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‘Which Way Australia’s Rainforest Culture’: Valuing the Values - Economic Development and Sustainable Livelihoods

Discussion paper about Rainforest Aboriginal peoples’ aspirations for economic development and sustainable livelihoods related to the cultural values of the Wet Tropics region and World Heritage Area

Compiled by Jim Turnour with and on behalf of the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples and the Cultural Values Project Steering Committee

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The Cultural Values Project Steering Committee managing the project and this research inquiry comprised core partners: the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance represented through key organisations and core leadership, The Cairns Institute and James Cook University, and CSIRO. Enquiries should be addressed to WetTropicsBama@gmail.com

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Abbreviations Used in This Report

ARC	Aboriginal Rainforest Council (2005-2008), preceded by the Interim Negotiating Team (2001-2005)
CHB	Cultural Heritage Bodies, formally recognised under the Queensland Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act, 2003
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
GBRMPA	Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority
ILUA	Indigenous Land Use Agreement
IPAs	Indigenous Protected Areas
JCU	James Cook University
NERP	National Environmental Research Program (2011-2015), Australian Government
NESP	National Environmental Science Program (2016-2021), Australian Government
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NRM	Natural Resource Management
PM&C	Australian Government Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet
RAP	Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples
RAPA	Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance (2009-2015)
RNTBC	Registered Native Title Body Corporate, sometimes known as PBCs, Prescribed Body Corporates formally recognised under the Native Title Act 1993
TO	Traditional Owner
TTNQ	Tourism Tropical North Queensland
WHA	World Heritage Area
WTMA	Wet Tropics Management Authority
WTQWHA	Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area



Wet Tropics World Heritage Area and Rainforest Aboriginal tribal groups Source: Above left: WTMA. (n.d.) *World Heritage Area – facts and figures*. <http://www.wettropics.gov.au/world-heritage-area-facts-and-figures.html> Source: Above right: RAPA (2014)

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1. Executive Summary

This discussion paper is designed to progress Rainforest Aboriginal peoples' (RAP) aspirations for economic development and sustainable livelihoods based on the Wet Tropics region's cultural and natural values (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2012). These values contribute more than \$2.7 billion annually to the regional economy through tourism, management and research (Deloitte Access Economics, 2013; Esparon, 2013). Very little of this economic benefit flows to RAP, despite their central role in the expression, ownership and management of these values.

In developing this discussion paper, The Project Steering Committee agreed a sustainable livelihoods analytical lens (Appendix 1) be applied to the Wet Tropics region as part of a place-based approach to economic and livelihoods development. Data analysed included key informant interviews and workshops with RAP and key stakeholders, searches of scholarly and grey literature and demographic information.

The analysis identified six broad areas where there are opportunities for further economic development and livelihood outcomes based on the region's cultural and natural values. These include:

1. **Cultural and Environmental Governance.** Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUAs) and regional Natural Resource Management (NRM) plans detail Traditional Owners' (TOs) rights and responsibilities in the governance of these regional values. The current governance frameworks, however, fail to recognise and effectively resource the involvement of TOs.
2. **Cultural and Environmental Management** including expanding Indigenous Projected Areas (IPAs), Ranger and Culture and Heritage Ranger government and philanthropic programs, and commercial services in managing and protecting these values.
3. **Community Development** employment and business opportunities through the operation of the 80 Traditional Owner (TO) legal entities in Wet Tropics country, provision of community infrastructure, housing, etc.
4. **Business and Enterprise Development** including in areas such as tourism, culture and heritage and native title services, natural resource management contracting and construction.
5. **Research and Education** building on the significant investments in these areas in the Wet Tropics and the role of Aboriginal people in building knowledge and public awareness about the region's values.
6. **Royalties and Levies** that ensure that those gaining private benefit from the region's natural and cultural values are contributing to their protection and management, e.g., a tourism levy.

Realising these economic development and livelihood outcomes requires significant reform and strengthening of the region's complex governance system, inclusive of Indigenous governance systems. There is currently little strategic engagement by RAP in the broader, government-led governance and management of the region's environmental and cultural values. This is still the case despite a series of RAP regional groups seeking, for over thirty years, support from governments to achieve these aspirations since the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area (WTQWHA) listing of the region in 1988. There is a need to look anew at how RAP can effectively engage in the governance and management of the region to strengthen the overall governance system. This is discussed in more detail in the Managing the Region for Cultural Values' Working Group Discussion Paper (Cultural Values Project Steering Committee [CVPSC], 2016).

It is estimated that there are 80 Traditional Owner legal entities in the Wet Tropics region including 18 Registered Native Title Body Corporates (RNTBCs) and 18 Land Trusts which hold rights and interests in up to 80% of the Wet Tropics region (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2013a). Securing rights and access to lands and realising economic and livelihood opportunities from Country and culture relies on these organisations having strong governance and access to enabling resources. Consequently, there is a need to strengthen the core capabilities of these 80 legal entities particularly the RNTBCs and Land Trusts to support RAP engagement with these opportunities for successful economic development and livelihood outcomes (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2013b; Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2014; 2015).

Strengthening World Heritage Area (WHA) governance and the capabilities of RAP organisations is central to supporting other economic development and livelihood strategies including:

- The strengthening of WHA management
- Direct investment in enterprise development
- A sustainable funding model for land and sea management
- Ecosystem services markets
- Regional frameworks around culture and heritage consulting and business accreditation services
- Research and education services and support for community development.

Resourcing and implementing these strategies would go a long way to overcoming the barriers and putting in place enablers identified by RAP during this project consultations (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015).

Realising these livelihood outcomes and implementing these strategies, however, requires building further partnerships with governments, philanthropists and developing commercial partnerships. Developing these opportunities is the central purpose of this paper.

