

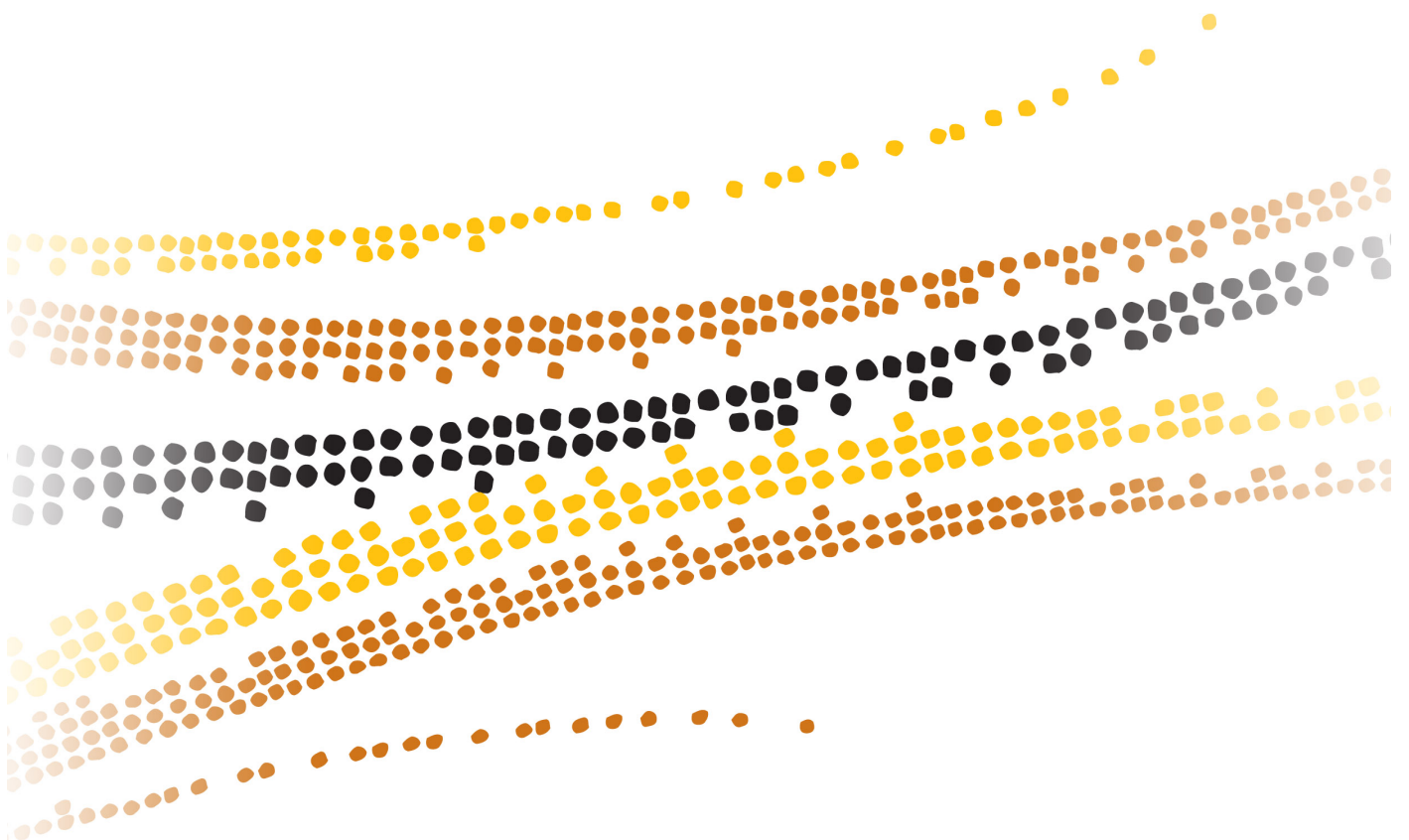
**Centre for
Appropriate
Technology**

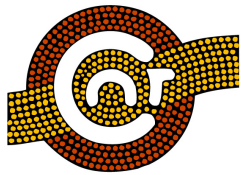
**Orbiting in Place:
A West Kimberley case study of Indigenous Sector
employment and service delivery**

Noah Pleshet

Ruth Elvin

September 2013





Centre for Appropriate Technology

© Centre for Appropriate Technology Inc

HEAD OFFICE:

Desert Peoples Centre,
Desert Knowledge Precinct,
South Stuart Highway,
Alice Springs NT 0870

The Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) is the national Indigenous science and technology organisation. CAT's vision is Happy and Safe communities of Indigenous peoples and its purpose is to secure sustainable livelihoods through appropriate technology. CAT is currently funded from a variety of sources including the Commonwealth and State and Territory governments and private sources.

CAT papers document the research, planning and engagement and technical advisory services undertaken by the organisation. Apart from any use permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part may be reproduced by any means without prior permission.

The views and opinions expressed in this document are those of the author/project team and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre for Appropriate Technology.

www.icat.org.au

Central Australia

HEAD OFFICE
Desert Peoples Centre
Desert Knowledge Precinct
South Stuart Highway
PO Box 8044
ALICE SPRINGS NT 0871
Tel: (08) 8959 6100
Fax: (08) 8959 6111
info@icat.org.au

North Queensland

Level 1 – Unit 3
143 Buchan Street
Bungalow QLD 4870
PO Box 6182
CAIRNS QLD 4870
Tel: (07) 4031 0505
Fax: (07) 4031 0431
nq@icat.org.au

Northern Australia

7 Searcy Street
PO Box 2875
DARWIN CITY NT 0801
Tel: (08) 8981 7599
Fax: (08) 8981 7233
darwin@icat.org.au

Western Australia

46a Blackman Street
PO Box 3801
BROOME WA 6725
Tel: (08) 9192 2355
Fax: (08) 9192 3553
wa@icat.org.au

Table of Contents

Summary	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Acronyms.....	ii
Introduction.....	1
Methods, data, and limitations	3
Context.....	4
CAT and the ‘Indigenous Sector’	4
West Kimberley Region in its Policy Context.....	5
CAT work in the West Kimberley	6
‘Effectiveness’ and the Indigenous sector	8
Research and findings	9
Managers and Supervisors	9
CAT West Kimberley Indigenous employment context.....	12
Municipal Service Officers (MSOs)	13
Community residents	18
Discussion of findings.....	22
Linking service relationships and roles in the Indigenous sector	23
Place-based employment and service delivery	26
Conclusion	30
References Cited	32

Table of Figures

Figure 1- West Kimberley Communities formerly Serviced by CAT.....	8
Figure 2- Importance of factors as measures of effectiveness	11
Figure 3 -Average ranking by factor in job satisfaction	14
Figure 4 - What do you like about working on your country?.....	15
Figure 5 - Average ranking for actions to enhance MSO role.....	17
Figure 6 - Order of preference for places of work in the future	18
Figure 7 - End-user perceptions of CAT solid waste services.....	20

Summary

This paper presents findings of research on remote Indigenous service delivery and Indigenous employment, conducted with the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) in the West Kimberley region of Western Australia. The study was initially undertaken by CAT researchers based in Alice Springs to contribute to a better understanding of factors affecting remote municipal service delivery. This included internal monitoring and evaluation of CAT programs, to achieve a better understanding of management and supervisor views about their service delivery capacities, and to improve waste management planning and employment outcomes in Indigenous communities serviced. Ultimately, this paper aims to draw more general conclusions about the role of the ‘Indigenous Sector’ in remote service delivery and Indigenous employment.

Drawing on fieldwork, surveys, and interviews, this paper develops a case study of the municipal service delivery and Indigenous employment functions of CAT, across 49 West Kimberley Indigenous settlements. These functions largely ceased in July 2012, when an alternative service provider was contracted in the region. The research sought to capture the views of Indigenous community residents receiving services, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous employees of CAT at various levels. It sought to review the employment experience of Indigenous Municipal Service Officers (MSOs) who worked for CAT servicing their regional communities, both as resident MSOs and as part of a mobile regional ‘work crew.’ These perspectives are given context by a review of academic and policy literature on the role of the ‘Indigenous Sector’ in remote service delivery and Indigenous employment.

A synthesis of the case study data and relevant literature revealed two key findings about remote service delivery and Indigenous employment. Firstly, it revealed that the character of relationships that link different actors in the chain of remote service delivery — Indigenous community residents, CAT Indigenous employees, organisational managers and supervisors, and government agency representatives—were a key determinant of service delivery capacities on the ground. The degree of mutual understanding of roles among actors involved in service delivery, and the existence of effective information transfer and knowledge exchange between actors, were both found to be critical factors in building successful service delivery relationships. The implication of this finding is not that ever more detailed consultation about the specific content of service delivery is required, but rather that more effective communication and responsiveness needs to be built into the remote service delivery model.

Secondly, this paper suggests that a ‘place-based’ employment model with both local community-based work and regional travel may be a desirable option for Indigenous workers, and may contribute to service delivery capacity and Indigenous employment outcomes. The model of place-based work investigated involved both single community workers and regional ‘work crews.’ It was found that the opportunity for intra-regional travel connected with work and/or training was a significant motivator for ongoing Indigenous participation in municipal services employment. The model of ‘place-based’ employment was found effective because, while being mindful of connections of Indigenous employees to their own country or community, it also resonated with region-level mobility patterns guided by Indigenous social networks. This finding came from an effort to understand the wider regional system of service delivery, employment relations, and Indigenous population mobility within which community-level service relationships are embedded.

These research findings may benefit those working in the Indigenous sector, as well as policymakers and researchers with an interest in the Indigenous sector and Indigenous

employment. The programs described in this paper emerged as part of the shifting relationships between Commonwealth and States envisaged under the Council of Australian Governments reform agenda. The wider relevance of the case study stems not only from the many parallels between CAT and other Indigenous sector organisations, but also from what it says about the dynamic policy context affecting Indigenous service delivery and employment programs across remote Australia.

Acknowledgments

The authors of this paper would like to thank past members of the CAT West Kimberley team, who were always generous in providing their time and insights. Those participating included Madeline Read, Jack Spencer, John Brahim, Marty Baker, Andrew Skinner, Nicholas Angie, Michael Mora, Clarence Cox, Ivan Shaw, and many others. Although this work owes a debt to many Indigenous people living and working across the Fitzroy Valley, we would particularly like to thank community members and leaders at Bayulu and Muludja, who were always welcoming and very patient with our efforts to better understand the impacts of CAT's service delivery roles in their communities. The projects referred to in this paper benefited from funding from the Department of Families and Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA), a community waste planning project funded by the WA Department of Environment Community Grants Scheme, and from the Packaging Stewardship Forum's support of the Fitzroy Valley Recycling Pilot Scheme. Research and planning work associated with this paper involved collaboration with researchers at Central Land Council, Alice Springs, with Karrayili Adult Education Centre and Marra Worra Worra in Fitzroy Crossing. In Alice Springs we would like to thank Metta Young's reading and insights on an earlier version of the paper. We also thank Will Sanders and Jocelyn Davies for reading and input. We thank all for their participation. Any errors are ours.

Acronyms

ACELG	Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government
ANAO	Australian National Audit Office
APONT	Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CAT	Centre for Appropriate Technology
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs
ICC	Indigenous Coordination Centre
MSO	Municipal Services Officer
NJCP	National Job Creation Package
NPA IEP	National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Economic Participation
PSF	Packaging Stewardship Forum
RSD NPA	National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery

Introduction

Perhaps Daisy¹ felt sorry for me, all alone with my clipboard, in that shady spot beside the community store. To be sure, only a fool would attempt paperwork outdoors on such a hot and windy dry season afternoon. But Daisy and others in her Indigenous community near Fitzroy Crossing, in the West Kimberley region of Western Australia (WA), were kind enough to stop and share with me their views on rubbish and recycling. As I duly explained, I had driven out here to talk with them about how my employer, the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT), was going with its work in municipal services. In this vein I asked Daisy if there might be something new that CAT Municipal Service Officers, who were local Indigenous employees, could usefully do as part of their job. She paused for a moment, and replied with a thoughtful if unexpected question: ‘Maybe chook?’ she said. As I wrote this down Daisy explained how CAT could help build pens for chickens. The chickens would lay fresh eggs. These would be tasty and healthy too, she added. There was construction work going on in the community at the time, and materials which could perhaps be reused. I told Daisy that I knew of a local resource agency which had helped building chook pens, and I would ask them about her idea. When we met again a few days later at a local Roadhouse food counter, she asked if there had been progress with the chooks. I had none to report, but promised to follow up with the resource agency, which I would visit that day. Daisy smiled, thanked me and moved off with her family.

This exchange with Daisy offered some useful clues to the social dynamics of service delivery in remote Indigenous communities, in the Kimberley and elsewhere too. It was a straightforward reminder that service functions necessarily rely on the social relationships and personal transactions of everyday life. Through relationships people get the information that they need to make decisions and to get things done. This may not be news to people working in remote Indigenous service delivery. From relative outsiders to local Indigenous workers, each are routinely drawn into the demands of local social life. The experience can be highly valued. It can sometimes be a source of frustration, and at other times be fundamental to making great things happen. Of special interest in this paper are the responsibilities of service roles, on the one hand, as they are framed by the broader responsibilities of social life, on the other. These are two sets of responsibilities that can converge or diverge, depending on circumstances. These responsibilities affect non-Indigenous workers, struggling to get a foothold in the remote environment, as much as they do Indigenous people working in service delivery roles in their own communities. If all work roles anywhere build on relationships to achieve official functions, those social relationships have a way of running beyond official roles and operating according to more implicit, less formal rules. Understanding and negotiating service roles and the relationships they entail may be an important driver of effective service delivery.

