hired Anangu store, aged care and other staff were reported as sometimes only turning up to work for a few hours, or at best a few days, before unexpectedly and indefinitely disappearing to a funeral, sports carnival or other event, leaving employers short-staffed and in the lurch.

Inconsistency and a limited attention span were also listed as barriers to employing Anangu – without constant supervision, guidance and one-to-one training, Anangu were said to become distracted from tasks. One employer described it this way:

*We have probably had about 50 people pass through these doors since I have been here in two years…the longest lasted a week. ….Even when they are here they will sit down and talk to their friends…the Anangu staff are not reliable enough, I can't replace the non-Anangu staff if they were to leave with Anangu, because they’re not reliable.*
Still others pointed to a general listlessness and disinterestedness in work altogether on the part of (most) Anangu. Without the alacrity and pro-activity people running small businesses expect to see in their employees, employers take the line of least resistance and employ to a limited range of responsibilities, or not at all.

It is not possible, on the basis of this evidence, to draw the simple conclusion that most employers on the APY Lands are discriminatory and hence unlikely to employ Anangu. Such a conclusion is complicated, firstly, by the fact the employers interviewed were both Anangu and non-Anangu; and, secondly, that in most cases employers were at pains to explain what they were facing with as little moral judgement as possible. In the words of one storekeeper:

> If I had $1 for every time someone come to me and said I wanna work I’ll come in tomorrow. I’d have $20,000 by now. Only 1% actually turn up the next day, and most don’t last the first hour … I know it’s a terrible stereotype, but they don’t wanna work.

In another bid to achieve the same end, many employer-participants voluntarily asserted a genuine preparedness to ‘train and employ tomorrow’ any Anangu who came and presented themselves as willing, in spite of their history of failed previous efforts.

Yet substantial anecdotal evidence was provided during the course of the Review to suggest that, even when paid work is offered to Anangu who have been deemed suitable for the job, these opportunities are either taken up only briefly, or else are refused.

At the same time, we know from our experiences in the field that many Anangu can and do work. Apart from the employment areas mentioned above, there are numerous examples of Anangu successfully engaged in paid employment, most notably in the areas of education and health, as well as in enterprise developments such as pastoralism, land care and arts centres. However, what is required in order to better understand the socio-cultural, economic, demographic and structural impediments that both enable to work and impede Anangu from working is sustained ethnographic research which we were not able to do given the time constraints of this Review. Hopefully, the concurrent DEEWR commissioned Review will be able to examine this in greater detail. In any case, future possibilities for enterprise and employment are on the horizon, providing the hope of additional jobs for Anangu on the APY Lands that defy current prophecies of permanent unemployability, and these are examined in what follows.

### Commonly Suggested Possibilities for Employment and Enterprise

In terms of envisaging a productive future for the APY Lands, one that involves desirable employment and sustainable livelihoods for Anangu, everyone admits to the need to fundamentally reconceptualise the ways in which employment categories and what constitutes ‘real’ work are interpreted and designed for. For many stakeholders, this means more sponsoring and developing ‘caring for country’ work – tending the estate in terms of biodiversity and fire management – as viable livelihoods on the APY Lands. Additionally, there are many forms of activity and enterprise that are not fostered at the moment because they are not visible to people as possibilities, such as community-based research consultancies undertaken by and for Anangu (see Post-Secondary Training College, Training Chapter).

But it is not possible to simply conclude that in order to successfully (and sustainably) engage Anangu in paid employment the government merely has to find a means by which the customary ways of knowing, being and doing peculiar to those Anangu living on the APY Lands today can be sold, profited from, or somehow inserted into a cash economy, or else to have the Anangu practices of caring for kin and country (such as caring for the disabled, elderly, young and infirm) recognised by the relevant government department as constituting legitimate work, and subsequently paid as such. As we discovered in conversation with people on the APY Lands, many such attempts to recognise and pay cash for what are deemed customary activities have been attempted, to sporadic or limited success. For instance, the bush food garden project in Amata is simply the latest in a long history of such attempts
Meanwhile, a formerly successful cultural tourism venture run out of a homeland near Mimili has now fallen by the wayside.

While the focus on working with local people on local issues and opportunities, tailoring programs to meet Anangu need and demand is laudable, the key point is that the range of offerings is often ad hoc and dependent on ‘one-off’ funding.

It is against this logic that many are now arguing that the Australian and South Australian Governments need to integrate the employment potential from various forms of government investment and contracting. While it adds to the expense and would introduce delays to urgent infrastructure work (such as houses for promised police officers and child protection officers), many argue that all such projects should incorporate local training and employment pathways, in an attempt to create a pool of trained locals who can perform odd-jobs as maintenance and repair technicians, as well as labour for new construction and renovation projects. Other key areas frequently highlighted as key possibilities for developing Anangu employment opportunities are tourism, pastoralism and mining; and to a lesser extent the establishment of a ‘game meat’ facility for killing and butchering wild camels.

The following sections outline each of these future employment possibilities and suggest what might be needed in terms of forward planning, resourcing and investment if they are to work. All need to be carefully interrogated, however, for what they can and cannot offer Anangu, under what circumstances, and who the key players need to be in terms of driving it, for it should be clear from our preceding analysis that there are no immediate and fail-safe solutions to the future sustainability of APY communities in terms of Anangu employment in the face of governments’ indecision about investment. Various stop-start attempts over the years to establish market gardens or bush tucker plots illustrate the point.

Tourism

Cultural tourism is frequently championed as a viable form of Indigenous livelihood. Viability here relies on one of two things: 1) that governments are prepared to ‘over-invest’ to get the desired outcome (as happened in the establishment of the Yulara Resort, for instance, which Anangu Tours has successfully attached itself to); or 2) greater recognition of the symbiosis between Anangu cultural resilience and access to the ‘authenticity’ that niche tourists are seeking. In other words, systematically dismantling such subtending assets as Aboriginal land tenure and ability to be on country contradicts the central tenets of cultural tourism.

Tourism is not an easy business sector to get right for established operators, and overall numbers have been falling for some time across outback Australia (Carson & Taylor, 2007, p. 9). While the desert is an iconic landscape for both domestic and international travellers, at the same time, remoteness, distance from emergency services, cost and availability of fuel and provisions, and threats from human and animal inhabitants are increasing disincentives to desert travel. Furthermore, research conducted with domestic and international travel parties in central Australia to assess their demand for Aboriginal tourism products and their information search and trip planning strategies has revealed that the region’s current Aboriginal tourism offerings, which primarily consist of highly structured commercial tours, and a perceived lack of authenticity constitute major barriers in marketing Aboriginal experiences to independent travellers (Schmallegger & Carson, 2007). For the more independent four wheel drive travellers in particular, there is a perception that Aboriginal products are designed for the organised tour market, and not suitable for them. “Travellers appear to very quickly reach the point where they place low value on seeing another art gallery or hearing another traditional story. They show little interest in organised tours that have set start and finish times and unchanging itineraries. Instead there is value placed on personal contact, unique experiences, and the ability to engage in Aboriginal tourism activities ‘spontaneously’ (i.e. at a time of the traveller’s choosing rather than to a rigid schedule). Independent travellers value their independence and see their experiences as substantially different to those available
via package tours. It is unlikely then that they will be satisfied with a need to join a tour group (however
temporarily) to experience Aboriginal culture” (Schmallegger & Carson, 2007, p. 12).

