



Australian Government

Department of Climate Change, Energy,
the Environment and Water

Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Water Interests

Submission on the Productivity
Commission's Inquiry into National
Water Reform 2026

Interim update: Preliminary Assessment

July 2026



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Acknowledgement of Country

We acknowledge the Traditional Owners of Country throughout Australia and recognise their continuing connection to land, waters and Culture. We pay our respects to their Elders past and present.

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2 Acknowledgement

The Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Water Interests (the Committee) wishes to acknowledge and thank the many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander-run organisations, peak bodies and body corporates, as well as Traditional Owner groups, researchers, scientists, and individuals who have worked tirelessly to establish agreement making platforms with government, to have a ‘seat at the table’ and meaningfully advocate for water rights and interests.

The Committee encourages all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to engage in the review of the Productivity Commission’s Inquiry into National Water Reform (the PC Inquiry) every few years and other similar government processes to ensure diverse views and perspectives are heard.

3 Authors

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The Committee also wishes to acknowledge previous members who contributed knowledge and expertise, which informed the development of the [Insights Paper: Pathway to enduring recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People's water interests in national water reform initiatives](#). The water values, principles and actions in the Insights Paper should be considered when preparing the PC Inquiry report.

4 Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property

This submission contains Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property (ICIP) and is underpinned by the principle of Free, Prior and Informed consent (FPIC) in relation to ICIP, as set out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The Committee is the owner of all ICIP in this submission and must be acknowledged as the owner of this submission in any use of it. This submission must not be appropriated or used in any other way than its intended purpose without the consent of the Committee.

5 About the Committee

The Committee was established in 2020 as a non-statutory independent advisory body playing a unique role in advising federal, state and territory governments on water reform initiatives in Australia. It aims to elevate the cultural, spiritual, social, economic and environmental interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples within Australia's water policies, programs and legislation, to work towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples having enduring access to, ownership of, and management of water.

The Committee comprises of 9 First Nations peoples with expertise across western and cultural water rights and interests, science and management, and policy and planning. Committee members do not represent a First Nations organisation, nation or community group, or state or territory. However, where possible, the Committee seeks to have at least one member from each state and territory to bring their knowledge and experience at the local level across Australia to the national discussion.

The Committee is supported by a secretariat team within the First Nations Water Branch in the Australian Government Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water.

The Committee operates within, and promotes, an environment of truth-telling about the ongoing impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' water rights and interests. The Committee recognises that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have been advocating for an equal voice in Australia's water planning and management legislation for a very long time. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have never ceded sovereignty of their lands, waters and

skies. It is the exclusive birth right of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to honour their cultural, spiritual, social, economic and environmental water interests.

More information about the Committee is available at [Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Water Interests - DCCEEW](#).

6 The Committee's Submission

The Committee welcomes the opportunity to provide a Submission in response to the Productivity Commission's (PC) Interim Update: Preliminary Assessment (Interim Update 2) released on 6 July 2026. This Submission also touches on the PC's Interim Update: Water Services Reform Directions (Interim Update 1) released on 19 June 2026. Given the Committee is a strategic rather than technical advisory body, the Interim Update: Preliminary Assessment more closely aligns with the Committee's expertise and remit.

It should be noted that the Committee provided a letter to Commissioner Joanne Chong in lieu of a formal submission at the commencement of the PC Inquiry. The Committee is pleased to note that many of its recommendations in the letter are reflected in the Interim Updates.

It should also be noted that a representative of the Committee participated in the first PC's Stakeholder Working Group as part of this PC Inquiry.

The Committee acknowledges the PC's continued advocacy for stronger recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander water interests through delivery of the National Water Initiative (NWI). The Committee supports the PC's approach since 2021 of elevating First Nations water interests into a separate section in inquiries, despite First Nations water interests not being a standalone NWI element.

This further evidence that the NWI is structurally deficient aligns with the Committee's view that the new National Water Agreement (NWA) should be adopted by the Australian, state and territory governments. The NWA will provide substantially stronger recognition of First Nations water rights and interests than the NWI and establishes a more contemporary framework for water governance.

The Committee believes the NWA offers the greatest opportunity for accelerated progress in elevating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander water interests and continues to advocate for the NWA's signature by jurisdictions. However, given that state and territory governments will still be required to implement the NWI even if they do not sign the NWA, it remains critically important to strengthen the recognition and protection of First Nations water rights, values and interests under the NWI.

Overarching commentary

The Committee has consistently maintained that Australia's national water reform agenda remains incomplete while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples continue to face systemic barriers to accessing, owning and managing water.