This paper reports on research conducted with the Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT), a national Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander science and technology organisation founded in 1980 in Alice Springs (NT), and governed by an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Board. CAT is incorporated under the Northern Territory Associations Act. Its headquarters are in Alice Springs, with regional offices across Northern Australia in Cairns (North Queensland region), Darwin (NT Top End), and Broome (formerly Derby) (West Kimberley WA). Drawing on fieldwork, surveys, and interviews among other data sources, this paper develops a case study of the service delivery and Indigenous employment functions of CAT

¹ Names of research participants used in this paper have been changed to preserve confidentiality.

across 49 West Kimberley Indigenous settlements. These programs largely ceased in July 2012, when a different service provider was contracted for municipal services in the region. From 2010 to 2012, the primary researcher from CAT participated in solid waste management projects related to CAT's West Kimberley Indigenous service delivery and employment programs. During this time he spoke to Indigenous community members, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous employees of CAT, to understand how service delivery and employment capacities of CAT were developing. Information gathered contributed to waste management planning and employment program outcomes, to internal monitoring and evaluation of CAT's work, to public presentations on waste management and infrastructure, and to feedback to government agencies. This paper reviews data collected, and draws some more general conclusions about its significance for remote Indigenous service delivery and employment programs.

On the one hand, CAT is an example of the kind of Indigenous organisation that led Tim Rowse (2002) to coin the notion of the 'Indigenous Sector', which describes organisations with both advocacy and service functions. On the other hand, as a national organisation without explicit representative functions, and emphasising knowledge generation as a core activity, CAT is not a typical Indigenous sector organisation. Nevertheless, the Indigenous sector is defined by its institutional diversity and ongoing development. Although this paper is framed specifically around the experiences of CAT, it aims to contribute to understanding of Indigenous sector organisations generally. The programs described in this paper emerged as part of the shifting relationships between Commonwealth and States envisaged under the COAG national Indigenous reform agenda. The wider relevance of the case study presented stems not only from the many parallels between CAT and other Indigenous organisations, but also from what it says about the policy context affecting Indigenous service delivery and employment programs across remote Australia.

The principal question guiding this paper was as follows: How do relationships between the individual and institutional actors involved in remote Indigenous services affect service delivery capacities and outcomes? To answer this question, this paper describes direct and indirect relationships or interactions between four sets of actors in the Indigenous sector: Indigenous users of services; Indigenous sector employees; Indigenous sector organisations; and government agencies. The case study focuses on these sets of actors, interacting as part of CAT's former program of service delivery and Indigenous employment. The paper reviews the range of actors engaged with this particular program, providing examples of how their service roles and relationships worked in practice. It describes the expectations that might be held by particular actors, as well as some key contexts of communication and responsiveness between actors. The goal of this approach is to provide a framework within which to discuss what different Indigenous sector actors think of their own and each other's service roles, how this might determine their service delivery relationships, and to what effect on service delivery capacity.

The terms 'role' and 'relationship' require some definition as key concepts in the report. 'Role' is used to refer to formal and informal positions held by Indigenous sector actors. These positions typically affect the terms of interaction or relationship between Indigenous sector actors. Roles can be defined at the level of the individual, the group, or the corporate body. Within organisations, roles can be formally defined, according to function and authority and level of responsibility. In short, people and organisations occupy roles, and interacting in these capacities they constitute relationships, which may or may not extend beyond the scope of their roles. Further, relationships may operate across different spatial scales, from face-to-face to relations to inter-regional administrative relations that rely exclusively on telephone and internet communication.

An extensive review of remote Indigenous service delivery models was recently conducted by the Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012). That review argued the ‘clear need for better evaluations of models for delivering local government services to Indigenous communities, especially through processes that capture Indigenous perspectives’ (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012:9). The findings presented here capture some important Indigenous community member, Indigenous organisation, and Indigenous employee perspectives. In presenting such perspectives, discussion reflects in particular on the personal challenges faced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous agents of service delivery in the remote communities (Finlayson 1997; Davies and Maru 2010). By linking relationships, service roles, and service capacities, this research revealed forms of communication and responsiveness that either promoted or restricted mutual understanding of service roles, and the productive development of service relationships. It was also found, in keeping with other research (Walsh and Davies 2010; Davies et. al. 2010), that considerations of ‘place’ are a significant factor in successful approaches to Indigenous employment. Also developed below is the theme of ‘place-based’ approaches to service delivery with Indigenous employment.

Methods, data, and limitations

A range of research methods were used to compile data for this paper. These included analysis of relevant academic and policy research, organisational records, and publicly available documents. Survey interviews, and basic participant observation were used to collect primary research data, over eight weeks of fieldwork with the CAT West Kimberley municipal services program. A total of three field trips were made between December 2010 and September 2011. Although CAT did service communities on the Gibb River Road, the majority of its service population was located in the Fitzroy Valley. The focus of this research was therefore the Fitzroy Valley.

As already noted, the observational data and surveys reported on here were conducted to assist with internal monitoring and evaluation, to facilitate program review and development. Data was gathered while travelling with the CAT West Kimberley municipal services manager and supervisors. Participation, in April 2011, in a five day training and work planning meeting with CAT West Kimberley management, supervisors, and MSOs, was another important research opportunity. This research also looked at different aspects of the solid waste functions of the CAT municipal services program, and assisted in the roll-out of a pilot recycling program. In September 2011, consultations were conducted to assess the recycling pilot program in five Fitzroy Valley settlements, and, additionally, to conduct waste management planning in two of these settlements. Apart from generating informative data, these planning sessions revealed important and timely information about construction and demolition waste, and household hazardous wastes, as they affected these communities.

During fieldwork, in order to collect information for service support functions and project reporting, three sets of survey interviews were conducted. Each focused on the service roles and social relationships that are the subject of this paper. The three groups interviewed were: CAT managers and supervisors involved in administering the CAT West Kimberley program; Indigenous MSOs who worked in mobile work crews or in their home communities in the Fitzroy Valley; and Indigenous users of CAT services. It is important to note that the sample sizes for survey data mean that the data is treated as indicative. Discussion below has focused on questions that produced a marked pattern of responses, or themes that were prominent in responses across the different survey groups, and were supported by other observational data.

Two limitations need to be stated in relation to the data and the case study presented in this paper. One is that it principally relates to the delivery of municipal services, so that the

applicability of conclusions to other types of services would need to be carefully considered. A second limitation relates to the gendered nature of data presented. The former municipal service delivery program examined was, from the Indigenous employment perspective, an exclusively male program. The male gender bias of Indigenous employment programs is a broader issue that affects other areas, such as mining and land management. Whether or not the types of arrangements for employment discussed could be directly applied to Indigenous female employment cannot necessarily be inferred from the data reported here.

Context

CAT and the ‘Indigenous Sector’

Since the 1970s, Australian governments have encouraged Indigenous people to form corporations to represent their political interests and provide services in their communities. This enthusiasm for Indigenous community-based provisioning of a diverse range of services—from health and education, to housing infrastructure and municipal services—has endured and expanded under governments of varied political persuasions. Taking stock of this history, researchers have sought to explain what characteristics Indigenous service organisations might have in common. They have taken account of their varied political significance, their diverse practical functions, their relationships with regionally distinct Indigenous communities and with different levels of Australian government.

CAT West Kimberley activities operated in the context of what has been called the ‘Indigenous sector’. Tim Rowse (2002; 2005) developed the terminology of the ‘Indigenous sector’ to refer collectively to the largely publicly funded organisations which service or represent Indigenous people. Rowse’s broad category extends beyond Indigenous organisations as such. It sought to draw attention to the political significance of diverse Indigenous organisational forms at different spatial scales, both in representing and in servicing populations of Indigenous people. CAT is in certain respects different from many Indigenous organisations with a local or regional representative function. One source of this difference is CAT’s nationally constituted board, which arguably allows it to stand aside from local and regional politics that are an inevitable aspect of representation.

Sullivan (2010; 2011) makes useful comparisons between the Indigenous sector service functions and government services which are also delivered by other not-for-profits, for example in the area of aged and disability services (see also Productivity Commission 2010). Sullivan argued that writing about the Indigenous sector has given recognition to the political representative functions of Indigenous organisations, over and above their service delivery functions. Sullivan’s emphasis on service delivery and its constraints in the Indigenous sector is one point of departure for this paper.

Other authors on the sector have adopted a focus on ‘governance’ of public resource allocations in the Indigenous sector, including making proposals for the design of organisations to meet both Indigenous and government/funder objectives (Martin & Finlayson 1996; Martin 2003). These authors offer suggestions about how to improve Indigenous organisational structure and governance. Finlayson’s (1997) ethnographic work drew strong connections between governance and servicing in remote settlements, pointing to the difficulties involved in recruiting and retaining qualified non-Indigenous staff to provide remote settlements with basic services, such as education, health and transport. Her focus is on the personal and organisational barriers to providing services in a dysfunctional service delivery environment. She concludes that ‘the quality of service delivery is a function of the stability and the capacity of the personnel staffing it to perform in fraught social circumstances’ (1997:5). This paper also seeks to develop her emphasis on the personal challenges for Indigenous and non-Indigenous agents of service delivery in the sector.

Given the financial reliance of Indigenous sector organisations on government funding, there has been much debate about the political implications of their relative dependence on, or independence from, government. Sanders (2002) usefully reframes this debate by noting that such organisations are most accurately seen as part of a process of ‘government,’ which incorporates both representation and service delivery functions. As such, Indigenous service sector organisations are neither entirely dependent on nor independent of government. These observations may contribute to our understanding of the former functions of CAT as a provider of government funded services to West Kimberley Indigenous communities. They suggest that the Indigenous sector is constituted as an intersection between networks of government, Indigenous organisational, and local community-level actors. Sanders (2002:1) argues that analysis of Indigenous organisations should focus on ‘relationships within the sector, between Indigenous organisations and their constituents, as well as relationships of the sector to Commonwealth and State or Territory parliaments and Ministers.’ Rowse and Sanders are alike interested in the relationship of the sector with government as a process. They explore ‘relationships within the sector,’ as they see these relationships as critical to understanding and actively fostering Indigenous political action within the sector.

This paper affirms the importance of understanding and describing the relationships among and between different actors involved in the remote Indigenous services. Advancing such understanding is important for at least three reasons. Firstly, conceptualising and demonstrating these relationships helps to explain the dynamic political significance of Indigenous organisations, both historically and as they respond to ongoing changes in Indigenous policy. Secondly, understanding and describing relationships between actors within the sector—including Indigenous organisations, their employees, their constituents or clients, and all levels of government—is crucial to accounting for the processes and the outcomes of service delivery within the Indigenous sector. It is argued here that *relationships within the sector* are the key to explaining the economic and service functions of Indigenous organisations, as much as they also may be to explaining the varied political functions of such organisations. Thirdly, and most importantly, understanding relations within the sector may promote their improvement, and better processes and outcomes of service delivery.

West Kimberley Region in its Policy Context

As with many other parts of remote Australia, the West Kimberley is a site of great activity linked to Indigenous policy and programs. Understanding some of this background and its specific regional impact is vital context for assessing former CAT service delivery and Aboriginal employment programs in this region. In 2008, the Council of Australian Governments finalised the National Indigenous Reform Agreement, under which sits a range of ‘National Partnership Agreements’ that aim to achieve improvements in key areas of Indigenous education, health, government service delivery, and economic participation. National Partnership agreements are directly linked to and assessed against the Commonwealth’s *Closing the Gap* targets for Indigenous populations (see Australian Government 2012). One implication of these agreements is that the Commonwealth’s financial relationship with State and Territory Governments will change, such that States and Territories will assume a more direct financial and administrative role in servicing remote Indigenous settlements. Two National Partnership Agreements are relevant to this case study of activities of CAT in the Fitzroy Valley: *The Remote Service Delivery National Partnership Agreement* [RSDNPA] (COAG 2008a) and the *National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Economic Participation* [NPA IEP] (COAG 2008b).

- In 2009 Fitzroy Crossing (and surrounding Indigenous settlements) was chosen as one of 29 ‘priority locations’ for the Remote Service Delivery National Partnership Agreement (RSD NPA). The stated aims of the RSDNPA include improved access to

mainstream government services, combined with improved Indigenous community governance and leadership, and increased economic participation of Indigenous people. From mid 2009, the governing committee of *Fitzroy Futures Forum*, which represented all Fitzroy Valley Indigenous people, was the main organ of community engagement. It drove the development of a 'Local Implementation Plan' for the RSDNP in the Fitzroy Valley. As a service provider operating out of Fitzroy Crossing, CAT was directly impacted by the RSDNP, in terms of the way it was funded, and changes to funding for services, including mainstream tendering requirements now in place for service providers.

- The *National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Economic Participation* (NPA IEP), included reforms to the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme. These reforms gave rise to the National Job Creation Package (NJCP) which was introduced with aim of phasing-out CDEP jobs in government services, such as local municipal roles in waste management. A key objective of this Agreement was to identify government service delivery jobs subsidised by CDEP, and to convert them into full- and part-time waged positions (COAG 2008b:5-6). From September 2009 until June 2012, NJCP directly funded wages and training of Indigenous Municipal Service Officers who provided the labour for all CAT municipal services and capital works activities.

In part due to the increased government investment, and the designation of Fitzroy Crossing as an RSDNPA 'priority location,' a range of information is available on the demography, population mobility, and workforce characteristics of the Indigenous population in the West Kimberley. Demographer John Taylor has published two key reports on Indigenous workforce and labour supply in the West Kimberley. Taylor (2006; 2008) concluded that while demand for labour was high in the resource sector, factors related to health, education, rates of imprisonment, and housing shortages in Indigenous communities constrained labour supply among the Indigenous population. Frances Morphy (2010) was commissioned by the *Fitzroy Futures Forum* to conduct a baseline population survey to determine variations from census data, and detail population mobility for settlements surveyed. Morphy's (2010) findings about intra-regional population mobility in the Fitzroy Valley offer an interesting background to the evidence presented in this paper on the employment-related mobility and its contribution to employee satisfaction among Indigenous employees of CAT (see MSO survey results, below Figure 3).

