

Report

**Background paper for
Investigative Panel
meeting on *New and
emerging models of
tenancy management in
remote Indigenous
communities***

authored by

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for the

**Australian Housing and Urban
Research Institute**

at University of Tasmania

September 2013

ISBN: 978-1-922075-37-6



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This material was produced with funding from the Australian Government and the Australian states and territory governments. AHURI Limited gratefully acknowledges the financial and other support it has received from these governments, without which this work would not have been possible.

AHURI comprises a network of universities clustered into Research Centres across Australia. Research Centre contributions, both financial and in-kind, have made the completion of this report possible.

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ACRONYMS

ALT	Aboriginal Lands Trust
APY	Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara
ARHP	Aboriginal Rental Housing Program
ARIA	Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia
ATSI	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CAT	Centre for Appropriate Technology
CHIP	Community Housing and Infrastructure Program
CHRP	Community Housing Rent Policy
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
CSHA	Commonwealth State Housing Agreement
DHPW	Queensland Government Department of Housing and Public Works
DOGIT	Deed of Grant in Trust
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs
ICHO	Indigenous Community Housing Organisation
LALC	Local Aboriginal Land Council
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAHA	National Affordable Housing Agreement
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPA	National Partnership Agreements
NPARIH	National Partnership Agreement Remote Indigenous Housing
NPARSD	National Partnership Agreement on Remote Delivery Service
NTDHLGRS	Northern Territory Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
NTDHLGRS	Northern Territory Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
OSHS	One Social Housing System
RSP	Recommended Service Provider
SHA	State Housing Authority
SIHIP	Strategic Indigenous Housing & Infrastructure Program
WA HA	Western Australian Housing Authority

Remote community means a community that is classified as either 'remote' or 'very remote' as defined by the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project is positioned in the context of reforms that have seen the Australian government providing resources to state and territory governments for property and tenancy management in remote Indigenous housing. These reforms form part of the National Partnership Agreement on Remote Indigenous Housing (NPARIH) and the National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery (NPARSD) and follow changes introduced in the Northern Territory in 2007 under the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) (Northern Territory government 2008). The project specifically examines one of the outputs agreed under the NPARIH in December 2008, namely:

Robust and standardised tenancy management of all remote Indigenous housing that ensures rent collection, asset protection and governance arrangements consistent with public housing standards. (COAG 2010, p.5)

This shift in responsibilities between the Commonwealth, states and the Northern Territory establishes a 10-year housing strategy towards the provision of housing for Indigenous people in remote communities. The strategy is expected to address issues of crowding, homelessness, poor housing conditions and severe housing shortages. The reforms include standardised tenancy management, a program for ongoing maintenance and repair of houses, support structures for sustaining tenancies, reformed rent strategies, increased employment opportunities for local Indigenous residents, improved data collection capacity and the progressive resolution of land tenure on remote community titled land to facilitate both government and commercial investments and opportunities (COAG 2010). They are intended to contribute to broader outcomes under the NPARSD that emphasise community engagement, social inclusion, service integration and community capacity building (COAG 2008).

The transfer of responsibility for remote Indigenous housing to state housing authorities (SHA's) entails significant challenges. These include the political and practical complexity of negotiating with communities on land tenure and establishing service delivery arrangements that meet NPARIH commitments. This involves adapting public housing tenancy management policies and practices to maintain consistency with public housing standards while ensuring appropriateness in remote Indigenous contexts.

This project examines how the reforms are being implemented in the Northern Territory, Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia. It asks what forms tenancy management service delivery arrangements are taking in different jurisdictions and locations and what factors have influenced these decisions. By comparing the different ways in which tenancy services are being delivered to Aboriginal people in remote locations, the project aims to establish policy lessons that will inform practice. This will support in-depth robust analysis of questions about financial and tenancy outcomes.

Methods

A literature review was undertaken to identify:

1. How state/territory housing authorities are implementing tenancy management on discrete and remote Indigenous communities.
2. Progress towards achieving policy goals.
3. The impact of these changes on community members and Indigenous community organisations.

For Canada, the USA and New Zealand, the aim of the review was to identify the policy and service delivery directions for housing in remote Indigenous communities and arrangements for tenancy management. The research involved an international literature review using databases and key government, policy, research and lobby group websites, internet searches, and contact with state and territory housing policy personnel to provide details of policy implementation that could not be found through the literature searches. Around 400 citations were identified through the search strategy, and from these approximately 90 documents were selected for in-depth study and inclusion in the final review.

Findings

Accessible information about how public housing models are being implemented across remote Indigenous communities is limited, with the Northern Territory having the most detail available. The study found that progress on the implementation of the national partnerships has been necessarily slow because of the time required to negotiate the changes with the communities, to work through the legal issues and to pass legislation so that states and territories can improve infrastructure and facilities and enact their new responsibilities for housing on discrete Indigenous communities. Although the process has been demanding for all stakeholders, the Ombudsman (Larkin 2012) suggests that many Indigenous people are keen to see improvements to their housing.

There is a lack of detailed information about the different ways in which tenancies are being managed but the review has confirmed the extent of variation between and within jurisdictions. In the Fitzroy Valley, the Goldfields and other regions of Western Australia, Indigenous Community Housing Organisations (ICHO)s are working alongside the WA Housing Authority, delivering housing services and positioning themselves to meet national standards as community housing providers. Similar arrangements are operating in the Northern Territory with Tangentyere Council's Central Australian Affordable Housing Company contracted to provide tenancy management services to Alice Springs town camps. Other arrangements are also in place within these jurisdictions, with authorities directly managing some communities, mainstream community providers operating in Western Australia, and shire councils providing services in the Northern Territory. These arrangements contrast with Queensland and South Australia where a direct management model prevails. In South Australia, SA Housing is intent on strengthening the ICHO sector and increasing local Indigenous involvement in service delivery, while in Queensland a more centralised tenancy management model located within the Queensland Department of Housing's One Social Housing System is being implemented. The diversity of models arises from quite distinct contexts and raises questions about:

- Which models are most appropriate for what contexts?
- How effective are they in terms of tenant outcomes and financial and organisational sustainability?
- Which issues are most difficult to resolve and what can be learned from progress in other jurisdictions?
- Where arrangements are working well, how can these achievements be protected from rapidly changing political contexts?

There have been only a handful of investigations into these issues and none that specifically compare models in terms of cost-benefits, financial sustainability and tenancy and community outcomes. Evaluations addressing tenant experiences have been limited to the Northern Territory. These suggest a high level of acceptance of the

changes amongst tenants co-existing with confusion and uncertainty about which organisation is responsible for housing, and what their obligations as tenants are under the new arrangements, including their rental payments. For example, the Allen report found that one-third of tenants stated they did not understand their tenancy agreement (2013). This has implications for the relations between communities and housing authorities, for tenant compliance and tenancy sustainment, with corresponding financial and human resource costs for housing managers.

Other concerns include the impact of inadequate IT systems on the capacity of housing authorities to implement changes, including managing rental payments (Larkin 2012), and the need to improve oversight, support and management of third party providers (Larkin 2012; Allen Consulting Group 2013). All the studies point to the need to improve tenant communication, support and participation. In the Northern Territory housing reference groups are poorly used and understood; there is very little information about how they, and strategies for tenant participation in other jurisdictions, are working, what the barriers to improving participation are, and what policy lessons can be established so far. Asking these questions in relation to this and other areas of tenancy management should provide SHAs with information that will support and improve policy development and practice.

Especially significant is the absence of information about the costs of tenancy management and how sustainable current models are beyond the life of the NPAs. In addition to comparing tenant outcomes, there is an urgent need to examine tenancy management options with a view to identifying the comparative cost-effectiveness of different approaches.

The present study

This study is proposed as the first of a two-stage project that aims to provide policy-makers and service providers with a robust evidence base on the cost-effectiveness and housing outcomes of different models of remote tenancy management, and the different conditions and contexts in which they optimally apply. This first stage will establish the conceptual framework for the analysis and will identify whether the data necessary for more in-depth analysis is available and appropriate.

To achieve this, the project will use an Investigative Panel complemented by site visits. Investigative Panels bring together research and policy experts and practitioners, drawing on their experience and expertise to examine the questions of interest. The Panel will meet twice and comprise approximately 15 expert members from state/territory and commonwealth governments in Queensland, South Australia, Northern Territory and Western Australia, and from Indigenous and mainstream community housing and NGO peak organisations.

The terms of reference for the Investigative Panel require consideration of four key issues:

1. The management of tenancies in remote Indigenous communities and the different arrangements influencing housing outcomes.
2. Implementation of tenancy management services in remote Indigenous communities and factors influencing decision making.
3. Forms of tenancy management services and differences in the mix of government, community and private sector services.
4. Ways in which a comparative analysis of the cost-effectiveness and housing outcomes of different types of tenancy management arrangements might be organised.