A key observation from Interim Update 2 is that Section 11 on Water Interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is the poorest performer in terms of achievement of commitments compared to the eight other sections that correspond to NWI elements. All commitments in this section are 'Partially achieved', with none being assessed as 'Achieved' or 'Largely achieved'.

Interim Update 2's Section 11 on Water Interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is the only section in which all commitments received the PC's lowest performance assessment rating.

This finding is consistent with the Committee's view.

More than two decades after the NWI was signed, national water policy continues to reinforce systems that were established without recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights, lore/laws, knowledges and enduring relationships with water. While some jurisdictions have introduced valuable initiatives and policy reforms, progress remains fragmented and largely procedural.

The Committee notes that there is a significant number of national water policy reforms underway this year in addition to the PC Inquiry, including the review of the *Water Act 2007 (Cth)* (the Water Act), implementation of the new NWA and the Murray—Darling Basin Plan Review. Many of the Committee's recommendations as part of this Submission are reflected in its advice to other reform processes.

The Committee encourages all rights holders and stakeholders to engage across these processes and encourages government to continue to share consultation findings to ensure a wealth of ideas and experiences that informs the development of reforms.

Measure outcomes rather than activities

Across Interim Update 2, the PC assesses jurisdictions' performance against the NWI based on the existence of plans, advisory bodies, consultation processes, reporting frameworks and policy documents. While these initiatives are important, they are not themselves evidence of success.

The PC's assessment should measure the degree to which NWI outcomes are achieved, rather than whether outputs are achieved. This would require clearer success criteria, most appropriately measured through western as well as cultural outcomes, including:

- increased water ownership
- increased decision-making authority
- improved access to water
- stronger cultural flows outcomes
- improved water security
- healthier waterways, catchments and Country
- increased economic opportunities.

"Measure what has actually been delivered, rather than the number of committees, strategies or consultations." CAWI member, 2026.

"Success should be measured by tangible outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, not solely by evidence of consultation and participation processes." CAWI member, 2026.

The Committee recognises that the PC's 2026 process in developing its final report is likely too far progressed for the measurement of outcomes to be implemented in the final report. This is especially the case given the more constrained timeframes in the 2026 Inquiry. As such, the Committee recommends the PC strengthen the future assessment frameworks for the NWI and NWA by using this approach.

The Committee would welcome being engaged early in the next Inquiry process to assist with determining the metrics by which outcomes will be measured.

Additionally, the Committee recommends that the language in the assessment framework be revised so that terms to reflect performance are not unintentionally misleading. Terms such as "achieved" or "largely achieved" imply that progress is good, yet major challenges and gaps remain, or projects used as examples are not yet completed or deemed successful. 'The label 'partially achieved' may not accurately reflect the level of progress, as it can convey a sense of advancement even where outcomes remain well below expectations. The language should better reflect the actual outcomes.

The PC Inquiry should strengthen its assessment of whether governance arrangements are achieving their goals, using clearer success criteria such as:

- jurisdictional coordination
- regulatory effectiveness
- compliance and enforcement
- transparency of decisions affecting public resources.

Recommendation 1: That future reports measure the degree to which outcomes are achieved through national water reform, rather than prioritising outputs of the water reform process.

Recommendation 2: That performance reports use assessment terms that better reflect the actual outcomes and include a sufficient level of detail in the high-level reporting on what has been achieved.

Make truth-telling part of the performance assessment

While the Inquiry's purpose is to determine the extent to which NWI commitments have been achieved, this should be acknowledged within the context of systemic historical exclusion. The Inquiry report should recognise that contemporary water governance systems continue to be shaped by foundational assumptions that excluded Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples from ownership of water resources. This legacy has been described as *aqua nullius*.

Truth-telling should be linked to practical reforms designed to address these structural inequities.

The Committee has developed a living, historical truth-telling representation of Australia's water management laws and policies and the Committee's advocacy efforts are to ensure that these are not forgotten: [Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Water Interests - DCCEEW](#). This resource should be drawn upon in the development of the final PC report.

Recommendation 3: The final PC Inquiry report emphasises the importance of truth-telling within national water reform.

UNDRIP principles as performance standards

Targeted engagement with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people by the First Nations Adviser, Dr Teagan Shields, as part of the independent review of the Water Act has focused on whether and how to embed the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) into the Water Act.

As part of the targeted engagement and the broader Water Act Review consultation process, the Committee has recommended that UNDRIP principles are embedded in the Water Act to strengthen the recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' water rights and interests. This will flow into the NWA and its schedules.