CAT work in the West Kimberley

CAT was invited to work in the Kimberley in 2000. It developed a small program of capital works, Indigenous community access road mapping, and access road maintenance. CAT extended its work into municipal services delivery and employment throughout the West Kimberley. Other activities included powerhouse fuel servicing, remote renewable energy systems installation and maintenance through the CAT Bushlight program, and community water system planning in collaboration with Kimberley Land Council. CAT delivered municipal services to communities on the Gibb River Road, and to Fitzroy Valley communities accessed from the Great Northern Highway (see Figure 1). With finance and HR support from Alice Springs, activities were managed by CAT's West Kimberley office in Derby. Mobilization was managed from its depot in Fitzroy Crossing, 280km inland from Derby via the Great Northern Highway. During the 2011/12 financial year, the CAT municipal services and maintenance program covered 49 of Western Australia's 287 discrete Indigenous communities, with 22 (full-time equivalent) Indigenous Municipal Service Officer (MSO) positions, and a total population of almost 3000 Indigenous people. CAT was not awarded tenders for municipal services or powerhouse fuel servicing in the 2012-13

financial year. Many Kimberley communities continued to be covered by the Bushlight system maintenance program, and other CAT technical support such as water planning.

CAT municipal services activities in the West Kimberley were primarily financed by FaHCSIA, which administered its programs through an Indigenous Coordination Centre (ICC) in Derby. Additional funding was provided for the employment and training of Indigenous MSOs under the National Job Creation Package (NJCP). The service delivery model of CAT's former West Kimberley program combined a hub-spoke approach to solid waste collection, with Indigenous MSOs based on their home communities. Two scheduled weekly rubbish runs, using compactor trucks based at the Fitzroy Crossing depot, took in major communities serviced in the Fitzroy Valley. Communities not covered by the scheduled rubbish runs were serviced by onsite MSOs, using rubbish trailers to collect household bins for disposal. CAT community-based MSOs performed a range of duties involved with household and public-place solid waste collection and disposal; minor repairs and maintenance for plant and equipment; and light maintenance at community landfill sites. A team of Fitzroy Valley MSO employees also constituted a mobile 'work crew' used on larger maintenance projects requiring plant and equipment.

The mobile work crew aspect of the former CAT municipal services program could be seen as a moderately innovative venture, measured by MSO enthusiasm for participation and concrete outcomes achieved. The work crew worked on rotations of ten days on, four days off, except during periods of the wet season when mobility is restricted due to flooding or poor road condition. During the 2011-12 wet season, CAT utilised downtime for intensive training in engine maintenance and other civil works-related certificates. MSO participation in the work crew was enthusiastic, with higher demand from MSOs to participate than the number of positions offered. The financial rewards were one factor. All employees received travel allowance, which can add up to a substantial increment on base salary over a ten day trip. Initially, there were some doubts about the viability of a work model that required extensive travel. As recounted by a municipal service supervisor, it was thought that MSOs might struggle with travel. The question was how would the MSOs in the work team go working away from their home communities? One concern was that people would be working away from their own country, or possibly in social situations where they may be in conflict. The results on this have in general suggested that it was an effective model, and that problems envisaged did not eventuate.

The different phases of CAT's work in the West Kimberley reflect a range of internal and external developments. The foci of CAT West Kimberley programs, since their inception, reflected its knowledge base in Indigenous community engagement, renewable energy supplies, and water supply maintenance, among other technical services and support activities. But their development reflected shifts in government funding priorities, and the ongoing restructuring of how services are delivered to Aboriginal communities. The dissolution of ATSIC, and later the rollout of COAG National Partnership Agreements were among those events that affected CAT programs. Such changes affected CAT directly, in terms of the services it was funded to provide, but also in relation to other Indigenous sector and private sector service providers operating in the West Kimberley, which ultimately replaced CAT across many of functions. The last development entailed mainstream tendering by service providers for essential and municipal services in West Kimberley Indigenous settlements. According to those who have studied the sector in the Kimberley (Sullivan 2010), Indigenous organisations are often reactive, on one hand, to funding opportunities and growth of programs in Indigenous services, and on the other, to turnover of service providers and to gaps in services that emerge in this process. The growth and contraction of CAT activities in the West Kimberley reflect both forces.

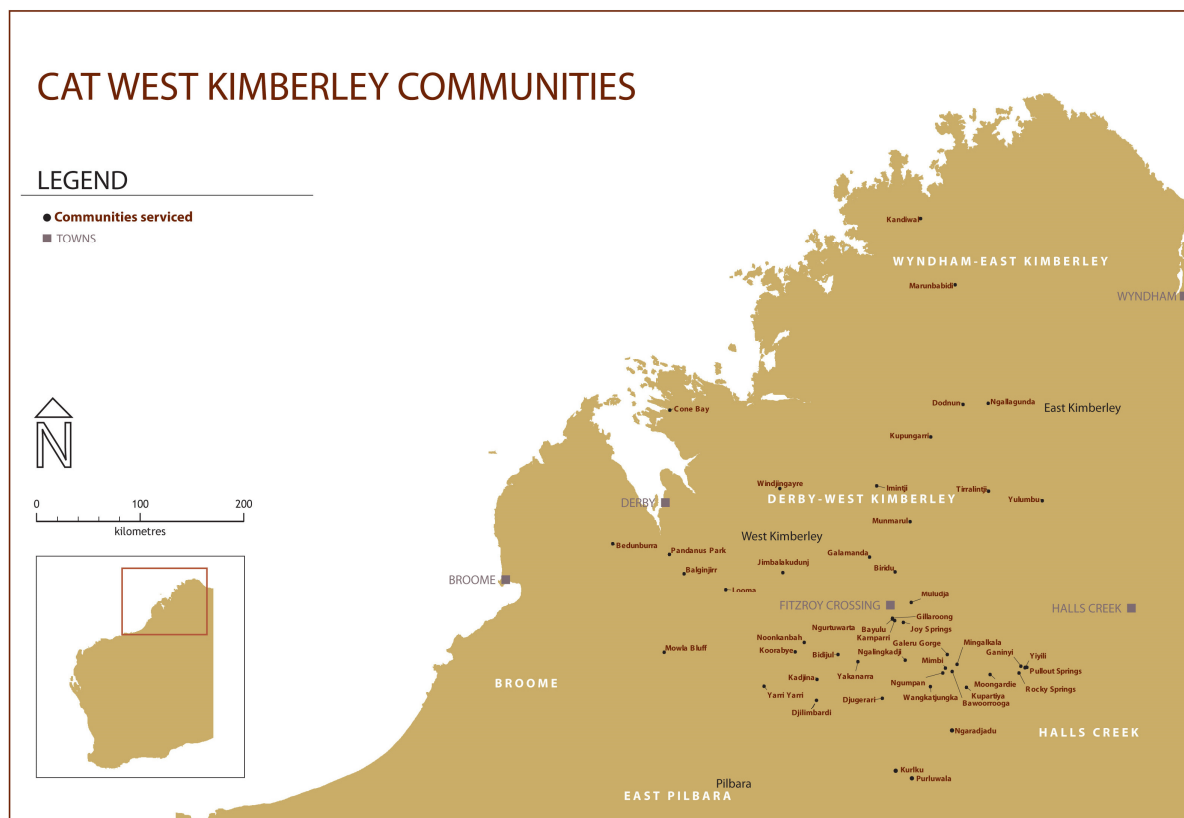


Figure 1- West Kimberley Communities formerly Serviced by CAT

‘Effectiveness’ and the Indigenous sector

Historical questions about the emergence of particular types of organisations serving Aboriginal communities, in particular about their governance and organisational design, are of interest and value. However, they are not necessarily the basis for the development of criteria for evaluating capacity for service delivery, or other activities funded by governments or other external funding providers. At the minimum, any organisation must decide what activities it wants to do well, and by implication this means deciding what it cannot do at a particular point in time. Then it requires some criteria to understand how things are going over time. Moran and Elvin (2009:7) point out that Indigenous programs are often evaluated for cost efficiency, but ‘seldom evaluated for effectiveness (or, if they are, the full results are rarely made public).’ Within Indigenous organisations, there is broad recognition that clear and consistent criteria for understanding and explaining their areas of effectiveness have been lacking (see Martin 2003). This arguably hampers organisational capacity to evaluate results, or to be strategic about areas of growth.

Unanswered questions about ‘effectiveness’ are not unique to the Indigenous sector. The organisational studies literature on ‘effectiveness’ demonstrates the bewildering range of possible meanings the term can have. In a useful review, Steers (1975) observed that there was little consistency in criteria for organisational effectiveness, or the variables selected to evaluate against selected criteria. All evaluations of effectiveness must be based on a clear conception of the ‘values’ of an organisation, and the specific associated ‘criteria’ for evaluating processes and outcomes (see Stufflebeam 2001). For CAT these included client impact, and importantly, organisational development supporting client impact, as outlined in CAT’s Strategic Plan (2011). While West Kimberley grants had Key Performance Indicators

(KPIs), and all CAT programs are nominally guided by organisational values and goals, the relationship between these was not well understood within the organisation, or in conversations with other stakeholders. This research was conceived as part of a proactive approach to the development of an explicit model of service delivery, supported by inbuilt values and criteria for effectiveness.

Research with CAT managers and supervisors sought to understand their ideas about operational 'effectiveness' as it applied to their work. It is worth noting that CAT management and supervisors consulted felt that having such criteria was important. Survey interviews included questions about the development of service delivery approaches within CAT, about what might be useful in evaluating outcomes in the West Kimberley, and about the importance of internal and external communication about these capacities and outcomes. Ultimately, this research found that it is difficult to evaluate 'effectiveness' outside of sets of relationships entailed in service delivery. That is, even within the organisation, different actors often have disparate views of their roles and about what constitutes effectiveness in their service delivery relationships. Because of this, the research aimed to better understand the functioning of these service relationships, and the interaction between roles and relationships as a driver of capacity and outcomes.

Research and findings

Managers and Supervisors: Pragmatic local focus and meeting agency requirements

Managers and supervisors involved in administering the CAT West Kimberley program were interviewed in May 2011. These interviews covered perceptions of different aspects of CAT's West Kimberley operations, criteria for effectiveness of West Kimberley activities, and the relationship of CAT West Kimberley operations to the wider organisational objectives. All management and supervisors were approached for their views on these matters. Five of CAT West Kimberley's regional management and supervisory team completed the survey interview. At the time the survey was conducted, CAT had seven West Kimberley-based staff members at municipal services supervisor and management levels. All interviewees in this questionnaire were non-Indigenous. Two were female and three male. Interviewees had an average term of service of 14 months, and an average age of 38 years. At the time of the survey interview, during the prior 12 months the median number of remote settlements visited by these employees in connection with service delivery was 30.

There was a consistent pattern in management and supervisor attitudes concerning what was valuable in their work. Managers and supervisors seemed to place highest value on relationships with immediate colleagues or co-workers, and with activities closer to the coalface of service delivery. When asked what they were 'most proud of' in their work during the last year, all five interviewees noted collaborative work relationships with other CAT West Kimberley region colleagues, including other managers or supervisors, and Indigenous MSOs. Additionally, four noted pride in service delivery program accomplishments, such as in waste management, and three specifically mentioned employment and skills outcomes for Indigenous workers, connected with the NJCP program. For instance, one noted pride in 'tangible success in employment—giving some Indigenous guys the opportunity to work and have a decent livelihood.'

When interviewees were asked to nominate what was overall 'most important' about their work, their answers again identified good working relationships, and the positive outcomes

for NJCP employees. Significantly, three out of five interviewees noted the importance of their good relationship with their government agency, through the local medium of the Derby Indigenous Coordination Centre (ICC). The emphasis by management and supervisors on relationships with locally based government representatives reinforces the notion that what happens locally is deemed to be a significant and valuable component of service delivery. Put another way, there is evidence that 'localness' is among the 'values' which contribute to the criteria used by agents of Indigenous organisations, in assessing the relative effectiveness of agency programs in which they operate.

When interviewees were asked to rate the importance of a list of aspects of CAT's West Kimberley operations, the equal highest average rating was given to two aspects: 'Meeting service delivery commitments set out in contracts with funding providers' and 'employment: recruiting, retaining and developing Indigenous workers.' The second highest ranking was given to 'happy end-users of services.' These aspects of CAT's West Kimberley operations, are either direct determinants of their capacity to deliver services, or direct effects of successful service delivery. In general then, the supervisory and management team appear to find most value in the most spatially immediate employment-related and service-related aspects of their function. A higher value is placed on things happening closer to the point of service delivery, and relatively less importance placed on concerns of actors who are perceived to be spatially or organisationally distant.

Management and supervisors expressed diverse understandings of what 'effectiveness' might mean in relation to their organisational roles. These ranged from narrowly quantitative definitions—visible, tangible, or measurable outcomes—to deeply reflective statements questioning what 'effectiveness' might mean, at different spatial and organisational scales. 'local' and 'external' criteria for effectiveness were weighed in responses, along with the significance of distance between 'funding source' and 'service point' (see Fisher, al. 2011:57). In general, interviewees argued that overly rigid quantitative criteria for effectiveness often did not account for local context and relationships, and that this was a particular problem with 'generic' service delivery agreements drawn up without experience or regard for local context.