“Over-investment” is not meant to imply the need to build multi-million dollar tourist resorts, but rather, to
make the point that successful enterprise requires resource-intensive investigation and processes of
engagement, which increase the start up and business maintenance costs. Take, for instance, the
Bawaka Cultural Experiences initiative at Port Bradshaw, Cape Arnhem, run by traditional owner Timmy
Djawa Burarrwanga on his ancestral lands. Now in operation for nearly three years and enjoying
increasing successful success, the business has become a source of inspiration for emerging tourism operations in
the region and for other families learning how to operate their own micro-businesses. Currently the
product is based on day or overnight camping trips which include Yolngu cultural content (medicine,
stories, environmental knowledge, art); campfire singing (traditional and modern); as well as food
gathering (handline and traditional fishing); bush walking, and simply relaxing in a pristine environment
away from phones and traffic.

Getting it to this point has taken many years of planning and training, most notably between Timmy
Burarrwanga and his family, Indigenous stakeholders, government agencies and other relevant service
providers. To develop the business, considerable time and effort went into the negotiated process of
identifying cultural boundaries the wider family was comfortable with. It required strong Yolngu family
support and involvement, strong support through the wider Yolngu community via an advisory group that
was resourced to meet and consider the issues, strong support through assigned full-time mentors and
critical friends from the Northern Territory Department of Business, Economic and Regional
Development (DBERD); administrative support and mentorship from Dhanbul Community Council as
well as bookings and merchandise development, infrastructure support from the ALCAN mining
company, support from Gumatj and Rirratjingu Associations, marketing and promotion support from
Tourism NT, Indigenous Business Australia finance for strategic and business planning processes;
funding from the Northern Territory Department of Employment, Education and Training for Motor
Vehicle Licence training suitable for public transport driving, other workshops and opportunities. Critics
suggest that this level of investment sets an unrealistic precedent for business start ups, but we consider
it to be an accurate portrait of the preparation and support that is actually required.

Mining

Mining is one of the three industries, together with pastoralism and tourism, most commonly upheld as the
answer to future questions of Indigenous employment and economic development in Central
Australian desert areas (see, for example, the 2008 Desert Knowledge Symposium and Business
brings with it a number of the key ingredients for enterprise sustainability, at least for the life of the mine;
namely, a determination that the venture will succeed matched with sound research into the economic
viability of the prospect and large scale capital investment from both government and corporate sectors.
Thus, any Indigenous employees or businesses attached to the mining industry have a guaranteed
market for their services, though they will still need to be competitively placed.

To date, however, there are no mining employment opportunities currently available on the APY Lands
themselves, although there are a couple of operational mine sites located “nearby”, including Oxiana’s
copper-gold mine at Prominent Hill and BHP Biliton’s Olympic Dam mine at Roxby Downs. These two
mining sites are respectively located approximately 130km and 260km southeast of Coober Pedy, with
Coober Pedy itself being at least another 250km from the nearest APY community of Indulkana. Thus,
neither site constitutes an “on-Lands” employment opportunity, though it may well be the case that
existing mining agreements with Indigenous parties include Anangu interests.

In kinship with mining companies throughout Australia, both Oxiana and BHP Biliton are committed to
local Indigenous employment in semi-skilled, skilled and professional roles. To this end, both have a pre-
employment training program, from which Oxiana at Prominent Hill produced its first Indigenous
graduates in March 2007. All eight graduates completed Certificate II in Metalliferous Mining following a 60 day training program and 3 weeks of work experience (see Oxiana’s website at http://www.oxiana.com.au/phtraininggrad.asp for further details), and hailed from the nearby towns of Coober Pedy, Oodnadata and Port Augusta. Meanwhile, BHP Billiton’s Indigenous Training and Employment Program at Olympic Dam was still only in the planning stages in 2007, though it was intended to be in the first phase of implementation in December last year (BHP Billiton, 2007, p. 15). Importantly, the Review did not hear of any Anangu from the APY Lands who had participated in either of these programs, or who were currently employed at either mine site, although to the extent that such exist, it can be assumed the numbers are very few. We did however hear of one young man from Amata who is currently being supported by the Mining Officer from APY Land Council in his endeavour to seek employment in one of the nearby mines.

Closer to home, there are two prospective possibilities for employment within the mining industry for APY residents in the medium to long term future. Following a series of negotiations with the Ngaanyatjarra Land Council and the Traditional Owners, some of whom reside in the APY communities of Pipalyatjara and Kalka, Metals X is soon to construct a nickel mine and processing plant at Wingellina. While this is not strictly within the borders of the APY Lands, it is just across the border in WA. Meanwhile, on the APY Lands themselves, the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (statutory body corporate) and Traditional Owners are currently in negotiations with Metals X to develop exploration and licensing agreements. Thus, while no mine is as yet in existence on or very near to the APY Lands, the prospect is certainly looming, creating great excitement among commentators, who herald the mining industry as the new salvation of Anangu in terms of economic development and employment opportunities. For, apart from direct employment with the mining companies themselves, there is also the possibility of employment with various associated contractors, and even of developing Indigenous contracting companies that are Anangu-owned and controlled. This includes employment and enterprise development opportunities in areas such as road building and airstrip construction and maintenance, the provision of accommodation, shopping and transport services, as well as fuel and other supplies.

As other Indigenous communities and the mining industry have realised, delivering the community development and benefits sharing promise of both the prospective and extant mining industries is not easy. The development of transport infrastructure will bring more and more people to the APY Lands and this growth must be matched by the ability to take advantage of these opportunities by Anangu. There is a danger that economic development may be co-opted by large companies by establishing businesses to exploit the growth. These businesses need not even be on the APY Lands but merely close by; at Marla for example.

Furthermore, much of the work in mining today is heavily mechanised, and there are very few jobs for unskilled labourers. The occupational, health and safety regulations in the industry are necessarily strict and even employees in the most menial roles are required to pass inductions to allow them access to sites, requiring basic literacy and numeracy skills which in many cases are lacking. Thus, there is often the need for a pre-employment training program, or at the very least for standard pre-employment training programs to be substantially modified and/or extended to make them even more accessible.

