Kimberley Girl: Program Outcomes

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1 Introduction

In the words of one former participant, the Kimberley Girl program has become a “rite of passage” for young Aboriginal women in the region.

Produced by Goolarri Media Enterprises, and now entering its fourteenth year, Kimberley Girl continues to change lives for the better.¹ Like its Pilbara counterpart, the program uses popular culture, including the image-making aspects of the fashion industry, to connect with young women on their own terms.² Through a catwalk show and an embedded personal development program, participants can imagine and enact positive life choices.

Kimberley Girl encourages personal ambition and community leadership, and utilises family networks to help young women grow and evolve. Private benefits (to the individual) translate into public benefits (to the community and nation) through enhanced employment prospects and the expansion of participants’ ambitions.

In 2011 we conducted a full evaluation of the Kimberley Girl program, involving an in-depth qualitative analysis of the program’s impact on participants’ lives, and an economic assessment of its public and private benefits (Rennie & Potts, 2011). We followed a similar method for this evaluation, which included interviews with 30 participants from the 2016 cohort (the Broome heats and the final including six participants from the Pilbara), and observation of the personal development workshops (see Appendix A, page 12, for full research methodology).

This report confirms many of the findings of the 2011 evaluation. In addition, we delve deeper into what we see as a key element of the Kimberley Girl program: confidence-building. The term “feeling shame” emerged strongly in our 2011 evaluation, but was not well understood in policy and development realms. For this report, we asked the 2016 participants to help us define the term. Participants described what it means to be held back by self-doubt, fear and shyness, and posited theories as to why it is a common and shared feeling amongst so many Aboriginal girls and young women. By digging deeper into the concept of feeling shame, this report provides a fuller account of Kimberley (and Pilbara) Girl’s main benefit – confidence-building – and how this benefit can translate into tangible outcomes (see Appendix D, page 29, for a discussion of “shame versus confidence”).

We also look at a new component to the program, strategies for online safety, in order to demonstrate the program’s responsiveness to emerging challenges (see Appendix E, page 33, for more on cyber safety). Finally, we discuss the media aspects of the program, which underwent significant change in 2016 due to the production of a feature documentary.

¹ Launched in 1991, Goolarri Media Enterprises (GME) is a Broome-based Indigenous media and communications organisation. GME develops digital content, runs events, and delivers education and training.
² Kimberley Girl and Pilbara Girl are essentially the same program, run in two different regions. In this report, where we refer to participants or elements from one region only, we use either “Kimberley Girl” or “Pilbara Girl”. We use “Kimberley and Pilbara Girl” to refer to both regions, or to the overall program generally.
2 Keys to the Program’s Success

Kimberley Girl is a personal and professional development program run by Goolarri Media Enterprises. Indigenous women between the ages of 16 and 25 can apply to take part, and are accepted into the program regardless of their background. Although the program is built around fashion modelling and culminates in a catwalk event, appearance is not a selection criterion. One of the reasons for Kimberley and Pilbara Girl’s success is that it does not target young women who are likely to succeed (as many leadership programs do) or those who are disadvantaged (as youth development programs do); all participants are equal in the program and on the catwalk. As a result, participants do not see the program as therapy or diversion, but as an opportunity to rise to their full potential.

Both the heats and the final consist of a week of activities, leading up to the public event. In 2016 participants took part in a variety of workshops, including: positive imaging and affirmations; building resilience and overcoming adversity; anger management; goal setting; health and hygiene; work readiness; and public speaking. In addition, participants took part in various media-related activities, including developing and performing scripts for their video presentation, being interviewed by journalists, and being filmed by the Goolarri crew. These various media outputs are designed to give the audience insight into the lives of the young women, and to showcase their journey during the program.

2.1 High return on investment

Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program alumni are 13 percentage points more likely to be employed than other Indigenous women in the same age range within their regions; 43 per cent of program alumni are currently employed, compared with 30 per cent of the total demographic. While it is difficult to draw a firm causal connection between the program and employment, our qualitative research supports the proposition that participation in the program results in workforce readiness, as well as positive community outcomes.

As outlined in Appendix F (page 36), the benefits of the program greatly outweigh the costs. We estimate the benefits to be in the order of $37,000 per participant, while the costs are approximately $7095 per participant. Kimberley and Pilbara Girl thus yields a significantly positive return on investment.

2.2 Personal development through participation

Kimberley and Pilbara Girl is an unconventional yet successful approach to Indigenous advancement. The program works by helping young women see themselves as role models, particularly to younger girls, which promotes personal ambition and community leadership. The personal development program is delivered in such a way that participants see it as being about developing the knowledge and confidence to do well during the event. They are thus particularly responsive to the messages offered, even if some of those
messages are similar to what they might hear at school, or in other youth programs. A former participant observed:

*If beauty is how they promote it then, sure, that seems to work in getting girls to participate. But doing the real stuff [the workshops] is where the changes happen.*

When asked to name their favourite thing about the program, two-thirds of the 2016 participants stated that the catwalk and/or photography sessions were their favourite activity. The program is structured around these two elements, and this format fosters engagement throughout the rest of the program. In addition, two participants stated that “everything” was their favourite aspect of the program. Interview respondents were able to give multiple responses, and other answers included: making friends (8 responses), the personal development workshops (including learning and interacting as a group, 7 responses), and helping others (1 response).

**2.3 Recruitment through networks**

Since its inception in 2004, the program has built up a loyal following of past participants and their families, who continue to attend the catwalk shows, and act as an important recruitment mechanism. Some return in future years to participate as facilitators and event organisers. As we stated in our previous report (Rennie & Potts, 2011), this endogenous growth, arising from networks of previous participants, is testimony to the value the program is adding to the two regions.

Of the 2016 participants, over one-third (n = 11) entered the program because they had been encouraged to do so by a previous participant:

*My sister was in KG last year. And she inspired me – said to do it, it’s a good opportunity to feel good and be a leader. She had a good experience.*

Six of the 2016 participants had been encouraged to enter by a family member, four had been encouraged by an employer or teacher, and five had decided for themselves to enter the program. The main reasons given for entering the program were to build confidence (n = 10), to be a role model to others in the community (n = 6) and to make friends (n = 3, including “meeting girls from other places”). One participant said she entered the program “because I was looking forward to being one of them”, demonstrating the way in which the program replicates itself through social status and glamour. Participants are also associated with being proactive and inspiring others:

*I entered KG [Kimberley Girl] to show younger girls there is more to life out there, other than drugs and alcohol.*
2.4 A flexible and evolving program

The Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program has continued to develop and adapt since 2011. The most significant change is that the heat events now take place in one location\(^3\) within each of the two regions (workshops continue to take place in multiple locations), and participants from both regions travel to Broome for the final event.\(^4\) In 2017 the program will expand, with a new event in the Goldfields region. When asked whether they were happy about coming together for the final, all but one participant stated that this was a good thing, mostly because it meant they met participants from different places, but also because it meant they got to travel (for those who do not live in Broome). Some of the Pilbara participants commented that because their region consists of larger towns with fewer small communities, it was valuable to meet girls who have grown up in communities where life can be significantly different (in both good ways and bad).

Importantly, the change in location has also enabled Goolarri Media Enterprises to put more resources into the workshop program, including hiring professional facilitators for many of the development sessions. By reducing the “roadshow” burden, the Goolarri team was able to put more time and energy into stage production and media outputs, resulting in a better experience for the audience. The only drawback to the 2016 schedule was that the Pilbara finalists experienced a significant gap in time between the heats and final; this meant they lost some momentum compared to the Kimberley participants, who went straight through from one week to the next (see Recommendations section, page 8). The gap between heats and finals for Pilbara participants is unavoidable due to the need to work around the school calendar. Extending the program to ensure greater connection between Goolarri and the participants between events would help ensure equitable experiences and outcomes.

Goolarri Media Enterprises has managed to maintain a diverse set of participants by recruiting from across the regions, and going to extra lengths to ensure that those from outside major centres are prepared for the experience. In 2016, Goolarri continued a partnership with North Regional TAFE, which involved administering a pre-Kimberley Girl program to participants who were not engaged in formal training and/or education (PX2, since 2015). This life-skills training was delivered in two communities, across two days each. In 2016 the impact of this preparatory training was clearly positive, with strong and active engagement by participants from more remote towns and communities.

One significant addition to the 2016 program was a deeper focus on social media and online safety. Goolarri is making greater use of social media to promote the program, which recognises the high use of social media (Facebook in particular) amongst Aboriginal people in both regions. At the same time, participants are encouraged during the workshops to

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\(^3\) In previous years, heats occurred in a number of regional locations. For instance, in 2011, Kimberley Girl heats took place in Derby, Kununurra and Fitzroy Crossing, with finalists travelling to Broome for the final event. The Pilbara heats and final were all held in the Pilbara.

\(^4\) This follows from our 2011 recommendation.
think carefully about what they post online and to refrain from engaging in cyber bullying behaviours.

From our interviews with participants, we found that young women are experiencing emotional distress as a result of cyber bullying. The particular forms of “relatedness” prevalent in Aboriginal sociality – whereby family and kinship networks come with obligations and responsibilities – mean the consequences of online communication can be significant. These consequences can include inter-family feuds (including potential violence) and social isolation.

Seven (of 29) respondents reported direct experience of cyber bullying – six as victims, and one as a perpetrator. Of the remainder, all but one saw it as a significant problem and had witnessed it amongst their peers. Almost all (n = 26) felt that the cyber bullying component should stay in the program, and endorsed the way it was dealt with in the workshop (two respondents were not sure, and one felt that it should be removed as she felt distressed talking about it). We provide an in-depth account of the cyber bullying issue and related findings in Appendix E (page 33).

3 Benefits to Participants

The Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program works by appealing to ambition and strength, rather than victimhood. The program is also a vehicle for personal transformation and experimentation, in that young women are given a chance to experiment with their public image.