The Investigative Panel's consideration of these matters will also be informed by a background paper that will comprise desktop analysis, findings from the site visits and expert advice on how tenancy management is being implemented and the merits of different tenancy management approaches. This will support the development of an appropriate way forward to provide in-depth robust analysis of questions about financial and tenancy outcomes.

1 INTRODUCTION: HOUSING REFORMS IN REMOTE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

This project is positioned in the context of reforms that have seen the Australian government providing resources to state and territory governments for property and tenancy management in remote Indigenous housing. These reforms form part of the National Partnership Agreement on Remote Indigenous Housing (NPARIH) and the National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery (NPARSD) and follow changes introduced in the Northern Territory in 2007 under the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER). The project specifically examines one of the outputs agreed under the NPARIH in December 2008:

Robust and standardised tenancy management of all remote Indigenous housing that ensures rent collection, asset protection and governance arrangements consistent with public housing standards. (COAG 2008, 2010)

This shift in responsibilities between the Commonwealth, states and the Northern Territory establishes a 10-year housing strategy for the provision of housing for Indigenous people in remote communities. The strategy is expected to address issues of crowding, homelessness, deteriorated housing conditions and severe housing shortages. The reforms include standardised tenancy management, a program for ongoing maintenance and repair of houses, support structures for sustaining tenancies, rent reforms, increased employment opportunities for local Indigenous residents, improved data collection capacity and the progressive resolution of land tenure on remote community titled-land to facilitate both government and commercial investments and opportunities (COAG 2010). They are intended to contribute to broader outcomes under the NPARSD that emphasise community engagement, social inclusion, service integration and community capacity building (COAG 2008).

They include a building and refurbishment program scheduled to deliver more than 4200 new houses and rebuilding or refurbishment of more than 4876 existing houses by the end of 2014 (see Table 1) (COAG 2010). Initially established in the Northern Territory as the Strategic Indigenous Housing and Infrastructure Program (SIHIP) to address crowding and homelessness, this program was later subsumed within the NPARIH.

Implementation of these changes entails significant challenges for SHAs. These include the political and practical complexity of negotiating with communities on tenure and management arrangements, establishing service delivery arrangements that meet their NPARIH commitments, and adapting public housing-like tenancy management policies and practices to maintain consistency with public housing standards while ensuring appropriateness in remote contexts. Unique issues affecting housing in remote Indigenous communities include a shortage of housing and subsequent overcrowding (Memmott et al. 2011), geographical mobility practices (Habibis et al. 2011) and kinship obligations (Birdsall-Jones et al. 2010) that are poorly aligned with mainstream public housing approaches in areas including allocation, eligibility, rent setting and transfers (Porter 2009a, 2009b). Practical challenges include the availability of skilled housing management and maintenance workforces, distances to regional centres and between remote settlements, access to facilities providing safe workplaces and adequate ITC equipment and infrastructure.

Table 1: NPARIH 2008–18 budget, targets and completions as at 30 June 2012

	Budget 2008–18	New houses		Rebuilds and refurbishments	
	\$ million	2018 target	Completed June 2012	2018 target	Completed June 2012
NT	1,700	1,456	680	2,915	2,397
WA	1,200	1,012	237	1,288	747
Qld	1,200	1,141	171	1,216	871
SA	292	241	119	206	158

Source: ANAO Audit Report (2011–12) and FaHCSIA National Partnership Agreement Remote Indigenous Housing

A variety of tenancy management models have emerged in different jurisdictions, comprising of a mix of roles for state housing authorities, mainstream and Indigenous community housing providers and the private sector. There is limited documentation or analysis of these. To inform development of policy settings and service delivery nationally, it is timely to review how the reforms are being implemented as a preliminary to assessing their effectiveness. This study focuses on the four jurisdictions with the highest number of Aboriginal populations living in remote, discrete Indigenous communities: the Northern Territory, Western Australia, Queensland and South Australia.

2 INTERNATIONAL POLICY DIRECTIONS

Research on Indigenous housing suggests similarities between Australia, Canada, USA and New Zealand. Corresponding experiences include a young Aboriginal population with high birth rates, housing exclusion, population mobility, and an enduring attachment and association with rural and reserve communities, partly because of their role in maintaining Aboriginal cultural identity (Housing New Zealand Corporation 2008, p.44; Peters 2004, p.5; Taylor & Bell 2004, p.3). In the USA and Canada, the federal structure also creates problems of responsibility and accountability.

2.1 New Zealand

In 2006, the Maori population in New Zealand was 565 329, or 14.6 per cent of the total population (Flynn et al. 2010). The majority of Maori people live in urban and regional areas on the North Island, with only 2 per cent living in 'highly rural/remote' areas, predominantly on the North Island, with numbers declining as Maori people move towards urbanised areas such as Auckland (SNZ 2004, p.134). Maori family sizes are slightly larger than the general population and combined with cultural practices of receiving and accommodating visiting and permanent whanau (extended family), the Maori tend to require larger house sizes. In 2006, almost 13 per cent of Maori households were overcrowded. There is a high dependence on social housing with 38 per cent of all people living in New Zealand Corporation properties being Maori (Flynn et al. 2010).

Maori housing is mainstreamed although recent housing reforms have sought funding provisions to allow Maori and community housing organisations greater flexibility to expand support to more Maori tenants (NZDBH 2013a). The recently created Social Housing Unit is designed to develop, diversify and enlarge programs for Maori through facilitating appropriate community and private housing providers. Enabling investment on Maori land is also a priority (NZDBH 2013b). 'Putea Maori' constitutes a distinct portion of the Capital Grant funding program available for Maori housing providers. It encompasses an allocation of \$13.8 million over three years, plus \$0.5 million in a revolving fund for project development. Funding preference is given to social and rental housing on multiple-owned Maori land for predominantly low/moderate income Maori households (NZSHU 2013).

2.2 United States of America

In 2010, 5.2 million people, or 1.7 per cent of the total population in the USA identified as American Indian or Alaskan Native, or both (Norris, Vines & Hoeffel 2012, pp.2–4). Of these, 22 per cent live in American Indian and Alaska Native areas (ibid. pp.5–6), especially in or near reservations and trust lands in the Midwest plains, the Southwest and Alaska (HAC 2010, pp.16–17). Crowding in reservation homes is nearly 9 per cent of households.

The principle agency for Native and Alaskan American housing is the Office of Native American Programs located within the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This manages the Indian Housing Block Grant program that channels funding provided through the Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act 1996 to Indian tribes or their tribally designated housing entity for housing in Indian areas. Compliance is managed through an Indian Housing Plan which Indian housing organisations are required to submit every year (US DHUD 2013).

2.3 Canada

In Canada there are 1.4 million people who identify as Aboriginal, comprising 4.3 per cent of the total population (Statistics Canada 2011). The Aboriginal population is composed of 851 560 First Nations peoples or Indians, 451 795 Metis and 59 445 Inuit. Three quarters of First Nations peoples are status Indians, registered under the Indian Act of Canada with approximately 60 per cent of them living on reserves. Metis live predominantly in urban areas while three-quarters of Inuit live in Inuit homelands of Inuit Nunangat which stretches from Labrador to the Northwest Territories and comprises four regions: Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut and the Inuvialuit region (Statistics Canada 2011).

Reserve land is an area of land, the legal title to which is held by the Crown, set apart for the use and benefit of an Indian Band. In 2012 there were 2267 Indian reserves, comprising 2.6 million hectares or 0.02 per cent of Canada's total land area. The largest reserves are in Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan (AANDC 2013b). Reserve land is regulated by the Federal government under the Indian Act 1985 which limits any alienation of lands, including their use as security.

Canada's Constitution Act of 1982 established self-determination as a fundamental right of Aboriginal people with land rights treaties negotiated under the Inherent Right of Self Government Policy 1995. The First Nations Land Management Act 1999 replaces sections of the Indian Act dealing with land, resources and environment, increasing First Nations authority and responsibility for land management. Amendments in 2012 clarified the codes and removed barriers to development. Further changes proposed under the Economic Action Plan 2013 will provide more opportunities for First Nations to enact their own laws for economic development, conservation, use and possession of reserve lands.

Self-government agreements provide a framework for intergovernmental relationships between the Aboriginal and federal governments and establish Aboriginal governments as primarily responsible for their citizens. In 2012, 35 First Nations had land codes in force. In 1996 the then Indian Affairs and Northern Development Agency introduced the on-reserve housing policy that emphasises First Nations control, expertise, and shared responsibility, and increased access to private sector funding. This program allocates an average annual investment of \$155 million for housing in on-reserve communities. But First Nations and their residents are also expected to secure funding from other sources for their housing needs, including shelter charges and private sector loans (AANDC 2013a).