For example, Rio Tinto Alcan (RTA) has a comprehensive transition to work program called ALERT (Alcan Learning Education and Regional Training) which is currently being piloted in East Arnhem Land. However, in recognition that low literacy levels are one of the major barriers to workforce entry, the program incorporates a significant literacy component beyond what would normally be delivered in such programs, and RTA has engaged the services of Charles Darwin University to aid with the development of this component of the program, employing the Accelerated Literacy methodology. Also notable is the length of the ALERT program: the program is delivered over 36 months (as compared to the 3 month training course at Oxiana) and comprises a variety of accredited and non-accredited training including both life and work skills. We make no comment about the effectiveness of either model, though we would note that the pre-existing literacy and numeracy skills of many Anangu are likely to be more comparable with those of the Yolngu people participating in the ALERT program than with those of the recent graduates of Oxiana’s pre-employment training program. Given this, any training programs designed to
transition Anangu into sustainable employment in the local mining industry would need to be similarly long term and tailored, and simultaneously underpinned by an abiding commitment to success.

As noted in the post secondary training chapter of this report, if Anangu are supportive of mining development on the APY Lands, and if APY communities have aspirations and expectations that local community members will have employment and enterprise development opportunities arising from such mining, then at a minimum, tailored training plans must be developed now, especially for those older secondary aged students and other adults interested in employment in the industry but who do not currently have the literacy and numeracy skills to cope with the standard pre-employment programs. Ideally, from the Review Team’s perspective, any future mining agreements would provide for a substantial amount of the royalties to be directed to an education and training fund or trust such as those established from mining revenue on the Tiwi Islands and in the Warlpiri Triangle in the NT. The most immediate and promising prospect of mining on the APY Lands is not necessarily its short term employment openings, important as these are, but rather the opportunity to establish a community development plan for the long term with a sector outside government. Mining on the APY Lands potentially delivers an extraordinary opportunity for Anangu to negotiate on equal terms, and to ensure an independent source of revenue from which Anangu could draw to control and direct the future of their own people. Consistent with the education and training-centric bias of this Review, it is also an opportunity for restored control and empowerment over APY country and future directions, from which Anangu might then be able to independently arrange for such things as leadership coaching, sponsorship of enterprise developments, intellectual investment in the governance of the schools and financial investment in the schools’ capacity to sponsor and access inputs of national and international experts as part of an organised program of reform.

This requires processes that directly parallel those recommended for enabling Anangu to reform and revision education services on the APY Lands. Anangu community members need a dedicated period of time to really think about their vision for themselves as a population, to be able to draw up a considered menu of what people would like to have realised in and from their mining agreements. How do Anangu see their future? Do they want to build an equivalent asset for the next generation after the life of the mine? Is a charitable trust for education and health a desired outcome? How will their employment, training, heritage protocols and business formation interests be protected and nurtured? To ensure genuine negotiation, engagement and informed consent, the front-end thinking period needs to be intense and conducted over a goodly period of time, not in one workshop but a long process of dialogue and consideration of options, in which guidance from impartial and informed legal and economic experts is available to help people avoid under- or over-shooting in their expectations. Site visits to equivalent mines should be undertaken and finally, an integrated model of development based around a vision for the population’s future agreed upon. There is a growing awareness among Anangu that there will be opportunities but people are not quite sure how to take advantage of them. It is vital that they are supported to take the time required to harness those opportunities; and that measures are taken to prevent private operators from snatching these opportunities without any requirement to incorporate Anangu interests and Anangu benefit.

**Recommendation 4.5**

If Anangu are supportive of mining development on the APY Lands, and if APY communities have aspirations and expectations that local community members will have employment and enterprise development opportunities arising from such mining, that the work to develop such tailored training plans commences now, especially for those older secondary aged students and other adults interested in employment in the industry but who do not currently have the literacy and numeracy skills to cope with the standard pre-employment programs.
Recommendation 4.6
Should mining on the APY Lands proceed, that Anangu are assisted to seize the opportunity for restored control and empowerment over APY assets and future directions, via non-partisan legal, financial, cultural heritage and development and business advice. Commercial developments off-country that are associated with mining on Anangu country should be required to incorporate Anangu interests.

Recommendation 4.7
To ensure genuine negotiation, engagement and informed consent, the front-end thinking period needs to be intense and conducted over a substantial period of time, not in one workshop but a long process of dialogue and consideration of options, including site visits to equivalent mines, to develop and agree upon an integrated model of development based around a vision for the population’s future.

Land Management

The third of the three most frequently proffered solutions to Indigenous underemployment on the APY Lands (as in other Central Australian desert areas) is in the area of land management, and in particular pastoralism.

The Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Management Unit currently employs many casual Anangu staff and some part-time Anangu staff to work on land management projects covering a wide variety of activities; and, as with other employers on the Lands, includes a mix of short and long-term training and employment initiatives. For instance, the Unit currently employs 40-50 casual Anangu through the Pastoral Program, including a regular crew of five to six men, as well as additional workers intermittently recruited for more labour intensive activities. Six senior women from Pukatja regularly work on a weekly basis for one to two days on a recovery project for the Black Flanked Wallaby. There are four to five other women who participate less regularly or fill in for the more regular team. Men are also being encouraged to participate. A similar team is proposed for the wallaby colony at Kalka-Pipalyatjara with funding being sought.

There are four part-time Anangu employed to implement projects through the Indigenous Protected Areas program at Walakara and around Sandy's Bore. These 'Rangers' assist, coordinate and supervise many casual workers involved in traditional land management activities relating to water security and rock hole protection, habitat management through patch burning, and threatened species survey and monitoring. Similar projects are carried out in the Watarru Indigenous Protected Area with up to 20 casual workers. June 2008 has seen the number of permanent waged positions improve through the Working on Country Program which is beginning to fund eight part-time rangers on a salary of $27,000 per annum and one full-time regional senior ranger on $67,000 per annum. Part of a five year project, these positions will be supported with vehicles and some operational funding. They will work mostly in the two established Indigenous Protected Areas and in three proposed Indigenous Protected Areas. The Land Management Unit has been developing a database containing a photo library. This process will catalogue and digitise all the images taken over recent years, similar to Ara-Irititja. There is limited funding for casual wages to assist in the entering and cataloguing of photos. This is being done by Anangu who have worked within the various projects and are now providing identities, locations and activities to underscribed images.

As the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Management Unit receives no recurrent funding from state and federal government departments, training and employment activities such as those noted above can only be undertaken within the constraints of short-term project budgets. For instance, there was a project to train several Anangu men in water monitoring to assist in maintaining the State database and expand on the knowledge of water resources on the Lands. Funding was withdrawn, but has recently been revived, albeit in a very limited and short-term form.
Nonetheless, it is clear that despite budgetary constraints and short-term time horizons, the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Management Unit is already a relatively large, consistent and successful employer of Anangu.

In a bid to further consolidate and strengthen its work in training and employing Anangu, the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Management Unit is currently seeking funding for the development of a comprehensive training and education strategy. If successful, this would help ensure the Land Management Unit's overall coordination of relevant training and employment projects, as well as the Unit's long-term strategic direction and planning. The Land Management database will also be useful in providing a central location for storing the wide range of training (accredited or other) completed by Anangu. However, as noted earlier, access to this type of information from all other training agencies is one of the most significant barriers to coordinated training and employment of Anangu on the APY Lands, and this is true for all areas of training, not just Land Management (see previous chapter for relevant recommendations here).