The benefits of the program are best understood in relation to the lives of the participants, including their aspirations and hardships. Through our conversations with the 30 young women who took part in the research, we built up a portrait of what it is like to grow up in a small town or community in remote North-western Australia (see Appendix B, page 14).

Some participants were still attending school or TAFE; others were finding it difficult to obtain work; two were young mothers. Their interests ranged from “dressing up” and taking selfies, to outdoor activities such as fishing and hunting. Sport was a significant feature in many of the interviews. Eight respondents mentioned their involvement in cultural activities, including artwork and ceremony.

However, many participants were also troubled by problems in their communities, including alcohol, drugs and family violence. Participating in Kimberley or Pilbara Girl was seen as a pathway to being a positive influence in their community, particularly through becoming a role model to younger siblings.

The main outcome of the program is that it increases confidence, enabling young women to take on the challenges they encounter, and to achieve their goals. By the end of the

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5 One participant withdrew her interview statements about cyber safety, leaving 29 responses for this topic.
program, 25 of 30 participants stated during interviews (without prompting) that the program had increased their confidence. While it is possible that participants identify confidence as a main benefit due to frequent reinforcement by facilitators and former participants, we found the shift from shyness to confidence to be visible and tangible. In the words of the 2015 Kimberley Girl winner, Darrylin Gordon:

*The word[s] being “proud of myself” didn’t have any meaning for me before Kimberley Girl and it does now. The first week workshops [heats] teaches you how to be proud of yourself, reminding yourself of who you are and the goals you want to set, how to get there, who you need help from to get there. It has helped me so much.*

For many participants, confidence is also a direct remedy for *shame* – a word used by Aboriginal people to describe a particular attitude and hindrance. According to participants, *feeling shame* involves shyness, anxiety, nervousness, an inability to speak up, lack of confidence, and a reluctance to participate (see Appendix D, page 28). Some participants saw *shame* as being propagated by peer pressure, and as particularly common in Aboriginal communities. At least two participants implied that it is linked to the effects of colonialism, reflecting that it has to do with feeling out of place in mainstream society and is reinforced by negative images of Aboriginal people in the media. By producing confidence in participants, the Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program is countering *shame* and its significant if unquantifiable effect on individuals, families and communities.

Of the 2011 participants, those who identified confidence as the primary benefit of doing the Kimberley Girl program were more likely to have achieved their stated life goals in 2016 than those who did not name confidence as the primary benefit (see Appendix C, page 22). What’s more, none of those who reported gaining confidence were unemployed or disengaged five years on (excluding stay-at-home mothers). Some of the 2011 participants have overcome significant adversity, and achieved life goals when all the predictors indicated that they would not. While Kimberley Girl is only one factor that might generate change in the lives of these young women, it could well be a significant factor, given the positive responses from participants. From our analysis, Kimberley and Pilbara Girl participants are more likely to enter the workforce than others in their age and regional demographic.

### 4 Benefits to Community and Region

The Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program increases Indigenous employment. Goolarri Media Enterprises employs 21 Indigenous staff. An additional 22 Indigenous staff were employed specifically for the delivery of Kimberley Girl, including facilitators and mentors.

The program also provides local benefits to business, not only through sponsorship (see Appendix F, page 36), but also by identifying potential young ambassadors and trainees.

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6 Past participants classified as “disengaged” included those who were dealing with homelessness and/or substance abuse, involved with correctional services, and so on.
For example, during the final, participants were given the opportunity to talk directly to recruitment teams from the police force, Virgin Airlines, and mining company Woodside.

During 2016, past program participants took part in a range of activities, including the Telethon Fundraising Weekend, the Perth Fashion Festival, Pierot’s Model Search, Arousal and Design’s formal makeup course, a three-day Advanced Life Skills Course, talking to teenagers at local high schools, various other public speaking engagements, three front-cover photographs and accompanying articles in *West Magazine*, and a front-cover photograph for the Broome Visitor Guide. Kimberley and Pilbara Girl is thus raising the profile of local Aboriginal women and generating role models for Aboriginal girls through image-making and positive media events.

In addition to these activities, the public value of Kimberley Girl can also be explained by looking at the socio-economic profile of the participants and the local opportunities they face. As we outlined in our 2011 report, the difference between Kimberley Girl and a (hypothetical) equivalent program conducted with affluent young women living in an Australian city is that the latter venture only results in a reordering of labour market rankings. In other words, those who rise to the top will displace others who will fall lower in terms of opportunities, while the overall participation rate and human-capital set remains the same. By contrast, Kimberley and Pilbara Girl is a “positive-sum-game”, in that each girl who benefits does not displace another girl, and instead may actually cause additional girls to benefit too.

Appendix B (page 14), “Who are the 2016 Kimberley and Pilbara Girl Participants?”, describes some of the hardships participants are facing, or have faced in the past. These stories demonstrate that many young Aboriginal women are falling out of study and workforce participation due to significant hardships. Programs that enable them to see beyond their current situation, and beyond intergenerational disadvantage, are important for raising the wellbeing of individuals and the prosperity of the region (see Appendix F, page 36).

### 5 Media Production and Engagement

2016 was a significant year for the Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program, as it involved the production of an 8-part documentary series. Participants were interviewed by the documentary makers in their home communities, both during and after the event, and cameras were a constant presence during the workshops. The documentary is intended for release in 2017, and production was overseen by Goolarri Media Enterprises, in order to ensure that the personal stories disclosed over the course of the program were handled ethically and sensitively. One of our recommendations from the 2011 report was that more energy should be put into the media aspects of Kimberley and Pilbara Girl. The Goolarri team has achieved this with the documentary, which also incorporates personal diary entries by the young women.
We asked the 2016 participants to comment on whether they were happy to have taken part in the documentary series, and the vast majority said they were pleased to have had their story told. Positive comments included: “I think it’s good to have the doco, recording the girls from different regions and showing the world about the story of the girls and where they come from”, and “It’s a good thing that other people can hear my story.” Some commented that it also helped them with their public speaking and confidence: “In a way it is great because you get to learn how to do public speaking into a camera and you know you are being watched. You step yourself up.”

From our observations, the 2016 participants displayed far more advanced public speaking skills than the 2011 cohort, which was likely an effect of the documentary crew’s constant schooling in how to talk to the camera and generate stage presence. In addition to the documentary, 2016 participants also took part in at least 19 media interviews during and after the event.

The Goolarri organisation’s stage production values are high, and the events continue to attract large crowds, including families who travel from distant towns to support the participants. The final event attracted an audience of 680 people, including the Western Australia Premier, the Honourable Colin Barnett.

6 Participant Feedback

When asked if they had any suggestions for how the program could be improved in future, half of the participant said that they would not change anything. Five felt that the days were too long, or that the program was too full, and felt tired as a result. Conversely, three felt that there was too much waiting around, particularly during hair and make-up sessions, and that there could be more activities scheduled during these times.

Perhaps the most useful suggestion was that the workshops could involve fewer workbooks (activities where participants were required to take notes) and more interactive activities, in order to produce more bonding time between participants. At least one participant had very poor English literacy. The workbook components meant she felt excluded from these activities, despite the fact that support workers were on hand to assist her, including discreetly writing out answers for her.

7 Recommendations

1. The Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program is demonstrating continued success and improvement. The program deserves ongoing and increased support from public and private sources.

2. Goolarri Media has undertaken significant “aftercare” activities since our 2011 report, and we recommend that this focus continue to grow. More can still be done for participants who don’t win or get through to the final. For instance, the 2015 Kimberley Girl winner
commented that she hoped to do more engagement with former participants from Halls Creek to ensure they retained positive benefits from the program.

3. Following on from recommendation 2, Kimberley and Pilbara Girl should be regarded and funded as a 12 month program.

4. The Kimberley and Pilbara Girl alumni network should be utilised to organise activities in the regions throughout the year. Some resourcing should be directed at alumni organisers for social events or networking activities. Using social media to keep in touch with alumni is also an effective means of collecting information for future evaluations.

5. Participants are most engaged with workshops when the facilitators tell personal stories and encourage the participants to speak. We recommend that workshop facilitators should be discouraged from reading from a script. While the use of Kimberley Girl alumni as facilitators is an important element of the program, further training of facilitators may be necessary.
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10 Appendix A: Research Methodology

This research was undertaken with approval from the Swinburne Human Research Ethics Committee.

The methodology for the economic analysis is contained in Appendix F (page 36).

Research method: 2016 participants

In total, 30 participants from the 2016 Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program took part in the research (24 participants from the Kimberley region and 6 from the Pilbara region). Qualitative data collection for the 2016 cohort consisted of:

1. Documentary interviews: To avoid “over-interviewing” the participants, we provided the documentary producer with questions to include in the pre-program interviews (filmed on location in the participants’ home towns). The documentary interviews were included in the dataset. The two documentary interviewers were both experienced and respected Indigenous women from the Pilbara and Kimberley regions. Participants were informed that we would be using documentary interview rushes in our analysis and were given an opportunity to correct anything they had said in their documentary interviews during one-on-one interviews.

2. One-on-one interviews: Shorter research interviews were conducted towards the end of the Broome heats for Kimberley participants, and during the final for the Pilbara participants. All participants were also asked follow-up questions during the final. These interviews provided a chance for participants to speak privately with the researcher, and to offer information and views that would not affect the outcome of the competition or be used in media outputs.

3. Observation: Researcher Ellie Rennie observed the Broome heats workshops, as well as the pre-final workshops.

4. Staff interviews: A small number of Goolarri Media staff were interviewed during and after the program.

All of the above data was coded using NVivo software. This allowed us to identify common themes and determine the frequency of issues/responses. For the purposes of analysis, documentary interviews, research interviews and observation notes were collated into “cases” (each case representing one participant).