3 DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

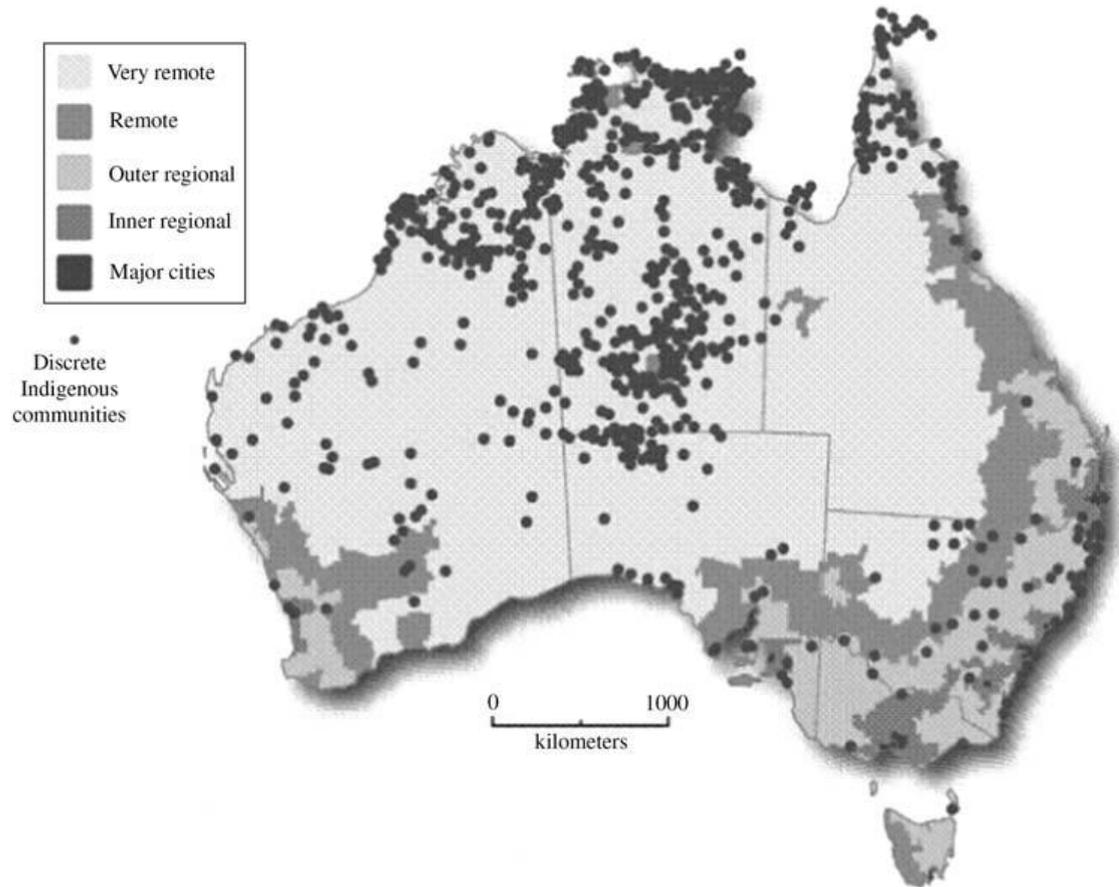
The remote and very remote Indigenous population of Australia comprises 127 000 people, or 24 per cent of the total Indigenous population in Australia (ABS 2006). The Indigenous population in remote areas comprises 15 per cent of the total remote population, rising to almost half of the very remote total population (Baxter et al. 2011). The Northern Territory includes the highest percentage of ATSI people in any jurisdiction, (see Table 2) and the highest number of discrete Indigenous communities (see Figure 1). Of the four jurisdictions included in this study, Queensland has the numerically highest Indigenous population.

Table 2: Australia’s estimated ATSI population by state and territory (at 30 June 2011)

	NT	WA	Qld	SA
Number	68,901	88,277	188,892	37,392
Proportion of jurisdiction ATSI population (%)	29.8	3.8	4.2	2.3
Proportion of Australian ATSI population (%)	10.3	13.2	28.2	5.6

The concept of ‘remote Indigenous housing’ is complex. The accepted standard for categorising remoteness in Australia is the Accessibility/Remoteness Index for Australia (ARIA). This index is the basis for defining ‘remote Indigenous communities’ for the NPARIH, with communities classified under ARIA as ‘remote’ or ‘very remote’ included in that definition. The concept of ‘discrete Indigenous communities’ is often conflated with ‘remote Indigenous communities’ which is understandable given that discrete communities are overwhelmingly, but not exclusively, located in remote and very remote locations. However, discrete communities are generally defined on the basis of having Indigenous specific land tenure, usually associated with Indigenous specific governance structures, rather than their remoteness. An added complexity is that Indigenous specific housing in remote and very remote locations may be situated in discrete Indigenous communities or mainstream towns and cities, with a range of land tenure status. Overlapping state and Commonwealth Indigenous housing funding, administration and governance arrangements prior to 2008 add further definitional complexity. For the purposes of this study, ‘remote Indigenous housing’ refers generally, but not exclusively to rental housing that is located in remote and very remote discrete Indigenous communities. These communities include designated reserves, town camps and community lands established for the benefit of, or governed by, Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander local government authorities, land councils or corporations. Specifically the study is concerned with housing that SHAs have taken over responsibility for since 2008 under the provisions of the NPARIH.

Figure 1: Distribution of discrete Indigenous communities and remoteness locations (2006)



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Housing and Infrastructure in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities, 2006, Cat. No. 4710.0

4 HOUSING FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT IN REMOTE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES PRIOR TO THE NATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS

Policy, funding and delivery of Indigenous housing to discrete Indigenous communities prior to and during the ATSIC era was achieved through a complex mix of public, semi-government, non-government and market providers. Under the Community Housing and Infrastructure Program (CHIP) the Federal government provided funding to Indigenous community housing organisations (ICHOs), some of which were remote Indigenous local authorities, including community corporations, for provision of housing services to Indigenous communities. Funding was channelled through ATSIC and then to Indigenous authorities and organisations, which in some jurisdictions included ICHOs. It provided for housing-related infrastructure, construction, property and tenancy management, environmental health infrastructure, essential services and municipal services. In addition to CHIP, targeted tied Aboriginal Rental Housing Program (ARHP) funding went to states and territories under the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA). The application of these funds varied between jurisdictions and the dual funding arrangements led to a 'mishmash of roles and responsibilities resulting in multiple and often inconsistent policies and a plethora of programs that often functioned with little or no co-ordination within single jurisdictions or even local areas' (Milligan et al 2010, p.16).

Following the abolition of ATSIC in 2004, responsibility for CHIP transferred to the Federal Department of Families and Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA). A 2007 review of CHIP found the program was failing to provide adequate housing for Indigenous people resident on remote communities and recommended its abolition and replacement with a remote Indigenous housing program managed by state housing authorities, with the aim of establishing housing management standards equivalent to those in public housing programs in comparable locations elsewhere (FaHCSIA 2007). In the ensuing years these recommendations were gradually implemented, with the Australian Remote Indigenous Accommodation Program initially replacing CHIP and eventually constituting national policy through the NPARIH and the NPARSD.

In Queensland, for example, policy directions have been strongly driven by land tenure issues and increasing state intervention in remote Indigenous housing management. The state negotiated with remote Indigenous community councils to assume responsibility for maintenance and tenancy management and progressively expanded these functions and formalised the arrangements through 40-year leases. The One Social Housing System (OSHS) policy, introduced in 2005, underpinned these changes. The aim of the OSHS was to integrate service delivery and align policy across state-funded public, community and Indigenous housing. Reforms included introducing a common social housing register and aligning access and rental policies. Indigenous housing policy, service delivery and property functions were integrated into mainstream public housing organisational units.

A summary of the evolution of remote Indigenous housing programs is provided in Table 3.