2. Background

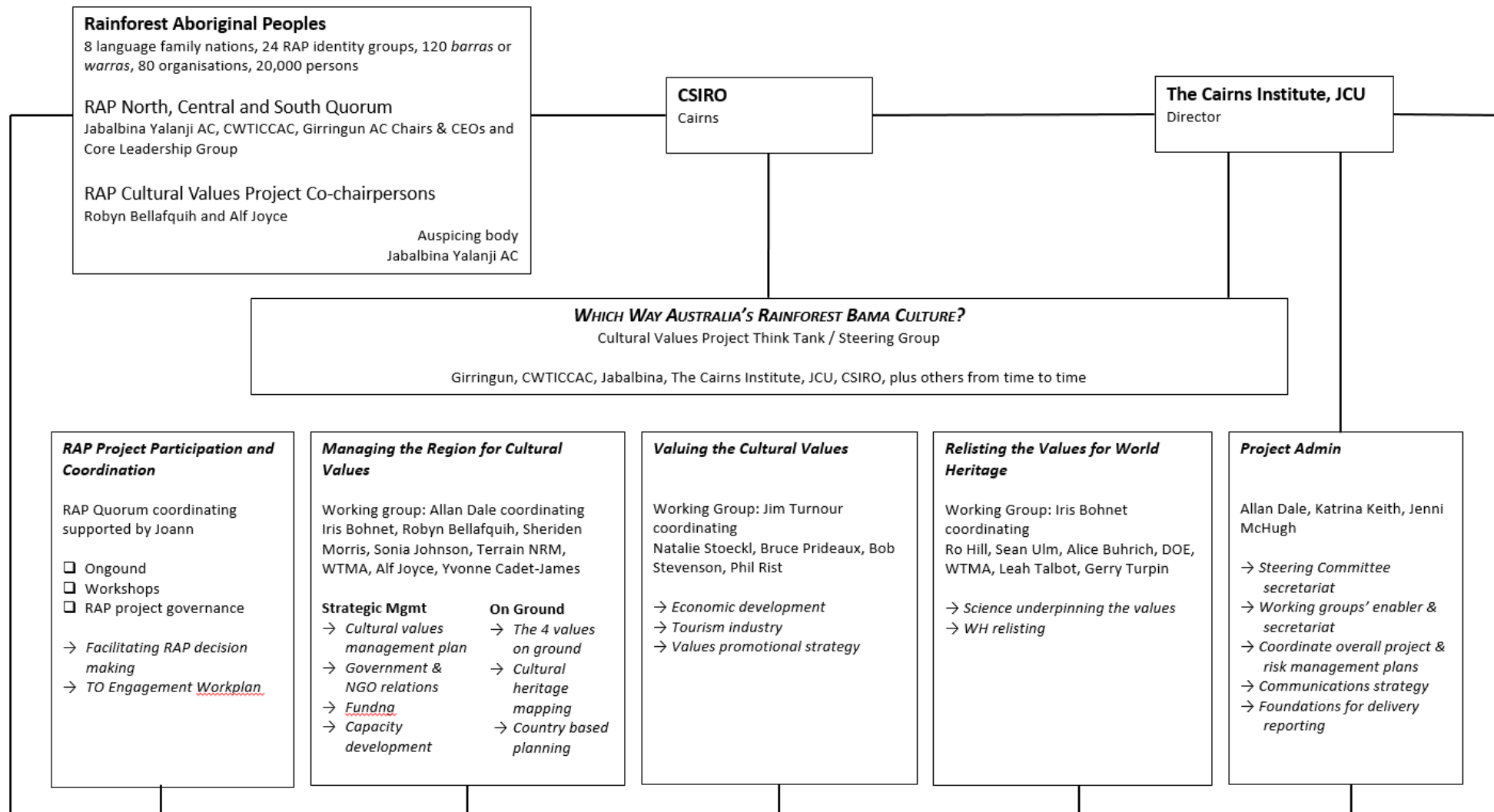
The Wet Tropics region is an Aboriginal domain stretching over 500km along the north Queensland coast between Townsville and Cooktown (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2012). Over two-hundred generations of Traditional Owners have been nurtured by, maintained relationship with and upheld custodial responsibility for Country. TO practices have shaped the Wet Tropics landscapes through their use of fire (Hill, Griggs, & Bamanga Bubu Ngadimunku Incorporated, 2000) and other practices (Hill & Baird, 2003; Horsfall, 1987). The important role that Rainforest Aboriginal peoples play in the Wet Tropics was recognised in the legislation establishing the World Heritage Area (*Wet Tropics World Heritage Protection and Management Act 1993*). Since then, native title determinations including Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUAs) have been finalised for the majority of the Wet Tropics, and this, together with cultural heritage legislation, provide legislative base for specific Aboriginal rights and interests within the region.

Since 1988, when the region's natural values were World Heritage listed, Rainforest Aboriginal peoples have been actively seeking a stronger role in the region's management. As outlined in the Managing the Region for Cultural Values' Working Group Discussion Paper (CVPSC, 2016) a range of regional groups along the 25 year continuum including the Rainforest Aboriginal Network (RAN, 1992-1994), Bama Wabu (1995-2001), the Aboriginal Negotiating Team (2002-2004) and The Aboriginal Rainforest Council (ARC, 2005-2008) have supported RAP to pursue these aspirations. The Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance (RAPA, 2009-2015) continued in this tradition acting as a regional network with the support of many Rainforest Aboriginal groups.

In a culmination of these processes, the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance was successful in 2012 in having the earlier Aboriginal Rainforest Council's work in follow up to Bama Wabu's recommendation for the WTQWHA to be recognised for its Aboriginal cultural values become reality with the Minister's inscription on the National Heritage List. With the support of The Cairns Institute at James Cook University (JCU), RAPA was also successful in securing \$250,000 in funding from the Australian Government Indigenous Heritage Program for the 3-year (2012-2015) Cultural Values Project 'Which Way Australia's Rainforest Bama Culture?' The overall aim of the project was to confirm, maintain and promote the Wet Tropics region's outstanding and significant cultural heritage values and to explore relisting of the Wet Tropics WHA for its cultural values. To achieve this aim, RAPA worked in collaboration with The Cairns Institute and CSIRO and other significant regional partners. The Project Steering Committee, established at the beginning of the project, guided and oversaw the project. Three closely linked working groups, also established at the beginning of the project, were responsible for many of the deliverables (refer Figure 1).

This discussion paper has been produced by the Valuing the Values Working Group and identifies a range of issues that need to be addressed by RAP in partnership with government and the private sector to see more of the economic benefits being generated from the Wet Tropics WHA flow to RAP. "Valuing the values" raises several broader concepts, such as promoting the cultural values, education for residents and visitors about the cultural values, and mutual benefits for multiple parties including business from the cultural and natural values. These are not included in this paper which focuses on identifying economic and livelihood opportunities for RAP.

Figure 1. “Which Way Australia’s Rainforest Culture” Project Governance and Implementation Framework



3. Introduction

This discussion paper is designed to progress RAP aspirations for economic development and sustainable livelihoods based on the Wet Tropics region's cultural and natural values. These values contribute more than \$2.7 billion annually to the regional economy through tourism, management and research (Deloitte Access Economics, 2013; Esparon, 2013). Very little of this economic benefit flows to RAP, despite their central role in the expression, ownership and management of these values.

This reflects what has been described as an asymmetric disconnect between the mainstream economy and Indigenous peoples because of the relatively small number of RAP engaged in business and employment (Stoeckl, Esparon, Farr, Delisle & Stanley, 2013). RAP, therefore, derive very little economic benefit from sectors like tourism, while income and investments made by RAP flow quickly to non-Indigenous businesses and employees who supply products and services.

This paper identifies opportunities to expand RAP engagement in the economy creating businesses, enterprises and employment based on the region's cultural and natural values. If this is to be achieved, there is a need for reform of the governance of the Wet Tropics WHA and the implementation of a range of other strategies. RAP have been fighting for greater involvement in the management of the Wet Tropics WHA since its establishment in 1988. They have made it clear during this project and extensive consultations in the development of the regional Cultural and Natural Resource Management Plan that environmental and cultural values and management cannot be separated (Larsen & Pannell, 2006; Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015).

"It is also the intention of the Parliament to acknowledge the significant contribution Aboriginal people can make to the future management of cultural and natural heritage within the Area, particularly through joint management agreements."

Preamble of the Wet Tropics World Heritage Protection and Management Act 1993

The Australian and Queensland Governments have recognised these rights and aspirations through acts of parliament (e.g., *Heritage Protection and Management Act 1993* and *Nature Conservation Act 1992*), regional plans and agreements (e.g., Wet Tropics Cultural and Natural Resource Management Plan, 2005; Wet Tropics Regional Agreement, 2005) and through a series of native title determinations and Indigenous Land Use Agreements (e.g., Yalanji ILUAs). The Australian Government has supported the establishment of IPAs covering at least half of the Wet Tropics bio-region and it provides some support for the management of these areas through funding coordinators and rangers on a contractual basis.

There is, however, limited strategic engagement of RAP in the management or economy of the Wet Tropics WHA at all scales. This discussion paper explores why this is the case by building on the considerable work already undertaken. In doing so, it is part of a broader project seeking to reengage governments with RAP to achieve World Heritage listing of the region for its cultural values. This would be a hollow achievement, however, if there were not meaningful engagement of RAP in the management of these values and the economy of the region, which is the main focus of this paper.