As parts of the documentary interviews will be screened publicly (making the participants identifiable), we intentionally de-linked these interview quotes from other data sources in the writing-up stage of the research. To protect privacy, where a quote was derived from a research interview, we have attributed the quote to a participant number. Where a quote was derived from the documentary footage, we have not identified the participant.
Research method: previous participants

In 2016, a Goolarri Media staff member contacted as many prior program participants as possible (spanning the years 2004–2015) and recorded their current workforce status and job type. This data was used in the economic analysis presented in Appendix F (page 36).

Appendix C, ‘Where are they Now?’ (page 22), makes additional use of responses from the 2011 participants, from all heats (Kimberly and Pilbara, 40 in total). We have used this data in conjunction with data from our 2011 evaluation in order to analyse the trajectory of those who took part in the 2011 interviews. For the purpose of analysis, we have condensed the information Goolarri provided into five employment categories: “working”, “studying”, “stay-at-home mother”, “unemployed” and “disengaged” (for example, dealing with homelessness and/or substance abuse, or in youth or correctional services).

We used multiple methods for our 2011 evaluation, including: interviews with participants from the Kununurra and Broome heats, as well as three participants from the Fitzroy Crossing heat; observation of the Kununurra and Broome heats; and observation of the pre-final workshops. In total, 18 young women were interviewed during the heats and final.

In 2011 we also documented the workshop facilitators’ knowledge of the background of all participants (Pilbara and Kimberley Girl). Facilitators were asked to identify which, if any, of six “hardship factors” each participant was known to have experienced. Hardship factors included: “currently disengaged” (including being under the care of youth services), “from a remote community”, “neither parent working”, “low literacy and numeracy”, “young mum”, “life trauma” (including domestic violence), and “lack of positive family support”. While being from a remote community is not necessarily a hardship, we included this factor as there are typically few employment and education opportunities in very remote settlements.

In 2011 facilitators were also asked to assess each participant’s life prospects (based on what they knew of the participants’ lives, not their Kimberley Girl performance). Assessments were made using a 5-point scale, where 1 = “expected to fail”, 2 = “may not succeed”, 3 = “could go either way”, 4 = “will succeed with further support”, and 5 = “likely to succeed”.

The information gathered from facilitators was not necessarily reliable, because it was drawn from memory and/or based on information that travelled through interpersonal networks. At the time, facilitators’ insights were gathered for the purposes of additional contextual information, to help us understand the extent to which participants faced hardship or disadvantage. As the “hardship” analysis below is based upon limited information, it should not be taken as definitive. Moreover, the number of participants is too low for the results to be generalisable.
10 Appendix B: Who are the 2016 Kimberley and Pilbara Girl Participants?

Understanding both the participants and their social world is important for grasping the true impact of the program. The following provides a snapshot of their daily activities and challenges, as well as their hopes for the future.

Age

To take part in Kimberley and Pilbara Girl, participants must be between 16 and 25 years of age. The 2016 Kimberley and Pilbara participants were mostly at the younger end of the scale. Almost three quarters (73.3 per cent) were in the 16–18 age range, with the remainder in the 19–21 age range.

Figure 1: Age of 2016 Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program participants
Workforce participation

Of the 30 Kimberley and Pilbara Girl participants who took part in this research, half were studying at the time of the heats. Two of the 15 were attending TAFE (vocational education and training, including a preparatory course for returning to school). All the others were still at secondary school, although for many this schooling also involved vocational courses. Just over a quarter of participants were working, two were stay-at-home mothers, and five were unemployed (not working or studying). One of the unemployed participants was doing volunteer work in her community.

Figure 2: Workforce participation status of 2016 Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program participants

Positive aspects of living in a remote town or community

Figure 3, below, shows the number of research participants by their home town. The map below (Figure 4) shows the towns that the 2016 participants call home (which was not necessarily where they were residing at the time), with the size of each pin representing the number of participants from that place. It is important to note that those who took part in the research were involved in either the Kimberley heats or the final. As only six participants from Pilbara Girl make it through to the final, Pilbara participants are under-represented in the data (see Appendix A, Research Methodology, page 12).
Figure 3: Number of 2016 research participants by home town
During the interviews for the documentary film, each participant was asked to describe their home town, and talk about any challenges the town or community faces. The full interviews provide a fascinating portrait of growing up in remote Australia.

**Outdoor activities**

Some of the participants stated that their communities were small and there was little to do. However, a higher number described making the most of it, particularly the outdoors. A participant from Derby described how she would “drive and have bonfires on the marsh, or kick the footy”. In Halls Creek “we go swimming sometimes, sometimes we go hunting, we get to hang out with our other families and friends, sometimes we go to our dad’s country”. A young woman from Djarindjin (on the Dampier Peninsula) talked about “boating, fishing, diving, crabbing, oystering, having family time”. She described her community as “very small. It only has one street that is bituminised. The school is very little and there’s one shop and a roadhouse that has just been built.”

Another participant from a nearby community spoke of riding quad bikes and spending time down at the creek. A participant from Kununurra loved “the fact that you can go 10k down the road and go fishing and swimming. There’s nothing you can’t do in the Kimberley.” One participant from a small community spoke of making “backtracks” down to the river to go fishing and swimming on her own. Fishing and/or hunting was mentioned by just over a third of the participants (n=11).
Culture

Cultural activities such as helping older relatives with artwork, or going out on country with family, were discussed casually, often in the context of other interests, friendships and hopes for the future. For instance, one participant told the documentary interviewer, “I love the bush, I love going out and sitting around the fire with bushfood. In the city I love shopping and being with the girls.” When asked what she loved to do, another young woman replied, “spending time with my great-grandparents while they are still alive. We learn from them. We learn about culture, speaking language, and the lore we have up at One Arm Point.”

A participant who was particularly shy during the documentary interview opened up when she started talking about culture: “We do ceremony dance out in the law ground. My mum has been teaching me how to dance since I was little. It makes me feel happy and it makes me feel good.” Tradition and culture featured in eight participants’ interviews.

Family

Family featured as a topic in all of the interviews conducted for the documentary film. At least seven participants stated that being with family was one of the things that made them happiest. When describing their families, participants often described large immediate families and some referred to broader kinship structures (for instance, describing an aunt’s daughter as a sister). One participant, who told the documentary interviewer that she had four sisters, later told us “There are 25 sisters.” The social world for most of these young women involves strong and extensive family ties, which could partly explain why many find the prospect of moving away from home unappealing (see below).

Sport

Half of the participants listed sport as one of their favourite things to do, with comments such as, “I like sports the most because it keeps you fit and active, not lazing around the house.” Netball and basketball were popular, as was AFL football. Sports festivals such as “King of the Kimberley” in Halls Creek were spoken of as highlights in the lives of these young women, as were sports camps held in the cities and overseas: “I had to go Perth for basketball, it was a showcase for girls’ academy, where we all play against each other from around Australia. We lost in the grand final by one point.” At least four participants hoped to make sport their profession, either as a sportsperson or working in the fitness industry:

I hope to be the first woman Brownlow medal [winner]. That’s pretty much it.

Fashion, selfies and modelling

Six participants spoke of their interest in modelling. Some had previously participated in other modelling activities, such as Miss Cable Beach (one said “I wouldn’t do it again because I didn’t realise there were family in the audience”), while others had modelled for
local businesses, and one had featured in the Christmas float day in her home town. About a third of participants spoke of taking selfies, and modelling around the house for fun: “I like dressing up, putting on makeup and walking around. It makes me feel different. It makes me feel beautiful and confident.” When asked how she feels about herself, one participant told the documentary interviewer, “From the amount of selfies I take – yeah, I pretty much like myself!” Kimberley and Pilbara Girl builds on the fantasy and aesthetic life of young women. Selfies, fashion and modelling are a means of escaping daily routines, feeling positive, and imagining and enacting different futures.

**Challenges of living in a remote town or community**

When asked about the challenges their home communities face, participants were candid about the hardships of Australia’s remote towns and communities.

**Alcohol and drugs**

When participants were asked about challenges in their community, the most common response was “alcohol and drugs” (a third of the group). These were not abstract observations, but rather direct experiences that created worry and anxiety. A participant from a remote community stated, “Some of my family out there do bad things, some bring grog in to the community. It makes me feel bad and upset.” A young woman from a different remote community wanted a police station established in her community because of alcohol and “ganga” (marijuana), and the resulting violence. Some mentioned the drugs ice and speed as being problems in their communities. Another described how these issues affected her daily routines:

> I dislike the alcohol and the music at night time. Especially when I am working and they are drinking and I have to wake up early for work.

One respondent was concerned for her 13-year-old brother, who she’d discovered had been smoking marijuana since age 11, while others linked alcohol and drugs to family violence, general safety in their town/community (including “gangs” of kids), and a sense of lives being wasted. For example, one said, “I hate seeing family that are addicted to drugs and alcohol. And them not doing anything about it”, while another stated that she hated “alcoholics and bad people because they don’t know how to look after themselves. They get money and they don’t know how to spend it, they just buy alcohol.”

A number of participants wanted to do something about this problem, and many stated that being a role model to younger people and staying away from alcohol and drugs were one way they could help:

> A lot of community kids end up drinking, smoking, not doing anything with their life, getting pregnant. I think I change everyone’s opinion on that because I got to school, I don’t drink, I don’t smoke. I don’t see myself getting pregnant any time soon.
Suicide

Suicide was mentioned by four participants (unprompted). One stated that she had lost “most” of her family to suicide: “I haven’t been the one that’s taken it good. I am very close with everyone and when I lose someone in my family it hits me very hard and I do get sad and depressed because I’ve lost them.” Another participant revealed that she experienced more than one youth suicide in her family:

Some of my family members have committed suicide... because they are not happy and it’s really hard. I wasn’t that close with them and wanted to get to know them, and it’s what am I going to do now? A lot of our family members don’t know what to do and they are stuck and they remember the good things but they don’t know why they committed suicide. There are young people that commit suicide.