Table 3: Evolution of remote Indigenous housing programs 2004–09

2004	July	Abolition of ATSIC
		Transfer of CHIP to FaHCSIA
2005	Dec	Indigenous Housing & Infrastructure Agreements negotiated (signed by each state/territory government by May 2006)
2007	Feb	Review of CHIP
	June	NTER announced
	Sept	MOU signed on Indigenous Housing, Accommodation and Related Service between Australian and NT governments
	Oct	Funding for NT housing reforms allocated under Strategic Interventions Delivery program
2008	April	SIHIP announced
	July	Australian Remote Indigenous Accommodation Program (ARIA) established (replacing CHIP)
2009	Jan	NPARIH signed
		NAHA commenced to replace CSHA—ARHP funding moved to NPARIH
	Aug	Strategic Indigenous Housing & Infrastructure Program (SIHIP) reviewed
	Dec	Renegotiation of NPARIH

Source: Modified from ANAO 2012 and Milligan et al. 2011

5 POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFORMS

It has been well-established that there are substantial differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous tenancies (Memmott et al. 2003; Habibis 2013; Milligan et al. 2011) and that these differences are more pronounced in remote settings. Housing in remote settings is characterised by:

- High levels of housing shortage.
- High levels of overcrowding.
- Communication difficulties due to language and cultural barriers.
- Strong cultural norms of mutual reciprocity which create obligations to relatives and community members.
- High levels of high and complex needs.
- Low levels of employment.
- Practices of seasonal and cultural geographical mobility with implications for multiple residency, occupancy numbers, overcrowding, tenant absence and tenancy termination.
- Some distrust of and reluctance to engage with mainstream housing services.

The ICHO sector, including Aboriginal community corporations, was predominantly comprised of localised, kin-based, community organisations managing housing portfolios of less than 100 dwellings, with the majority managing less than 50 (AIHW 2011a). Governance structures were predominantly ICHOs overseen by the Office for the Regulation of Indigenous Corporations, local government entities such as Aboriginal community or shire councils and less commonly, companies overseen by the Australian Securities and Investment Corporation.

Regulation of tenancies was often highly individualised with decision-making based on local, customary arrangements through family and kin relations. Tenancy management occurred largely through face-to-face consultations. Decisions on issues including rent-setting, occupancy numbers and management of property damage tended to be personalised, flexible and poorly enforced (FaHCSIA 2007). Allocations and other decisions were usually made through local community structures, such as Community Councils, often between individuals related by family or tribal ties and with personal knowledge of applicants and tenants. Rent setting arrangements were diverse, with some communities operating a 'chuck-in' system to address low revenue streams. This involved a poll tax system in which all residents in a property paid what they could afford (see Habibis et al. in press). Some efforts were made in the 1990s in Queensland to educate remote Indigenous housing providers and their tenants about their rights and responsibilities under residential tenancies law and to adapt the legislation to recognise rent setting and collection practices. But although tenancies in most jurisdictions were captured by residential tenancies legislation, compliance was rarely enforced.

Table 4 summarises some of the implications of these arrangements for managing remote Indigenous tenancies.

Table 4: Policy implications of remote Indigenous tenancies

Context	Policy issue
Mixed housing stock including housing that does not meet public housing standards	Rent setting
	Housing maintenance
Frequent travel within and between communities	Identifying tenants
	Establishing principal residence
	Crowding and provision of visitor accommodation
	Notification of absence
	Termination and abandonment
Customary obligations	Enforcing policies on head tenants
	Allocations
	Occupancy
	Tenancy transfer
	Tenant participation
	Property damage
High and complex needs	Tenant support
Language barriers	Tenant communication

6 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Under the NPAs the Commonwealth has retained some policy and funding responsibility for housing in remote Indigenous communities, with state and territory, and/or local governments having responsibility for implementation, including housing procurement, some municipal and essential services provision, asset and tenancy management. Payments from FaCHSIA are made on the basis of achievements against performance milestones identified in the implementation plans. Joint steering committees, comprising senior officials from the Commonwealth, states and territories, have been established for each jurisdiction to monitor progress, with unresolved issues forwarded to relevant Ministers (Hawgood 2013). In addition, specific governance arrangements have been established in each jurisdiction.

In the Northern Territory, governments share a joint role in the oversight of many processes and decisions, with property and tenancy management delivered by the NT DHLGRS but monitored by the Joint Steering Committee drawn from both DHLGRS and FaHCSIA (ANAO 2012). Housing reference groups are managed by both the NT DHLGRS and FaHCSIA.

In Western Australia, amendments to the Housing Act (1980) enabled the WA HA to manage housing on Aboriginal land, negotiated through Housing Management Agreements (HMA's).

In Queensland the Remote Indigenous Land and Infrastructure Program Office was established within the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Multicultural Affairs to fast-track negotiation of state leases and housing investment in Indigenous communities (COAG 2009a).

In South Australia implementation of the reforms was undertaken through the Strategy, Policy and Aboriginal Outcomes directorate within the Department of Families and Communities.

6.1 Legislation and leasing

Under the NPARIH the states and territories are required to provide:

- Progressive resolution of land tenure on remote-community titled land to secure government and commercial investment, clarify legal responsibility and authority over fixed investments, and ensure access for repairs and maintenance.
- 'Robust and standardised tenancy management' for all tenants.
- Tenancy management services consistent with the public housing model, including tenancy support, fair rent system, asset protection, tenant and community participation, allocations based on need and governance arrangements.
- Employment and workforce development.
- Improved processes for repairs & maintenance.
- Improved data collection.

Table 5: Policy, legislative and land holding arrangements for state and territory management of housing in discrete Indigenous communities

	NT	WA	Qld	SA
Key legislation	Residential Tenancy Act (1999) Housing Act (NT) Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 (ALRA) Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007 (Cwlth)	Housing Act 1980 Residential Tenancies Act 1987 Land Administration Act 1997 Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority Act 1972 (WA)	Residential Tenancies & Rooming Accommodation Act 2008 (Qld) Housing Regulation Act (2003) Aboriginal Land Act 1991 Torres Strait Islander Land Act 1991 Aurukun and Mornington Shire Leases Act 1978	Residential Tenancy Act 1995 Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Rights Act 1981 (SA) Aboriginal Lands Trust Act (SA) 1966
Policy frame-works & instruments	Remote Public Housing Management Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Service Level Agreement (SLA) → Agreement to construct between WAHA and Aboriginal entity → Service Level Agreements between WAHA and contractors for property maintenance → WAHA and RSP—Service Level Agreement to manage and maintain housing → Remote Area Essential Services Program (repairs and maintenance) → Contract for Services Indigenous Land Use Agreements → Ascertaining the Wishes of Aboriginal Inhabitants Protocol 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → One Social Housing System → Building a Tenancy Management System Framework for Discrete Indigenous Communities → Deeds of Agreement with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Councils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → MOU with APY → MOU with ALT → Housing SA Operational Policies for Aboriginal communities → Working Together Agreements with communities → Local Operating Procedures
Land holding arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Head leases with subleases for individual tenants at Wurrumiyanga, Groote Eylandt communities. → 20–40 year housing precinct leases in 10 communities. → Negotiations continue at Yuendumu & Yirrkala. → Voluntary leasing arrangements under negotiation for remaining prescribed communities. 	Housing Management Agreements over crown and freehold land, including Aboriginal Lands Trust & Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority for 40 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → 40-year leases with 16 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Councils (34 discrete Indigenous communities) → Deeds of Agreement where 40-year leases are not yet in place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → 50-year ground lease with APY → 40-year under leases with ALT communities

There is considerable variation in the way the reforms have been implemented, with leasing arrangements and the extent of SHA direct involvement in the landlord role varying both within and between jurisdictions. Factors shaping this include arrangements for Aboriginal land tenure, and the size and capacity of the ICHO sector and its relationship with the state government. Queensland and South Australia are directly managing social housing assets on remote Indigenous communities, while the Northern Territory and Western Australia are contracting out some functions to mainstream or Indigenous community housing providers. Legislative changes have occurred ensuring that Indigenous communities fall within the jurisdiction of Residential Tenancies Acts and providing for the states and territories role as managers of public assets on Indigenous land (see Table 5).

In the Northern Territory leasing arrangements have taken three forms:

1. Whole-of-township leases of between 40 and 99 years have been negotiated for Wurrumiyanga (Nguuu) in the Tiwi Islands and the Groote Eylandt region, covering Angurugu, Umbakumba and Milyakburra with subleases issued to all users of the town. This is administered by the Executive Director of township leasing on behalf of the Australian government. The Northern Territory government manages tenancies through a sub-lease. All houses in the lease area must sign a tenancy agreement with Territory Housing.
2. Housing precinct leases of between 20 and 40 years have been negotiated with the Northern Territory government at Gunbalanya, Wadeye, Maningrida, Galiwin'ku, Gapuwiyak, Milingimbi, Ngukurr, Ntaria (Hermannsburg), Lajamanu and Numbulwar. It is also possible for the Executive Director of township leases to hold housing precinct leases. The Northern Territory government is the landlord under a housing precinct lease and is responsible for property and tenancy management. Tenants of SIHIP houses in the lease area must sign a tenancy agreement. Tenants of existing houses and houses outside the lease area must sign an occupancy agreement.
3. The five-year leases over the remaining communities prescribed under the NTER ended in August 2012 and negotiations are currently underway for voluntary leasing arrangements.