4. The Wet Tropics Region

The Wet Tropics region referred to in this discussion paper is defined by the traditional estates of the 20 Traditional Owner tribal groups across three broad sub-regions including **Northern:** Eastern Kuku Yalanji, Western Yalanji; **Central:** Djabugay, Gunggandji, Mamu, Mbabaram, Muluridji, NgadjonJii, Yidinji and Yirrganydj; and **Southern:** Bandjin, Djiru, Girramay, Gugu-Badhun, Gulnay, Jirrbal, Nwaigi, Warrgamay, Warungu and Wulugurukaba (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2012).

The region stretches from south of Cooktown to just north of Townsville and aligns closely with the boundaries of the Wet Tropics WHA (Figure 2). It has exceptional cultural and natural values and high economic importance (McDonald & Weston, 2004; Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2012). These values, combined with the neighbouring Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area underpin the regional economy with tourism being the major economic driver and largest industry (Deloitte Access Economics, 2013).

Within the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage listed area there is a wide range of land tenures including national parks, state forests, freehold (private) land and a range of leases over public land. Only 7% of the region is freehold with the vast majority of 88% in national parks, forests and reserves. The majority of this area has had successful native title determinations over it, or is the subject of native title claim. The research and management of these World Heritage natural values and nationally listed cultural values provide both economic opportunities and threats. Their management creates jobs while their protection restricts development.

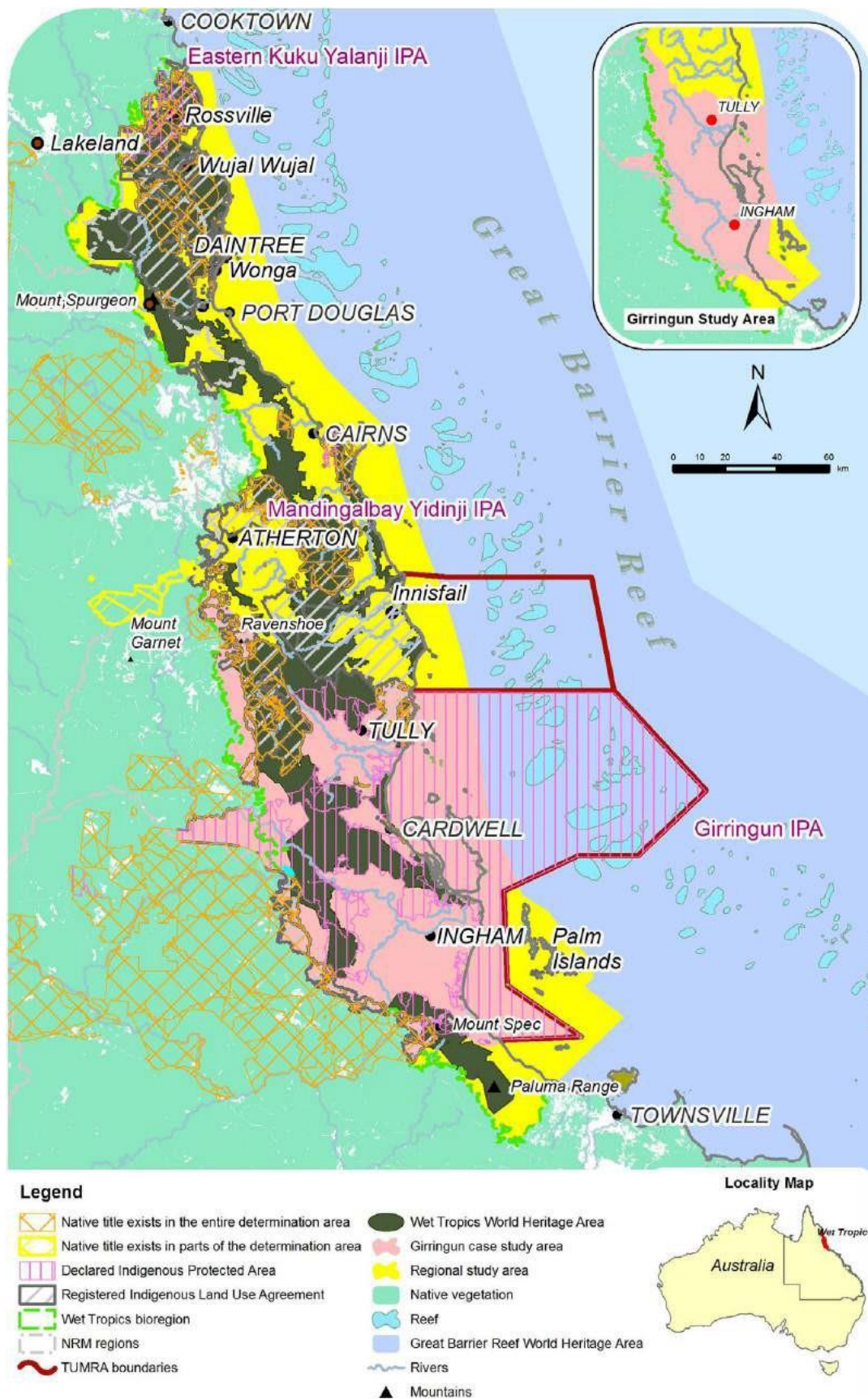


Figure 2. Wet Tropics culture, environment and natural resource management zones

Source: Pert et al (2015)

5. Methodology

The discussion paper is informed through extensive analysis of scholarly and grey literature, key informant interviews, RAP Summits and Steering Committee and Working Group Workshops. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Appendix 1) is used as an analytical lens to analyse the data and identify economic and livelihood outcomes and strategies. The framework is applied to the Wet Tropics region as defined by RAP (Figure 2), taking a place-based approach to regional development (Barca, McCann, & Rodríguez-Pose, 2012). The approach highlighted the importance of the economic development context and governance and institutions to the ability of Indigenous people to turn assets into opportunities for economic development and sustainable livelihoods.

6. Valuing the Values – Economic and Livelihood Opportunities

Traditionally Indigenous economic development policy has been focused around businesses development and mainstream employment. The livelihoods analysis (Appendix 1), however, focuses on the asset base RAP have available to support development and the importance of institutions both formal and informal in mediating development. This highlights a broader range of economic opportunities and barriers to development based on the region's environmental and cultural values.

Six broad areas are identified through the analysis including: Cultural and Environmental Governance; Cultural and Environmental Management; Community Development; Business and Enterprise Development; Research; and Education and Royalties and levies (Table 2Table 1.

Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Valuing the Cultural Values' economic development and livelihood opportunities

). These areas leverage RAP's competitive advantages to create employment and livelihood opportunities based on the region's natural and cultural values.

1. Cultural and Environmental Governance provide significant natural and cultural values related opportunities for expanding RAP employment and livelihoods. Native title determinations create opportunities for RAP to assert their rights to their own governance and the management of their Ancestral lands through ILUAs. ILUAs require governments and the private sector to engage with TOs where they wish to undertake certain activities on native title lands. The duty of care provisions within the *Queensland Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act 2003* provides a further basis for RAP involvement in the governance and protection of Aboriginal cultural heritage. RNTBCs and Cultural Heritage Bodies (CHBs), however, are not effectively resourced to manage these legislated functions and often lack the governance capacity to exert and capitalise on these rights.

To secure these Valuing the Values-related opportunities, there is a need to strengthen the regional governance system including the governance of Aboriginal organisations and the relationship with the Wet Tropics Management Authority (WTMA). This requires long-term investment in TO institutions and a commitment to implementing appropriate cultural protocols for the management of the region's natural and cultural values. Were this to occur, this would create significant new employment opportunities within RNTBCs in environmental and cultural values management and administration. This could be resourced through a combination of core institutional funding, a user pays schedule of fees for certain activities and/or a visitor levy. These different investment opportunities need to be further investigated and developed.