Violence

Across both the documentary film interviews and the one-on-one research interviews combined, violence was mentioned 33 times. Six of these mentions were made with reference to cyber bullying or street fighting (see Appendix E, page 33). Another five mentions were made with reference to family violence that the participants had direct experience of. One called it her “main childhood struggle”, with “my parents arguing and drinking. It made me feel down and depressed.” In one documentary interview, a participant discussed the impact of domestic violence on her living arrangements:

When we were younger the hard stuff was domestic violence, and we have been through that since we were toddlers up until [age] 13 or 14 – that’s when it stopped. It was hard because I have two young sisters and I didn’t want to be at home, I would always go and stay somewhere else. But now he’s not there I feel safer.

One final participant, who had spent time in youth detention, told a story of her own involvement in family violence and the resulting isolation that it caused:

When we got our first house I wanted to finish school and be a model. Then my auntie moved into the house and she told me “You are nothing but a drug addict, little girl” and I said “I am not!” She provoked me and that’s when I got a knife and chased her. I said to the police that I didn’t want to go back to that same life: “I hate going off and seeing you mob in blue uniforms.” So I got out of the house and my auntie twisted the yarn around, and now all my family hates my guts. They don’t wave at me or say anything to me anymore, and all I’ve got left is my mum and it’s hard. My own grandma hates me too. She even kicked me out of the house.
Social isolation

Many young people who live in remote areas are sent to the city to attend school. Seven of the eight participants who spoke of this experience described it as a challenge. One stated that going away for school was positive for her, because it meant she could get away from family violence at home.

Other hardships

Amongst the Pilbara participants, some respondents mentioned the lack of jobs, and people being made redundant from work. One girl spoke of the need for a dialysis treatment centre in her home town, while another saw lack of education as the biggest problem, saying the community needs “more facilities to help the kids”. One participant said the challenge for her small community was that it was slated to be “closed” by the Western Australian government (meaning infrastructure and maintenance were likely to be defunded). She described it as “like a family that’s going to be broken up”.

Aspirations of participants

The documentary filmmakers interviewed the young women at the start of the program. While some participants had grand hopes for the future, many more were unsure what they wanted to do. Responses such as, “In five years’ time I see myself with a job and doing something I love, but I don’t know what” were common. Career hopes included basketball player, preschool teacher, mechanic, HR worker, model, media manager, gallery owner, beauty therapist, police officer, social worker, nurse, banking worker, actress, mining worker and truck driver.

Some participants had entered the program to help with their intended career path:

I’d like to achieve anything and everything. I’d like to be a pre-primary teacher. I need more confidence to achieve that.

The Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program helped some participants think more deeply about their future:

I have set my mind on HR [Human Resources] but after doing the program I might want to be involved in the community. I would want to be something like a community development officer. Ways you can help other girls, and go for what they want in life. I want to give back (participant 13).
10 Appendix C: Where are they Now? Past Participants

Using data from our 2011 evaluation, together with information gathered by Goolarri Media staff in 2016, we can provide some insight into the trajectories of the 2011 participants. The following analysis looks back at where the 2011 participants expected to be in five years’ time, examines whether their current workforce status conforms to their 2011 expectations, and notes whether there is a correlation with what they gained from the Kimberley Girl program (“stated benefit”). We also examine participants’ current status in relation to the level of hardship they experienced during, or prior to, 2011.

Current workforce status: previous Kimberley Girl participants

Figure 5 (below) shows the 2016 workforce status of participants from each year of the program (given as a percentage of the total number of participants from their year). As this graph shows, fewer participants from the 2011 cohort were working or studying in 2016 than those who undertook the program in other years.

A likely reason is that in 2011 and 2012, Goolarri Media worked in partnership with the GATE program, a course that is designed for disengaged young Indigenous people, and administered by North Regional TAFE. One-third of the 2011 participants entered Kimberley Girl through this program, or other youth-at-risk programs. We can therefore assume that the 2011 cohort had greater life obstacles to overcome than participants from other years. The regional distribution of the participants may also account for differences between years.

Of the 2011 participant group (n=18), one-third were from remote communities, including four from communities with populations of under 300 people. Half of the participants were attending school or TAFE, two were in full-time work, two were working and studying, and four were neither studying nor working. One was enrolled in a tertiary degree by correspondence.

According to Goolarri Media staff, around two-thirds of the participants had experienced multiple “hardships” (using the hardship factor tool). Various hardships were revealed during the 2011 heats:

- One young woman discovered that she was pregnant and talked to a facilitator about her fear of ending up as a single mother on welfare. The facilitator herself had been a young mother when she participated in Kimberley Girl.
- While her make-up was being done, another participant spoke of her experience of domestic violence.
- During a group discussion, one woman shared that she had a drinking problem.
- A young woman who was unemployed spoke of having encountered racism in the workplace in her previous job. Her motivation for entering the program was to regain her self-confidence following this incident.
Figure 5: Workforce status of previous Kimberley Girl participants, by year of participation
Five years on

In 2011, we asked participants to state what they saw as the “best thing about the program”. We also asked them where they hoped to be in five years. The table below provides responses to the “best thing about the program” query, as well as participants’ current workforce status, and whether this conforms to where they hoped to be in their lives by 2016.

All questions during the 2011 interviews were optional. Some participants chose not to answer the question “Where do you see yourself in five years?” In these cases, whether their status conforms to their earlier expectations is listed as “unknown”.

Table 1: What participants got out of the program, and whether current work status conforms to expected status from 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Best thing about 2011 Program</th>
<th>Status in 2016</th>
<th>Is she now where she had hoped to be?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Confidence/personal development</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hair and makeup</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Hair and makeup</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fun</td>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Making friends</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Hair and makeup</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Making friends</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>None stated</td>
<td>Disengaged</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>None stated</td>
<td>Stay-at-home mum</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When asked “Where do you see yourself five years from now?”, 11 participants stated that they believed they would be working. As to the kind of work they expected to be doing, responses ranged from “psychologist” and “musician” to “working at the mine” and “development industry work”. One participant stated that she expected to be at university, and one hoped to be travelling the world. Five chose not to answer the question.

Half of the participants interviewed during the 2011 evaluation (n=9) are now stay-at-home mothers. None of them had predicted that this is what they would be doing in 2016 (or none chose not to express it). One-third of participants (n=6) are now working or studying, and the remainder (n=3) are unemployed.

Interestingly, three out of the 10 young women who stated that “confidence and personal development” were the best things about the program ended up achieving their vision, and none were unemployed or disengaged in 2016. Out of the eight who identified other benefits (such as learning how to do hair and makeup, or making new friends), only one was in the workforce in 2016, while two were unemployed and one was disengaged.

**Hardship factors and current workforce status**

Part of the reason for Kimberley and Pilbara Girl’s success is that it does not target those most likely to succeed as some other leadership programs do. Nor does it target disadvantaged individuals, as do many development programs. Instead, the program places participants of varying backgrounds and life experiences together. As we wrote in our 2011 evaluation, we believe that this results in high engagement, as the young women are self-motivated to participate in the program:

> Young women come into the program with diverse motives, demonstrating that the program is far from a standard youth program. Participants do not see Kimberley Girl as rehabilitation, diversion, or therapy to address disengagement, but as an opportunity they choose to rise to (Rennie & Potts, 2011, p. 17).

Of the 2011 participants, a quarter (10 of 40) were likely to be living in stable homes (based on facilitators’ knowledge), and were engaged in school, other study or work when they took part in the program. However, many came from situations of varying adversity and disadvantage. One-third of the 2011 Kimberley Girl cohort were recruited through youth services (including PX2), and this group faced significant challenges that could have influenced their decisions and opportunities over the intervening five years.

When all participants are included (n=40) from all 2011 heats, we see that some participants are doing well relative to opportunity. Of those who are currently unemployed, two-thirds had experienced two or more “hardship factors” in 2011. Just under half of those who were studying or working in 2016 had experienced two or more “hardship factors” in 2011.
The participant identified as “disengaged” in 2016 (see Table 1, above) had been identified as facing five “hardship factors” in 2011. While it is not surprising that many former participants who are now unemployed came from backgrounds of hardship or disadvantage, others with comparable backgrounds have turned their lives around and are returning to study and working.

Where the 2011 facilitators assessed a young woman as “likely to succeed”, they were mostly correct, with the majority of these participants (5 of 9) engaged in either work or study in 2016, and two being stay-at-home mothers. Only one of these young women was unemployed/disengaged at the time of 2016 survey. Facilitators in 2011 only rated three young women as “expected to fail”. One defied that prediction and was studying at the time of the 2016 survey.
Figure 6: Participants assessed in 2011 as “likely to succeed”: outcomes in 2016
10 Appendix D: Shame versus Confidence

The immediate benefit of the Kimberley Girl program is that it builds participants’ confidence. While this is a private benefit (to the individual), it also becomes a public benefit when the program nudges young women from one set of life choices and pathways into alternatives that yield more positive outcomes.

Our 2011 report identified confidence as one of the main benefits of the program. Participants agreed: 60 per cent of the 2011 participant group and 75 per cent of participants from prior years stated that they had gained confidence as a result of participating in Kimberley Girl.

The 2016 research enabled us to go further into this benefit; to understand the extent to which confidence-building matters, and why it matters specifically to young Aboriginal women living in the Kimberley and Pilbara regions. In this section we explore the notion of “feeling shame”, and how it affects this group in particular. We also examine what is it specifically about Kimberley Girl that helps overcome shame compared with other programs, and consider whether this is an outcome of individual empowerment or group empowerment.