In line with this, the Committee recommends that the PC uses the UNDRIP principles when assessing performance against engagement commitments in the NWI. Current assessment approaches focus on consultation, whereas UNDRIP requires engagement that is more reciprocal and self-determined, with

shared decision-making and control over matters affecting First Nations peoples' lands, waters and resources.

An UNDRIP-aligned assessment of commitments would determine the degree of progress against:

- self-determination
- free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)
- First Nations governance authority
- First Nations water ownership
- protection of Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property (ICIP)
- equitable access to water-based economic opportunities.

"Self-determination must be embedded as a core objective of water governance." CAWI member, 2026.

The Committee notes that while there may be a reported increase in ICIP being referenced in government documents, which is a positive sign, there seems to be more limited implementation on the ground.

The Committee also notes that while there are good examples of culturally appropriate engagement processes – such as through the Water Act Review First Nations engagement roundtables – governments must change how they engage to meaningfully lift Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's involvement in water governance. This should be centred on building partnerships and relationships, rather than seeking discrete pieces of advice from time to time.

Recommendation 4: That UNDRIP principles are considered when assessing jurisdictions' performance against engagement commitments in the NWI.

More decision-making authority for First Nations peoples

The Committee supports the PC's observation that much Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participation remains advisory in nature. Decision-making authority remains concentrated within government institutions. The Committee continues to advocate for First Nations people to exercise genuine authority in water management.

"First Nations people need a genuine role in decision-making, rather than only being consulted or sitting on advisory groups after the major decisions have already been made." CAWI member, 2026.

The performance of governance arrangements should be assessed according to whether authority is being shared, not whether consultation has occurred, and whether Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have genuine influence over decisions affecting water on Country.

The Committee proposes that jurisdictions are asked *"What specific indicators will your jurisdiction use to demonstrate that First Nations peoples have moved from being consulted on water management to exercising genuine decision-making authority, ownership, and control over water resources?"*.

Recommendation 5: Provide more decision-making authority for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in water management.

Participation in all aspects of water management

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have made clear that they must be involved in all aspects of water management. Water reform should not only protect cultural values from harm but also actively support the restoration and care of healthy Country.

This involvement must extend beyond planning to include the stages of implementation, monitoring, reporting and evaluation (MER). This requires not only direct participation but also the inclusion of First Nations-led measures, targets and evaluative methodologies within MER frameworks, ensuring progress and impacts are tracked and tracked through a cultural lens.

This is critical to ensuring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have the necessary information to provide informed inputs into decision-making. These measures must be developed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples themselves to allow for non-western approaches and to capture cultural, spiritual, social, economic and environmental considerations.

This could be delivered in part through community-controlled waterway assessments, catchment management plans and monitoring through existing ranger programs, along with First Nations-led rehabilitation projects.

The Committee recommends that water management decisions regarding how unallocated water is given needs more consideration and more First Nations influence, especially regarding future cultural, environmental and strategic needs. Questions that should be addressed include:

- how is future demand assessed before unallocated water is released?
- what safeguards exist to ensure water is available for future cultural water needs?
- how are Traditional Owner interests considered in release decisions?
- what mechanisms exist to reexamine allocations if future environmental or cultural demands emerge?

A cautious approach should be used when there is uncertainty about future water needs, rather than an expectation of water releases as a norm.

Recommendation 6: Include First Nations-led measures, targets and evaluative methodologies within MER frameworks – including future PC inquiries and NWA MER – ensuring progress and impacts are tracked.

Pathways to participation through education

As mentioned in previous submissions by the Committee, addressing disenfranchisement and working in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people both require resourcing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to be involved in the system. This means better water literacy and a deeper capability in western water resource management for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people – so that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people can more effectively access and navigate the system – and build the cultural capability of others.

“We can’t keep showing up to processes under-resourced, expected to respond to highly technical systems without the same level of support that governments and industry have.”
CAWI member, 2026.

Many Australians – not just First Nations people – still find water information management systems hard to use and understand. Even though a lot of data is available to the public, just publishing it

does not make it transparent. There need to be clear standards for how accessible the information is. The Inquiry should place greater emphasis on:

- accessible language
- user-friendly design
- searchability and navigation
- consistent terminology across jurisdictions
- public-facing explanations of key datasets and decisions.

Information should be easy to understand for everyone, not just technical experts. Making information more accessible helps to build transparency, trust, participation and accountability.

Recommendation 7: Recognise the importance of resourcing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in terms of water literacy and complex water management.