2. Cultural and Environmental Management is an area where natural and cultural values-related livelihoods can be further developed. There are already investments in this area through IPAs and ranger programs (e.g., Working on Country, Queensland Environment Heritage Rangers). These investments are based on competitive grant funding. The capacity of individual TO organisations to write and manage a grant influences these investments. This encourages competition between local groups for limited resources where cooperation could produce a more effective outcome. Adopting a regional place-based approach to the cultural and environmental management of the Wet Tropics region could reduce competitive tensions between groups exacerbated by external influences, thereby strengthening regional institutional capacity and creating an environment that fosters more effective and efficient investment decisions.

The undertaking of cultural heritage assessments also provides opportunities for livelihood development. At present, governments and the private sector are too often paid to consult with TOs who provide advice at no cost or for a minimal fee. TOs, CHBs and RNTBCs should be developing their capacities to undertake these assessments as consultancy services.

3. Community Development provides significant opportunities for employment, training and business development. TOs aspire to return to live and work on Country acquired as a result of native title determinations. In the northern third of the region, a number of community development plans have been completed detailing proposals for housing and community infrastructure on Country. Implementing these plans requires working through the administrative complexity of development applications and securing finance for construction of community infrastructure, housing, etc. Across the region, there is a similar strong desire of Aboriginal people to return to live and work on Country, and to maintain and protect natural and cultural values. This produces not only economic, but social, environmental and cultural benefits.

Indigenous corporations including RNTBCs, Indigenous businesses, Indigenous not-for-profit agencies, the private sector, academics and other NGOs need to be engaged in ensuring a pathway can be developed that resolves barriers to community development on Country. Challenges include environmental legislation, security of tenure, financing, etc. The development of 'wealth funds' and pooled financing plans for community development that include Indigenous, philanthropic and government investment for example should be explored (Dale & Taylor, 2014).

4. Business and Enterprise Development. Although there are many challenges to developing an Indigenous business identified through the livelihood analysis, there are many opportunities for those prepared to do the hard work. RAP have competitive advantages in businesses and enterprises related to land and culture (Morley, 2014). Tourism and natural resource management, cultural heritage clearances and advisory services are obvious areas as are consultancy services in strengthening Indigenous governance and community development discussed earlier.

TO individuals and organisations, however, need local support to develop enterprises and businesses. RAP summits (e.g., 2010, 2012, 2013 and 2014) and consultations (e.g., 2012-3, and 2014) have identified tangible and intangible barriers to land and culture related business and enterprise development. Resourcing RNTBCs to work through the complexity of developing native title lands, access to finance and knowledge, skills and experience have all been identified as priorities needing support. Discrimination, a lack of business networks and partnerships and lateral violence were examples of less tangible barriers to economic development that needed to be addressed (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015).

The continued development and purchase of larger Indigenous businesses should also be supported. These larger Indigenous businesses provide important training and employment opportunities for RAP (e.g., Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park and Mossman Gorge Centre project). They can be run along corporate social enterprise lines providing further opportunities for employment and training in management and administration.

5. Research and Education. The Wet Tropics WHA values attract significant research and education investments. At present, there is limited engagement of RAP in these sectors. There are opportunities for employment in the research and education sector or through Indigenous business

development in this area. Regional research and education institutions could support the development of RAP enterprises if real research and education partnerships were established. These need to be supported across the entire sector from early childhood, schools and tertiary systems.

6. Royalties and Levies. RAP have long identified the opportunity to fund core natural and cultural heritage management through a system of royalties and levies. The Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority receives some of its funding through a visitor levy, and RAP supports the application of similar levies to fund protection and management of land based values.

Table 1. Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Valuing the Cultural Values' economic development and livelihood opportunities

Livelihood	Current situation	What is needed
Cultural and environmental governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is currently only a weak governance framework to include RAP in decision-making about the WHA at the regional, sub-regional and local scales. The 2005 Wet Tropics Regional Agreement was not implemented. The WTMA Board has only recently been reappointed – Aboriginal advisory arrangements are not in place. The scoping and negotiation of ILUAs are not being effectively resourced and implemented. Any very limited strategic engagement by RAP in governance is being funded through administrative overheads from specific purpose government project grants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A real partnership between WTMA and RAP and other critical regional agencies across government, conservation, community and industry at the regional, sub-regional and local scales. This requires RAP governance, and also leadership capacity to be strengthened at the local, sub-regional and regional scales. Governance reform within WTMA and other regional institutions across government, conservation, community and industry to ensure effective power sharing with RAP in the management of the region. RAP organisations supported and appropriately resourced to effectively meet their governance responsibilities as agreed in regional agreements and ILUAs. Options to effectively resource RAP governance responsibilities including a visitor management levy explored.
Cultural and environmental management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government funded environmental programs are delivered through competitive grants and there is limited coordination and support to ensure effective implementation, e.g., Working on Country, Indigenous Protected Areas, Environment and Heritage Rangers. There is little or no investment in culture and heritage management. On-ground investments are being driven by the capacity to write and manage a grant with limited commercial focus. There are commercial opportunities for RAP to generate income from environmental and culture and heritage management and assessments but this capacity needs to be developed. There is no clear policy framework for the progressing of regulated and voluntary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing a regional place-based framework that strategically leverages government, commercial and philanthropic investments would increase the total investment pool in cultural and environmental management; reduce transaction costs; and enable more strategic planning, management and protection of values. There needs to be an expansion of public good investment in cultural heritage management in line with the 2012 listing of these values on the National Heritage Register and aspiration for World Heritage Listing. RAP need to be supported to develop enterprises around environmental and cultural heritage assessment, management and protection services. Successful Australian and Queensland Government environmental ranger and

Livelihood	Current situation	What is needed
	ecosystem service credits within the Wet Tropics.	<p>protected area programs need to be expanded to fill regional gaps in services.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The capacity of RAP to effectively manage these programs and develop commercial services needs to be strengthened.
Community development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The significant number of native title determinations and ILUAs in the region should provide opportunities for RAP to return to work and live on Country. New state and local government planning schemes threaten to extinguish these opportunities won through hard fought native title claims. Community development approaches were once seen as a way to support Indigenous people to return to live and work on country, e.g., Jabalbina community development planning with WTMA. The implementation of community development plans, however, has not been resourced leading to raised expectations followed by disappointment. RAP lack the capacity to secure finance to implement these plans or work through the administrative complexity of the development application process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and local government planning schemes need to specifically recognise native title and ILUAs and support TO aspirations to return to live and work on Country. A streamlined administrative pathway needs to be developed to enable Aboriginal people to return to live and work on Country, particularly Aboriginal Freehold land established under native title determinations. This requires developing innovative tenure and financing mechanisms for development on RAP lands. The leadership, governance and operational capacity of RNTBCs particularly needs to be strengthened to enable tenure issues to be resolved, development approvals to be progressed and finance to be secured. The development of 'wealth funds' and pooled financing plans for community development that includes RAP, philanthropic and government investment should be explored.
Business and enterprise development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> RAP engagement in the private sector is strongly limited, although there are increasing opportunities to leverage native title and related ILUAs for business and enterprise development. This reflects national research that found Aboriginal competitive advantage in business and enterprises is around land development and culture related services. Development of a business on Aboriginal lands is complex and there is no clear local pathway or support to work through the process. Successful Indigenous businesses have tended to be larger and incorporated and government backed, e.g., Tjapukai and Mossman Gorge Centre. Business and enterprise development support for RAP is available through institutions like Indigenous Business Australia and the Indigenous Land Corporation but there is no established local pathway to support TO SME (small and medium enterprise) development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a need to support RAP to develop businesses and enterprises that leverage native title rights in areas including cultural heritage and native title consulting, land management contracting and community development construction where RAP have a competitive advantage. This requires direct investment in shovel-ready enterprises at local, sub-regional and regional scale to support their establishment given the complex business environment. There is a need to strengthen the capacity of RNTBCs to facilitate business and enterprise development on native title lands to enable the development of secure tenures and rights to secure development financing. The 80 TO legal entities including RNTBCs are themselves significant TO employment locations, both in offices from administrative through to management roles, and in the field. There is a need for continued investment in the development and purchase of larger