At the same time, the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Management Unit is also encouraging Anangu to reduce their reliance on government and other funding for land management work through the development of pastoral micro-businesses and enterprises, as well as through the establishment of a game meat facility on the Lands. Each of these developments is explored in the sections that follow.

**Pastoralism**

Until very recently, any pastoral activity on the Lands has occurred, for the most part, under informal agreements between non-Anangu pastoralists and a few entrepreneurial Anangu men. Recently, however, the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (statutory body corporate) has moved to normalise procedures for pastoral activities, endorsing twelve new five-year pastoral license agreements. Under the new agreements, pastoral licence holders will be legally entitled to enter into formal agistment agreements with pastoralists, or else to run cattle on that land themselves. The new agreements provide for repayment of debts for any extant infrastructure on land pertaining to the license agreement, as well as a small income for traditional owners of that parcel of land in instances where the traditional owner is not already the license holder. As business owners, Anangu holding pastoral licenses will be required to comply with the terms of the license, including debt repayment, weed management and stocking restrictions. After five years, the licenses will be up for review and, depending on compliance, they will be renewed. This change in the management of the Lands is radical in that land stretching from Amata to Indulkana and held under communal title is now opened up for private Anangu enterprise.

What all this will mean in terms of Anangu income and employment remains uncertain, and may depend to some extent on the interest of non-Anangu pastoralists in entering into agistment agreements with Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara land owners. However, there is clearly a strong interest in the revival or renewal of the pastoral industry on the part of at least some of the older generation who were themselves involved in the pastoral industry as young men. And, as noted in the previous chapter on training, current training options through Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Management, CDU, Gateways for Youth, VET in Schools and others are working to reinvigorate Anangu interest and expertise in horse breaking, horse training and stock work. While the rationale for this has predominantly been as a means of re-engaging young men through character building activities in men’s work, strengthening intergenerational relationships, and learning and instilling a work ethic and transferable job-ready skills, recent developments in lease agreements for APY Lands’ Anangu makes the option of actually using those skills on the Lands more viable than ever. Anangu pastoral businesses could also contract for the mustering, branding and other services heretofore provided by non-Anangu pastoral workers.

Yet the Review also encountered many on the Lands who were sceptical of the resuscitation of the pastoral industry through horse breaking and other training courses. Their cynicism was based primarily on the history of past enthusiasms that have petered into little. Perhaps these commentators were unaware of the pastoral license developments through Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara and
outlined above. However, concern was also expressed about the possibility of inter-generational differences. While many of the older generation of Anangu men were clearly eager to see a revival of Anangu involvement in the pastoral industry, they questioned whether perhaps the younger generation of Anangu men would be more interested in other identities and pursuits. As one senior Anangu put it:

\[
\text{I can't do what they do, walk with a spring, talk different. We want them to be like us, but they're not gonna be like us no more. They're a different breed altogether, different culture, they dress up.}
\]

In expanding their role from being a regular and consistent employer of Anangu to supporting Anangu micro-enterprise development, Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara is anticipating that there will be at least 20 Anangu pastoral businesses set up and attached to the new pastoral licences by the end of 2008. However, as with tourism and mining, sustainability of Anangu pastoral businesses will most likely require the determination for the venture to succeed to be matched by sound research into the economic viability of the prospect together with substantial investment from government, corporate and/or community sectors. To this end, Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara has forwarded an application to the National Landcare Program (now known as the Caring for our Country Program) to fund a training officer and Anangu counterpart to broker training for pastoral workers in all levels of pastoral activities including basic business modules. However, it can be anticipated that, given the current levels of literacy and numeracy amongst Anangu, the managers of these businesses will need on-going training and support.

**Game Meat Facility**

The Review heard that Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara is currently in negotiations with a private company to establish a Game Meat Facility on the Lands. The idea is that teams of workers will go out and hunt, shoot and quarter camels on the Lands, prior to transporting the quarters in mobile chiller boxes back to the facility for processing. This process of hunting game meat is a recognised process, and is similar to that used for example by pig and ’roo shooters. Apparently there is a lot of work involved in the hunting, shooting and cutting up of the camels, and this work is anticipated to be attractive primarily to Anangu men. Meanwhile, the work inside the processing facility might be preferred by Anangu women. Apparently, much of what is required for establishing a processing unit at Double Tank in terms of materials is already in place. The plan is to initially only service the pet meat industry, yet all the while targeting production in the long term at the higher level of “game meat” - a special category of meat production for human consumption with higher certification requirements than for pet meat.

There is much support from an environmental perspective for the culling of feral beasts such as donkeys, camels and horses, which appear to have grown to massive numbers on the APY Lands in recent decades. However, many non-Anangu commentators on the APY Lands claim that Anangu will not be involved in the killing of either donkeys or camels, since many Anangu are devout Christians and both animals are present in the Bible. People say that the donkey even bears a crucifix marking along its spine, further demonstrating its powerful association with Christianity. But the idea that Anangu will not be involved in the killing of such animals may be no more than mere speculation, yet another misconception or rejectable premise to be added to the list of those outlined in the front section of this report. At the same time, the idea may have some merit, and yet even so it may not necessarily exclude the possibility of Anangu involvement entirely. Yet, as we have seen elsewhere, such truisms do not need to be ‘true’ to impact on practice. What is pre-supposed about Anangu sentiments subsequently shapes the training, innovation and employment options that are imagined and resourced. Thus, if such seemingly sensible enviro-ventures as game meat harvesting are to be more than yet another supernova of Anangu enterprise and employment, then there is a clear need for careful research and detailed community consultations, as well as comprehensive business planning. That the development of a Game Meat Facility involves a private company will hopefully ensure the latter, but the Review Team was not made aware of any detailed community consultations regarding what Anangu would or wouldn't be prepared to do in the facility having occurred to date; and recommends that if these are not planned or already underway, that such work be undertaken.
Government-Sponsored Major Capital Works/Construction

Across Australia, the idea of Aboriginal people being construction labourers for housing and other capital is suggested as a means of linking employment to available and high priority work, given the acute accommodation shortages in most remote area communities. This is also linked to arguments about ‘sweat equity’ – meaning the extra valuing that comes from tenant connections with the construction crew. The Review witnessed the frustrations of one school principal as he vainly sought to link trainee work to construction of a much needed shelter at the school, and his argument that the outrageous cost mark up that the system was prepared to pay for it to proceed using outside contractors could be better spent on creating a local training and employment opportunity.