In Western Australia legislative changes have provided for Housing Management Agreements as the legal framework to enable the HA to manage housing on Aboriginal land and to apply the Residential Tenancies Act 1987. Under the Ascertaining the Wishes of Aboriginal Inhabitants Protocol, negotiations between the WA HA and the community identify which houses and community planning lots are to be included in a Housing Management Agreement, operational for 40 years and subject to their meeting public housing-like standards (WA HA 2012, 2013). By 30 June 2012 the WA HA had negotiated housing management agreements with 36 communities (WA HA Annual Report 2011/12). A Service Level Agreement is developed between the WA HA and a regional housing service provider, where the department does not directly manage housing (WA HA 2012). For Aboriginal Land Title (ALT) where there is no lease to the community, negotiations are with the community incorporated body and signed by the ALT. For ALT or Crown land leased to a community organisation it is negotiated and signed with that organisation.

In Queensland, legislative amendments provided the basis for 40-year leases by creating special leases for public infrastructure and social housing purposes. This allows the state to hold long-term and renewable leases of up to 99 years for public infrastructure purposes or for purposes under the Housing Act 2003 (Qld NRM 2012). This occurred simultaneously with changes to land tenure arrangements to allow for

99-year home ownership leases associated with policy proposals for freehold tenure in some discrete Indigenous communities (Qld DERM 2012).

Investment of NPARIH funds and associated tenancy management reforms in Queensland are limited to remote Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT) discrete Indigenous communities. Discrete Indigenous communities in Queensland are governed by Councils established under state government local government statute. These councils assume local government responsibilities and also act, in most communities, as the Trustees for community lands that are administered under a Deed of Grant in Trust. Following withdrawal of the state as administrator for these 'mission' or 'reserve' communities in the late 1980s, community councils became the owners and managers of state and federally funded rental housing situated on DOGIT lands. The Queensland government has established the Remote Indigenous Land and Infrastructure Program Office to negotiate leases in 16 ATSI Council areas including 34 DOGIT communities, providing a commitment of an annual \$2000 per property plus \$600 in lieu of rates. This has acted as a significant incentive for cash strapped Councils to sign up to 40-year leases with communities transferring housing management, in full or part, to the state.

In South Australia implementation of the reforms was undertaken through the Strategy, Policy and Aboriginal Outcomes directorate within the Department for Families and Communities. Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands were the priority area, especially in relation to increasing the supply and quality of housing and establishing a public housing service there. The Minister for Housing entered into an MOU with the APY Executive, indicating the long-term commitment by the state government and APY lands to work collaboratively in implementing new housing policies in the APY Lands (SADFC 2010). Housing SA has established leases over almost all of the 400 APY Lands properties with a total of 1030 houses now managed by Housing SA in regional and remote Indigenous communities (Housing SA 2011, p.40). Housing SA is directly managing these tenancies but the policy framework aims to build capacity within the ICHO sector so that those communities that want to can manage their own housing. Policy objectives also include strategies for facilitating home ownership options on Indigenous land.

Land tenure outside the APY Lands is primarily with the Aboriginal Lands Trust (ALT), and in 2010, the Minister for Housing and the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation signed a Memorandum of Understanding in support of Housing SA to undertake the process of providing property and tenancy management services and capital works in ALT communities. Housing SA is negotiating lease arrangements with ALT communities where an under-lease or a Deed of Agreement is agreed between the community, the ALT, the Minister for Social Housing and the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation.

6.2 Tenancy management

This section outlines tenancy management arrangements for each of the four states and territories with key features summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: Tenancy management arrangements by state and territory

	Northern Territory	Western Australia	Queensland	South Australia
Subcontract arrangements	Service level agreements with ICHOs and Shire Councils.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Service level agreements with six regional housing service providers (RSPs), or → Direct management by the WA HA of housing. 	Direct tenancy management delivery by Department of Housing and Public Works.	Direct tenancy management delivered by Housing SA.
Property types	Improvised Dwellings Legacy Dwellings New (SIHIP) houses	Property under a Housing Management Agreement named 'nominated lot' or 'nominated house'.	Some distinction between new builds/upgraded houses and legacy housing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → New & upgraded houses → Existing houses
Rent setting & bond payments	Remote rental framework Maximum dwelling rent applied differentially to new (SIHIP) housing (\$150–\$250) and to legacy dwellings (\$120–\$200).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Tenants are not required to pay security bond before entering a tenancy agreement. → The new Rent Setting Model is income based and consistent with public housing arrangements. The new rent setting policy to commence 1 July 2013. → Rent transition period up to five years (most one to two years). → Community identified cultural circumstances allowing rent relief while absent for cultural or law business (WA HA). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Community Housing Rent Policy 25 per cent of total assessable household income or the maximum rent, whichever is the lower amount. → NPARIH Property and Tenancy Management Plan Qld (2009) (under review). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → New rent policy commencing 6 July 2013. → Rent will be based on Valuer General's valuation setting a market based house rent. → Income based safety net will exist to ensure no household pays more than 20 per cent in remote areas and 25 per cent in non-remote areas. → NPARIH Property and Tenancy Management Plan SA (2013–15)
Allocations	Needs based and aligned to public housing policies. Policy requires input from HRGs but can be overridden by Territory Housing	Allocations are made in accordance with the process agreed and documented in the HMA.	Public housing tenancy staff prioritise on basis of need and 'matching for success', after consultation with Councils.	Based on need to reduce overcrowding.

	Northern Territory	Western Australia	Queensland	South Australia
Tenant consultation and participation	Housing reference groups as key liaison between landlords and tenants/communities.	'Ascertaining the Wishes of the Aboriginal Inhabitants' Protocol establishes the process to be used when negotiating HMAs on Aboriginal land (WA HA).	None in place to date.	Communities are encouraged and supported to form Housing Committees.
Repairs & maintenance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Inspections three monthly to identify maintenance. → Maintenance arranged by Territory Housing and sub-contracted to maintenance providers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → The WA HA or an RSP, in negotiation with the Aboriginal entity, may make an agreement with a contractor to maintain/repair houses under the HMA. → Maintenance is managed by the RSP or WA HA. → \$4000 per annum per house, in addition to rent collected in the community. 	State-wide system managed by QBuild with <i>Blue Phones</i> located on each community linked to call centre. Work undertaken by Councils, local Qbuild, CDEP or private contractors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Statewide system managed by Housing SA and delivered by maintenance contractors. → Phones are being installed in communities for reporting maintenance.
Service delivery	Target of 40 per cent Indigenous employment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Housing Services Officers located in community or closest HA Regional Office or RSP—preference for local Aboriginal employees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Mainly fly-in/fly-out Housing Officers from nearest centre. → Progressive employment of locally-based housing officers in some communities. → Integrated with public housing client service centre in some locations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Target of 20 per cent Indigenous employment. → Housing SA services are delivered from relevant regional offices.
Tenant support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Intensive Tenancy Support by Territory Housing in collaboration with ICHOs. → Minimum four inspections per annum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → 'My Tenancy My Home' Tenancy Management Support System trialed in East and West Kimberley region. → New Living Skills. → New tenancy support service designed and procured focusing on individually tailored support. Whole-community education modules available. 	None in place to date.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Home Living Skills required of all head tenants in new SIHIP houses. → Money Matters. → Minimum two inspections per annum.

	Northern Territory	Western Australia	Queensland	South Australia
Occupancy and absence		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → 'Cross-Transfer' allowed between remote communities and regional public housing. → Tenancy agreements recognise tenants may vacate properties for agreed period due to cultural circumstances. → Tenants required to advise of more than two months absence. → In some cases rent may be reduced. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Tenants required to advise absence of more than two weeks. → In some cases rent may be reduced. 	Tenants required to notify when vacating properties.

In the Northern Territory tenancy management is either undertaken by housing officers employed by the Remote Housing unit in Territory Housing, or agreed functions are contracted out to local shire councils or ICHOs located in major population centres. Since 2010, service-level agreements have been in place with shire councils and other providers for maintenance and property management services. Some functions are shared, for example, property dwelling inspections may be undertaken jointly by shire council staff and DHLGRS officers (ANAO 2012).

Central to the reforms are mandatory tenancy agreements with tenants in all newly constructed or repaired houses. Head tenants and co-tenants sign tenancy agreements while additional residents who may pay rent can enter into family agreements. (Allen Consulting Group 2013, p.viii) Family agreements specify all occupants of the house, including those who pay rent, how much rent they will pay, and how this is broken up between residents.