Livelihood	Current situation	What is needed
		Indigenous businesses to support RAP employment and training.
Research and education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is limited RAP engagement in businesses, enterprises and employment involving research and education. This is despite significant investments in research in the Wet Tropics through the National Environmental Research Program (NERP, 2011-2015), James Cook University (JCU), WTMA and GBRMPA. The involvement of RAP in research has tended to be as an afterthought rather than central to the initial planning process. RAP are finalising the 2015-2020 research priorities that can inform the emerging National Environmental Science Program (NESP, 2016-2021) and WTMA and other research strategies. Education is a significant regional economic driver with particular opportunities in Indigenous cultural tourism education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthen the partnership between JCU, CSIRO and RAP. JCU and CSIRO should support RAP research businesses through partnering and subcontracting. The development of a RAP research, education and training network to support business and enterprises' further development across the entire sector from early childhood, school and tertiary. The development of a regional cultural, knowledge and research centre linked with the 20 local tribal group settings.
Royalties and levies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are limited opportunities for RAP to access mining royalties because of the environmental and cultural values of the region. There is currently no land based tourism levy to support the protection of the regions cultural heritage or natural values. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A framework that enables visitors to the region to contribute to its protection and management through expanded tourism and use of national parks' levies.

7. Strategies to Achieve Economic Development and Livelihood Outcomes from Valuing the Values

7.1 Status Quo

A continuation of current policies will see RAP and their 80 organisations continue to fight for greater engagement in the management of the region's World Heritage Values. Meanwhile, WTMA and other government, conservation, community and industry agencies will increasingly struggle to meet their legislative requirements for TO engagement in management and decision-making. This will lead to continued lost opportunities for economic development.

RAP organisations across the region are encouraged by external forces to continue to compete and rely on numerous siloed government grants for survival. An increasing number of organisations will struggle to maintain good governance practices as they try to manage the competing needs of their members with government accountabilities. Gaps in socioeconomic indicators between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians will remain and there will be renewed questions about why governments have been unsuccessful in closing the gap in Indigenous disadvantage.

7.2 New Livelihood and Economic Development Strategies

The livelihoods analysis including economic context and assets highlights many of the current challenges RAP face engaging in mainstream economic activity. This includes the challenges of working across cultures, lower rates of education and employment as well as access to physical and financial assets (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015). Many of these factors reflect challenges facing other Indigenous Australians engaging in the economy (Morley, 2014). In the Wet Tropics this is confounded by the complexity of the World Heritage listing and Indigenous land tenures.

This research and those of the two other working groups have identified the central role that RNTBCs and Land Trusts that hold native title and lands on behalf of Rainforest Aboriginal people must play. Strategies need to be prioritised, therefore, that leverage these native title rights and unlock land for community and economic development. These range from strengthening the overall governance system to direct investment in enterprise development and sustainable funding models for land and sea management through to streamlining the development application process for land and community development (Table 2).

Table 2. Strategies and actions to support economic development and livelihoods based on natural and cultural values

Strategy	Priority actions	Responsibility
1. Strengthen WHA governance	<p>A regional workshop of interested RNTBCs and Land Trusts representatives to discuss and agree a governance framework for RAP engagement with WTMA and agencies.</p> <p>A devolution of responsibilities and resources to RAP bodies for the protection and management of the region's cultural and natural values. The Cape York Tenure resolution process through the <i>Cape York Heritage Act 2007 (Qld)</i> should be explored as a model for strengthening joint management in the Wet Tropics.</p> <p>Clear governance benchmarks should be agreed between agencies and RAP bodies that once achieved, trigger devolution of responsibilities.</p>	RAP body/ies, supported by WTMA, agencies and The Cairns Institute, at JCU
2. Strengthen Wet Tropics WHA management	Coordinated and ongoing resourcing of WHA management at the regional, sub-regional and local scale that integrates federal, state government, philanthropic and RAP investments with the delivery of commercial services.	WTMA, agencies and RAP body/ies
3. Direct investment in enterprise development	Investment in enterprise development staff within RAP organisations with shovel ready businesses and the capacity to implement. Areas where opportunities have been identified include tourism, native title and cultural heritage consulting, land management maintenance and contracting businesses, and TO organisation workplaces.	RAP body/ies, government agencies and philanthropic organisations
4. Sustainable funding model for land and sea management services	Development of a sustainable funding model that moves beyond short-term grant cycles and builds capacity within TO organisations and businesses to generate income from the delivery of commercial services.	WTMA, agencies, private sector in partnership with RAP body/ies
5. Develop eco-system services markets	Research and develop opportunities to generate income from eco-system services, e.g., carbon credits.	RAP body/ies, RAP and Terrain
6. Develop framework for culture and heritage consulting services	Development of a regional cultural heritage assessment protocol and fee schedule to support local TO groups on ground. Development of a portal and marketing of services to agencies and private sector.	RAP body/ies
7. Develop business accreditation services	Development of an accreditation framework for tourism and other businesses so that they are recognised as leaders in valuing and protecting the region's cultural and natural values.	RAP body/ies, WTMA, agencies and Tourism Tropical North Queensland (TTNQ)
8. Develop RAP consultation protocol	Development of a service framework including protocols and fee schedule for agencies and businesses needing to consult with RAP TOs.	RAP body/ies, RAP
9. Develop research and education services	<p>Development of a RAP researcher network and/or organisation to provide a pool of RAP researchers to engage in research and education projects in the region.</p> <p>Develop RAP cultural education tourism market.</p> <p>Strengthen links between schools and RAP organisations to encourage greater involvement and employment of RAP through the school and early education and higher education sectors.</p>	RAP body/ies, JCU, schools, kindergartens and childcare centres
10. Support land and community development	<p>Provide services and support to TOs and groups undertaking land development including: tenure resolution, development applications and financial planning.</p> <p>Leverage land development opportunities to generate training and employment for Indigenous Australians.</p>	<p>RAP body/ies, sub-regional groups, Land Councils, NGOs, private sector and governments</p> <p>RNTBCs, private sector, NGOs</p>

8. Conclusions

The environmental and cultural values present in the Wet Tropics World Heritage area provide significant opportunities for RAP to engage in the region's economy to develop sustainable livelihoods. The place-based livelihoods analysis, however, demonstrates how the realisation of these opportunities is heavily reliant on reforming the overall governance of the system to create the right economic engagement and development environment for Aboriginal people. Strengthening the capacity of RNTBCs and land trusts to support the realisation of these economic opportunities must be central to these reforms. These organisations hold native title and land on behalf of Rainforest Aboriginal people and must have the leadership, governance and operational capacity to support the development of enterprises if opportunities are to be realised.

This will require organisations and individuals working across local, sub-regional and regional scales and direct investment in the range of strategies identified in this paper (Table 2). Without reform, it is unlikely that the region's asset base will be strengthened and the livelihood outcomes identified through this analysis realised.

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Appendix 1. The Sustainable Livelihoods Analysis

This section applies the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework to analyse the current situation in relation to economic development and RAP abilities to access and develop sustainable livelihoods within the Wet Tropics. It provides a basis for considering broader reforms that could support new economic development and livelihood strategies.

Methodology

The methodology adopted recognises and respects Aboriginal cultural knowledge systems. How Aboriginal people understand and engage with economic development can be different. Kinship relationships and responsibilities to Country influence decision-making. Many RAP continue to express a strong desire to return to live and work on Country where there are at present limited employment opportunities.