When it comes to self-derived criteria for 'effectiveness,' some interviewees noted quantitative measures such as budget performance, or number of problems/faults resolved. However, the clearest cluster of responses related to two things: (i) specific tangible/observable factors that were positively or negatively associated with effectiveness; and (ii) the channel of information regarding these factors associated with effectiveness. For instance, three interviewees noted the importance of feedback from community residents and representatives (e.g. community chairpersons), or managers at other Indigenous sector organisations. This factor was viewed by managers as being positively associated with effectiveness. One expected channel of this feedback would be via supervisors of CAT community MSOs. As one manager noted, supervisor feedback was important, 'because they are the guys that are on the ground. They're the ones that are working beside the MSOs.' Another channel of information about effectiveness was everyday personal observation, for example the existence of visibly satisfied colleagues. The relationship between positive performance and effectiveness at different levels of responsibility within and beyond the organisation was also noted: 'If the [supervisors] are doing their job well, then those [MSOs] in the communities will be delivering their job, and we will be meeting our objectives, we'll be meeting the objectives of the government.' What seems clear here is that managers and supervisors appreciate the importance of information flow between levels in the chain of

service delivery, and that this is important to the relationships necessary for effectiveness in service outcomes.

Supervisors and managers were asked to rate the importance of a list of measures of effectiveness. Based on the average of ratings given by each interviewee for each measure/criterion of effectiveness, a ranking of criteria are listed in Figure 2.

Figure 2- Importance of factors as measures of effectiveness

Measure of effectiveness	Ranking
Morale of CAT colleagues;	1 st
Feedback from community members where services are provided	2 nd
Continuation or increase of grant funding	3 rd
Feedback from funding sources	Equal 4 th
Accounting measures such as cost effectiveness	Equal 4 th
Feedback from CAT executive or head office	5 th

It appears that, again, priority was placed on activities happening relatively close, spatially and organisationally, to the point of service delivery. Supervisors and managers are most concerned with meeting their immediate service delivery objectives, and less concerned with what are considered to be organisational or government objectives deemed to be distant or abstract. This is reinforced by frequent comments that CAT Alice Springs, the ‘head office’, had a different set of objectives and a different set of service priorities than CAT West Kimberley. This may be an example of the ‘principle’-‘agent’ problem as documented in the organisational studies literature (see De Groot 1988), where, in this case, a decentralised organisational structure contributes to the difficulties of supervising and guiding employees. On the other hand, employees who feel inadequately supported in their roles are less likely to recognise the legitimacy of intervention from those above them in the organisational hierarchy. It is under these circumstances that divergent and oppositional organisational cultures can flourish.

The importance placed by CAT West Kimberley supervisors on the morale of colleagues accords with the emphasis placed on ‘team work.’ As one supervisor put it, ‘When colleagues work together it feels good, and it is streets ahead of the situation when we don’t work as a team. It’s when the ‘lone ranger’ mentality prevails that anarchy rains and any sense of cohesion is lost. Team work is pivotal to providing an effective service to a client base which is spread wide and far.’ This gives another perspective on ‘teamwork’ and its importance in the particular context of remote service delivery, often to a small and dispersed end-user population. In these terms, ‘teamwork’ is the best guarantee of effective lateral and vertical information flows within the service delivery organisation.

When asked about the ‘service delivery model’ of CAT West Kimberley, interviewees argued that it reflected circumstances of remoteness and low population density. The model of service delivery was described as a ‘dual model,’ focusing on the one hand on community level service provision by resident MSOs, for tasks such as power house fuel monitoring which require ongoing labour and attention to detail. On the other hand, tasks requiring heavy machinery or a greater amount of labour over a short period were organised regionally using a mobile work crew. Given this dual model requires employees to move around the region, responding to the circumstances of remote service delivery, others noted that there was a greater need for increased capacity among community-based MSOs, especially in the area of driver’s licenses. Additionally, there was a perceived need for enhanced information sharing

among members of the West Kimberley team, possibly be developing a more effective internal reporting system.

There were clearly many positive service delivery outcomes of the CAT West Kimberley municipal service programs. However, factors involved in service delivery process, management of community relationships and communication in particular, could be hindering work in some areas. One of the issues identified through survey interviews in this study is how breakdowns in information flows can negatively impact the capacity and quality of service provision in remote settlements. In this regard, an MSO supervisor in his survey interview made a pertinent comment:

‘I have on occasion gone to a community and been bombarded by the CEO or Administrator about how CAT isn’t doing this or isn’t doing that in the community and usually it is because ICC hasn’t explained to them what service CAT is meant to be providing in that community. Most of the time we get asked about power supplies, water and sewerage problems and also fixing community [earth moving] equipment. To which I reply that another service provider covers the power supply, water and sewerage and we only contribute some funds to equipment if it helps us by servicing the community.’

This statement is rich with relationships, as well as misconceptions of roles that contribute to ineffective relationships. It could be broken down as follows: The supervisor visits a community as a representative of CAT, the Indigenous sector organisation, in order to act on relationships with MSOs and residents. He finds himself in an acrimonious discussion with a CEO or Administrator, typically of another Indigenous sector organisation. Relationships between Indigenous sector service providers are the issue, as he explains the misperceptions about CAT’s roles, importantly because the Indigenous Coordination Centre (ICC), a government agency, has not, in his view, adequately acquitted itself in its relationships with other Indigenous sector organisations. In his terms it didn’t explain to these service providers CAT’s roles within the community, under the municipal service program. Importantly, there are other areas of water and power supply support that CAT does provide to West Kimberley communities in its technical advice and support roles, but these were not specifically related to its municipal services program functions. The MSO supervisor’s comment demonstrates two things: Firstly, the importance of the range of specific information flows that extend within Indigenous sector organisations and their service populations, but also beyond to other organisations, and government agencies. Secondly, that all such systems of information exchange are predicated on mutual understanding of roles across actors in the Indigenous sector, without which the basic terms of relationships cannot be established.

CAT West Kimberley Indigenous employment context

CAT signed its first contracts with NJCP-funded MSOs in the West Kimberley in October 2009. A total of 22 CAT West Kimberley positions were funded by NJCP, with MSOs working between 20 and 37.5 hours per week. These represented about half of the total NJCP positions created in the Fitzroy Valley. The work tasks of these MSOs were divided into supporting roles for essential services (power, water, and sewage), and municipal services, including solid waste disposal, minor repairs on internal roads and aerodromes, and landscaping and dust control. In addition to community-based duties, five to seven full-time Fitzroy Valley MSO employees constituted a mobile ‘work crew’ used on larger maintenance projects within and beyond the Fitzroy Valley. In November 2010, CAT commissioned its Fitzroy Crossing Depot, which served as the base for the plant and equipment for the regional municipal services program, and the work crew.

The employment aspect of the former CAT municipal services program needs to be placed in its regional context. At the 2006 census the working age Indigenous population in the Derby Indigenous Region (ABS IREG 26), which is the best available approximation of the geographic area covered by CAT's programs, was 2853. Of this group, 1047 were not in the workforce, 1133 employed in the CDEP scheme, and 504 were employed outside the CDEP scheme. As such, the employment to population ratio including CDEP was 57%, and excluding CDEP it was 18%. Based on the 2006 figures CAT's 22 full-time equivalent MSO positions (which amount to 28 total positions on average), were equal to about five per cent of the region's mainstream Indigenous workforce. Their median income position relative to their peers was significantly better: the Indigenous median weekly income for the Derby Indigenous Region is \$219, whereas the median weekly income for MSOs was \$472. The majority of MSOs fell within the top 15% of Indigenous income earners in their census region. At the time of this research, current employees had worked on average 14 months, equivalent to the supervisor group during the sample period.

The separation rate of CAT Indigenous MSOs for the year to May 2011 was 18%. This is low considering that the majority of those employed have had sporadic employment histories, and that retention rates for long-term unemployed people in general are very low. For instance, the Victoria Daly Shire statistics on commencements and separations for their Indigenous employees showed a turnover of approximately 75% per year between mid-2008 and mid-2011 (Betts 2011). The 18% CAT figure is marginally greater than one figure of 14% provided for land management workers (ANAO 2011:25). However it is worth noting that major reports on Indigenous employment and economic participation (Australian Government 2009; 2011; ANAO 2011) show a startling paucity of any statistics on retention in Indigenous employment. A 2006 handbook on Indigenous employment on turnover in the mining sector suggests that remoteness is a factor influencing turnover rates, and cites one mining operation that reported turnover of 31% (Tiplady and Barclay 2006:40).

CAT's relative success in the area of retention was arguably achieved by a focus on close support and mentoring, coordinated by four dedicated field supervisors who built strong relationships with their MSO teams. Importantly, two of these four supervisors were Indigenous, and all were people with decades of experience in the Kimberley. Further, the employee relationship to work roles, and particularly the opportunity for work involving travel, may have contributed to the lower turnover. This inference is based on the notion that the imperatives of travel—for reasons unrelated to work, and for younger men especially—are often cited anecdotally as a reason for employment separations in the Indigenous employment contexts.

Municipal Service Officers (MSOs): Enthusiasm for work involving travel, a desire to learn in current role

Survey interviews were conducted with CAT MSOs in September 2011. Questionnaires were administered verbally with interviewees. The survey was completed with twelve MSO interviewees, residing across seven discrete communities in the Fitzroy Valley. This sample represented, at the time, more than half of the MSOs working for CAT in the Fitzroy Valley. Others were not available to be interviewed as they were located at communities not visited during this fieldwork. The survey interview covered employment history, job satisfaction, views about community knowledge of CAT MSO roles, and aspirations in current and future work and training. All MSOs interviewed were male and their average age was 33.5 years, three and a half years less than the median age for all current MSO employees at the time. The average term of service was 17 months, slightly higher than the overall MSO average of 14 months. It is important to note that this term of service was affected by the total duration

of the program, which at the time of this survey had been in operation 23 months. On being offered their job for CAT, three of the interviewees were employed full time and one half-time (with the other half-time hours on CDEP). A further six were employed in CDEP work, while two were on Centrelink payments. Employment histories of MSOs included pastoral or cattle station work (3), mine related work (2), and work in remote communities in municipal and essential services, mostly connected with the CDEP scheme.

Some clear themes emerged around what MSOs liked about their jobs and work. When interviewees were asked to nominate, without any prompting, the best thing about their job, five identified ‘travel’ connected with work. The positive value attributed to travel was associated with the opportunity to experience diversity of places, and the opportunity for social interaction. Examples of statements about what was liked included, ‘going different places’, ‘travelling and working in different communities.’ As another put it, ‘you get to go places and meet new people.’ Apart from travel, the general value of having a regular activity to do and the responsibilities connected to this, such as keeping the community clean or the use of different machinery (e.g. tractors and whipper snippers), were all noted as things best liked about the MSO role.

The question of travel as a positive aspect of work is a key finding. The majority of MSO travel occurred within the West Kimberley region, in the Fitzroy Valley and on the Gibb River Road. The preference for travel was confirmed when interviewees were read a range of attributes of their job, asked to select those that were a factor in their job satisfaction, and then asked to rank those selected factors in terms of their level of contribution to job satisfaction. Figure 3 gives the overall (average) ranking for each factor. The high rankings given to ‘Travelling away for work and training’ and ‘working with relatives/friends’ appear to confirm the idea that MSOs rated the capacity to travel, which involved visiting a range of places and making a range of social connections, as a likable aspect of their job. It could be argued that the linkages between these factors and job satisfaction derive from the opportunity to make connections with peers as part of work in a group, on the one hand, and at the same time to reinforce regional social relationships that extend beyond work, on the other. All twelve interviewees agreed that ‘Travelling away for work or training’ was a factor that made them like their job, and all placed it in their top four. Five interviewees ranked this first in the list of things that made them like their job.

Figure 3 -Average ranking by factor in job satisfaction

Overall ranking (average)	Factor in Job Satisfaction
1	Travelling away for work or training
2	Working with relatives/friends
3	Money for work
4	Working in your community
5	Working on your country

Those interviewees who nominated ‘working on your country’ as a likable factor in their job were asked why this was so, and given a range of options, listed in Figure 4. The high number of people nominating ‘time with family’ possibly affirms the social dimensions of job satisfaction that are potentially compatible with more local intraregional travel. It suggests that MSOs liked travelling to see country and visit people who live within what may be their typical spatial range. Taken together, the picture is one of satisfaction with regional travel that adds meaning to work, and that part of this meaning is to do with the widening of social relationships which work-related travel can potentially facilitate.

Figure 4 - What do you like about working on your country?

Aspect of working on country	Number of interviewees
Time with family	8
Getting bush food/hunting	5
Culture or ceremony/business	2
Other	2

Beyond personal factors in job satisfaction, what wider value did MSOs attribute to their work in their communities? There are different levels at which this question can be answered. The first is the family level. MSOs assessed their job as making a positive contribution to their families and their wider communities. All interviewees felt that their job helped them look after their family. The key theme in explanations of this being that seven out of twelve suggested they had increased capacity to meet family and household expenses. All interviewees also felt that their job helped their community, with a core of nine interviewees noting their specific contribution to keeping the community clean. When asked about times when they had to stop work because of family responsibilities, eight of twelve interviewees (or 67%) reported that they took time off for family reasons, the majority of instances relating to funerals or bereavement. In general CAT supervisors appeared to be flexible in accommodating MSO family responsibilities. Because the families of MSOs were also users of CAT services, adequate flexibility around bereavement is important to accommodating the needs of service users in communities, as much as it was also important for the needs of CAT employees. It was observed that CAT weekly rubbish collections in the Fitzroy Valley were made contingent on any funerals or bereavement occurring in communities. In summary then, MSOs regarded their job as helping both their family, through increased income and capacity for material support, as well as their wider community, through increased cleanliness community public places.

The relationship of MSOs to their local communities was arguably a key factor in their capacity to deliver services. One factor that influenced this relationship was the level of information available about the municipal service roles and responsibilities. This need for adequate information channels between MSOs and community residents paralleled the need for channels between MSOs and the CAT organisational structure. When asked if they felt that community members understood what their job was about, seven of eleven MSO interviewees (64%) felt that community members understood. For MSOs who felt that community members did not adequately understand their job, all commented on their experience of what they described as misguided community member expectations about the solid waste removal responsibilities of MSOs. Community members were characterised as expecting MSOs to collect types of rubbish not in their scope, or collect rubbish from places (especially private house yards) that were not covered by their role.