Attempts to create pools of skilled labourers able to participate in housing and other construction are vexed by a number of critical issues. It is unequivocally cheaper and more reliable from a time-cost-quality calculation to have the lion’s share of a building constructed off-site and freighted in for on-site assembly, where assistance from unskilled labourers might then be contemplated. Incorporating the requirement that local construction efforts involve Aboriginal labour can extend the time and the cost of the project by an unaffordable amount, when, for example, the average cost of a four bedroom house in Aboriginal communities is already nudging the half-million dollar mark.

There are various models that have been established to meet these different challenges: providing a financial incentive to building firms to extend the training and local employment component of their work; establishing building teams that draw on qualified Indigenous tradesmen within a small business consortium, who are pulled together to travel to projects as required; or similarly, are trained to work on the assembly stage of prefabricated projects. Partly as a result of the focus paid to housing conditions that have been generated from concern about violence and sexual abuse, and the need to supply accommodation to promised personnel, commitments for new housing and upgrades have been made for both the Northern Territory and South Australia, which will intensify the demand for labour. Local Indigenous employment is expected to be integral to successful tenders. Our further understanding is that discussions are underway with Indigenous Business Australia as part of DEEWR’s wider review of employment on the APY Lands, to explore ways of increasing skills development and pathways to careers in construction, to maximise local advantages arising from these and other capital programs.

Emerging Innovations and E-Enterprise

Until the last decade, the barriers to respectful relationships between Aboriginal people and private venture capital were largely insurmountable. With minor exceptions, the industry relationships were at best mutually exploitative (as in store management), at worst, corrupt; and government money remained the dominant income and investment source for enterprise of any kind. Compounding the challenges to viability, government-led decision making proceeded on the basis of symbolic representation: problems were always tackled by the establishment of representative, seemingly democratic committees and board structures, creating organisational labyrinths within communities with lots of agendas but not much action. Program funding criteria insisted everything had to be for the wider community benefit rather than based around individual proprietor or family interests. Many of the outside helpers that were attracted to work in isolated communities also brought with them an ideological distrust of and/or lack of practical experience in private venture and business development.

But in more recent times, there has been greater recognition of the fact that “Training programmes for remote Indigenous people can work from deficit models that repeat the same training over many years. This training does not recognise the considerable knowledge and skill of Indigenous people that can be demonstrated in their own languages and contexts.” (Wallace, Curry & Agar, 2008, p.3). Achieving real change is about long term involvement in communities. Further, there is growing recognition that Indigenous small to medium business incubation, whether for communal good or more singular commercial purpose, needs to be supported by new forms of capital investment, sourced from a mix of
Australian and international public, private and charitable sectors. Finally, a greater role has been accorded to digital technologies in enabling Indigenous involvement in the knowledge economy that extends beyond archival and other cultural heritage initiatives to incorporate a greater number of enterprises or cottage industries that can be developed in remote areas.

These include, for example, buying essential goods and selling Indigenous products over the internet; or creating cultural and ecological digital interfaces as the basis for forging new partnerships among the Indigenous stakeholders and outsider users in ways that socially and economically benefit all parties. As mentioned in the training chapter, Indigenous consultancy services to enable skilled Anangu cultural advisors and mediators to conduct investigations and research for government and industry, either through stand alone commissions or as required entailments of externally-led inquiries are also an exciting new development in parts of northern Australia. These represent a means by which Indigenous knowledge and perspectives can greatly enhance policy and create transportable skills for varied, ongoing employment. It is not the role or place of training providers or government officials to generate the enterprise ideas. Rather they play an important facilitation and resourcing role in sharing what is possible and how the VET system and private capital connections can help. Sustainability and replication requires (Lea, Martin & Wurm, 2006, p.21):

- Anangu initiated concepts and dedicated sponsors to drive corresponding training and enterprise responses;
- Access to reliable energy supplies and information and telecommunications technologies (or, at minimum, access to the funding to establish such); and
- Strong research and business partners who have developed relationships of trust within the host communities and relevant families and who have a firm grasp of ICT and global information systems themselves.

The organic options that can be built around Anangu aspirations and ideas, when these key fertilising ingredients and infrastructure are in place, represent uncharted territory and so are potentially limitless.

**Recommendation 4.8**
That government and industry support and enable Indigenous enterprises, including skilled community based language workers and knowledge holders, to be signed up as consultants for commercial and commissioned consultancies and exploratory community research.

**Recommendation 4.9**
That the current push to expand broadband satellite capacity for remote area schools be extended to enable Anangu to explore various e-ventures and cultural business initiatives.

**Learning from Promising Practice**

For all its problems, the history of Anangu employment on the APY Lands has also generated a number of successful case stories that are not fly-by-night but long term examples from which lessons can be learned. Specifically, the Review Team wishes to recognise and commend the two key agencies with by far the largest and most sustained presence on the APY Lands; namely Nganampa Health Council (Nganampa) and the Anangu Education Service (AES) to draw out the key features that underlie this success. As noted, approximately 75% of non-CDEP employed Anangu are employed by AES and Nganampa Council.

Respectively, these agencies are charged with the responsibility of running the clinics and the schools. In the process of providing vitally important education and health services for Anangu, both agencies also employ significant numbers of Anangu and non-Anangu staff, on and off the APY Lands. Nganampa Health is overseen by an Anangu Executive Board of Management; while the section of AES relevant to the APY Lands is responsible to an Anangu governing committee – the Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara.
Excellence or Exit: Ensuring Anangu Futures through Education

Education Committee (PYEC). Ngapa Health is an independent Aboriginal Organisation and therefore wholly owned and controlled by Anangu; whereas AES is a sub-division of DECS. Arguably the longevity of the education service is reducible to the fact that schools are mandated under Australian law (unlike TAFE services, which until relatively recently, had died away on the APY Lands). Even so, both share similarities that help explain their sustained success as employers and trainers of Anangu that are important to a consideration of viable employment models. We would summarise these as:

- Critical mass
- Committed leadership and funding
- Clear vision and mission
- Co-coaching between Anangu and non-Anangu staff
- Direct link between education, training and employment

Perhaps most significantly, both Ngapa and AES are large enough agencies and sufficiently well-resourced to be able to employ substantial numbers of Anangu staff. This is important because employment of a critical mass of Anangu helps bolster Anangu staff morale in environments that could otherwise appear alienating. Indeed, the lack of a critical mass of Anangu staff was often provided by Review participants as a possible reason for why Anangu may not initiate or retain employment in some workplaces (e.g., community stores). As one Anangu teenager pointed out during the course of our fieldwork, the ‘hard work’ of digging for honey ants isn’t hard because “everybody’s working together”. Employment of a larger number of staff also helps reduce the effects of staff mobility on organisational performance and productivity, firstly because the temporary absence or permanent departure of one or another person is less significant in the scheme of things; but also because the enhanced sense of teamwork and camaraderie is likely to inspire greater loyalty and commitment, thereby reducing staff mobility. Thus, it is equally significant that both agencies (are fortunately large enough to) ‘over’ employ a substantial number or critical mass of both Anangu and non-Anangu employees, thereby helping to lessen the ongoing impact of turnover and create forms of desired professional mobility.