The application of a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework within a place-based approach to regional development draws on national and international research and experience (Aboriginal Peak Organisations of the Northern Territory, 2011; Davies, Campbell, et al., 2010; Davies, White, Wright, Maru, & LaFlamme, 2008; Department for International Development, 1999; Greiner, Stanley, & Austin, 2012; Moran et al., 2007; Scoones, 2009). The framework highlights the importance of the economic development context and governance and institutions to the ability of Indigenous people to turn assets into opportunities for economic development and sustainable livelihoods (Figure 3).

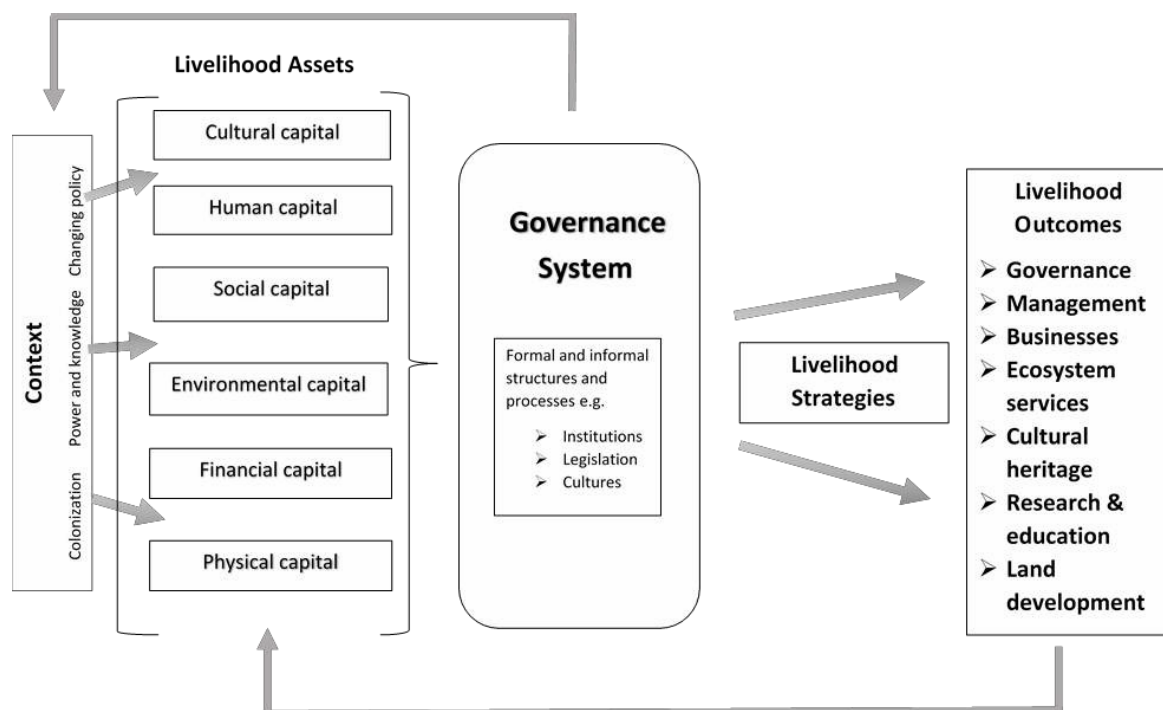


Figure 3. Modified livelihoods framework

Source: United Kingdom DFID (1999)

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, therefore, provides a more holistic approach to development. The following discussion explores the framework in terms of Indigenous, particularly Rainforest Aboriginal peoples.

A. Context: Economic Development and Livelihoods

The livelihood context recognises that RAP's ability to generate a sustainable livelihood is influenced not only by the assets available to them, but the prevailing environment. In the case of Indigenous Australians, the long history of colonial dispossession, an imbalance in power between Indigenous and western knowledge and changing government policies all influence this context.

A History of Dispossession

RAP, like other Indigenous Australians, experienced racial discrimination, dispossession and marginalisation as a result of colonisation (Bottoms, 2013; Kidd, 1997; Skeene, 2008). This history is reflected in statistics that highlight the gap between Indigenous and non-indigenous Australians across a range of social and economic indicators (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, 2011). This is particularly the case within the communities of Yarrabah and Wujal Wujal, which were established as people were removed from Country and segregated during the process of colonisation. These communities now experience the highest rates of unemployment in the region (Office of the Queensland Government Statistician, 2014). Poor economic and social indicators amongst RAP can be traced to this history and have contributed to an environment where other challenges such as lateral violence as in gossip and jealousy within organisations and communities influence capacity to engage in development (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015; Tsey, McCalman, Bainbridge, & Brown, 2012).

There is a need to continue to heal past trauma, and reconciliation is an ongoing process. Issues of sovereignty remain unresolved for many people. The Australian Government's ratification of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Macklin, 2009) and the Apology to the Stolen Generations continue to give RAP hope that progress can be made in this area. This paper reflects RAP's continued pursuit of practical steps towards reconciliation, based on the nature of traditional ownership of Country, the responsibilities to maintain and protect Country and culture, and rights to livelihoods.

Power and Knowledge

Indigenous peoples, including RAP, have their own knowledge system that differs from the dominant western knowledge system that operates in Australia. Determining what constitutes economic improvement can, therefore, be contested as one knowledge system cannot legitimately verify the 'claims to truth' of the other (Agrawal, 1995; Nakata, 2007). Although cultural knowledge is recognised and government Indigenous policy directs that it be respected, the relative power of these different knowledge systems within government decision-making means that in reality, policy does not reflect practice.

For example, government policy is increasingly narrowly focused on Indigenous engagement in mainstream economic activity including business and employment. Extensive research, however, demonstrates that Indigenous people can have different motivations and experiences when engaging in economic activity (Morley, 2014). For example, family and kinship relationships central to Indigenous knowledge systems have been identified as barriers to mainstream business and

enterprise success. Indigenous business owners have found that, at times, extended families see the businesses as part of their kinship relationship and have expectations that the business will also provide for them. This may cause tensions between family members. Successful Indigenous businesses owners have had to endure conflict with extended family (Foley, 2003) and in the case of remote communities, may have to move away to establish their businesses (Nikolakis, 2008). Other barriers identified include a lack of knowledge and skills, community mistrust and conflict, lack of secure land tenure, commercial premises, finance and distance from markets (Bennett & Gordon, 2005; Foley, 2003; Morley, 2014; Nikolakis, 2008; Russell-Mundine, 2007; Wood & Davidson, 2011). These are all major challenges in parts of the Wet Tropics region.

A study of enterprise development on communal owned land in the Northern Territory examined what was meant by success and identified a range of barriers and success factors to economic development in remote communities (Table 3) (Nikolakis, 2008). The RAP summit in December 2014 identified similar barriers and enablers to economic development (Table 4) (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015). Structural factors such as infrastructure, security of tenure and access to markets—which are a major focus of government policy reform in support of Indigenous economic development—were only one factor influencing success (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, 2011). The 2008 study also found Indigenous community members place a greater emphasis on employment and social outcomes from an enterprise rather than simply profitability. For Indigenous people, enterprise development was viewed as a process as much as an objective with survival considered by most, as a key measure of success (Nikolakis, 2008).