Defining “shame”

During the 2016 interviews, we asked the participants to define the word shame. The word had arisen frequently during the 2011 evaluation, and seemed to have a unique meaning amongst Aboriginal people. Eunice Yu, a senior Yawuru woman who acted as an advisor on the 2011 evaluation, had told us that “feeling shame” is not part of traditional culture, in which everyone knows their place and role. We were therefore curious to understand how young women themselves understood the word shame and why they felt it.

When asked to define shame, some participants chose to answer the question by describing the feeling. From these responses, it is clear that shame can hold back those who experience it, and that it involves being overly concerned with what others will think. Responses included:

- “Not doing what you want to do because you are so scared of the outcome and you don’t want people to judge you”
- “Feel too nervous to talk, to speak up”
- “Your heart is beating overtime, you don’t have the confidence to do what the task is”
- “Feeling shy”
- “Shy, scared of what other people think, don’t want to get judged”
- “Feeling nervous and scared”
- “Shyness and anxiety, fear – like you don’t want to do it”
- “Embarrassed, no confidence”
• “Worried about what people think of you”
• “Don’t want to or don’t feel like doing something”
• “Shy, not coming out of your shell properly”
• “Uncomfortable doing something, or not willing to look bad”
• “I won’t talk to anybody, just sit down quiet by myself. I won’t talk, won’t smile, wait for that person to come and talk to me, then I might talk to them a bit”
• “Feeling scared, feel that something bad might happen and everyone is going to look at you and laugh”.

A young woman who’d had a baby at age 16, three years prior to our interview, said that being a young mum was part of the reason why she was “shy, same as shame”. She said she used to be “the confident one” but after she had the baby she believed people thought she was stupid, so she stopped interacting, even with friends (participant 5). She said the Kimberley Girl program had helped to change that.

Some respondents linked shame to peer pressure:

A lot of people don’t experience new things because they don’t want to be the odd one out, they want to do what their friends do, and their friends say ‘why are you doing that?’ and they peer pressure you out of trying new things (participant 23).

For one participant, doing the Kimberley Girl program was a way to change that culture:

When I go back home I want to show them how to look after themselves and show them they are beautiful and not let anyone bring them down (participant 15).

Others spoke of shame as part of the sociality of young women living in the Kimberley. One participant said, “I have noticed lots of Aboriginal girls are shy. I don’t know why” (participant 16). Another thought that shame was possibly caused by not seeing positive representations of Aboriginal people in the media, which “makes them say ‘I’m shame, I don’t fit in’” (participant 3). Another stated that Kimberley Girl is particularly important to girls living in the Kimberley “because we learn how to love ourselves, and that’s something because we don’t have that confidence and don’t put ourselves out there like most girls” (participant 17). This observation was confirmed by another respondent, who believed it was important for Aboriginal girls to experience the program because:

The program is for who you are – an Aboriginal person – and it can show that you can do anything. Most of our people are shame. I think if I do this, and if other girls are doing it, we can make a difference by really going out there and giving it a shot (participant 21).
**Overcoming “shame”**

When asked what they hoped to get out of the program, just over half the participants stated that they hoped it would improve their confidence. Seven also mentioned that they knew it had improved the confidence of a previous participant, and that this had been part of their motivation for joining the program.

When interviewed at the end of the weeklong heats, 25 of the 30 participants stated that the program had improved their confidence, suggesting that the program assists with confidence even for those who do not necessarily expect their confidence levels to change. Interestingly, this figure was higher than for other years, which could be due to the making of the documentary film, or to the more active schedule of personal development workshops.

> The workshops are hard because you have to bring out your confidence. For the first day I was shame, nervous, I was very shy. I felt like that until the day I got to my photoshoot. By then I had built up inside – the program made me more confident. I think I will be different around other people now. When I meet new people I won’t be shy, I will just talk to them (participant 7).

One participant told a story of having been overseas with a sporting team for a leadership camp. During the camp she was put on the spot to do public speaking, which she struggled with. She said the public speaking practice sessions in the Kimberley Girl program helped her to resolve that (participant 21). Public speaking was also mentioned by one of the Pilbara Girl participants. She stated that the heats had “changed my confidence”. As a result, following the heat, she chose to do public speaking in school assemblies, which she had never done before (participant 10). Another participant had been involved in a very successful community cultural development program. While she got a lot out of the other program, she observed:

> [The community cultural development program] just handed cameras to kids and were surprised that kids knew how to use the camera. They don’t do the personal development stuff – it was more about the skillset... This [Kimberley Girl] program is more about confidence, low self-esteem and anger management.

Another respondent stated that she had entered the program just as she was about to commence university, and was hoping it would prepare her for that. On the last day of the heats she stated that Kimberley Girl had helped improve her confidence and communication, and had thus “done what I wanted” (participant 13).

The 2015 Kimberley Girl winner, Darrylin Gordon, told us that she entered the program specifically to work on her public speaking skills:

> In 2013 I participated in Youth Parliament. I did not know at the time that we had 30 seconds to get up and speak on our region. I realised then that I need more training. I
like to talk and yarn with people, as well as motivating and inspiring others. I like making changes in my community, and helping people. I realised I need a lot of skills to meet those big personal goals.

For others, improving confidence was tied to self-expression and self-esteem: “confidence to be myself and to look after myself – to bring out who I am and not bring myself down all the time” (participant 15). During the documentary interviews, when one participant was asked if there was anything she would change about herself, she replied that she would change a physical feature. However, by the time we interviewed her about her participation in the film, she had changed her mind about this: “I have gained my confidence, so I don’t need to change that now. I would say ‘become more independent’ if I got that question again.”

Empowerment

The topic of Indigenous women’s rights was hotly debated in 2016. Two media debates, both of which centre on themes directly relevant to the Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program, were particularly notable. The first was a public discussion on the high levels of domestic violence in Aboriginal communities (Spinney, 2016). A panel on domestic violence at the 2016 Garma Festival, followed by an essay for the Centre for Independent Studies by Walpiri woman Jacinta Price (2016), asserted that Aboriginal culture needed to change if domestic violence was to be overcome. In response, Warren Mundine weighed in with an article in The Australian, saying that the blame lay with Indigenous people because communities protect abusers and victims fail to speak up (Mundine, 2016). Writing in The Guardian, Aboriginal journalist Amy McQuire responded to Mundine:

If you think Aboriginal women have been silent, it’s only because you haven’t heard us, our voices now hoarse after decades of screaming into the abyss of Australia’s apathy. There are many strong Aboriginal women who not only talk about family violence in our communities regularly, but also work directly in the field (McQuire, 2016).

The second event concerned the Miss World Australia competition. Aboriginal feminist writer Celeste Liddle expressed her opposition to beauty pageants in July 2016, stating “I definitely do not see them as a method of empowerment for Aboriginal women” (Liddle, 2016). Her comments arose in response to media coverage of Magnolia Maymuru, a Yolngu woman who was incorrectly identified as the first Indigenous woman to make the Miss World Australia finalists. In fact at least two other Aboriginal participants took part in the contest, but they were not noticed by the media, according to Liddle, because they were not as “traditional” as Maymuru, and thus not as authentic. In Liddle’s view, Aboriginal women “are always seen as being either not woman enough, or not black enough” (Liddle, 2016).

Following our 2011 evaluation, we considered the Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program in relation to women’s empowerment in our article for Griffith Review (Rennie & Potts, 2012). Historically, deportment and grooming classes for Aboriginal girls, as well as beauty pageants, were used as assimilation techniques – a means of making Indigenous women “acceptable” to settler society. However, they have also been co-opted by Indigenous
people for political purposes, such as the 1968 debutante’s ball organised by Charles Perkins and the Foundation for Aboriginal Affairs. In her 2010 analysis of that event, historian Anna Cole observes that for the young women who took part, it was not so much a civil rights event as a big night out: “having a ball, neither fighting nor ‘resisting’ but being proud of who you are, dancing and enjoying a night was the greatest freedom of all” (Cole, 2010). Cole writes that she abandoned her own analysis of the colonising aspects of the debutante format, and instead listened to how it was recalled by those who took part – women who, on that night more than ever, saw themselves as “more than the sum of their oppressions”.

In a way that is entirely counterintuitive, Kimberley Girl uses body image and beauty standards to tackle insecurity and overcome mainstream stereotypes. The program’s performative and physical display aspects, and its competition structure, could easily make participants feel insecure and reinforce conformist ideas. There is no doubt that a program based on modelling needs to work hard to instil confidence in young women. It is also clear that over the years, Kimberley Girl has become increasingly geared towards that outcome.

Many participants enter the Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program because they enjoy dressing up, taking selfies and engaging in popular culture. “I like dressing up, putting on makeup and walking around. It makes me feel different. It makes me feel beautiful and confident”, one participant told the documentary interviewer. Another said, “When I am at home alone or with my mum I put on clothes and start modelling around the house and she would laugh and take videos.” In a sense, the program exploits these interests and desires by scheduling activities that require participants to confront their own values and overcome fears in order to produce a “successful” catwalk show. The young women are coached to overcome physical insecurities, and they listen because they know that self-confidence is necessary to get through the stage show. They are taught to resist judging others, and learn fast that the choreography only works if they work together:

_It was really nice when we did choreography when everyone did it and we excellent and on point. When you come together as a group._

While Kimberley and Pilbara Girl is not a beauty pageant, it does use the pageant format, in that participants are on display and a winner from each region is chosen by the judges. Fashion and modelling are not necessarily anti-feminist. As it stands, the program aims to develop individuals’ sense of self and empowerment through enhanced confidence.