More water ownership by First Nations people

While shared decision-making would be a significant improvement on current practices, without ownership of water Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are still operating at the edge of water management. The Interim Update 2 notes concerns regarding the extremely low level of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander water entitlement ownership.

For millennia, Australia was solely populated by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as Australia's First Peoples, yet now Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people represent only 3.8 per cent¹ of the population and face the most disadvantage and exclusion in Australian society. This exclusion extends to ownership of and access to water. Despite never ceding land and water and representing 3.8 per cent of the population, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples own and control less than 0.2 per cent of Australia's surface water entitlements.

“Recognition without access to water resources limits the practical realisation of self-determination.”
CAWI member, 2026.

Some progress has been made through initiatives such as the Australian Government's:

- Murray—Darling Basin Aboriginal Water Entitlements Program
- Cultural Flows Planning for Cultural Economies Program in the Murray—Darling Basin
- interim arrangements supporting an enduring First Nations water holder in the Murray—Darling Basin.

The Committee also acknowledges that some jurisdictions are progressing transitioning unallocated water to First Nations organisations, which is increasing water owned by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

The Committee supports ongoing efforts to increase Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander water holdings. The above initiatives demonstrate that practical pathways exist. However, most initiatives are relatively new, and their effectiveness has not yet been demonstrated. Given the scale of inequity in water holdings, the volume of water that would need to be transferred to Aboriginal and Torres

¹ The 2021 census shows that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples comprise of 3.8 per cent of Australia's population.

Strait Islander hands is substantial and will likely take several lifetimes to be addressed at the current rate of progress.

The Committee also supports investment of government resources to understanding barriers to First Nations water ownership and access.

Government progress in driving equity in water entitlements will be measured through the Closing the Gap Inland Water Target (Target 15c), which aims to increase Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' legal rights and interests in inland water bodies. The Committee is a member of the Inland Waters Target Working Group, co-chaired by the Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water (DCCEEW) and the National Native Title Council as the representative for the Coalition of the Peaks. The Committee notes that Target 15c will be delivered through a jurisdiction target approach and these have yet to be agreed at the state/territory and partnership level.

Recommendation 8: Future reform should prioritise measurable increases in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander access to, management of and ownership of water.

Better use of Indigenous science and knowledge

The Committee welcomes recognition within Interim Update 2 that incorporation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander science and knowledges remain inconsistent. Western scientific indicators of performance continue to be prioritised over First Nations peoples' indicators of performance.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' science and cultural definitions of water and land health should be embedded into the jurisdictions' measures of overall success of the NWI alongside western definitions. From Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' perspective, an effective water management system allows:

- practice of culture
- access to traditional foods
- teaching of young people
- feeling safe on Country.

It has been noted in previous submissions by the Committee that for some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, water is considered sentient and having life.

“Indigenous sciences – methods and guiding philosophies – must be incorporated, including approaches that centre Country and relational accountability” CAWI member, 2026.

Without cultural measures, governments cannot accurately assess whether water management is contributing to the health of Country or the efficacy of the NWI.

As also previously noted by the Committee, to incorporate this knowledge and definitions, Indigenous sciences must be properly funded, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people must be involved in designing monitoring programs, analysing and evaluating the resulting data and decision making based on that evaluation/analysis.

Additionally, data sovereignty principles must be incorporated by providing community control of culturally significant information and agreed protocols for data sharing.

Recommendation 9: Increase acknowledgment and use of Indigenous science and knowledges in land and water management.

Climate change impacts should be clearer

The Committee would like to see stronger recognition of climate change impacts within national water reform.

Climate change is an emerging impact of colonisation that disproportionately impacts Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

The Committee notes that climate change can be presented as the primary explanation for declining water security and environmental degradation; however, many Australian water systems are vulnerable to climate change given the water extraction and river modification and management since colonisation.

The Committee recommends that like all water planning, plans for climate adaptation should be developed in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

“Climate change is often used as an excuse to avoid settler-state responsibility for the hydrological changes their water values and subsequent systems have wrought on water Country and mob’s customary water rights.” CAWI member, 2026.

Recommendation 10: More strongly acknowledge climate change impacts in national water reform performance assessments, including the disproportional impacts and the compounding impact climate change has on top of environmental degradation caused by colonisation.

Urgent need for water security and services in remote areas

The Committee supports the PC's preliminary assessment regarding persistent inequities in access to safe and reliable water services in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Current economic regulation primarily focuses on efficiency, cost recovery, and affordability, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander outcomes generally treated as social policy considerations rather than core regulatory objectives.