Table 3. Barriers and success factors for Indigenous enterprises

Source: Adapted from Nikolakis (2008)

Barriers to successful enterprise	Factors contributing to successful enterprise
Mistrust and conflict	Separating business and politics
Socio-cultural norms and values	Integrating culture
Human capital	Business acumen
Institutional framework	Greater independence from government
Structural and economic factors	

Table 4. Barriers and enablers to economic development

Source: Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance (2015)

Barriers	Enablers
Lack of education skills and experience	Improved governance
Government policies	Develop strong partnerships
Lack of infrastructure for economic development	Empowered Bama
Access to finance and resources	Education and skills development
Confidence and empowerment	Education of mainstream community to change attitudes and stereo types
Lateral violence	Tourism levy to create long term funding
Cultural differences	
Lack of networks and partnerships	
Discrimination	
Health of individuals and communities	

A central driver of RAP engagement in economic activity is to support their desire to return and live on Country where there are currently limited mainstream employment opportunities. RAP living and working on Country will also be important to the maintenance of the natural and cultural values central to World Heritage listing. These are also communally owned lands and understanding this context and recognising and respecting it within government policy will be important to achieving sustainable livelihood outcomes.

Changing Government Policy

Indigenous Australians are heavily reliant on governments and are, therefore, vulnerable to changes in government policy. The government service sectors including NRM, health and education are major employers, either directly or through contracted Indigenous service providers. A disproportionate number of Indigenous people live in government housing and Indigenous specific land tenure systems and environmental regulations currently limit opportunities for development (Dale & Taylor, 2014).

In 2005, following many years of negotiation, RAP signed a Wet Tropics Regional Agreement with the Queensland and Australian Governments that was to support more meaningful engagement of RAP in the management of the Wet Tropics WHA. The Aboriginal Rainforest Council was set up as a result. Native title determinations similarly have set out requirements for the Australian and Queensland governments to involve RAP in decision-making and management of the Wet Tropics WHA. Despite these commitments, government policies continue to change, and there has been little meaningful strategic engagement at the regional scale between governments and RAP since this agreement was signed. With the demise of Aboriginal Rainforest Council (ARC) in 2008, 18 months of consideration led to the endorsement at the RAP 2010 Summit, of the Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance as an interim regional arrangement taking up those aspirations and matters set out in the Regional Agreement and in the Aboriginal (Bama) Plan.

More broadly, government policy has shifted over the past decade from support for self-determination and community development to a mainstreaming of services and a more individualistic focus on rights and responsibilities of Aboriginal people. This has confused Aboriginal people who, over the past decade, have finalised native title determinations and community

development plans to enable them to return to country. They now find that government agencies who funded the planning process are no longer committed to supporting these aspirations.

B. Livelihood Assets

In this section the assets that RAP have access to generate a livelihood are identified and discussed and, where possible, quantified. Any model or framework is a simplification of reality and has limitations, so although these assets are discussed separately to aid in the livelihoods analysis, they are interrelated and do not occur independently in the real world. For example, cultural capital is closely associated with social capital through the networks and connections between families and environmental capital in the custodianship of country.

Cultural Capital

The Wet Tropics region has been listed on the National Heritage Register for its Rainforest Aboriginal cultural values and there is a strong desire for these values to be World Heritage listed. This will take concerted effort and resources, not readily available. Rainforest Aboriginal peoples are focused on realising more immediate positive benefits from the recognition of these Aboriginal cultural values.

Aboriginal culture remains strong within the Wet Tropics region and is an important livelihood asset for many RAP. Family, kinship and tribal relationships are the foundations of Aboriginal culture. They can be important to meet basic needs directly such as housing and may provide the foundations for employment, particularly in the Indigenous services sector. This is reflected in research in central Australia that found family and kinship relationships important to the types of jobs Aboriginal people engaged in and whether they secured employment (Davies, Maru, Hueneke, Grey-Gardner, & Chewings, 2010).

The relative importance placed on Indigenous culture by RAP, however, is not reflected in the broader non-indigenous community or by visitors. Indigenous culture was ranked relatively lowly in a recent survey of what residents and tourists value most in the Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area. In terms of importance a range of natural values were identified as most important to the non-indigenous community and tourist (Stoeckl, Farr, & Sakata, 2013).

Tourism is regularly identified by RAP as providing opportunities for enterprise and business development and it is important to keep evidence in mind when considering business and enterprise opportunities. A recent survey asked Indigenous tourism specific questions (n=326) finding 16% of visitors look for Indigenous tourism experiences and 35.5% sometimes looked for these experiences. When asked what type of experience they looked for, 71% preferred elements of cultural history, followed by food (56%), art (50%), festivals (43.5%) and dance (23.5%) (Thompson, Yee-Sum Lee, & Prideaux, 2014).

Only 13% of respondents actually participated in an Indigenous tourism experience on their trip. Those that did rated it as good (81%) or fair (14%). The main places Indigenous tourism took place were Mossman Gorge Centre and Kuranda including Rainforestation Nature Park and Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park. Only 12% of respondents purchased Indigenous artefacts on the trip. The majority of these purchases however (77.5%), were made by people who did not participate in an Indigenous tourism experience. The most popular artefacts were boomerangs (67.5%) followed by indigenous art (37.5%), clothing (20%) and didgeridoos (2.5%) (Thompson, Yee-Sum Lee, & Prideaux, 2014).

It should be remembered that unlike the non-indigenous community, RAP have argued strongly that natural and cultural values cannot be separated. In fact, it is clear that Aboriginal people have helped shape the environment in the Wet Tropics particularly through their use of fire (Hill, Griggs & Bamanga Bubu Ngadimunku Incorporated, 2000). Tourism experiences that link environmental and cultural values could provide niche opportunities for RAP. Twenty-one percent of visitors indicated they may have stayed longer if there were more information about Aboriginal cultural values (Esparon & Stoeckl, 2014).

Indigenous employment in the tourism industry is limited. There are two major Indigenous owned experiences in the region—Mossman Gorge Centre and Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park—that employ significant numbers of Aboriginal people. There is a lack of empirical data on Indigenous small business ownership or employment in the region. The RAP consultation report and workshops however found limited engagement (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015). RAP aspire to secure a greater share of the tourism dollar and there are opportunities including tours, arts and crafts, hospitality, entertainment and education. There are likely to be more opportunities in environmental than cultural experience based on these surveys of motivations for visiting the region.

Human Capital

Human capital is important as it reflects the level of knowledge, skills and experiences available to individuals and groups to generate a livelihood. Indigenous Australians in general have lower rates of attainment of school and tertiary education qualifications and higher rates of unemployment (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, 2011).

These lower rates of education and employment limit Indigenous people's capacity to generate a livelihood (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015). This not only impacts individuals and families, but groups and RAP organisations may find it difficult to attract and retain appropriately qualified staff.

Social Capital

Social capital reflects the level of connectedness and trust within and between individuals, groups and communities. This influences the ability of individuals, groups and communities to work together in a cooperative and coordinated way to tackle problems. It has two components: bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital reflects the level of networks and trust within a particular social group or place. Bridging social capital reflects the level of connections and trust that a particular social group or place may have with outside groups or places.

There is strong bonding social capital within many RAP groups and communities reflecting shared cultural and kinship relationships and shared historical experiences. This is reflected in the collective nature of traditional ownership including more than 80 legal entities within the region (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2012). There is a need, however, to strengthen bridging social capital and create broader networks and trust between RAP and government and the private sector (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2015).

Natural Capital

The region has access to wonderful natural assets including two World Heritage listed areas in the rainforest and the Great Barrier Reef. As survey results discussed under cultural capital demonstrate,

these natural assets drive visitors to the region and underpin the broader regional economy. Within the Wet Tropics NRM region, tourism is estimated to contribute directly more than \$2.7 billion annually to the regional economy and employ more than 18,000 people (Deloitte Access Economics, 2013). Data on the contribution of research and management to the economy was not specifically available for the Wet Tropics region. It is, however, a significant economic contributor with reef and rainforest based research and management investments and employment. It has been estimated that scientific research and management into the Great Barrier Reef alone contributes directly \$106 million and employs 881 people in Queensland (Deloitte Access Economics, 2013).