The theme that emerged here is the importance of communication targeted at establishing clarity about roles and responsibilities, of MSOs on one hand, and community residents on the other. Some of this communication inevitably occurred directly between MSOs and residents, as nine out of twelve MSOs interviewed said that they did talk to community members about their job. When asked to expand, a theme that emerged again was of community expectations about cleaning non-public places, such as the yards of private homes. Examples of comments about yards included the following: 'They [community members] say come into my yard and get rubbish. Well, I say we don't do yard cleaning;' and 'We're not there to pick up rubbish in the yard. We only can pick up rubbish outside, and around the community.' One MSO, a leading-hand, expanded directly on the theme of problems with limited information flows:

‘They understand but we do our share in the community and it’s not getting through. So they always say it’s CAT responsibility because they’re paid for it. Well I don’t think, just because we get paid, doesn’t mean it’s our job to do the same thing every time, picking up rubbish on the ground.’

A further example of this kind of difference of interpretation about roles and responsibilities was revealed in the responses of the same MSO, in relation to community member perceptions of the MSO role. The MSO was asked: ‘How do the people in the communities know what your job is?’ He responded as follows:

‘Well basically I went to a community meeting and say what our role is. But then in their heads they’ve got a different picture to what you’re trying to explain to them. They say, do it, it’s your job.’

Following this response, clarification was sought by asking whether he would ‘just tell them at the meeting that your job is, to pick up the bins.’ To this he replied, ‘That’s why they don’t invite me any more.’

Whatever the specifics of this situation, it provided evidence of communication gaps perceived elsewhere. There were two overall messages here. One is about channels of communication concerning roles and responsibilities of CAT as a service provider, and those of specific categories of employees, such as MSOs or supervisors. These channels could arguably have been more developed. A second is the possibility that further innovation in services could have been developed, incorporating where possible additional services for non-standard domestic rubbish, or particular services for the elderly or disabled. To some extent, these services were already incorporated in the activities of CAT’s mobile work crew. Also, as part of CAT work on household hazardous wastes, some collections were made of items such as discarded vehicle batteries and whitegoods. Nevertheless, the importance of better communication between MSOs and community members could be seen both in terms of effective process and effective outcomes. While community members consulted for this research expressed satisfaction about the mere fact of being asked for input on services they received, more robust and regular communication could have meant less time wasted on frustrations and conflict arising from incomplete or inaccurate information. This conclusion would apply to any service provider working in the same context. With reduced misunderstanding about roles and responsibilities, MSOs, community members, and CAT as an organisation would have been able to establish more effective communication about the issues that were actually in the scope of CAT municipal services provision. This may have contributed to gradual improvement in capacity for municipal service outcomes.

What does this research tell us about the relationship of CAT with its MSO employees? The quality of relationships between MSOs, their supervisors, and the wider organisation, was a significant factor in CAT’s capacity to service community residents. All but one of MSOs interviewed considered that CAT did provide adequate support in their role. The one MSO who stated that CAT provided inadequate support in his role contended that he was expected to do too much work, as the sole MSO in his home community. This individual’s experience could be related back to other findings, that job satisfaction is closely tied to the opportunity to work among peers. As for the others, they mostly assessed the adequacy of ‘support’ in terms of CAT providing basic things necessary to them doing their work: uniforms, boots, protective equipment and supplies for machinery. This may suggest something about their former experience of employment, perhaps a lack of available equipment and supplies. In the course of interviews and other participation, it was observed that MSOs were enthusiastic about CAT uniforms provided, incorporating high-visibility shirts embossed with company

logos and their name. Similar types of clothing are used in mining and civil contracting work within the region.

Among MSOs who felt that CAT in general provided adequate support, those interviewed had various ideas about what CAT could have done to help them more. These ideas were important indicators of how the relationship of CAT with its employees might have been enhanced, and flowing from this, the overall organisational capacity for service delivery. Several MSOs explicitly stated that they would have liked more help obtaining drivers' licenses. Significant and ongoing effort was made by CAT supervisors, throughout the duration of their time as service provider, both in obtaining driver's licenses, and in some case precursor documents such as birth certificates. In many cases this involved significant time investment in overseeing complex paperwork. In some cases it involved court appearances to advocate for MSOs seeking 'extraordinary' (WA Class-E) licenses, which permit workers with suspended licenses to drive vehicles in the course of employment. Another major theme for MSOs was a desire for more heavy earthmoving equipment, in particular a grader, in order to complete tasks such as firebreak maintenance.

Figure 5 provides the average ranking MSOs gave to different actions that may have enhanced their role. 'More training' was a clear leader, with ten out of twelve interviewees ranking this as either first or second in their order of preference. This research also found that the value of training was not general but specifically linked to job tasks. MSOs were very insistent and articulate in rejecting what they saw as substandard, generic training not linked to work roles. They expressed a desire to improve their capacity to drive and operate equipment required for their work, or to operate a greater range of equipment. The positive value of travel for work was ranked second, when MSO's evaluated potential enhancements to their role. Another notable factor to consider here was that most MSOs showed a desire to continue working outdoors, and expressed a corresponding dislike of indoor work. Notably, only four of twelve interviewees nominated indoor work as something that they desired, and all four ranked this option as last or second last in their order of preferences. When asked specifically about indoor and outside work, all interviewees preferred to continue working outdoors, whereas two felt that they may like to do some indoor work as well. One expanded on his view of indoor work in the following terms: 'If I've got to supervise you've got to go and talk to your workers, outside. Inside I'm doing paperwork on the computer and main issues like which community wants us to go out there and do work.' When asked about possible future education some mentioned training or qualifications as a plant operator (four mentions), while two mentioned training in computers, bookwork, and office administration skills.

Figure 5 - Average ranking for actions to enhance MSO role

Overall ranking (average)	Action to enhance role
1	more training
2	more chance to travel for work
3	chance to try different kinds of work
4	more time at work
5	more money
6	chance to do work inside as well as outside
7	less time at work

The overall picture here is that MSOs viewed their role as having the potential for growth, to take advantage of new skills and competencies. Increasing responsibility is clearly also a consideration, with nine of twelve (75%) responding that they could see themselves supervising other people in the future. How this would fit with a preference for outdoor work, and an expressed desire for more field travel, would need to be considered. Nevertheless, the lesson for CAT's relationship with MSOs was that a strong emphasis on employee development is appropriate.

Another factor that had bearing on the relationship of CAT and its former MSO workforce was the availability of alternative employment. MSOs were asked about the range of employment options available in the Fitzroy Valley, and what their preferences would be in this regard. In total eight MSOs interviewed felt that there were alternative jobs available at the time of the interview, where they lived or nearby. The most common types of jobs identified were mining-related (four mentions), community or Indigenous sector organisational jobs linked to servicing remote settlements (four mentions), and motor vehicle mechanical work (three mentions). Figure 6 shows the average ranking given by MSOs for a range of jobs types they might consider in the future. Notably, at the higher end of rankings, CAT and 'mine site' were deemed worthy of consideration by eleven and ten interviewees respectively. At the lower end of rankings, three interviewees said they would consider CDEP work in the future. Another option that came up in discussions was work in fencing or land management, reflecting the close relationship of Fitzroy Valley communities to the local pastoral industry.

Figure 6 - Order of preference for places of work in the future

CAT	1
Mine Site	2
Shire	3
Helping at the school	4
Community Store or roadhouse	5
Helping at the clinic	6
CDEP	6

In general, ideas expressed about alternative work suggest that MSOs may have had other options, but still valued working for CAT. When asked how long they saw themselves continuing to work for CAT, the average period MSOs nominated was two and a half years. At the same time the appeal of the mining sector was significant enough for a good proportion to view this as a solid alternative. Three of those interviewed had past experience working in mining. It would be interesting to consider whether their experience with CAT has contributed to the sense of wider opportunity, and indeed whether it resulted in greater employability in the longer-run, in the resource sector or other areas.

Community residents: A focus on waste management outcomes

In September 2011 community members in one Indigenous settlement covered by CAT municipal services were consulted and interviewed about a range of topics, including CAT's waste management role in their community. The community was Bayulu, about 10km from Fitzroy Crossing with population of about 271 (Morphy 2010:31). At the time of interviews the population appeared low due to significant demolition and construction work being undertaken. All discussions occurred as part of a participatory solid waste planning project which aimed to gauge community member perception of local solid waste issues; knowledge of household hazardous wastes; knowledge of service providers for essential and municipal

services; knowledge of the CAT Municipal Service Officer (MSO) role; and knowledge of recycling. As part of this consultation and planning, survey interviews were completed with thirteen residents, five of whom were male and eight female. The mean age of those interviewed was 36, with the average for the community population being 24 (Morphy 2010:31). Parallel to the survey interviews, meetings were held with community council members and with a range of people at the community. The activities of CAT MSOs were also observed through participation. Residents in six other communities were also asked about similar issues.

Perspectives of community users of services are essential information in understanding the former service delivery functions of CAT West Kimberley. The solid-waste functions of CAT West Kimberley were an important indicator of its overall impact as service provider. All interviewees expressed a view that solid waste is a problem in Bayulu, and more than half thought it was a 'big problem.' There is some suggestion in responses that CAT's service provision has improved solid waste management. All interviewees felt that rubbish was a problem two years ago, and no interviewees felt it had got worse, whereas nine of thirteen (69%) felt that there had been some improvement during CAT's time as service provider. The remaining four (31%) felt it was about the same.

Community residents were asked about who typically initiated communication regarding service delivery, and who they felt should initiate communication. Less than a quarter of residents interviewed reported that they had spoken to a CAT MSO about rubbish collection, or other aspects of their job. This apparent paucity of communication is in contrast with the desire of community residents for communication with MSOs about their roles. For instance, all interviewees answered 'yes' when asked if MSOs should approach community members to ask 'if there is anything they can fix.' Neither did knowledge of MSOs as individuals appear to be the key limiting factor in service-related communication. It was found that eleven of thirteen interviewees (85%) knew, by name, one or more of the MSOs working in their community.

Community residents were also asked about who they would contact for problems with municipal services including rubbish, as well as the mode of contact they would use. Of those interviewed, CAT was nominated as a point of contact by twelve, reaffirming knowledge of CAT as then municipal service provider. However, five of these interviewees said they might also contact Marra Worra Worra (MWW), a Fitzroy Crossing-based resource agency and service provider. The Bayulu Community Council, an elected local government body, was mentioned by four interviewees as a point of contact about municipal services. As for the mode of contacting organisations, nine of thirteen interviewees (69%) nominated 'in person,' and three of these specifically identified MSOs working on the weekly rubbish run as the point of contact. A total of six interviewees identified 'by phone' as a possible mode of contact, four of whom had also nominated 'in person.' In other discussions, there was broader recognition of the idea that weekly rubbish collections, then conducted by two CAT MSOs, were an opportunity to make contact with CAT to raise problems about rubbish or municipal services. The two MSOs then responsible for the weekly rubbish collection by truck were the most widely known by name. They were also permanent residents of the community where interviews were conducted.

Overall, these responses suggest that at the time in which these survey interviews were conducted: (a) knowledge of individual CAT employees may have been reasonably widespread but, (b) interaction with them in terms of their role as employees, especially if this involved making demands on them as individuals, was not highly developed. In saying

this, we should also take account of the circumstances of the community surveyed. Bayulu had the highest concentration of resident MSOs of any community CAT serviced in the Fitzroy Valley. As would be the case for any service provider, existing routine opportunities for communication are a clear opportunity for feedback that needs to be maximised, ideally focusing on and building on those situations where communication is initiated by residents.

The capacity for communication and responsiveness with community residents was partly determined by what residents knew about CAT's then service provider responsibilities. As was noted above, CAT MSOs identified what they saw as end-user misconceptions about their role, and in their view the misplaced demands that stemmed from these. All community members interviewed identified CAT as an organisation assisting with rubbish removal in the community. Their awareness of the task areas incorporated in CAT's 'rubbish role' were also assessed. Figure 7 lists areas of activity that were part of the CAT solid waste role, along with the number of interviewees nominating this activity as being, to the best of their knowledge, something that was a part of the CAT service role.

Figure 7 - End-user perceptions of CAT solid waste services

Activity connected with 'rubbish' service role	Number of Interviewees nominating
Collect bins from each house and public areas	13
Take rubbish to tip	12
General community clean up service	10
Maintain tip	6
Recycling: cans, plastic bottles	6
Report on condition of tip and maintenance done	0

In general terms, activities directly linked to rubbish collection and removal were best known aspects of CAT's work. However, looking at the specific activities that constituted CAT's solid waste role, end-user knowledge of these activities was seemingly patchy. This no doubt had implications for the extent to which community members could engage with CAT as a service provider.

End-user perception of overall CAT MSO responsibilities seemed to reinforce this problem. When end-user interviewees were provided with a list of functions that were part of the MSO role, the function described as 'Empty bins at houses and take rubbish away' was best known. In total eleven of thirteen interviewees (85%) identified this as part of the then MSO role. Other functions recognised included 'do community cleanups' by seven interviewees (54%); 'cut grass' by six (46%), and 'take away old cars' and 'clean up at the tip' with five each (38%). Notably, however, only one of thirteen interviewees identified 'clean up yards' as part of the MSO role. (One additional interviewee did indicate that she would like car batteries and scrap metal removed from her yard, when asked what additional things she felt MSOs could do in their role.)