By contrast, most of the non-Anangu arts centre coordinators, TAFE lecturers and CDEP managers working in communities across the APY Lands are employed either as a sole individual, or as a couple. Depending on how well these people manage to network and interconnect with non-Anangu employed by other agencies in the same community, and with people working within their own agency in nearby communities, it is possible that these staff may experience burn-out even sooner than the rest. While the factors involved in staff retention are too many and varied, and the number of individuals and site contexts too few to establish this link definitively, it is noteworthy that Ngapa list a key ingredient to their success as an organisation to their ability to attract and retain a core team of committed non-Anangu professionals who have stayed the course. The organisational and cultural knowledge of this core team gives Ngapa the strategic nous to withstand the vicissitudes and advocacy of external policies and programs and the turbulence of community politics alike. In this vein we note that the very small communities and hence very small school and clinic sites seemed more prone to suffering a lack of critical mass, particularly amongst the non-Anangu staff members, though this was to some degree alleviated by the support of a large and strong intra-agency network.

The issues of leadership and funding, vision and mission and coaching and mentoring have all been discussed in previous chapters. But we want to highlight here that, to the extent that Ngapa and AES articulate a clear mission or vision, have consistent funding and incorporate mentoring practices; these are part of the key to success for both agencies as employers and trainers of Anangu. At the agency level, both generally display strong Anangu and non-Anangu leadership, and their overall staff body consists of roughly equal numbers of Anangu and non-Anangu employees, most of which profess to have a deep respect for and desire to negotiate with one another’s differences.

Anangu Education Services owes its ability to employ a ‘critical mass’ of Anangu staff to the successes of the AnTEP program to educate, train and graduate education workers, while Ngapa trains and employs all its Anangu workers. In terms of education, beyond the positions recommended to improve educational attainment, both Ngapa and AnTEP successfully link education to training and work
because of their close proximity, both literally and in terms of content, to immediate and guaranteed employment. This is in contrast to training in forklift driving, for example, for which there are few work opportunities on the APY Lands. What we can learn from the combined success of Nganampa and AES/AgTEP, despite their limitations, is that any education and training program on the APY Lands will be most successful if fully funded and delivered with the aim to employ and further develop the skills for a critical mass of Anangu in agencies or sectors on the APY Lands that have been established from the outset with a notion of permanence.
References and Works Consulted


James, M. (2008). Diary of development: A battle by battle diary of the first three years of a revolutionary works skills development strategy for remote Aboriginal young people, *Australian Prospect, June*, 1-169.


Muir, K., & Evans, L. (No Date). *Mining for country: Aboriginal enterprise and capacity building through partnerships between mining companies and Indigenous communities*. Project description.


*Strengthening the Capacity of Aboriginal Children, Families and Communities*. Perth: Curtin University of Technology and Telethon Institute for Child Health Research.


The purpose of this research was to review post primary education, employment and training and pathways in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands. The Review progressed through four overlapping stages: a review of the literature; an analysis and report on the APY Land schools’ self-review documents (Tootel, Wolgemuth, Eickelkamp, & Lea, 2008); eight weeks site-based fieldwork; and an analysis of key education and training data from the APY Lands and similar communities in the Northern Territory and Western Australia. During all phases of the research the Review Team was guided by a Peer Advisory Group comprised of academic and professional experts in Indigenous education and research including: Michael Christie, Don Zoellner, Michael Duffy, James Cooper, and Ute Eickelkamp. The Review Team was further guided by a Steering Committee appointed by the commissioning agency.

Overall, the review addressed four primary research questions:

1. What are the outcomes, strengths, and challenges of primary and secondary education in the APY Lands?
2. What are the outcomes, strengths, and challenges of VET/training in the APY Lands?
3. What are the outcomes, strengths, and challenges of work and pathways to work in the APY Lands?
4. How do APY schools compare to like schools in the Northern Territory and Western Australia on measures of student participation and achievement?

Mixed-Methods Collective Case Study

To answer the research questions, the Review employed a case study of post-primary education, training and work and pathways in the APY Lands. Case studies are conducted to examine and make meaning of phenomenon in their real-life contexts (Yin, 2002). In this way the Review concerned the phenomenon of post-primary education within the context(s) of APY communities.

While the case study looked across all the APY Lands, it also examined post-primary education within particular remote communities and Alice Springs and Adelaide. Therefore this study was a collective case study involving multiple sites (Stake, 2000).

The collective case study was guided by a mixed-methods approach in which quantitative (school, training and work outcome) and qualitative (interview and focus group) data were analysed in tandem to address the review questions. Given the pragmatic nature of this Review, the mixed-methods approach was well suited to bring together multiple data in a cohesive picture, while still maintaining the complexities of divergent views (Teddlie & Taskakkori, 2003).

Fieldwork, Data Collection and Interviews

The purpose of the fieldwork research was to seek the opinions and perceptions of education, training and work from important stakeholder groups including community members, students, school personnel, families and graduates; policy makers and people with former experience of service delivery on the APY Lands. The fieldwork research was conducted over 8 weeks, from 25 February to 25 April. Four researchers from Charles Darwin University (CDU) in Darwin, one Indigenous Researcher from CDU in Alice Springs; and a translator visited, separately and in teams, five Anangu communities (Ernabella, Murputja, Amata, Mimili and Kenmore Park) from 25-29 February and from 10-20 March; Wiltja annexe
of Woodville High School in Adelaide from 31 March to 4 April and Yirara College in Alice Springs from 21-25 April. While in Adelaide and Alice Springs, Review Team members also visited several service providers, trainers, employers and policy makers relating to the APY Lands.

In total we conducted interviews or focus groups with 203 participants from the following sectors/groups:

- Students and graduates, 75
- Community service provider/employer (on Lands), 29
- Teachers, 15
- South Australia Department of Education and Children’s Service, 15
- Community governance (e.g., community councils), 12
- TAFE, 8
- Higher education (e.g., VET lecturers, scholars), 9
- Principals, 8
- Anangu Education Workers, 8
- Police, 7
- School staff, 5
- Parents\(^2\), 5
- Non SA school personnel (e.g., Alice Springs schools), 5
- Anangu Co-ordinators, 4
- AnTEP providers, 3
- Religious organizations, 4
- Other bureaucrat (not DECS), 2

Of the participants interviewed, 99 were non-Anangu, 95 were Anangu and 5 were of another indigeneity. In most cases interviews were set-up ahead of our visits. However several key figures and agency representatives were recommended during the course of the field work and additional interviews with these persons were conducted. Most often interviews were conducted one-on-one, either in person or over the phone, but almost all the student and some Anangu Education Worker interviews were conducted as focus groups.

The interviews were most often semi-structured conversations around the topics of education, work and training on the APY Lands. In some cases, especially focus groups with students, the researchers more closely followed the interview scripts (see Appendix B for the interview questions for each stakeholder group). The Indigenous Researcher and the translator conducted interviews with some community and family members in Ernabella, Mimili, Kenmore Park and Alice Springs.