The Committee notes that the water security definition covers water being available when needed, easy to access, affordable, safe, and of good quality, with risks kept at an acceptable level. However, the “acceptable” level of risk is not defined, so it is unclear how risk management is measured. More explanation is needed regarding:

- who determines acceptable risk thresholds
- whether risk tolerances vary across Australia
- how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are involved in determining acceptable levels of risk
- whether environmental and cultural risks are considered together with economic and operational risks.

Additionally, the definition of sustainable water services relates to meeting today’s social needs without harming future generations’ ability to meet their needs. The PC’s assessment should clearly recognise cultural sustainability, with a quinary approach should be incorporated that includes the social, cultural, environmental, spiritual, and economic outcomes.

The assessment of sustainability should also include:

- water and ecosystem health indicators
- long-term environmental condition trends

- outcomes from environmental impact assessments
- condition and connectivity of waterways
- protection of cultural values and cultural flows.

The Committee continues to advocate for:

- improved water security in remote communities
- infrastructure cost benefit analyses that account for cultural water uses
- including local knowledge and expertise when designing infrastructure solutions
- water pricing frameworks that incorporate affordability rather than relying on concessional arrangements.

The PC's inquiries should assess whether current pricing approaches sufficiently enable long-term asset stewardship, environmental performance and whether there are cultural impacts on Country.

The Committee notes that through its in-person meetings it has heard both excellent and poor examples of shared decision-making in relation to infrastructure design, delivery and operation in remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Recommendation 11: NWI performance assessments outline reforms to improve water security in remote First Nations communities, such as:

- including cultural water uses in infrastructure business cases
- involving local expertise when designing water infrastructure
- incorporating affordability considerations in water pricing frameworks.

A better approach to stormwater, wastewater and groundwater

The Committee reiterates concerns raised in its earlier advice regarding the absence of a coherent national approach to stormwater and wastewater management. Stormwater and wastewater have significant impacts on waterways, cultural values and water quality.

National reform should encourage jurisdictions to:

- integrate wastewater and stormwater management into catchment planning
- strengthen regulation to protect waterways
- involve Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in catchment governance.

Interim Update 1 identifies continuing concerns around groundwater management. The Committee supports increased national attention to groundwater, given it is the only source of water for many remote communities, and many culturally significant sites are dependent on groundwater.

Recommendation 12: Future reform should strengthen groundwater science, monitoring and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander involvement in groundwater governance.

7 Conclusion

Interim Update 2 provides further evidence that the NWI does not adequately reflect First Nations water rights and interests in a structural sense. While there has been some progress in delivering NWI commitments, national water reform has yet to deliver consistent or impactful results for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

The fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples continue to have limited authority and ownership of water despite ongoing reform efforts indicates that insufficient or ineffective effort is being expended in this space by governments at all levels.

The Committee is of the view that implementation of the NWA provides the best opportunity to fully recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights and interests in relation to water.

The Committee makes the following recommendations:

- **Recommendation 1:** That future reports measure the degree to which outcomes are achieved through national water reform, rather than prioritising outputs of the water reform process.
- **Recommendation 2:** That performance reports use assessment terms that better reflect the actual outcomes and include a sufficient level of detail in the high-level reporting on what has been achieved.
- **Recommendation 3:** The final PC Inquiry report emphasises the importance of truth-telling within national water reform.
- **Recommendation 4:** That UNDRIP principles are considered when assessing jurisdictions' performance against engagement commitments in the NWI.
- **Recommendation 5:** Provide more decision-making authority for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in water management.
- **Recommendation 6:** Include First Nations–led measures, targets and evaluative methodologies within MER frameworks – including future PC inquiries and NWA MER – ensuring progress and impacts are tracked.
- **Recommendation 7:** Recognise the importance of resourcing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in terms of water literacy and complex water management.
- **Recommendation 8:** Future reform should prioritise measurable increases in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander access to, management of and ownership of water.
- **Recommendation 9:** Increase acknowledgment and use of Indigenous science and knowledges in land and water management.
- **Recommendation 10:** More strongly acknowledge climate change impacts in national water reform performance assessments, including the disproportional impacts and the compounding impact climate change has on top of environmental degradation caused by colonisation.
- **Recommendation 11:** NWI performance assessments outline reforms to improve water security in remote First Nations communities, such as: including cultural water uses in infrastructure business cases; involving local expertise when designing water infrastructure; incorporating affordability considerations in water pricing frameworks.
- **Recommendation 12:** Future reform should strengthen groundwater science, monitoring and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander involvement in groundwater governance.