It needs to be clearly emphasised that residents interviewed expressed a view that they had a stake, and role to play, in the waste management process. All interviewees agreed that community members should put out their household wheelie bin for CAT to collect on rubbish day. Over 90% agreed on a responsibility for community members to keep their yard clear of rubbish, and to keep wheelie bin lids closed. Over 75% agreed that there was a need to tell MSOs about problems with rubbish, and not to dispose of rubbish at random in public places. In terms of the general issues raised about littering and lack of concern for public places, these results suggest at least that there was acknowledgment of responsibility on the

part of community residents. The implication is simply that residents' investment in the management of their own communities needs to commence from a point of view of engaging with their ideas, rather than assuming a dearth of interest. In large part, the CAT community solid waste planning exercises in Bayulu and other communities proceeded from this assumption.

During 2011, in five communities across the Fitzroy Valley, CAT implemented a recycling pilot program in collaboration with the Packaging Stewardship Forum (PSF). In the survey community, approximately 20 wire mesh barrels with affixed PSF *Do the Right Thing Use the Right Bin* signage were installed as public place receptacles. They were sited at public places such as the store and community centre, as well as at convenient intervals among housing. In total eight out of thirteen interviewees were aware that recycling was available in the community. Of those aware, seven used bins either 'always' or 'sometimes', but only two interviewees reported taking recyclable materials from their homes to place them in the wire barrels. This suggested that knowledge of recycling could be improved, and that the use of bins for disposal of plastic and aluminium in public places was not capturing all recyclables generated by households.

Whether in relation to recycling or other solid waste removal, community residents interviewed did recognise themselves and other community members as having positive obligations as users of solid waste services. Comparing the perceptions of MSOs (see above page 16) with those of service users allows us to see that distinct information gaps exist in how each perceives the scope of activities and responsibilities that make up their service relationship. This would potentially have affected both the range of activity areas understood to be in the scope of the MSO role, and the specific activities understood to fall within each activity area. Based on interviews, it may be that residents had fewer 'outside scope' expectations of CAT MSOs than might be inferred from MSO responses.

The strongest opinion and debate surrounded former CAT MSO solid waste roles. This may in part have been because other aspects of MSO roles are not widely known at the time. As already noted, there appeared to be patchy recognition of the range of services within the former CAT municipal services scope. There is also evidence that these gaps of knowledge and information were not restricted to CAT, affecting other service providers as well. End-user interviews found that recognition of relevant service providers in municipal and essential services was exceptionally limited. Interviewees were provided a list of municipal and essential services—electricity, water, sewage, rubbish, road repairs and landscaping and dust control—and asked, 'Who do you think looks after each of these services in this community?' Responses are summarised as follows:

- Thirteen interviewed (100%) named one or more service providers for 'rubbish';
- Four interviewed (30%) named one or more service providers for 'water';
- Three interviewees (23%) named one or more service providers for 'electricity.'
- Three interviewees (23%) named one or more service providers for 'sewage.'
- Three interviewees (23%) named one or more service providers for 'road repairs';
- One interviewee named a service provider for 'landscaping and dust control.'

The mix of specific service providers named gives some indication of how service providers are doing in making residents aware of its presence. (Here, however, it needs to be kept in mind that the presence of a CAT employee doing an interview no doubt affected the number of mentions of CAT as a service provider). Overall, aside from CAT (14 mentions), the most commonly named were Marra Worra Worra (nine mentions), and the Shire of Derby West Kimberley (four mentions). This suggests that more could be done to improve awareness among residents about different service providers across municipal and essential service

areas, as well as awareness of the specific duties within each service area, such as waste management.

It is proposed that the following were some general characteristics of the relationship between service providers and community residents in the area studied: (i) knowledge about who provided services across the range of municipal and essential services was patchy; (ii) knowledge of the range of responsibilities of service CAT West Kimberley provided was patchy; (iii) knowledge of specific activities connected with responsibility particular service areas (e.g. waste management) was patchy. If the objective is that residents and service providers have an informed relationship based on mutual understanding of roles and responsibilities, then there is clear evidence here that this was not happening. The question is, how can residents and other actors in the service delivery system be better informed about services? How much do residents need or want to know about services? What is the incentive for each to become better informed? Answering these questions and resolving the issues at their foundation requires that communication—types and channels of information—be built into the service delivery model.

Discussion of findings

In 2005, Cape York Indigenous leader Noel Pearson began talking about Indigenous ‘orbits.’ Pearson was interested in inter-regional circuits of population mobility compatible with Indigenous people, ‘retaining a culture which requires strong inherited and ongoing connection to ancestral lands,’ but, at the same time, ‘with the freedom to orbit into the wider world and return to home base again’ (2005:12). Access to mainstream educational or employment opportunities need not in these terms imply losing connection with land, or social and cultural practices connected with traditional estates. Considering contemporary patterns of Indigenous migration and circular mobility to larger population centres, alongside other Indigenous strategies to address poverty in regional and remote Australia Pearson’s ideas are closely keyed to what many Indigenous Australians are already doing to address their economic circumstances (Taylor and Bell 2004; Peterson and Taylor 2003; Prout 2008). In light of the data presented in this paper, Pearson’s ideas ought to make us curious about whether of the idea of ‘orbits’ could add something to our understanding of regional systems of employment and service delivery, such as we find in the Fitzroy Valley. Some of the data presented here also points to the enduring significance of place, and the social relationships that accompany connections to place. At the same time, this data accords with a wide range of research that links patterns of spatial mobility with wellbeing outcomes for Indigenous people. While Pearson developed his idea in proposals about inter-regional mobility, this paper argues that understanding mobility at the local and regional scales may be a driver of improvements in Indigenous employment initiatives, and sustainable remote service regimes.

This discussion section will assess some themes that emerge from results reported above, for different actors in Indigenous sector service delivery. The first theme of this discussion is relationships within the Indigenous sector. What does this research tell us about relationships between individual and institutional actors in the Indigenous sector, and how they may be linked to service delivery capacities? In particular, what do we learn about the interaction of roles and relationships, or the importance of communication and responsiveness? The second theme in this discussion follows from the first. This research—linking relationships, service roles, and service capacities—suggests the importance of ‘place’ as a factor in successful approaches to remote Indigenous service delivery and employment. We will therefore ask what the case study contributes to our understanding of ‘place-based’ approaches to Indigenous service delivery with Indigenous employment, reflecting also on debates about ‘regionalism’ and ‘localism’ in Indigenous sector service delivery.

Linking service relationships and roles in the Indigenous sector

This paper has presented information about communication and responsiveness between actors in Indigenous sector service delivery, and how this may promote better mutual understanding of service roles. Recent reviews of service delivery models for local government services in Indigenous contexts (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012), and on capacity development in Indigenous service delivery (ANAO 2012), have also highlighted two related issues: building relationships through communication and responsiveness, and establishing clarity of roles of Indigenous organisations and of government alike. It has been proposed in this paper that clearer service roles may be associated with better service delivery relationships, and ultimately better service capacity. Role clarity for various actors could reduce forms of social conflict that have arisen from uncertainty about responsibilities, or help with the timely identification and resolution of service quality issues. At the same time, reduced confusion about the tasks assigned to specific service roles, for example MSOs, could lead to better relations between Indigenous sector employees and community residents, on the one hand, but also better relations between Indigenous sector organisations and agencies or funding providers, on the other. This research has findings about the linkages between service roles and service relationships; and about the forms of communication and responsiveness that nourish relationships, and promote understanding across roles.

There were three important findings about roles and relationships in research with community residents:

Firstly, it was found that community end-user knowledge of the MSO roles, and of broader CAT service delivery roles, was relatively limited. However, this pattern went beyond CAT, as it appeared to be a broader issue for municipal and essential service providers in the Fitzroy Valley. Knowledge of service provider roles may have been inadequate to solicit effective community participation in activities like fault reporting, or other efforts to monitor or improve service outcomes.

Secondly, community residents recognised the role that they themselves play in the service delivery relationship. In this regard, there was a disconnect between what residents said about their expectations of MSO roles, and what MSOs said about residents demands. That is, residents seemed to acknowledge a more significant set of roles for themselves. The divergent perceptions that MSOs and residents had of their own and of each other's roles suggest that information gaps were limiting responsiveness on each side of this service relationship.

Thirdly, this research offers one explanation for the patchy understanding of service roles among community residents. It suggests that there was an unmet demand for increased communication with CAT, both among community residents and representatives. Unmet demand for communication may have restricted communication about MSO roles, and led to less responsive service delivery relationships. It may have affected the overall responsiveness of CAT to residents.

The picture from the end-user perspective is reaffirmed by evidence from research with MSO employees. MSOs identified the lack of a mutual understanding, between their group and community residents, concerning which tasks were part of MSO work roles. Most importantly, this was an issue they identified as affecting their service relationship with Indigenous community residents. They reported conflict with community residents over their different understandings of the MSO role, and broader roles of CAT as a service provider. Overall, this evidence suggests that establishing greater clarity about roles would have led to more effective communication and responsiveness between different actors involved: CAT as the service provider, CAT MSOs, and community residents and leaders. It suggests that

Indigenous sector service providers such as CAT have a role to play in promoting better understanding of the scope and limitations of service roles.

Consultations with CAT management and supervisors found evidence that they did place a high value on activities that might have contributed to service capacity in this area. In the context of their roles, they placed a high value on good communication with CAT employees, community residents, and with funding agencies. It was also found overall that management and supervisors keenly appreciated the importance of information flows and responsiveness between levels in the chain of service delivery; from community residents, to service providers, funding agencies. Factors internal to the CAT as an organisation were perceived as limitations in their capacity to work on local relationships in the West Kimberley. These included a sense that the activities of CAT in the West Kimberley were distinct from and not a priority for CAT's Head Office in Alice Springs. Also, at times, communication with different service providers working in the same West Kimberley communities was inadequate or unhelpfully adversarial. While the reasons for this may be complex, all such channels of communication are predicated on some mutual understanding of roles across actors in the Indigenous sector, without which the basic terms of relationships cannot be established.

Unspoken assumptions about community employee roles, both MSOs and MSO field supervisors, were also found to influence the development of CAT's service delivery relationship with community residents. As a consequence of CAT West Kimberley's regional service delivery model, the number of settlements serviced, and the distances between them, management and supervisors were under extreme time and budget constraints. This left little time for in-depth engagement or oversight across all communities or areas of service delivery. MSO supervisors had to informally manage the relationship with community leaders, without explicit planning for how this would occur. There also seemed to be unspoken assumptions made about the types of 'community liaison' or 'broker' functions expected of MSO employees, in relation to the communities in which they lived. This sometimes entailed difficulties for MSO employees, because in many cases they were relatives of the people to whom they rendered services. In these circumstances, social relationships and work roles could come into conflict. If Indigenous employees at the community level are expected to perform broker functions, it would seem that their capabilities in this area and the constraints they face would need to be acknowledged more transparently by CAT, or any other service provider working in equivalent circumstances.

One way of characterising the concerns of this paper, around roles and relationships, is that it provides information about the link between capacity and risk in Indigenous service delivery. The establishment of clear roles and adequate information flows for productive relationships is tied to service capacity, for the data presented. A 2012 ANAO review aimed to assess how Federal Government departments (including FaHCSIA and DEEWR) 'seek to reduce service delivery risks posed by capacity constraints in Indigenous organisations' (2012:18). The ANAO (2012) report found that agency efforts to manage service delivery risks had focused on what it called 'internal' capacity risks—in areas of governance, financial management and reporting in particular—which were areas over which organisations had some degree of control. However, the report also found that practices implemented to develop organisational capacity to manage these internal risks, for example more frequent and detailed reporting, created further problems. Such practices were found to be 'limiting the utilisation of existing capacity for the actual delivery of programs and services' (2012:20). The solution therefore became part of the problem. Also, while the focus on 'internal' risks was evident, less was being done to address 'external' service delivery risks, for example remoteness and labour market constraints. External risks related to factors that emerge from outside the organisation,

and are beyond the Indigenous organisation's control (2012:23). A more strategic approach from agencies, the ANAO report concluded, would give a greater emphasis on building capacity to address such risks.

If the ANAO review suggests that there is a need for government agencies to consider wider sources of risk, there is arguably a parallel need to consider wider sources of opportunity in Indigenous sector service delivery. The ANAO findings are also relevant to the activities Indigenous organisations themselves might undertake to advance relationships with government and with residents. In this paper, there were various capacity constraints identified for CAT as a service provider and employer, in its relationships with employees and community residents. Data presented has described capacity constraints such as the paucity of end-user knowledge about services; the problem of unmet demand for engagement/communication with service providers; and the need for fostering greater role clarity among residents for MSO employees. These findings point to both 'internal' service delivery risks, as well as 'external' factors beyond CAT's control. But the case study has also identified clear areas of underdeveloped capacity. For example, a priority placed by managers and supervisors on effective communication with both community residents and agency representatives. These factors are organisation and context specific, but point to broader opportunities for capacity development within the sector. That being said, such capacity development would require a highly collaborative and open relationship between government agencies and Indigenous sector organisations, focused on Indigenous organisational capacities, rather than an emphasis on risks and building new mechanisms for compliance.

A recently published Australian Centre for Excellence in Local Government (ACELG) review (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012) of Indigenous service delivery models has specific findings that relate to questions of clarity about roles and relationships. The study reviews local government reforms in the NT that overturned a long-running model of small Indigenous Community Councils. It highlighted the significance of communication and responsiveness to community-level feedback (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012:21). It showed that Indigenous opposition to the reforms emerged not simply because new NT Shire structures removed direct local control over institutions and resources from the local community level, but rather because in doing so reformers had failed to communicate and be responsive to the local level. It argues that consultation about the detail of municipal and other technical service functions may not always be desired by Indigenous community residents. Other studies also suggest that Indigenous community users of services are more focused on service outcomes, rather than engagement about the minutiae of service delivery (Moran et al. 2009). Importantly, this study found that systemic problems with information flows restricted the development of capacity in important service relationships. Therefore, the argument here is not that more consultation about the specific content of service delivery is always required, but rather that more effective communication and responsiveness (and support for employees in this area) needs build into the service delivery model.