Rent setting is based on household income and bedroom numbers depending on the categorisation of dwellings:

1. Improvised dwellings assessed as unsafe and uninhabitable that are not subject to any formal agreements, taxes, rents or charges.
2. Legacy dwellings considered habitable but not refurbished or repaired under the NPARIH. Tenants pay between \$90–\$150 rent per week and are subject to an occupancy agreement. These dwellings are not considered subject to the Northern Territory Residential Tenancies Act (1999).
3. NPARIH houses are new, refurbished or repaired houses that are compliant with the Northern Territory Residential Tenancies Act (1999). Rent is calculated on total household income and bedroom numbers, capped at the maximum dwelling rent:
 - \$120–\$200 per week for refurbished houses.
 - \$150–\$250 per week for new and rebuilt houses.

The tenancy agreement stipulates a minimum of four inspections each year to determine whether houses are being looked after and to identify maintenance and repair needs. Housing officers also work locally to ensure tenants understand their rights and responsibilities and are able to maintain successful tenancies (Allen Consulting Group 2013). Territory Housing policies provide for an intensive tenancy support program upon allocation of a new or refurbished house. This includes meeting with house residents to extensively discuss the tenancy agreement and, where required, utilise a DVD translated into one of 15 Indigenous languages. Territory Housing works with tenants to identify a head tenant, and co-tenants, who sign the agreements. Head (and co-) tenants are made aware of their responsibilities to ensure the terms of the agreement are upheld, bond and rent is paid and that any changes to residency or income is reported (Larkin 2012, p.20). There are also moves to work co-operatively with head tenants in managing disruptive or damaging behaviours.

A community engagement implementation plan has been developed to guide the implementation and ensure appropriate engagement with Indigenous communities. Housing reference groups have been established to bridge the gap between the ICHO and territory model of housing delivery. They have an advisory role including liaising between community residents, SHAs and contractors, and facilitating tenant participation in housing decisions. In principle, each community has its own housing reference group although smaller communities may combine, and larger communities have multiple groups (Fien et al. 2012; Housing NT). The Alice Springs town camps

are reported to have 16 housing reference groups with a total of 76 groups in 71 communities (AG&NTG 2011). Their composition is described by Territory Housing as a balanced representation of traditional owners, special interest groups and individuals from different cultural and family groups (AG&NTG 2012).

In Western Australia, tenancy management arrangements are a mix of direct management by the Department of Housing and delivery of services by Indigenous organisations under a WA HA service level agreement. The WA HA Department directly manages housing in some communities in West Kimberley, mid-West/Gascoyne and Halls Creek regions. Contracts are in place with six regional housing service providers to manage housing in communities across the Derby, Fitzroy Crossing, the Goldfields, and the Ngaanyatjarra Lands regions.

Tenants in remote Aboriginal communities are not required to pay a security bond before entering into a tenancy agreement. Repairs and maintenance services are arranged by the RSP or the WA Department of Housing. Each house is allocated \$4000 NPARIH funding above the funds collected through rent in that community for repairs and maintenance. The WA government is instituting rent reforms in July 2013.

Tenancy support is provided by six regional service providers, including one ICHO, through the Supporting and Educating Tenants Program (STEP). Support services offer practical assistance, counseling and advice, resources, support, and service referral. All residents are offered the New Living Skills program (WA HA 2011). The 'My Tenancy My Home' matrix is used as a tenancy management support tool and employs a visual tenant matrix to communicate tenant rights and responsibilities under the RTA (1987) and identify issues requiring resolution (WA HA 2012). The WA HA recognises dry communities if this is included in community by-laws, and provides for a condition prohibiting the tenant from storing or consuming alcohol on the premises.

Box 1: Tenancy management in Alice Springs town camps

Tangentyere Council is an Aboriginal controlled incorporated association that has operated since the 1970s and provides a wide range of services, including social enterprises, for the 18 Housing Associations that are known as 'town camps' in Alice Springs.

In December 2009, 14 of the 15 Housing Associations that held perpetual head leases over their town camps signed 40-year sub-leases of their land in return for a commitment under the NPARIH of \$100 million over five years to upgrade housing and essential infrastructure.

To facilitate housing service delivery under the NPARIH Tangentyere Council and the 18 town camp communities established the Central Australian Affordable Housing Company Ltd. According to its first strategic plan, 'The Company is based on a social business model that delivers improved governance, a commercially sound business, an opportunity for increased government and private investment and improved capacity to tackle the housing backlog'.

The company aims to improve housing outcomes and to increase the supply of social and affordable rental and owner-occupied housing, both on town camps and elsewhere in and around Alice Springs. The establishment of the company attracted financial support from the Australian government and has negotiated contracts to manage social housing in the town camps on behalf of Territory Housing.

The 'Ascertaining the Wishes of Aboriginal People' Protocol for consultation and information provision to communities must be adhered to before entering into a Housing Management Agreement, agreeing to a house or lot in the Agreement, or deciding who the house/lot should be leased to (Solonec 2010). The Housing Management Agreement also provides for the WA HA and the community

organisation to negotiate who is eligible to live in the community, how housing is allocated, the rent transition period for tenants living in new or re-furnished housing, eviction, local employment opportunities and what constitutes cultural circumstances for each community. The WA HA is required to report annually to the community (WA HA 2013).

In Queensland, the Department of Housing and Public Works has responsibility for tenancy management of housing in 14 of the larger remote, discrete Indigenous communities either through 40-year leases or Deeds of Agreement. Staff based in client service centres in Cairns, Mt Isa, Thursday Island and Townsville manage the remote tenancies, visiting communities on a fly-in/fly-out basis. The department has commenced progressive recruitment of local housing officers but this has not occurred to date. Repairs and maintenance services are managed by QBuild in accordance with the statewide model whereby maintenance calls are channeled through a centralized call centre. Each community has one or more 'blue phones' that provide tenants with free calls to report maintenance issues to the call centre. QBuild arranges repairs through local councils, local QBuild staff, NGO or private contractors.

Under the 'Building a Tenancy Management System Framework for Discrete Indigenous Communities' project, the department sought to establish service delivery models and operational policies that adapted public housing tenancy management practices to the needs of local remote Indigenous community contexts (pers. comm. 2011). Tenancy officers from the client service centres are responsible for all tenancy management tasks including:

- Allocating housing.
- Signing up tenants to formal tenancy agreements.
- Implementing public housing rent setting policies.
- Following up on arrears.
- Processing change of resident and change of income notifications.
- Actioning breaches.
- Liaising with community property portfolio teams and QBuild regarding planned maintenance, upgrades and new construction.

A community housing rent policy for Indigenous Councils has been developed and implemented that provides for income-based rents capped at \$90 to \$195. Head tenants are responsible for rent but co-tenants and other household members can contribute through individual payments. Visitors must be reported to the department after four weeks and their income will be assessed and rent adjusted.

Box 2: Tenancy support in Yalata and APY lands

'In January, the first four tenants moved back into refurbished homes that were completed through the NPARIH program in Yalata. Every household moving into a new or refurbished property has a home visit from Housing SA. Housing SA is continuing to work with the Yalata Housing Committee to develop the Working Together Agreement and will continue to develop Local Operating Procedures to support the Housing Program. Housing SA is also working in partnership with Families SA to deliver the Money Matters Program. Housing Support sessions were also held with participants and included an introduction to the Home Living Skills, focusing on an overview of general tenancy obligations.'

'Housing SA has contacted all households in Amata regarding the Housing Support Program. In the January-March quarter 29 households were visited with a total of 52 people participating in Home Living Skills sessions. These sessions focused on home maintenance and cleaning, kitchen hygiene and nutrition. The Housing Support Program Officer also continues to distribute basic household items to assist with cooking and maintaining the home.'

Excerpt from Grapevine: Housing in Aboriginal Communities (Housing SA 2012)

Tenancy support in Queensland is being developed through the Housing Support Program. Targeted fact sheets have been developed for remote communities that explain key policies, tenancy rights and responsibilities. Tenancy officers are responsible for explaining these to tenants. Community engagement is usually through communication by departmental officers with local councils.

In South Australia, Housing SA is directly delivering property and tenancy management services to communities who have entered into long-term leases. This includes existing properties that haven't yet been upgraded. On the APY Lands, Housing SA is based in Umuwa, and employs Housing Officers who travel regularly to communities. The Home Living Skills program is provided in many communities to provide tenants with skills to maintain their tenancies and homes through healthy living practices. It is intended that the living skills program is delivered by local staff employed within the community, however recruitment and retention have been a challenge.

In other locations, Housing Officers are based in regional offices and have regular visits to communities.

In delivering property and tenancy management services, Housing SA is directly responsible for services including rent collection, allocation, debt management, home visits and maintenance. Maintenance services are delivered via contractors, and reporting is encouraged via telephones that are being progressively installed in communities. Properties on the APY Lands are also subject to a programmed maintenance regime, which includes electrical safety, plumbing and air-conditioning checks.