Of concern is the relatively small number of Anangu family members and students who were interviewed. While we attempted to arrange interviews with family and other community members, we were sorely limited by the short time in the field and the number of skilled interpreters at our disposal. Further, we worried the responses obtained from some Anangu were ‘lost in translation,’ literally not interpreted and metaphorically, not interpretable across cultural differences without more intense work and time in the field. That said, we did have some very productive conversations with English-speaking and non-English speaking Anangu whose perspectives are well represented in this report.

\(^2\) The total number of parents interviewed was 23. These five parents were those who were not classified otherwise (i.e., were not also community service workers, AEWs, Anangu Co-ordinators, etc…).
Analysis

The interviews were analysed via a process of individual thorough reading and group discussion. The Review Team met often to share and compare the themes they saw emerging and their interpretation of those themes. From those discussions, a review of the literature and examination of the available data, as well as key recommendations were generated.
Appendix B: Interview Questions

AEW, Anangu Co-Ordinator and Community Interview Questions

School
   (Eng) What makes boys, girls, and youngfellas keep on staying in school?

2. Nyaanguru tjitji tjaranγku kuula ngurunγuru wantipai?
   (Eng) Why do boys and girls finish school half-way through?

3. Nyaa nyura wiru tjuta palyani nyuntumpa kuulangka tjitji pulka tjuta rawa tjarpantjaku?
   (Eng) What is the school doing to keep young people at school?

4. Nyuntu idea wiru tjuta kanyirampampa tjakultjura tjitji tjuta rawa pitjantjaku kuulakutu?
   (Eng) Do you have other ideas to encourage young people to keep coming to school?

Training
5. Yaaltji yaaltji training iriti-ngur у kuwari-kutu ngaŋangni nyuntumpa ngurangka panya nintiringkula waaka mantjititjaku?
   (Eng) What good job training program have there been in your community over the years right through to today?

6. Ka nyaaringu? Training nyanga palu' tjana wanyu kuwaripatu ngaŋanyi?
   (Eng) What happened? Are these training programs still running?

7. Ka Anangu kutjupangku wanyu nintiringkula nintiringkula piipa mantjiŋra waaka mantjinu ngura walytjangka?
   (Eng) Are there people in this community who have received their certificates and got jobs?

Work
8. Tjitji tjutaya kuulangka nyaa nintiringanyi, ngula warkangka nintipuka nyinantjaku?
   (Eng) What do children learn at school that will help them get jobs?

9. Waaka nyaa yagupalangku kungkarwarangku palyani nyuntumpa community-ngka?
   (Eng) What work do young people do in your community?

10. Waaka nyaa kutjupa tjuta ngaŋanyi ngura nyuntumpangka, yangupala munu kungkawara tjutaku palyanytjaku?
    (Eng) What other jobs could they do?

Future
11. Nyuntu nyaa kuranyakutu kulini nyuntumpa tjitji tjutaku munu nyuntumpa pakali, puliripitiku?
    (Eng) What do you hope for the future of your children and grandchildren?
12. Yaaltji yaaltjingkula nyakula kuliŋa alpamilalku tjitji tjutangku kuranyukutungku nyakula palyantjaku?
   (Eng) How can we help them to have this future?

Who are some young people who have been successful in school that we should talk to?

**School Staff Interview Questions (Anangu and Non-Anangu)**

**Background Questions**
1. Total years working in schools______
2. Total years at current school______
3. Position at current school_________
4. Highest level of education
   - BA
   - BA(Hons)
   - Masters
   - Doctorate
5. Do you have children attending this school?
   - No
   - Yes
   If yes, what ages, genders and year levels?
   If yes, what are your plans for their future education (both on and off the APY Lands)?

**Interview Questions**

Can you describe for me your experience of working at this school?

**Secondary Education and Pathways: Schools, Programs and Staff**
1. Why do students pursue secondary education? What inhibits students from continuing their education?
2. Are there any programs or strategies at your school to encourage students to continue their education? How well are they working?
3. Are there any other programs you would like to see implemented at your school?

**VET/training and Pathways: Opportunities and Challenges**
4. Are there any VET/training opportunities offered through your school or with the community? If so, what are these? What do you consider to be the strengths and challenges of these programs?
5. In your opinion, what encourages and discourages Anangu from participating in VET/training programs?
6. What additional VET/training programs would you like to see implemented at your school or in the community? Why or how do you think this would be helpful for Anangu in achieving their goals?

Work and Pathways: Opportunities and Challenges
7. What work opportunities are available for Anangu through the school and in the community?
8. Are these opportunities desirable to the students?
9. What can the schools do to create better links between education, training, and work for Anangu?

Orientation Toward Purpose and Future
10. What do you consider to be the ideal outcome of schooling for Anangu students?
11. What do you see as the ideal long term outcome for the community? What is the role of the school in achieving this?
12. Do you have any suggestions for how the school might better serve the community?

Anangu School Leaver/Graduate Interview Questions

Background Questions
1. Where did you go to secondary school?
2. What is your highest level of education?
   - SACE or other Yr 12 equivalent
   - Certificate or other professional diploma
   - B.A.
   - B.A. (Hons)
   - Masters
   - Doctorate
3. Do you have children going to school?
   - No
   - Yes
   If yes, where do they go to school?
   What are their ages, genders and year levels?

Interview Questions
Can you tell me a story about your own experience of learning and work?

Secondary Education and Pathways: Schools, Programs and Staff
1. What were your primary and secondary school(s) like?
2. What made you decide to finish school? Was it easy? What helped you finish it? What made it hard for you to finish?
3. What did you like and what did you not like about your school?

4. How does school and training fit into your life today? [How did your school impact where you are today?]

**VET/training and Pathways: Opportunities and Challenges**
5. Have you participated in any VET/training opportunities? Where? What were they? What are the strengths and challenges of these programs?

6. What encouraged you to participate in the VET/training programs?

7. What additional VET/training programs do you think are missing in the APY Lands?

**Work and Pathways: Opportunities and Challenges**
8. What jobs do people do in the APY Lands? Who does them? Are they good jobs?

9. How do Anangu get jobs in the APY Lands? What’s hard about that?

**Orientation Toward the Purpose and Future**
10. What do you like about where you’re at? What do you wish were different?

11. How could school and trainings have been better for you?

12. What do you hope for your future?

**Student Focus Group Questions**

**Secondary Education and Pathways: Schools, Programs and Staff**
1. What do you like about school?

2. What do you not like about school?

3. Why do you come to school? Why don’t some kids come to school?

4. What makes a good teacher? Why?

**VET/training, Work and Pathways: Opportunities and Challenges**
5. Where does money come from?

6. What do Anangu kids do when they stop going to school?

7. What jobs do people do in your community? Who does them? Are they good jobs?

8. How do people get jobs in your community? What’s hard about that?

9. How does school help people find work?

**Orientation Toward Purpose and Future**
10. What’s more important, school or family? Why?

11. What is important to know at school? What is important to know outside school? Why?

12. Who do you learn from? What do you learn? What’s important about it?
13. How do people learn after school? What do they learn?