This research supports the notion that assumptions about communication and decision making within both Indigenous organisations and Indigenous communities can result in an absence of specific planning. While there is broad support for Indigenous engagement and involvement in service delivery, this research suggests that there may be too little strategic direction as to how Indigenous organisations, and their various levels of employees, will work in *service provider* roles. Perhaps this is to be expected, given Sullivan's (2010; 2011) point that, in comparison with political functions, the service delivery functions of the Indigenous sector have been subject to far less recognition and critical analysis. There are two types of consequences that may follow from Sullivan's analysis: (i) the assumption that

Indigenous organisations naturally derive an approach to service delivery effective for Indigenous people, and hence a failure to provide appropriate support and capacity development; (ii) that different levels of management in Indigenous organisations assume that their Indigenous employees are naturally going to provide an interface with their communities, and not provide adequate support. This paper found some evidence of such assumptions. Approaches probably vary between employees and organisations, but if such assumptions lead to a lack of planning and organisational or employee development in the area of service delivery, then this needs to be addressed in future projects.

Place-based employment and service delivery

This paper has presented information about the development of a particular regional model of Indigenous service delivery and employment in the West Kimberley. Its findings contribute to a broader debate about regional service delivery, and ‘place-based’ approaches to Indigenous service delivery and employment. According to one Commonwealth Government agency definition, ‘The premise underlying the ‘place based’ approach is local level problem definition and response to address a set of circumstances endemic to a place or location for people most vulnerable to the impacts of social exclusion’ (ANAO 2009:55). This approach arguably has particular relevance to remote Indigenous policy because of the primacy of place in Indigenous culture and social life, and because remote Indigenous populations are the most socially excluded group of Australian citizens. ACELG (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012:73-5) have pointed to the importance of ‘place based’ approaches to achieve better governance and funding coordination in delivery of government services to Indigenous communities. This includes ‘innovating to achieve better place-based coordination of the many stakeholders’ (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012:4). The emphasis on the local scale for policy problem definition and response, and stakeholder coordination, is also nominally a significant aspect of the COAG (2008a) agenda for Indigenous policy. Particular examples include Local Implementation Plans, and the Indigenous Coordination Centre model, which, as outlined above, are both significant for the West Kimberley programs developed by CAT.

Findings reported above from interviews with CAT managers and supervisors carry lessons for debates about ‘place based’ service delivery. Most importantly, on the one hand, it was found that managers and supervisors attributed highest value to activities and outcomes that were close to the point of service delivery, and which had concrete, locally visible outcomes. When managers and supervisors assessed the effectiveness of their own actions, work-group morale and feedback from community residents were the most highly rated factors. On the other hand, managers and supervisors placed a lower value on impacts that were perceived as organisationally or spatially distant from the point of service delivery. In these terms, there is an opposition found in management and supervisor responses whereby ‘local’ initiatives are characterised as important and context appropriate, whereas ‘externally’ driven initiatives are characterised as more likely to be ‘generic,’ and therefore of less value.

It could be argued that management and supervisors were focusing on factors that are within their control, and impacts that they could observe. But there was also a marked disconnect with wider organisational objectives which at times led to a piecemeal, tactical approach service delivery. The lesson here, from the place-based policy perspective, is that Indigenous organisations and other service providers need to consider how their own structures, processes, and organisational cultures address the particular spatial dimensions of their service delivery work. The case study is an example of how having field based employees and managers dedicated to local outcomes may be inadequate, if they do not see how their work is connected with wider organisational and funding agency objectives.

Findings in relation to the Indigenous employment dimension of CAT's service delivery program are also relevant to the debate about place-based policy. The case study suggests that connections to place and regional social relations were important factors motivating Indigenous employees working as MSOs. The following points contribute to this conclusion:

1. The opportunity for intra-regional travel connected with work and/or training was an important motivator for participation in MSO employment. It was the factor most consistently mentioned as 'most liked' in connection with the MSO role. It was rated second highest in a list of things that MSOs wanted more of in their role.
2. Intra-regional travel was highly valued as part of employment as it allowed MSOs to experience a variety of work environments and places they wished to visit, and also because it allowed MSOs to pursue widened social relationships within their region.
3. Work arrangements and activities that brought MSOs together as a group—whether in travel as a 'work crew,' or as part of training activities, or work planning—had recognised peer support functions that were desirable and a motivator for MSOs.

These findings suggest that the appeal of place-based work is its association with both valued places and valued social relationships. Therefore, they also suggest that successful place-based work may not be restricted to one place, work based in a single community of residence, for instance. Municipal service delivery grounded employment across regional communities may have been an effective employment strategy, not simply because it emphasised and sought to build on value of the local community scale, but because it resonated with region-level mobility preferences guided by Indigenous social networks. If this is true, place-based approaches to Indigenous employment and services need to draw on the value of local community-level relationships, but equally so be responsive to the wider regional system of economic and social relationships, and Indigenous population mobility, within which community-level relationships are embedded (see Sanders 2008).

This paper has suggested that regional patterns of Indigenous population mobility may be crucial to understanding the incentives for Indigenous involvement in service delivery work. Morphy's (2010) study of Indigenous demography and population mobility in the Fitzroy Valley provides a detailed picture of the wider social context of this case study. Reflecting on government policy and development the Fitzroy Valley, Morphy suggests the following connections between environment, economy, demography, and Indigenous social life:

Population mobility and settlement patterns within the [Fitzroy] Valley can be seen in part as an adaptive contemporary response to the topography and climate of the Valley, and the consequent structure of the Valley's economy. The kin-based nature of the social universe facilitates and patterns mobility, and motivates the location and structure of Valley Settlements. These factors need to be taken into account in considering the future development of the Valley (Morphy 2010:60).

What this confirms is that connections between place and people are a durable part of the regional economy and social order, and as such crucial considerations in policy. The CAT case study also suggests the importance of connections to place and social relationships, in particular as factors in the success of Indigenous employment initiatives. Morphy's conclusions establish that there are broader social and demographic forces that help to account for the results reported here. Following Morphy (2010) but also the others studies of Indigenous mobility driven by access to services (Prout 2008; Prout and Yap 2010; Taylor 2002), what we need to emphasise here is the following: while Indigenous temporary mobility may be viewed as a problem for service providers and may be difficult to measure, it represents something that Indigenous people are actively doing to address their circumstances, and as such should not be regarded simply as a deficit to be overcome.

Several of Morphy's (2010) more specific findings are helpful in understanding the findings of this paper about place-based Indigenous employment. Morphy (2010:57) found that the category of people in the Fitzroy Valley least represented in census data was the 'mobile core' residents: those who counted more than one place within the region as home, and engaged in 'circular' mobility between settlements within the region. She notes that 'By comparison to the core population as a whole, the age structure of mobile core suggests that circular mobility is most characteristic of people in their late teens and early twenties' (2010:58). In other terms, the 'mobile core' are those who have recently moved into the working age group, but remain very mobile within their region. Additionally, Morphy noted that in her household surveys, 'Very few people reported being absent because of work or in pursuit of training or further education' (2010:58). This fits with a picture in which mobility in the domain of work is limited, and those who do have jobs are tied to a particular settlement where they work.

It has been noted that MSOs had a propensity to participate in their employment that was positively linked to travel with peers, as part of work and/or training. The evidence presented here, especially regarding the 'work crew' model of service delivery, arguably shows the potential that models of employment and service delivery can work with, rather than against, contemporary Indigenous demography and population mobility. It may also be that the work arrangements reviewed revisit older models of remote Indigenous employment, with a long history of such arrangements from the pastoral industry, to remote civil construction work, and other seasonal rural labour. This historical connection is more plausible given this case study relates to male employment in municipal services delivery. Morphy's data and discussion provide further evidence for why municipal service delivery models that promote travel as part of work might be an effective mechanism for promoting economic participation among younger Indigenous male cohorts. Such service and employment models may create work more congruent with the 'orbits' of these individuals. The significance of place for Indigenous people—both cultural connections to place and social relationships and networks tied to place—needs to be approached from the standpoint of contemporary patterns of Indigenous population mobility and social networks. Therefore, when it comes to place-based policy approaches, these need to be informed not simply by general notions about Indigenous values of and connections to place, but by understanding the specific dynamics of how Indigenous people use or wish to use the places and regions where they live.

The literature on place-based approaches to Indigenous employment makes a clear case for more extensive Indigenous involvement in government service delivery and other areas. Part of this argument is about enhancing Indigenous wellbeing, and part is about the national interest of fostering a sustainable remote workforce. The Local Government Indigenous Employment Program Green Paper (ACELG 2010) articulates one of its key objectives as follows: 'To provide secure and sustainable 'place-based' employment opportunities to Indigenous people.' Another ambitious plan to link 'place-based' approaches to government service delivery has advocated service delivery through 'place-based social enterprises,' to be 'located in the remote community or region that [the enterprise] services' (APONT 2011:9). These 'social enterprises' would be 'contracted by government...to be the single provider of integrated remote participation and employment servicing arrangements at the local level' (APONT 2011:9). The aim of such strategies is to unlock maximum opportunity for Indigenous people in a category of employment that will provide ongoing work in their own communities. They also suggest that regional delivery may be an important dimension of place-based service delivery.

Factors linked to place present a range of advantages to be fostered in projects of Indigenous employment and development. The Commonwealth's Indigenous Economic Development Strategy 2010-12 lists numerous place-related factors conducive to Indigenous economic development and employment: 'land holdings,' 'associated resources,' 'strong social networks,' and 'tradition and cultural knowledge' are listed among the areas of Indigenous 'competitive advantage' (Australian Government 2010:7). Altman (2011:5) contributes a further assessment, arguing that the Government strategy supports his view that Indigenous people are best placed to efficiently deliver remote services, including in natural resource management, and that these should be supported as a development opportunity. This is a key rationale for government support of Indigenous involvement in livelihoods connected with land management (Davies et. al 2010). Also, as indicated in recent research on remote livelihoods, resilience is promoted by fostering intersections between social networks and livelihoods, and this has been observed for remote Indigenous and non-Indigenous workers alike (Davis and Maru 2010). If place-based approaches to work involve livelihoods that enhance and support the social connections and networks that are valued by Indigenous people, it may be that they will contribute to sustainable employment and service delivery.

From a remote Indigenous perspective, there is a clear alignment between demand for a remote workforce—in remote government services, management of remote environments, in the resource and tourism sectors, among others—and attachment to remote locations where labour is in short supply. Indigenous residence in remote regions is an opportunity to develop a remote workforce and to improve Indigenous wellbeing. But to achieve this, there is arguably a need to broaden the focus of what is possible in place-based work. Natural resource management work has rightly received significant public attention as an employment option for remote Indigenous populations. What needs to be countered is the idea that place-based work is about highly localised, static relationships to individual sites and single-community networks of kin. The CAT case study has shown that a range of types of work may offer opportunities for meaningful work within regional 'orbits.'

Discussions of regional approaches to employment and service delivery have often emphasised Indigenous political-factional divides within Indigenous regions. In the Indigenous sector literature, the tensions between 'regionalism' and 'localism' have been a key preoccupation (Rowse 2005). The focus has therefore been on political sources of fission. Sanders (2008) has written about the tension between regionalism and localism in Indigenous governance and service delivery, calling for forms of regionalism that build on rather than reject Indigenous localism. Regional service delivery is clearly not an across the board solution. For instance, the ACELG (Limerick, Morris and Sutton 2012) review of government service delivery models for Indigenous communities cites reforms that sought cost efficiencies through regionalising service delivery, but did so in ways that undermined local ownership of services and governance capacity. Moran and Elvin (2009) use the concept of 'subsidiarity' to argue that governance and service functions should be devolved to an appropriate level that does not exceed the capacity of actors at that level. To some extent, the CAT approach to service delivery with its dual focus on settlement-level MSOs and the regionally coordinated 'work crew,' is a model that attempted to bridge the tensions of localism and regionalism, and to assign functions to an appropriate scale. In this paper, responses from community residents and community council members showed that the success was mixed from the perspective of service capacity. Yet, at the same time, it was found to be a relative success from an employee perspective. What if service capacity outcomes are in tension with employment outcomes? This is an important question, if it is the case that regional approaches to service delivery are desirable for some groups of Indigenous workers.

More understanding is required about the models of employment and service delivery that build on the forms of regional integration that are already occurring in places like the Fitzroy Valley. Morphy (2010) explicitly recognises the forms of regional integration constituted by Indigenous mobility circuits (see also Taylor and Bell 2004, Prout 2008; Prout and Yap 2010). In a case study of the Northern Territory's Haasts Bluff Land Trust, Holcombe observed that transport and mobility were contributing to forms of regional integration, 'allowing inter-regional networks to develop through ceremony and sports carnivals' (2004:13). While Holcombe was appropriately cautious in her assessment of the implications of Indigenous regionalism for service delivery, she notes that 'there is potential and capacity within Indigenous socio-political networks for a web of relations wider than the purely local' (2004:13-14; see also Sanders 2001). It may be worthwhile to explore further the parallels between work-based intra-regional travel observed in this research, and the types of regional connections based on social, sporting and ceremonial activities (Peterson 2000), or even service-seeking mobility of remote Indigenous people. While there are clearly no guarantees that informal networks could be leveraged for service delivery, this does not diminish the policy importance of mobility arising from Indigenous social networks and community events. If work can enhance and support the social connections and networks that are so valued by Indigenous people in the Fitzroy Valley and elsewhere, in that regard it may be more likely to succeed on a sustainable basis.