A new rent policy will commence across Aboriginal communities in SA from 6 July 2013. The policy establishes market-based house rent on bedroom numbers, and is set by the SA Valuer General. In remote communities, if the house rent is more than 20 per cent of combined household income, tenants can apply for a safety net rent. In non-remote communities the safety net can be applied where house rent is more than 25 per cent of combined household income.

Housing SA has a target of 20 per cent employment of Aboriginal people in housing construction and management of remote communities, and significant outcomes have been seen in the housing construction component. Ongoing effort is continuing to recruit locally for property and tenancy management service delivery.

7 IMPACT ON INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY HOUSING ORGANISATIONS

The NPA reforms have accelerated the decline of the ICHO sector, due to the loss of dedicated national funding, especially in remote Indigenous communities (see Table 7 below). If ICHOs wish to operate within the state housing system they must meet mainstream community housing funding, policy and regulatory conditions. Most ICHOs operating in remote locations have had little choice but to relinquish management of their housing to SHAs. In non-remote locations they are increasingly subject to mainstreaming. The exception is NSW where adapted policy, funding and regulation are in place (Milligan et al. 2010).

Table 7: Indigenous community housing organisations by state or territory: 2001, 2006 and 2011

State or territory	All ICHOs		All ICHOs	Funded ICHOs
	2001	2006	2011	2011
NSW and ACT	205	169	207	98
Vic	25	22	19	19
Qld	116	91	28	28
SA	31	37	41	32
WA	125	92	-	5
Tas	3	3	3	2
NT	111	82	30	30
Total Australia	616	496	328	214

Source: Adapted from Milligan et al 2010 (from Table 2.2, ABS 2006 4710.0, p.7) and AIHW 2012 p.63

Between 2001 and 2011 the number of ICHOs declined from 616 to 328. Of these, only 214 are reported by SHAs to be funded. Between 2004 and 2011 the number of dwellings managed by ICHOs declined from 21 717 to 17 543 (AIHW 2012, p.23). The state affected most acutely is Western Australia which had the second largest number of ICHOs in Australia, after NSW, and the largest number of remote ICHOs, with 34 service providers managing 2261 houses in 121 communities (Solonec 2010). In WA many individual communities managed their own housing through their community corporations (identified here as ICHOs). Initially housing management was voluntarily handed over to Aboriginal Regional Resource Centres to facilitate improved housing management. The centres evolved into Regional Housing Service Providers (RSP) and are contracted and funded by the WA HA to manage housing. Additionally, a couple of communities continue to self-manage their housing through their community corporation. When one RSP failed, the service was tendered and a mainstream community housing organization won the tender. As other RSPs faltered, the WA HA stepped in to provide direct housing management services. A further five urban ICHOs remain funded through WA HA, one of which also provides housing management to remote communities.

Under the NPARIH there is great variation in the treatment of the ICHO sector across jurisdictions and considerable barriers for them to be integrated as registered providers within state systems. These include:

- The small size of most ICHO's affecting their financial and organisational capacity due to poor economies of scale.
- The challenge of financing negotiation of regulatory hurdles.
- The varied extent of their legal frameworks, including complications of funding sources and ICHO type (e.g. housing specialist or multiple service provider).
- Remoteness factors, such as IT access.
- Variation in availability of qualified personnel for financial, management and administrative tasks.
- Limited training opportunities.
- The difficulty of adapting wrap-around, flexible models of housing management to mainstream ones (Eringa et al. 2008).

In Western Australia the WA HA is working with five ICHOs to increase their capacity to meet regulatory requirements. The ICHOs are encouraged toward registration as a Community Housing Service Provider to ensure they operate in line with the WA Community Housing regulatory framework and become subject to compliance monitoring (WA HA 2012).

In Queensland, the Department of Housing and Public Works is progressively taking over managing tenancies in remote discrete communities from local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander councils as a condition of new and upgraded housing and currently has formal agreements in place in 14 communities. In some communities dual arrangements are in place with DHPW managing tenancies for new and upgraded properties and the Council managing the others.

ICHOs in locations not designated as DOGIT communities have limited access to alternative funding sources and are dependent on mainstream community housing funding streams and must meet their regulatory regime. Where these ICHOs opt to transfer their housing to the state, it is absorbed into the mainstream public housing management system. Of approximately 80 ICHOs pre-2005, at least 25 have elected to register under mainstream community housing regulation, at least five have wound up or transferred housing to the state and the remainder are still negotiating or have opted to remain outside the state system.

In the Northern Territory only a handful of ICHOs remain. Most of the 60 Community Councils that previously managed housing in remote Indigenous communities were amalgamated in 2008 to form eight Shire Councils. Some of these Shire Councils are contracted to Territory Housing to undertake tenancy management.

7.1 National policy: social housing initiatives

The decline of the Indigenous community sector in remote housing provision runs counter to national trends of an increase in the role of the community housing sector in social housing (Pisarski et al. 2010; Milligan et al. 2010). National policy and policy in the larger jurisdictions is directed to transferring a significant proportion of public housing to management by community housing providers, but the opposite is occurring in remote Indigenous housing where the barriers to ICHOs achieving registration have meant the states and territories have increased their direct management. Associated reforms include the establishment of a new national regulatory and registration system for not-for-profit housing providers. This will impact on the role of community housing in remote Indigenous communities even though local government providers, including Indigenous councils, are not currently covered by the proposed system.

At this point it is not possible to ascertain how this divergence will shape future policy directions in remote Indigenous housing. However, these are critical and imminent policy concerns in jurisdictions such as Queensland where government policy is to exit from direct housing management and progressively transfer all social housing management to community housing or private providers.

8 EVALUATIONS OF PROGRESS

There is a lack of independent, accessible research on the housing management practices under the NPARIH. The NPARIH reporting requirements provide some information and there are five studies that indirectly address tenancy management in remote Indigenous communities which provide important insights (see Table 8). Three of the reports are only concerned with the Northern Territory, including one focusing on the Alice Springs town camps. Only the recently published progress review of the NPARIH provides a national picture and this has limited coverage of tenancy management issues. The studies include:

- Allen Consulting's evaluation of tenants' experiences of the NPARIH and tenancy management reforms in the Northern Territory, commissioned by FaHCSIA (Allen Consulting 2013).
- The Commonwealth Ombudsman's report on remote housing reforms in the Northern Territory (Larkin 2012).
- National Shelter's report of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander housing roundtable, held in 2012 (Shelter 2012).
- Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) post-occupancy evaluation on the new, rebuilt and refurbished housing works in Alice Springs town camps between 2008 and 2011 (CAT 2012a, 2012b).
- FaHCSIA's recently published Progress Review (2008–13) of the NPARIH (Hawgood 2013).

The Centre for Appropriate Technology review provides evidence that key conditions of the new housing management regime overseen by Territory Housing and sub-contracted Indigenous housing agencies have been positively endorsed by some Indigenous tenants. This suggests that sub-contracting housing management functions to local NGOs and ICHOs with established relationships and knowledge of local communities appears to have had some success (CAT 2012a). However, stringent requirements have also been reported as contributing to resident stress and affecting resident well-being, in some instances (CAT 2012a, p.31).

The Shelter Report covers urban, regional, rural and remote Indigenous housing, and is principally concerned with what place there will be for the ICHO sector in the context of an increased role for community housing as a social housing provider. It stresses the need for capacity building for ICHOs and for flexible regulatory regimes.

The Allen, Commonwealth Ombudsman and Hawgood reports recognise the challenges inherent in achieving standards of housing delivery and tenancy management comparable to those in urban areas and acknowledge some achievements. The Allen report found high levels of tenant understanding of the new arrangements in relation to rental payments, housing maintenance and responsibilities for repairs and maintenance. Both Northern Territory reports acknowledge the strategies used by Territory Housing to explain the requirements of tenancy agreements.