In describing their experiences of _shame_, Kimberley and Pilbara Girl participants drew our attention to a group behaviour, in which young women are complicit in holding each other back. Those in the group who had overcome feelings of shame, or who had refused to engage in such thinking, were overtly feminist in their beliefs, as well as being proud of their Aboriginality. Kimberley and Pilbara Girl teaches participants to feel proud of their heritage, community and culture, and challenges mainstream notions of female beauty standards. The program also encourages young women to be leaders in their community. Should the program be doing more to help young women understand gender inequality as a structural inequality? We leave that question open for further consideration.
10 Appendix E: Cyber Safety and Cyber Bullying

A significant new feature of the Kimberley Girl program is a personal development workshop on cyber safety, introduced in 2016 and conducted during the heats. Cyber safety is defined as the protection of internet users from online risks and security breaches, including cyberbullying, identity theft, invasion of privacy, harassment, and exposure to offensive, illegal or inappropriate material (Australian Communications and Media Authority, 2010).

Because cyber safety was not covered in the 2011 report, we asked 2016 participants to discuss whether they saw cyber safety as an important issue, and whether this workshop should stay in the program (one respondent subsequently requested that her comments about cyber safety be removed from the record, leaving 29 responses for that topic).

Experiences of cyber safety

Seven respondents stated that they had personally experienced cyber bullying (six as victims, one as a perpetrator), and 21 stated that they had observed it occurring among their peers. When asked to describe problems with social media, one respondent stated that “not many people are safe [online]”, and that people are “posting inappropriate content” (participant 1). Other comments included: “It’s constant statuses downing people and the way they look/dress, commenting on photos” (participant 10), and “harassment online” (participant 11). One participant described a worrying incident at her school:

There was a thing called ‘like for a name and comment your thoughts’. People would name people that they knew you hated, you had to comment your honest thoughts. And a lot of people were being so mean and making other people feel really down about themselves. The school found out and there was a big assembly and everyone was told to stop. They asked ‘what joy do you get out of bringing someone down?’ So yes, it’s useful to have it in the program because a lot of girls don’t know what cyber-bullying is and what’s classed as cyber-bullying. A lot of people think it’s a joke, but you never know who’s seeing it, and you have to be careful what you say online (participant 30).

Only one respondent stated that she was not sure whether cyber bullying was a problem in her community, as she didn’t use social media (participant 15).

Significantly, two participants raised the issue of cyber safety, without prompting, during the separate set of interviews conducted for the documentary film. When asked about problems in her community, one respondent spoke of other girls “drinking, smoking, getting into that bad habit at an early age” because they see it “around their homes and on social media and think it’s cool” (participant 14).

The other young woman who spoke about this issue for the documentary film was experiencing cyber bullying herself: “Still to this day I am a victim of cyber bullying, but I just don’t pay attention to it.” She said that she disliked social media, that it encourages
people to do nothing with their lives, and that you can easily get dragged into things. She added “And there are so many people that are bullies. There is so much cyber bullying on there” (participant 10).

In our private interviews, an additional five participants stated that they themselves had been victims of cyber bullying (making six in total). For two of them, self-imposed isolation was their way of handling cyber bullying:

When I was smaller I experienced a lot of cyberbullying – friends and families encountered it. I know how to keep my distance. I mind my own business (participant 21).

Yes, I see and have experienced cyber-bullying. I went through it in my high school years. I locked myself up in my house and didn’t do anything because of it (participant 6).

Families and cyber safety

Six study participants observed that cyber safety goes beyond young women; one commented that the issue concerns “adults as well as younger people” (participant 24), and that “good friendships and families get pulled apart by it” (participant 19). Some noted that the consequences of cyber bullying can be serious, including physical violence. For instance, one spoke of a friend who had been bullied online, which then became a physical fight “not just between them but also their sisters” (participant 29).

Another respondent spoke of “bad family fights” that have started on social media, mentioning one that “turned into a big family fight that went for a while” (participant 2). Another said her friend was involved in a fight that started on social media, then spread to her friend’s sisters (participant 26).

The protectiveness of families can cause disagreements to spread, according to another participant:

They can start writing statuses on one another’s page. And then when they see each other they start fighting. Some of the mothers are very protective of their kids and they will jump in too (participant 7).

The fact that online cyber bullying by teens can escalate to inter-family feuds was identified in previous research by Rennie and colleagues for Telstra (Rennie, Hogan & Holcombe-James, 2016). That report recommended the development of awareness programs, as well as the provision of basic information for parents and grandparents with low digital literacy, many of whom are struggling to understand the problem and therefore cannot provide guidance to younger people. The inclusion of cyber safety workshops in the Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program appears to be successful, causing participants to reflect on their own and others’ social media use.
For example, one girl observed that “growing up in Broome, lots of fights and arguments happen on social media”. She stated that she herself had bullied others in the past, but since doing the workshop she has become aware that this is negative behaviour: “I know that I used to swear a lot on my Facebook, or write a [bad] comment, and now I think ‘Why did I do that?’” (participant 14).

The vast majority of participants we interviewed felt that the cyber safety workshop should stay in the program (26 out of 29). One participant commented, “We get information at school, but not in the same way, it’s more of a discussion here” (participant 3). One suggested that workshops could be made even more interactive (participant 12).

Two respondents were not sure whether the cyber safety workshop should stay in the program; one was uncertain because she does not use social media (participant 15), while the other spoke at some length about cyber safety being an issue amongst her friends and family members, but said she was not confident making comments on what should or should not be included in the program (participant 28). Only one participant felt that this component should be removed, saying, “Cyber bullying is a problem. I don’t think it should be in the program because you can feel uncomfortable telling your story” (participant 8).
10 Appendix F: Economic Analysis

This section updates our previous estimates of cost-benefit calculations undertaken for the Kimberley Girl Program in our 2011 report (Rennie & Potts, 2011). Our 2011 estimate of the program’s costs and benefits used a simple methodology that compared private direct and indirect costs with benefits.

Recap and overview: estimation of economic value (2011)

Costs of the program were calculated from reported expenses incurred by Goolarri Media Enterprises (across fixed costs, operating costs of the program, operating costs of the show, administrative costs variable, travel costs and sales costs), plus in-kind contributions.

Benefits of the program could not be directly discerned from revealed preferences, and so standard non-market valuation techniques were used to estimate the magnitude of benefit, as calculated across three categories: private benefits, local/industry benefits, and public benefits. These are outlined in Table 3 (below).

This methodology arrived at an estimation of costs over the 2007–2011 period of approximately $AU2000 per participant, and an estimated benefit of approximately $37,000 per participant. On the face of it, these numbers are fairly striking, and appear to present exceptional public value for money. We stand by that assessment, and have sought to update that estimate here with improved data in at least two specific ways: by further accounting for the costs of the program, and by gathering further evidence of the robustness of benchmark probabilities used in the opportunity cost estimation.

Before we present the new estimates, it is worthwhile reviewing the method we used to arrive at the 2011 estimates, and explaining the reasoning behind what we acknowledge is a rather high estimated benefit figure.

Of the three classes of benefit – private, local/industry, and public – we treated the private benefit as being captured by the individual young woman’s willingness to participate, and by their family support. We treated the local/industry benefits as being largely captured by community members’ or local firms’/organisations’ willingness to offer support by purchasing tickets to the show, voluntarily contribute time, make other donations or offer advertising support. We had no strong reason to suspect there were significant uncompensated costs or benefits at work with these private estimates of value.

Rather, the largest component of overall benefit – and one which largely explains the magnitude of difference between estimated costs and benefits – accrued to the public benefit, which is estimated as being the opportunity cost of the program.

In essence, in our 2011 evaluation report we created a statistical profile of two possible futures, one in which Kimberley Girl takes place, the other in which it does not. Built into those scenarios were several assumptions about the probability that taking part in the
program will affect a young woman’s likelihood of employment (and therefore her tax contribution), and her likelihood of experiencing life events requiring costly public intervention.

We estimated a net present value of those two probabilistic scenarios. At the time, we did not have data on program participants’ life outcomes, so we drew upon the findings of two earlier studies – a 2005 study that sought to estimate transition probabilities and relative social costs of intervention in Indigenous communities (Taylor & Stanley, 2012), and a 2008 report that used a “computable general equilibrium model” – to arrive at comparable estimates (Access Economics, 2008).

The thinking behind our estimates, and their perhaps surprising magnitude, is as follows: the difference to Treasury of a single person spending a lifetime on welfare is not only the annual (direct) cost of the welfare payment itself (with a Net Present Value calculated over 35 years), but also the additional (indirect) cost of administering and delivering that welfare, which is at least a further 30 percent (Robson, 2005).

Furthermore, the actual cost is not only the direct cost (transfer) plus the indirect cost (administration); the opportunity cost must also be factored in. In this case, the opportunity cost would be the benefit to Treasury of taxes paid while a person is working (recalling that here, Treasury stands in for the public benefit, from a fiscal balance sheet perspective).

While young or inexperienced workers tend to pay minimal tax, as they gain experience (and provided there is labour market persistence), the probability of a net tax contribution rises. The upshot is that a small change in the probability of shifting from being a net cost to a net benefit (from Treasury’s perspective) can have a large impact on the net position. That shift in the net position is what we seek to estimate here as the public benefit.

Updated estimation of costs (2016)

The cost in 2016 was **$7,095 per participant for the program overall**. The overall costs includes fees paid to facilitators and Goolarri’s administration expenses. Heat event costs appear to have fallen due to the reduction in the number of events (with heat events costing approximately $1500 per participant), while the cost of the final has increased (due to higher production values).

It should be noted that cost savings involved offsets. Regional events incur transport, accommodation and expenses for Goolarri Media staff and local crew, including equipment rental, whereas bringing regional participants to Broome incurs higher accommodation costs. The net effect, however, appears to be an overall cost saving.

This cost figure is a high-level estimate, and does not represent an audited figure. This is largely due to the difficulty of assigning costs accrued by Goolarri Media in routine operations to this particular event (for example, depreciation on capital, wages, and so on).
Our method of estimation relied on expenses booked against the Kimberley Girl program. This method also fails to account for voluntary contributions from Goolarri Media staff, family and friends of participants, and from the wider community and businesses.