RAP are recognised as having an important role to play in the ongoing research into and management of these natural assets. There are significant opportunities to expand RAP livelihoods based on the regions natural assets.

Financial Capital

Lower levels of employment and home ownership limit RAP's access to financial capital. The Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' (2015) during the 2014 summit identified this as a major barrier to economic development. Native title determinations have returned small amounts of freehold land to some RAP organisations. Determinations in the majority of cases, however, have only recognised native title rights to land or provided an Aboriginal freehold tenure that cannot be used to raise financial capital.

Physical Capital

The level of physical assets available to groups varies across the region. Some groups have land, offices, sheds and other facilities like art centres and nurseries to support livelihood development, while other groups have no physical assets or rental office space.

The region also varies in the level of public infrastructure available to support development. In many areas where RAP wish to return to live on Country there are very limited physical public assets.

C. Transforming Governance Systems (Including Formal and Informal Structures and Processes)

The ability to turn assets into livelihoods is limited or enhanced by the governance system that exists within the region, state and nation more generally. Governance refers to the evolving processes, relationships, institutions and structures by which a group of people, community or society organise themselves collectively to achieve things that matter to them (Hunt et al, as cited in Tsey et al., 2012). A national survey and forum to map current and future Indigenous governance research and resource needs found Indigenous governance:

is better understood as incorporating a number of components and processes which, when working well, form a unifying framework. This framework includes a wide range of formal and informal Indigenous and non-Indigenous mechanisms, structures and engagement processes, such as traditional laws and customs, legislation and enforcement, jurisdictional functions, leadership and representation, members' participation and voice, decision making, dispute resolution, institutional frameworks and constitutions, rights and relationships with others including the private sector (Bauman, Smith, Quiggin, Keller, & Drieberg, 2015, p. xvii).

In the Wet Tropics region this includes Aboriginal and non-Indigenous NGOs and businesses and government agencies and the rules and norms that guide their interaction and operation. These may be formal legislative or regulatory structures and processes, or informal cultural norms that inform the way that individuals, groups, organisations and communities interrelate in society.

Indigenous Australians are often encouraged or forced to establish new entities within non-Indigenous legislative frameworks in order to pursue their rights and interest (e.g., Registered Native Title Body Corporates). Western incorporated governance and its accountabilities, however, can seem foreign and bureaucratic to TO groups where their governance and accountabilities are expected to align with the norms of traditional cultural knowledge. Martin (2005) stressed the need for Indigenous organisations to be accountable to their members and for a strategic engagement with other entities including government. Morley (2014) stressed the need to embed culture within community based enterprises to be successful. To achieve this, organisations need to be able to work through a range of issues.

Many rainforest Aboriginal organisations are relatively new, have limited resources and capacity, and their governance systems continue to evolve. Each Aboriginal group and community is different and for effective governance, decisions need to be made about:

- Group membership and identity
- Who has authority in the group and over what
- Agreed rules to ensure authority is exercised properly and decision makers are held accountable
- How decisions are enforced
- How rights and interest with others are negotiated
- What arrangements will best enable the achievement of goals (Tsey et al 2014, modified from Hunt, Smith, Garling, & Sanders, 2008).

These are often contested issues that require time and resources to be worked through. Newly established organisations often have not had the capacity themselves, or been effectively supported by governments to operate within the western governance domain under which they are constituted. As a result, they have been forced to take on a wide range of service contracts, generally with government, to survive. This forces Indigenous organisations to focus on government established accountabilities, rather than working through and developing their own effective governance systems that could balance the need to recognise and respect traditional cultural knowledge while strategically engaging in economic development within western governance accountabilities. Governments need to focus on supporting Indigenous organisations build their capacity to effectively embed culture within enterprises, not simply focus on western governmental accountabilities.

In the Wet Tropics there are a large number of incorporated and unincorporated rainforest Aboriginal groups and organisations (Rainforest Aboriginal Peoples' Alliance, 2012). There is currently no incorporated regional body, with RAPA acting as a voluntary regional network

supporting RAP to pursue their aspirations. There has been a long history of a peak regional Aboriginal body for the Wet Tropics, the last incorporated body being the Aboriginal Rainforest Council set up to support implementation of the Wet Tropics Regional Agreement signed in 2005. This organisation failed, largely due to a failure of the necessary resourcing to support its governance responsibilities.

If governments are serious about closing the gap and supporting the development of new Indigenous livelihoods in the Wet Tropics then they need to commit to supporting the strengthening of the overall governance system. This includes the core capabilities of the Indigenous organisations responsible for the cultural and environmental management of the Wet Tropics World Heritage values.

D. Economic Development and Livelihood Strategies

The collective nature of Indigenous custodianship of environmental and cultural assets means that strong organisations are required for any economic development and livelihood outcomes to be realised from these assets. As discussed, this requires reform and strengthening of the governance system. If a strong Indigenous sector was supported to develop, however, there would be significant opportunities for Indigenous employment and businesses and enterprise development.

Based on the livelihood assets identified and discussed the following strategies have been identified (Table 5). The table also suggest where these opportunities lie in terms of the regional, sub-regional or local scale and who should take lead responsibility for developing this strategy.

Table 5. Livelihood strategies for Rainforest Aboriginal peoples based on Wet Tropics WHA cultural and natural values

Strategy	Regional	Sub-regional	Local	Lead responsibility
Strengthen WHA governance	Strong regional representative organisation strategically engaged	Strong sub-regional bodies	Strong TO organisations and businesses	RAP body/ies, WTMA and agencies
Strengthen WHA management	Agreed regional governance framework	Sub-regional engagement in governance and implementation	TOs actively engaged in managing country	RAP body/ies, WTMA agencies, private sector and philanthropists
Direct investment in enterprise development		Sub-regional support for enterprise development	TOs owning businesses including tourism, NRM contracting etc	RAP body/ies,, Prime Minister & Cabinet (PM&C), State development
Sustainable funding model for land and sea management services		Sub-regional ranger and IPA management supported by government, philanthropic and commercial services	TO businesses / groups undertaking on-ground works	Sub-regional RAP body/ies, WTMA, PM&C, Queensland government agencies
Develop eco-system services markets	Regional accreditation systems	Amalgamation of credits	TOs actively engaged in delivery of services	RAP regional body, Terrain, PM&C
Develop cultural heritage consulting services	A regional protocol and fee structure for agencies and private sector	Enterprises develop and coordination of local service provision	TOs employed in delivery of services	Sub-regional RAP bodies, WTMA, agencies and private sector
Develop business accreditation services	Development and ongoing monitoring and evaluation	Delivery of accreditation and monitoring	TOs employed in delivery of services	RAP regional body, TTNQ and State Development
Develop RAP consultation protocol	A regional protocol and fee structure for agencies and private sector	Coordinating TO engagement services	TOs employed in delivery of services	RAP body/ies, agencies and private sector
Develop research and education services	Regional coordination and engagement	Sub-regional coordination and delivery	TOs employed in delivery of services	RAP body/ies, JCU and private sector
Support land and community development		Sub-regional groups supporting TOs to develop land including tenure resolution, financial planning and development approvals	TO groups / businesses engaged in development	RAP body/ies, private sector, Land Councils, WTMA and agencies

E. Economic Development and Livelihood Outcomes

The livelihood analysis has highlighted the challenges and opportunities for economic development and the creation of sustainable livelihoods within the Wet Tropics World Heritage area. The region's significant environmental and cultural values, particularly, provide opportunities for greater business development and employment by RAP in the governance, management, community development, business and enterprise development and research and education. Many of these jobs or businesses would enable RAP to generate a livelihood on country or working with country. This would help maintain these values as well as produce significant social, emotional and livelihood outcomes as RAP are able to return to country and engage more effectively with their culture.