Conclusion

Taking the lead from debates about the history and functions of Indigenous sector organisations, this paper has discussed the significance of a range of relationships between actors within the sector. It has focused on particular relationships linked to service delivery roles. The case study presented in this paper illustrates some key issues facing Indigenous sector service delivery and Indigenous employment. It revealed central issues faced by the Indigenous sector in building its capacity to deliver services and in retaining and developing its workforce. Those administering Indigenous programs at various levels have a solid awareness of the types of capacity constraints to service delivery demonstrated above: in particular geography/remoteness, service role clarity, community engagement, and service expectations. The findings presented in this paper also capture Indigenous community member and Indigenous employee perspectives, and points to the importance of service providers engaging with and being responsive to such perspectives.

This paper has made two key findings about remote service delivery and Indigenous employment. Its first finding was that the character of relationships linking different actors in the chain of remote service delivery, were a key determinant of service delivery capacity on the ground. Two main factors were found to be critical in building successful service delivery relationships. Firstly, the extent to which each actor understands their role, and the degree of mutual understanding of roles among actors involved in service delivery. Secondly, the capacity of actors to exchange information and knowledge between each other, both about the nature of roles and the activities roles are assigned. Knowledge of roles and capacity to exchange information were of central importance to a range of actors consulted in the case study presented. Yet it was also found that actors interacting in the relationships of service delivery often have disparate views of their roles and capacities, and about what constitutes effectiveness in the service delivery relationship. Moreover, unhelpful assumptions about the capacities of Indigenous employees or organisations may at times be limiting a franker and more strategic approach improved relationships and service capacity. The implication is not that ever more detailed consultation about the specific content of service delivery is required,

but rather that more effective communication and responsiveness between all actors needs to be built into any remote service delivery model.

As a second key finding, this paper showed how a ‘place-based’ employment model with both local community-based and regional dimensions was a desirable option for Indigenous workers, contributing to service delivery capacity and Indigenous employment outcomes. Notably, the model of place-based work investigated involved both single community workers and regional ‘work crews.’ It was found that the opportunity for intra-regional travel connected with work and/or training was a motivator for ongoing Indigenous participation in municipal services employment. This model of ‘place-based’ employment may have been effective because, while being mindful of connections of Indigenous employees their own country or community, it also resonated with region-level mobility patterns guided by Indigenous social networks. This finding came from an effort to understand the wider regional system of service delivery, employment relations, and Indigenous population mobility within which community-level service relationships are embedded. Place needs to be considered more strategically as a motivator for Indigenous sector employees, and in relation to work process. The findings of social and demographic research about changing patterns of mobility or relations to place may also be important guides to designing employment models in different regions of remote Australia.

This paper indicates some key challenges for policy and government agencies involved in remote Indigenous service delivery: how to engage with service providers in ways that both ensure quality and build service provider capacity over time; and how to promote greater involvement of residents as stakeholders and employees. At the same time, it highlights challenges for Indigenous sector service providers: how to ensure appropriate communication and feedback from residents; and how to support, retain, and develop employees. It is arguable that many limitations of policy research that address the risks and opportunities of Indigenous service delivery actually stem from the dual role of the Indigenous sector, as Sullivan has identified, on the one hand as a political force and on the other as a service provider. Relationships are not simply an issue of local politics, they are an issue of service capacity. At the agency level, there may be background assumptions about organic engagement practices that are still restricting Indigenous sector service delivery. There is recognition in policy analysis that government agencies have an important part to play in developing Indigenous sector capacity to effectively interface with government agency systems, and to do so in ways that go beyond enforcement of compliance. There may be a parallel argument that they can further assist in promoting capacity in service delivery relationships with residents. Most importantly, the questions and challenges here are not only about the relationship between Indigenous organisations and government; there are many others about how Indigenous organisations address their own strategic direction as service providers, and their relationships with their constituents and/or service residents.

The case study does provide evidence about some key considerations in the design of service delivery approaches and Indigenous employment programs. Moreover, it identifies some factors of an approach to bridging the divide between regional and local scales that bedevils many remote service delivery programs. A range of research has made a very convincing case for both the need to take regional factors seriously, and to engage with the existing sources of cohesion within a region. This may include looking more closely at Indigenous sector approaches to place-based service delivery, and to partnerships with local government, which have long been discussed and advocated by researchers of the Indigenous sector. Clearly, these strategies bear closer examination, perhaps also because they reflect what

Indigenous people are already doing to address their circumstances, and advance their interests in working on and orbiting through their traditional estates.

References Cited

Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory [APONT] 2011. Funding the Jobs Gap: A proposal for a new Community Employment and Enterprise Development Scheme (CEEDS) for regional and remote Indigenous Australia. Available at:
<http://www.amsant.org.au/documents/article/154/101001-APO%20NT-CEEDS%20Paper.pdf>

Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government [ACELG]. 2010. Indigenous Employment Program Green Paper 2010—Closing the Gap through Place-Based Employment. Available at:
<http://www.acelg.org.au/upload/LG%20IEP%20Green%20Paper%202010.pdf>

Altman, J. 2011. Alternate development for Indigenous territories of difference. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. CAEPR Topical Issue No. 5/2011. Available at:
http://caepr.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/Publications/topical/TI2011_5_Altman_Ind_Terr_Diffnce.pdf

Australian Government. 2009. Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage: Key Indicators 2009. Productivity Commission, Melbourne. Available at:
<http://www.pc.gov.au/gsp/reports/indigenous/keyindicators2009>

Australian Government. 2010. Indigenous Economic Development Strategy 2010-12. Available at: www.resources.fahcsia.gov.au/IEDS/Action_Plan_IEDS_v2.pdf

Australian Government. 2011. Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage: Key Indicators 2009. Productivity Commission, Melbourne. Available at:
<http://www.pc.gov.au/gsp/reports/indigenous/key-indicators-2011>

Australian Government. 2012. Closing the Gap Prime Minister's Report 2012. Available at:
http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/sa/indigenous/pubs/closing_the_gap/Documents/closing_the_gap_2012.PDF

Australian National Audit Office [ANAO]. 2009. Innovation in the Public Sector: Enabling Better Performance, Driving New Directions. Available at:
<http://www.anao.gov.au/bpg-innovation/pdf/BPG-Innovation.pdf>

Australian National Audit Office [ANAO] 2011. Indigenous Employment in Government Service Delivery. ANAO Audit Report No.4 2011–12. Available at:
<http://www.anao.gov.au/~media/Uploads/Audit%20Reports/2011%2012/201112%20Audit%20Report%20no4.pdf>

Australian National Audit Office [ANAO]. 2012. Capacity Development for Indigenous Service Delivery Audit Report No.26 2011–12. Available at:
<http://www.anao.gov.au/~media/Uploads/Audit%20Reports/2011%2012/201112%20Audit%20Report%20No26.pdf>

Betts, A. 2011. Few last in remote jobs. NT News, July 12, 2011. Available at:
http://www.ntnews.com.au/article/2011/07/12/246671_ntnews.html

Centre for Appropriate Technology [CAT]. 2011. Strategic Plan. Alice Springs: Centre for Appropriate Technology. Available at:
<http://www.icat.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/catstrategicplan2010/index.html>

Council of Australian Governments [COAG]. 2008a. National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery. Available at:
<http://ntshelter.org.au/uploads/Remote%20Serv%20Del%20NP.pdf>

COAG. Council of Australian Governments [COAG]. 2008b. National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Economic Participation. Available at:
http://www.dfeest.sa.gov.au/Portals/1/Documents/policies/COAG%20National%20Partnership%20Agreement%20on%20Indigenous%20Economic%20Participation_2008-09%20to%202012-13.pdf

Davies, J., Campbell D., Campbell, M., Douglas, J., Hueneke, H., LaFlamme, M., Preuss, K., Walker, J., and Walsh, F., 2010. Livelihoods inLand: promoting health and wellbeing outcomes from desert Aboriginal land management. DKCRC Report 78. Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre, Alice Springs.

Davies, J., and Maru, Y. (2010). Living to work or working to live: intercultural understanding of livelihoods. *Dialogue* 29, 18–37.

De Groot, H. 1988. Decentralization Decisions in Bureaucracies as Principal-Agent Problem. *Journal of Public Economics* 36: 323-337.

Finlayson, J. 1997 Service Provision and Service Providers in a remote Queensland Community. CAEPR Discussion Paper 133. Canberra: CAEPR, Australian National University.

Fisher, S., Elvin, R. McFallan, S., Memmott, P., O'Rourke, T., Peter, S., Porter, R., Stanley, O., Sullivan, P., Tedmanson, D., and Young, M. 2011. Desert Services That Work: Demand-responsive approaches to desert settlements. Alice Springs: Desert Knowledge CRC.

Holcombe, S. 2004. Socio-political perspectives on localism and regionalism in the Pintupi Luritja region of central Australia: Implications for service delivery and governance. CAEPR: CAEPR Working Paper No. 25/2004.

Limerick, M., Morris, R. and Sutton, M. 2012. Local Government Service Delivery to Remote Indigenous Communities: Review of service delivery models and approaches in various jurisdictions. Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government. Available at:
http://www.acelg.org.au/upload/program5/1337742323_LG_Service_Delivery_to_Remote_Indigenous_Communities.pdf

Martin, D. and Finlayson, J. 1996. *Linking Accountability and Selfdetermination in Aboriginal Organisations*. CAEPR Discussion Paper 116. Canberra: CAEPR, Australian National University

Martin, D. 2003. *Rethinking the Design of Indigenous Organisations: the Need for Strategic Engagement*. CAEPR Discussion Paper 248. Canberra: CAEPR, Australian University Press.

Moran, M., and Elvin, R. 2009. Coping with complexity: Adaptive governance in desert Australia. *GeoJournal*, 74 5: 415-428

Moran, M., Anda, M., Elvin, R., Kennedy, A., Long, S., McFallan, S., McGrath, N., Memmott, P., Mulgan, R., Stanley, O., Sullivan, P., Tedmanson, D., Wright, A. and Young, M. 2009. Desert Services That Work: Year One Research Report. DKCRC Working Paper 30. Alice Springs: Desert Knowledge CRC.

Morphy, F. 2010. Population, people and place: The Fitzroy Valley population project. CAEPR Working Paper 70/2010. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. Available at: <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/Publications/WP/CAEPRWP70.pdf>

Pearson, N. 2005. The Cape York Agenda – ‘fundamental transformation through radical reform.’ Cairns, Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership. Available at: <http://www.pdfio.com/k-1314712.html#>

Peterson, N. 2000. An Expanding Aboriginal Domain: Mobility and the Initiation Journey. *Oceania* 70(3): 205–218.

Peterson, N. and Taylor, J. 2003. The modernising of the Indigenous domestic moral economy: Kinship, accumulation and household composition. *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 4(1): 105-122.

Productivity Commission. 2010. Contribution of the Not-for-Profit Sector. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/94548/not-for-profit-report.pdf

Prout, S. 2008. On the move? Indigenous temporary mobility practices in Australia. CAEPR Working Paper No. 48. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

Prout, S. and Yap, M. 2010. Indigenous temporary mobilities and service delivery in regional service centres: A West Kimberley case study. CAEPR Working Paper 66. Available at: <http://caepr.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/Publications/WP/CAEPRWP66.pdf>

Rowse, T. 2002. *Indigenous futures: choice and development for Aboriginal and Islander Australia* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Rowse T. 2005. The Indigenous sector. In Austin-Broos D and Macdonald G (Eds.) *Culture, economy and governance in Aboriginal Australia*. Academy of the Social Sciences and the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney Press, pp.207–223

Sanders, W. 2008. Regionalism that Respects Localism: The Anmatjere Community Government Council and Beyond. In J Hunt, D E Smith, S Garling & W Sanders (eds.), *Contested Governance Culture, Power and Institutions in Indigenous Australia*. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

Sanders, W. 2002. Towards an Indigenous order of Australian Government: Rethinking self-determination as Indigenous affairs policy. CAEPR Discussion Paper 230. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

Sanders, W. 2001. A regional CDEP for four remote communities? Papunya, Ikuntji, Watiyawanu and Walungurru. CAEPR Discussion Paper 224. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

Steers, R. 1975. Problems in the Measurement of Organizational Effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 20(4):546-558.

Stufflebeam, D. 2001. Evaluation Models. *New Directions for Evaluation* 89: 7–98.

Sullivan, P. 2010. The Aboriginal community sector and the effective delivery of services: Acknowledging the role of Indigenous sector organisations. DKCRC Working Paper 73, Desert Knowledge CRC, Alice Springs. Accessed March 29 2011 at: <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research/people/documents/DKCRC-Working-paper-73.pdf>

Sullivan, P. 2011. *Belonging together: Dealing with the politics of disenchantment in Australian Indigenous affairs policy*. Acton, A.C.T: Aboriginal Studies Press

Taylor, J. 2002. The spatial context of Indigenous service delivery. CAEPR Working Paper No. 16/2002. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

Taylor, J. 2006. Indigenous people in the West Kimberley labour market. CAEPR Working Paper 35. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. Available at: <http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/working.php>

Taylor, J. 2008. Indigenous Labour Supply Constraints in the West Kimberley. CAEPR Working Paper 39. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

Taylor, J. and Bell, M. 2004. Continuity and change in Indigenous Australian population mobility. In John Taylor and Martin Bell (eds.), *Population Mobility and Indigenous Peoples in Australia and North America*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.13–43.

Tiplady, T. and Barclay, MA. 2006. Indigenous Employment in the Australian Minerals Industry. Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining, University of Queensland. http://www.csr.m.uq.edu.au/docs/CSRM%20Report_FINAL%20TO%20PRINT_singles.pdf

Walsh, F. and Davies, J. 2010. *Our Work is about Learning, Colleagues, Culture and Place: Aboriginal employment at the Alice Springs Desert Park*. DKCRC Report No 72. Ninti One Limited, Alice Springs. Available at: http://www.alicespringsdesertpark.com.au/about/documents/walsh_report_asdp.pdf