**Updated estimation of benefits**

The Kimberley Girl program is still costly to run.

The main contribution of this updated estimate of costs and benefits of the program actually rests on a sharper estimate of the benefit side of the equation. By making use of new and better data, we have been able to update our estimates of the probability of transformed demographic expectation.

Recall that our benefit calculation was based on observing that benefits could be divided into three categories: *private, local, and public* (see Table 3, below). We assumed that the private and local benefits were already fully captured by participants, families and locals.7 Thus, in estimating the overall benefit, we ignored all private and local benefits. The only component we sought to estimate is public benefit (also known as the “externality”).

Of the public benefits, we focus only on rows 14, 15 and 16 in Table 3 below – net public gain to taxpayers, made up of increased taxes taken in and reduced welfare spending going out – which are, in effect, an estimate of the *opportunity cost* of the program.

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7 This is a standard economic modelling assumption, equivalent to assuming perfect information, rationality and competition. In lay terms, it means that each participant, family member and community stakeholder participated to the extent that they expected it to benefit themselves.
In the 2011 report, we wrote:

“A simple calculation places the corresponding figure per person, once a statistical probability of the program significantly affecting a young woman’s life (at say 1/10), then with a net present value calculated due to increased output, at about $45,000 to GDP,\(^8\) and with a net gain to the state in lower transfers and higher taxes received of about $37,000.”

That “statistical probability” of 1/10 was a guess. However, over the ensuing 10 years, using data from the extensive follow-up survey of participants (see ‘Where are they now?’ Table 2 and graph, below), we can now estimate the program’s impact and value by comparing these young women’s outcomes with the cohort from which they are drawn.

According to the 2011 Census data, 30 per cent (1318 of 4267) of Indigenous women aged 15–39 living in the Kimberley and Pilbara regions were in some form of employment. Of all the young women who took part in the program from 2004–2015 (currently aged between 17 and 37), we know that 43 per cent are currently in some form of employment.

Thus, after completing the program, young women are about 43 percent more likely to be in employment than their peers who did not take part.

Program alumni also appear to be more likely to invest in education (than comparable cohorts, based on census data), which in turn predicts both future employment and also stability of employment, as well as better health outcomes.

Some important caveats:

1. There will be some sample selection bias, in that program participants may be drawn from a cohort that is more likely to be in employment anyway. This is difficult to control for, but anecdotal reports from the program’s early days suggest that significant persuasion was required to get some young women to enter and attend. This suggests (given the assumption about internalised private benefit noted above) that some participants expected negative value from the program. The implication is that the sample is probably representative of – or at least not significantly different from – the wider population of their peers.

2. These figures are not directly comparable: the Census data was recorded four years prior to our data. In addition, over the 12 years of the program to date, most participants have been from the Kimberley region, and fewer have come from the Pilbara.

3. The education comparison of program participants with cohorts needs further study. It is based on the proportion of respondents (most of whom took part in later years) who reported being in post-secondary education. The sample is too small to claim statistical significance, so this result should be treated with caution.

\(^8\)$100,000 x 0.1 x 15 (expected working years) with NPV calculated at 0.06\% discount = 45,000
However, in essence, this tells us that Kimberley and Pilbara Girl alumni are significantly more likely to be in employment than others in their cohort. While there may be other factors contributing to this outcome (for instance, the program participants may be skewed towards those more likely to achieve), we can say that those who take part in Kimberley and Pilbara Girl are likely to do better than others in their regions.

The public benefit claim is that while higher education and workforce participation bring benefits to the young women themselves, as well as to their families and communities, these are private benefits.

The public benefit accrues from the expected change in these young women’s interactions with the government, and the probability of a shift to being a net contributor (i.e. paying taxes) from being a net beneficiary (receiving welfare payments).

We suggest that our original guess as to the probability of the program effecting a transition from one side of the government ledger to the other – and thus triggering a considerable public savings (increased tax revenues, reduced public spending) – is likely to be of the correct order of magnitude.

We thus retain our original estimate of value ($37,000), but strengthen our confidence in this figure. Indeed, if anything, this is an underestimate.
Figure 7: Current (2016) workforce participation status of previous (2004 – 2015) Kimberley and Pilbara Girl participants

Where are they now?

Table 2: Survey responses for Kimberley Girl 2004-2015, classified by life outcomes at time of survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Stay at home mum</th>
<th>Unemployed/Disengaged</th>
<th>Unable to find</th>
<th>Deceased</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locus of benefit</td>
<td>Type of benefit/value</td>
<td>Dimensions and Aspects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRIVATE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1                | Private to participants| 1. Cognitive/esteem value  
2. Monetary benefit  
3. Human capital investment  
4. Signaling and reputational capital  
|                  |                       | 1. Self-esteem, confidence/awareness of self-direction, personal responsibility for life outcomes  
2. Prizes, potential jobs  
3. Presentation skills, toward job-readiness  
4. Leadership skills  
5. Competition experience  
6. KG on CV |
| 2                | Private to peers/family of participants| 1. Human capital diffusion  
2. Social signaling  
|                  |                       | 1. Lifting others up (peers, siblings) due to increased leadership  
2. Family pride  
3. Female ownership of an opportunity & pathway for daughters  
4. Better parenting/positive role model for own children |
| 3                | Private to sponsors | 1. Reputational capital (from association with KG)  
|                  |                       | 1. Producer surplus, community responsibility from association with positive Indigenous event |
| 4                | Private to audience | 1. Entertainment value  
|                  |                       | 1. High profile live media event as focal point for community participation |
| 5                | Private to Goolarri Media | 1. Reputational capital  
2. Shareholder value  
3. Increased employment at Goolarri  
|                  |                       | 1. Building the Goolarri brand/reputation  
2. Bringing public and corporate sponsorship revenue to Goolarri  
3. Recruitment (screening) to Goolarri  
4. Local jobs through Goolarri in training, operations and event management  
5. Potential for licensing/franchise |
| 6                | Private benefit for potential employers (of KG participants) | 1. Signalling as public good, captured as private good  
|                  |                       | 1. KG participation as a signal of otherwise difficult to observe qualities |
| 7                | Private benefit to industry | 1. Reduced transactions costs in modelling agencies  
2. Increased supply of indigenous models  
|                  |                       | 1. KG talent scouting feeds into model agencies  
2. Local market of models for advertisers |
| **LOCAL/INDUSTRY** |                  |                        |
| 8                | Local to community hosting event | 1. Existence value  
2. Reputational/signalling value  
|                  |                       | 1. Local attraction/recognition/external perception for high-profile “glamour” event  
2. Local politics: “doing something”  
3. Induction, screening and identification of otherwise unknown leaders  
4. Youth development endeavour/outcome |
| 9                | Local to other social/leadership programs | 1. Existence value  
2. Coordination value  
|                  |                       | 1. Useful complement/addition to existing leadership/training/social programs  
2. KG could be strengthened by linking with (feed from/into) other programs* |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Local expenditure</th>
<th>1. Monetary value (employment equivalent) by spending multiplier</th>
<th>1. Spending by KG program delivery (trainers, accommodation, services, event)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 10 | Local/ Regional/ National, Indigenous people (Kimberley) | 1. Reputational capital/status gain/ Cultural capital | 1. Pride in young Indigenous women  
2. Pride in Indigenous enterprise and ability to produce a popular show |
| 11 | Local retailers, designers, products | 1. Monetary value via regional marketing and modelling of local design & beauty products | 1. Regional branding of locally produced goods and services that can be tied in with KG (design, fashion & clothing retail & beauty industry, branded goods, luxury, etc.) |
| 12 | Indigenous media industry | 1. Indigenous media industry sustainability | 1. KG strengthens Goolarri Media, and Goolarri offers a best practice model in an industry with commonly failing business models |
| PUBLIC | Public gain to taxpayers, government (reduced goods) | 1. Monetary gain through reduced expenditure on welfare & social services | 1. Fewer young women on welfare (participants and influenced peers)  
2. Better mental and physical health outcomes  
3. Reduced crime/delinquency |
| 14 | Public gain to taxpayers, government (more goods) | 1. Monetary gain via increased labour market participation, productivity  
2. Positive externalities of human capital  
2. Accumulation of skills and experience, leading to reduced risk of long term unemployment/improved job mobility  
3. Improved citizenship and community engagement via employment status  
4. Better parenting, leading to community benefits |
| 15 | Semi-public, indigenous social enterprises | 1. Social capital  
2. Reduced costs for government social welfare programs, decentralisation of program delivery | 1. Strengthening and capacity building of community social enterprises  
2. Alternative to “closing the gap” public funding |
| 16 | Media-consuming public | 1. Cultural capital  
2. Monetary value (from new media content)  
3. Social capital (insights into indigenous life) | 1. New stories/content about regional life (all Australian media consumption)  
2. Local and indigenous identity: inclusion in representation of the nation (Indigenous media consumption)  
3. Content sales: locally, nationally, globally  
Costs

Estimating a year-on-year cost structure for the program can pose challenges, for two reasons: the inconsistent nature of sponsorship, both public and private; and the need for Goolarri Media to book wage costs only when revenue permits that to occur, and to otherwise absorb wages into the operating expenses of other parts of the enterprise.

Our estimates nevertheless indicate a current cost of around $7095 per participant.

Private benefit

The Kimberley Girl program generates a private return on investment that is captured by the participants, as well as directly by Goolarri Media. It should be noted, however, that the Goolarri benefits – in terms of profile, cross-promotion, content and skills development – need to be set against the direct and indirect costs the organisation incurs.