**Community Professional Interview Questions (Anangu and non-Anangu)**

**Background Questions**

1. What is your professional role on the APY Lands/in the community?

2. Do you live/how long have you lived on the APY Lands? In which communities?

3. What is your highest level of education?
   - Year ______
   - SACE or other Yr 12 equivalent
   - Certificate or other professional diploma
   - B.A.
   - B.A. (Hons)
   - Masters
   - Doctorate

4. Do you have school aged children?

If yes, where do they go to school?

What are their ages, genders and year levels?

**Interview Questions**

*Background*

1. Can you tell me about your experience of living and working on the APY Lands?

2. What is the main basis for your interaction with the education system here?

3. What do you know about the training and employment options available to Anangu here?

*How the organisation recruits, employs and trains staff.*

4. Thinking about all of the people who have worked for this organisation in the past 12 months, which of the following types of people have been in your employ? How many were Anangu?
   - People with university qualifications such as Bachelor Degrees and higher degrees. (eg Bachelor Degree in Accounting)
   - People with formal vocational qualifications, such as TAFE diplomas and certificates, including trade qualifications. (eg Diploma of Community Welfare Work, Certificate IV in Retail Management, Certificate III in Hairdressing, Certificate II in Community Services, or the older traditional trades qualifications (plumbing, electrician etc)
   - People with other types of qualifications/ what type of qualifications? (other specify)
   - People with no qualifications
5. Has your organisation had any employees undertaking apprenticeships or traineeships in the past 12 months? How many were Anangu?

6. What encourages and discourages Anangu from participating in VET/training programs?

7. What additional VET/training programs do you think would be beneficial to the community?

**Secondary Education and Pathways: Schools, Programs and Staff**
8. Can you tell me about the school in the community?

9. Is it a strong school? In what way? Could it be better?

10. [If local] What is the relationship between the school and your job/position/profession/organisation?

**Work and Pathways: Opportunities and Challenges**
11. Does schooling help Anangu find work/get jobs [on the APY Lands and/or elsewhere]?

12. Is it difficult to recruit staff here? What are some of the issues?

13. Are there issues in creating teams that work inter-culturally?

14. Are you able to suggest any improvements that would assist your organisation/the people here?
Appendix C: Community and School Introduction Letters

7 February 2008

Re: Education Review on the APY Lands

Dear Principal,

My name is Tess Lea and I am Associate Professor and Director of the School for Social and Policy Research at Charles Darwin University. As you may be aware, a review of post-primary education and pathways to work across the APY Lands is currently being undertaken. The South Australia Department of Education and Children's Services (DECS) has commissioned our Research School to conduct the review. Other team members include Dr Jenni Wolgemuth, an international education specialist; Dr Ute Eickelkamp, an anthropologist who has worked at Ernabella since 1995 and who will be advising us; Ms Ruth Wallace whose area of expertise is Indigenous secondary education, training and employment; and anthropologist Ms Naomi Tootell.

The aim of this review is to examine and document the current outcomes, strengths and challenges to success of post-primary education for members of communities on the APY Lands. It is hoped the findings will assist the PYEC in identifying and building on existing strengths and opportunities, as well as overcoming any challenges that frustrate Anangu endeavours to obtain meaningful employment and to achieve other lifetime goals.

Supported by PYEC, the research team would like to focus on how students, families and communities think about learning and work. We will also interview professionals in education, training and employment in organisations across the APY Lands (schools, TAFEs, stores, clinics, art centres, land management, PY Media etc.), and analyse existing data.

The timeframe for the review is from 25 February – 1 June. Given the short time available, we can only visit some communities in person. These are Ernabella, Kenmore Park, Amata, Mimili and Murputja. All other community schools will have the opportunity to contribute to the research via e-mail or phone interviews. As a minimum we would hope to interview all principals over the telephone, but if other staff members at your school are interested in sharing their thoughts on post-primary education opportunities and pathways to work in the APY Lands, please direct them to contact Naomi Tootell at (08) 8946 6942 Naomi.Tootell@cdu.edu.au. We will be contacting all principals in late March or early April to participate in brief, 30 to 45 minute phone interviews.
Our first visit to the APY Lands will be during the week 25-29 February 2008. During this trip, we hope to discuss our research at the PYEC meeting, and to visit Ernabella and Kenmore Park communities.

Following feedback on a draft report from PYEC, the final results of this study will be reported to the PYEC and the South Australia Department of Education and Children's Services (DECS).

If you have any questions or requests about the study then please contact the research team at (08) 8946 6942 or Naomi.Tootell@cdu.edu.au.

We hope that you will be able to endorse and support this review and I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours truly,

Tess Lea
Associate Professor
Director, School for Social and Policy Research
Charles Darwin University
Darwin NT 0909

NB – Please note that we will fax an information flyer about the reviews for distribution as a public notice to the APY Land Council and all schools in mid-February. We are also seeking to post a note at www.waru.org.
Dear Anangu Council Member,

My name is Tess Lea and I am an Associate Professor and Director of the School for Social and Policy Research at Charles Darwin University. As you may be aware, a review of post-primary education and pathways to work across the APY Lands is currently underway. The South Australia Department of Education and Children's Services (DECS) has commissioned our Research School to conduct the review. Other team members include Dr Jenni Wolgemuth, an education research specialist; Dr Ute Eickelkamp, an anthropologist who has worked at Ernabella since 1995 and who will be advising us; Ms Ruth Wallace whose area of expertise is Indigenous secondary education, training and employment; and anthropologist Ms Naomi Tootell.

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Our first visit to the APY Lands will be during the week 25-29 February 2008. During this trip, we hope to discuss our research at the PYEC meeting, and to visit Ernabella and Kenmore Park communities. We will return in March and plan to visit all the communities during the weeks of 10-15 March 2008 and 17-23 March 2008.

As important members of and key players in Anangu communities, we would be happy for you to share your thoughts about school and work in the APY Lands. We hope to meet you during our visit, but if you will be unavailable we would be glad to schedule a phone conversation or receive your thoughts via e-mail. If you would like to schedule a time to talk with us, please contact Naomi Tootell at (08) 8946 6942 or naomi.tootell@cdu.edu.au.

Following feedback on a draft report from PYEC, the final results of this study will be reported to the PYEC and the South Australia Department of Education and Children's Services (DECS).

If you have any questions or requests about the study, please contact the research team at (08) 8946 6942 or naomi.tootell@cdu.edu.au.
We hope that you will be able to endorse and support this review and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincere Regards,

Tess Lea
Associate Professor
Director, School for Social and Policy Research
Charles Darwin University
Darwin NT 0909
Tess.Lea@cdu.edu.au

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