Table 4 (below) indicates the locus of identity of private benefits accruing to participants, friends and family, audiences, associated businesses, and Goolarri Media itself. The table also presents a very approximate estimate of the numbers associated with each group. The purpose of this table is to signal how the private benefits accrue not only to the (relatively) small number of participants directly engaged, but also to a wider group associated with the event. In figuring the private value of the program, we need to not only count the direct benefit to participants, but also estimate the consumer surplus to the other groups.

Table 4: Private benefits of Kimberley Girl program, with approximate numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of benefit</th>
<th>Distinct locus of benefit</th>
<th>Approximate numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>KG participants</td>
<td>30–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peers &amp; family of program participants</td>
<td>300–500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KG sponsors</td>
<td>10–30 (firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KG audience (show)</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goolarri Media</td>
<td>1 organisation (30 employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potential employers of participants</td>
<td>15–25* (firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Businesses in associated industry</td>
<td>20–80** (firms)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We have not endeavoured to provide numerical estimates for each class and dimension of benefit. But the underlying methodology for our estimates rests on combining the point estimates for each of the dimensions and aspects in Table 5 (below) and multiplying by the estimated number affected in Table 4 (above).

Table 5: Mechanisms by which private benefits accrue, Kimberley Girl program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus of benefit</th>
<th>Mechanism of benefit/value</th>
<th>Dimensions and Aspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and reputational capital</td>
<td>for life outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Private to peers/family of</td>
<td>3. Human capital diffusion 4. Social signalling</td>
<td>5. Lifting others up (peers, siblings) (due to increased leadership)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participants</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Family pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Women ownership of an opportunity &amp; pathway for daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Better parenting/Positive role model for own children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Private to sponsors</td>
<td>2. Reputational capital (from association with KG)</td>
<td>2. Producer surplus, community responsibility from association with positive Indigenous event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Private to audience</td>
<td>2. Entertainment value</td>
<td>2. High profile live media event as focal point for community participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Bringing public and corporate sponsorship revenue to Goolarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Recruitment (screening) to Goolarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9. Local jobs through Goolarri in training, operations and event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10. Potential for licensing/ franchise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Private benefit for potential</td>
<td>2. Signalling as public good, captured as private good</td>
<td>2. KG participation as a signal of otherwise difficult to observe qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employers (of KG participants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Private benefit to industry</td>
<td>3. Reduced transactions costs in modelling agencies 4. Increased supply of Indigenous</td>
<td>3. KG talent scouting feeds in to modelling agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>models</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Local market of models for advertisers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Local benefit

The Kimberley Girl Program generates a significant local return on investment that is captured by the community and local business. An estimate of the locus of benefit and number of agents affected is provided in Table 6 (below). An outline of the mechanisms by which local benefits accrue, along with instances of these, is provided in Table 7 (below).

Table 6: Local benefits of Kimberley Girl program, with approximate numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of benefit</th>
<th>Distinct locus of benefit</th>
<th>Approximate numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local (semi-private/public)</td>
<td>Local community</td>
<td>10,000–20,000*** (citizens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local complementary programs</td>
<td>10–20 (programs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local (downstream) economy</td>
<td>30–50**** (firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local (upstream) business</td>
<td>30–50 (firms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indigenous citizens</td>
<td>20,000 (Kimberley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100,000–300,000 (Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indigenous media industry</td>
<td>5–20 (organisations)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Mechanisms by which local benefits accrue, Kimberley Girl program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus of benefit</th>
<th>Mechanism of benefit/value</th>
<th>Dimensions and Aspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Local to other social/leadership programs</td>
<td>3. Existence value 4. Coordination value</td>
<td>3. Useful complement &amp; addition to existing leadership/training/social programs 4. KG could be strengthened by linking with (feed from/into) other programs*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Local expenditure</td>
<td>2. Monetary value (employment equivalent) by spending multiplier</td>
<td>2. Spending by KG program delivery (trainers, accommodation, services, event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Local/ Regional/ National, Indigenous people (Kimberley)</td>
<td>2. Reputational capital/status gain/ Cultural capital</td>
<td>3. Pride in young Indigenous women 4. Pride in Indigenous enterprise and ability to produce a popular show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Local retailers, designers, products</td>
<td>2. Monetary value via regional marketing and modelling of local design &amp; beauty products</td>
<td>2. Regional branding of locally produced goods &amp; services that can be tied to KG (design, fashion &amp; clothing retail, beauty industry, branded goods, luxury...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Indigenous media industry sustainability</td>
<td>2. Indigenous media industry sustainability</td>
<td>2. KG strengthens Goolarri, and Goolarri offers a best practice model in an industry with commonly failing business models</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Public benefit

The Kimberley Girl Program generates a significant social or public return on investment.

Table 8: Public benefits of Kimberley Girl program, with approximate numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of benefit</th>
<th>Distinct locus of benefit</th>
<th>Approximate numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Taxpayers, government</td>
<td>1 million (net taxpayers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indigenous social enterprises</td>
<td>10–50 (organisations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Media consuming public</td>
<td>1 million (potential audience)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Mechanisms by which public benefits accrue, Kimberley Girl program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus of benefit</th>
<th>Mechanism of benefit/value</th>
<th>Dimensions and Aspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Public gain to taxpayers, government (reduced bads)</td>
<td>1. Fewer young women on welfare (participants and influenced peers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Better mental and physical health outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Reduced crime/delinquency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Public gain to taxpayers, government (more goods)</td>
<td>4. Monetary gain through increased labour market participation, productivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Positive externalities of human capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Social capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Semi-public, Indigenous social enterprises</td>
<td>3. Social capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Reduced costs for government social welfare programs, decentralising program delivery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Media-consuming public</td>
<td>5. New stories/content from the regional life (all Australian media consumption)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Local and Indigenous identity: inclusion in representation of the nation (Indigenous media consumption)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Content sales, locally, nationally, globally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Opportunity Costs

A cost-benefit analysis also needs to account for the opportunity costs of a program. This will seek to estimate the costs that would accrue if the program did not exist.

The public benefits of the Kimberley Girl program, spilling over from private benefits, can be estimated, very approximately, using various methods: an opportunity cost analysis; or a scenario-based analysis of an “exogenous shock”, or changed conditions in a particular cohort, in regard to key parameters such as health outcomes, labour force participation, and the like. While no such specific study has been undertaken on young Indigenous women in this region, we can extrapolate from some relatively comprehensive and robust prior studies.

Taylor and Stanley (2005) examine the opportunity costs of sustaining the currently dysfunctional outcomes in a highly disadvantaged Northern Territory region (Taylor & Stanley 2005). They do so by estimating the value of the output forgone ($45 million per annum) and the costs of remedial action to compensate for low socio-economic outcomes ($4 million), and comparing that with the average public expenditure in the region:

What emerges is a structural imbalance in funding, with lower than average expenditure on positive aspects of public policy designed to build capacity and increase output, such as on education and employment creation, and higher than average spending on negative areas such as criminal justice and employment benefits. This begs a very important question as to whether this situation serves to perpetuate the very socioeconomic conditions observed at Thamarrurr in the first place. (Taylor & Stanley, 2005, p.9)

Much the same point can be made when seeking to evaluate the opportunity costs of Kimberley Girl program. While such an analysis was not attempted here, we can reasonably expect that a similar finding would be made, given the dire personal and social circumstances faced by many participants, and thus the substantial public benefits that may accrue toward a positive (rather than negative) program of investment.

This finding was reinforced in aspect and magnitude by an Access Economics (2008) report. This study used a “computable general equilibrium model” to conduct a scenario analysis of the impact on Australian GDP and Federal and State government budget positions of an increase in Indigenous life expectancy, labour force participation and earnings (labour productivity). (The authors did not examine the costs of particular policies to achieve this).

The researchers found that GDP would be about AUD$10 billion (or 1 percent) higher by 2029. Also that Government revenue would be $4.5 billion higher, and all government expenditure would be $3.7 billion lower. These estimates underscore the substantial benefits that accrue to successful programs that increase the likelihood of successful educational outcomes, leading to ensuing employment, health and community benefits.
A rough calculation places the corresponding figure per person, once a statistical probability of the program significantly effecting a young woman’s life (at say 1/10), then with a net present value calculated due to increased output, at about AUD$45,000 to GDP, and with a net gain to the state in lower transfers and higher taxes received of about $37,000. Even if these are optimistic figures, they still indicate a substantial public benefit to the Kimberley Girl program in its power to affect the pathways taken by young women. Our surveys of the effect of Kimberley Girl on past participants give us reason to expect that these estimates are approximately correct.

**Conclusions**

The costs of the program are relatively low, in the order of **$7095 per participant**.

The benefits of the Kimberley and Pilbara Girl program can be arrayed across three classes of benefit: private, local, and public. Providing particular estimates of these specific classes of benefits would be a much more complex and expensive project than has been undertaken here. However, we have sought to both highlight the extent of these benefits, and illuminate how they extend far into the local community and economy, via labour market and industry.

We have also highlighted that such a project can have extended public benefit through indirect effects on perceptions of Aboriginality, as well as via reduced public expenditure on “bads”. Any reasonable assessment of this aggregate benefit – across private, local and public – would place it well above the program’s cost, thus yielding a significantly positive return on investment.

This can be cross-checked with an inference about opportunity cost, which by drawing on previous estimates for somewhat related scenarios, places the benefits in the order of **$37,000 per participant**. Even if this figure was over-estimated by an order of magnitude, it would still represent a very high rate of return on investment.

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* Assuming that 50% of participants will experience an increase in job-readiness to increase labour market search by 1 firm.

** Assuming between 5-10 local related businesses per region, and 15-30 for Broome.

*** Assuming less than half the population is aware of the program.

**** Assuming 4-6 input suppliers per region (food, accommodation, transport, etc)

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9 $100,000 X 0.1 X 15 (expected working years) with NPV calculated at 0.06% discount = 45,000
Acknowledgements

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