Table 8: Evaluations of tenancy management arrangements

Report/year	Scope	Methods	Findings
National Shelter 2012	Roundtable on role of ICHO sector within new policy and regulatory regime of community housing.	One-day discussion attended by delegates from Australian and state & territory governments, Aboriginal organisations and national and state Shelter offices.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Uncertainty about the place of the ICHO sector within the emerging system of community housing regulation and a corresponding need for capacity building measures. → Need for united national voice on housing for ATSI peoples.
Commonwealth Ombudsman 2012	Report on remote housing reforms in NT.	Complaints received and engagement with FaHCSIA and NT Housing.	<p>Suggest improvements needed in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Collaboration with shires, housing associations and third party providers. → Tenant communication. → IT systems support. → Accountability and complaints processes.
Centre for Appropriate Technology 2012	Post-occupancy evaluation on the new, rebuilt and refurbished housing works in Alice Springs town camps 2008–11.	Interview with 53 households in stage 1 and 39 households in stage 2 from six town camps.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Tenants of new builds positive about rent payment and visitor policies. Some concern about responsibility of head tenant for visitor damage. → Some confusion about responsibility for repairs and maintenance and how requests are prioritised.
Allen Consulting 2013	Evaluation of tenants' experiences of NPARIH and tenancy management reforms in NT.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Survey interviews with 100 tenants in seven remote NT communities. → Interviews with Australian and NT government informants. → Service provider discussions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Good understanding of tenant responsibilities in some tenancy areas → Improvements needed in: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tenancy support, including follow up life skills training. 2. Tenant communication in relation to expectations of housing provision. 3. Mechanisms for tenant participation. 4. Processes for notification of repairs and maintenance and follow-up of requests. 5. Implementation of visitor policies so they are better adjusted to cultural practices.
Hawgood 2013	Progress Review (2008–13) of the NPARIH for FaHCSIA.	Consultation with government stakeholders, small number others, some site visits and review of documents.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Considerable progress although rent setting and tenant support reforms lagging. → Need for ongoing tenant support and engagement. → Needs focus to achieve 2015 deadline for full implementation. → Greater transparency and clearer benchmarks.

The Hawgood report acknowledges some progress in implementing tenancy management reforms but points to variable performance across jurisdictions. Hawgood emphasises the importance of tenant engagement and support to assist tenants understand their rights and responsibilities under the new arrangements. The report recommends improved benchmarks and reporting regimes for tenancy management under the NPARIH. This report also highlights the need for greater emphasis on building ICHO capacity and employing and training more local Indigenous housing workers. Areas identified for improvement in these reports include:

1. Oversight of service providers—The Ombudsman report suggests that complaints about service providers points to a need to improve oversight, management and support of the role of shires and frontline service providers.
2. Rent setting and collection—Maintaining rental payments was not identified as a concern in the Allen report since most respondents have their rent paid directly by Centrelink. Hawgood reported that rent setting reforms are not in place across all jurisdictions. Both the CAT study and the Ombudsman reports identify difficulties with rent setting and collection:
 - Some communities were operating outside rental policy settings with difficulties in ensuring that rental payments are correctly set for legacy dwellings, and reports of people paying rent for improvised dwellings. Tenants may have little understanding of rent setting policies or awareness of rent review processes. Territory Housing may also have difficulty maintaining an accurate record of housing occupants due to frequent occupant turnover and low compliance with reporting requirements (Larkin 2012, p.20).
 - Tenants risking falling into arrears because IT limitations have meant that automatic debit arrangements were not renewed following the transfer of rental payments from Centrelink to Territory Housing (Larkin 2012, pp.23–4).
3. Tenant communication and support, managing visitors and occupancy numbers, tenant participation and repairs and maintenance:
 - Some confusion about tenant and landlord rights and responsibilities, and unrealistic expectations about levels of housing service. The Allen report found almost one-third of respondents reported they did not understand the information in the tenancy agreement (2012). This included how rental payments were calculated, payments for repairs and maintenance and policies on allocations and tenant absence. The Ombudsman report also identified poor understanding of housing allocation processes.
 - Both Allen and Ombudsman reports recommend improvements in communication. These include providing information more slowly and in smaller amounts, more regular community meetings and information sessions using interpreters and informing tenants of their rights, and what they can expect from Territory Housing and other service providers in relation to areas such as repairs, accessing rental records and support and advocacy services.
 - Despite the existence of tenancy support and life skills programs there was a perception that these were not 'overly effective' or adequately culturally appropriate (Allen Consulting 2013, p.40). Although the Allen report found that 50 per cent of respondents reported their tenancy agreement helped them to manage visitors, 40 per cent reported that cultural obligations made this difficult. Similar observations about the need to implement tenant support services are made by Hawgood.

- Head tenants are identified as carrying a heavy burden of responsibility in ensuring co-tenants and other residents and visitors comply with tenancy obligations in relation to rent payments including notification of changes in income, visitor and tenant numbers, property damage, and risk accruing rent arrears and liabilities (Larkins 2012, p.21). More generally, tenants have difficulty meeting requirements for occupancy numbers which conform to the requirements of the Northern Territory Residential Tenancy Acts [1999] that bedrooms should not be occupied by more than three people.
- Housing reference groups have been identified as poorly used and poorly understood in many locations with low dissemination of information to the community and a lack of transparency of allocations decisions (Allen Consulting 2013, pp.55–60). Three years of Remote Housing NT eNews publications provides negligible insight into the level of community involvement in housing (AG&NTG 2010, 2011, 2012). Both the Allen and Ombudsman reports recommend building the capacity of housing reference groups through ongoing support and training.
- Both Northern Territory reports identified problems with high wait times for repairs and maintenance requests, especially in smaller communities, and poor understanding of complaints processes to address this.

9 FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is to be expected that ongoing tenancy management costs will be higher during the implementation phases of public housing management of remote Aboriginal housing, due to the need to sign up tenants to new tenancy agreements and rent payments, as well as the time required to explain these to tenants and community stakeholders. This transition stage is costly because it requires face-to-face and other communication strategies to explain rights and responsibilities under tenancy agreements and to provide support to tenants in caring for their homes.

Beyond this, the delivery of tenancy management services in remote Indigenous communities that are culturally appropriate and of public housing-like standards elsewhere comes at high cost. It is unrealistic to expect that rent collection in these communities can fund the full cost of ongoing tenancy and property management. This is recognised under the NPARIH through the allocation of funds to offset these costs for state and territory governments.

The Australian National Audit Office reports nearly \$500 million allocated under NPARIH for the Northern Territory but does not specify a timeframe. This would equate to \$50 million per annum, assuming this is over the 10 years of the agreement. In Western Australia, the WA HA (2012) notes the NPARIH allocation of a minimum of \$4000 per nominated house under a housing management agreement for repairs and maintenance. There is otherwise very limited information in the public domain about the funding arrangements for tenancy management. Hawgood notes that some jurisdictions have already raised questions about the financial sustainability of the model if funding is not available after 2018 when the NPARIH expires (Hawgood 2013). This increases the relevance of the question of the cost effectiveness of different models of tenancy management.

10 CONCLUSION

This outline of what is known about the progress of the NPARIH reforms has highlighted the amount of work that needs to be done to achieve urban standards of housing in remote communities. It has taken time to negotiate the changes with the communities, to work through the legal issues and to pass legislation so that states and territories can improve infrastructure and facilities and enact their new responsibilities for housing on discrete Indigenous communities. The process has been demanding for all stakeholders but the Ombudsman report (Larkin 2012) suggests that many Indigenous people are keen to see improvements to their housing.

There is a lack of detailed information about the different ways in which tenancies are being managed but the review has confirmed the extent of variation between and within jurisdictions. In the Fitzroy Valley, the Goldfields and other regions of Western Australia, ICHOs are working alongside the WA HA, delivering housing services and positioning themselves to be able to meet national standards for community housing providers. Similar arrangements are operating in the Northern Territory with the Tangentyere Council's Central Australian Affordable Housing Company contracted to provide tenancy management services to Alice Springs town camps. But within these jurisdictions other arrangements are also in place, with authorities directly managing some communities, mainstream community providers operating in Western Australia and shire councils providing services in the Northern Territory. These arrangements contrast with Queensland and South Australia where a direct management model prevails. However, while South Australia is intent on strengthening the ICHO sector and increasing local Indigenous involvement in service delivery, in Queensland a more centralised tenancy management model located within the Queensland DoH 'One Social Housing System' is being implemented. The diversity of models arises from quite distinct contexts and raises questions about:

- Which models are most appropriate for what contexts?
- How effective are they in terms of tenant and broader community outcomes and financial and organisational sustainability?
- What are the issues that are most difficult to resolve and what can be learned from progress in other jurisdictions?
- Where are arrangements working well and can these achievements be built on and protected from rapidly changing political contexts?
- Is there a place for a 'national' understanding when there is such diversity between the states in relation to public and community housing property and tenancy management?

There have been only a handful of investigations into these issues and none that compare models in terms of cost-benefits, financial sustainability and tenancy and community outcomes. Evaluations that have addressed tenant experiences have been limited to the Northern Territory. These suggest there is a high level of acceptance of the changes amongst tenants, but this co-exists with confusion and uncertainty about which organisation is responsible for various housing management functions and what their obligations as tenants are under the new arrangements, including their rental payments. For example, the Allen report found that one-third of tenants stated they did not understand their tenancy agreement (2012). This has implications for the relationship between communities, state housing authorities and other housing providers. It also has implications for tenant compliance and tenancy sustainment, with corresponding financial and human resource costs for housing

managers. The need to manage tenant expectations about the extent of improvements in housing that state housing authorities can deliver is also a critical area of concern.

Other areas of concern identified by the five investigations of relevance to this area (CAT 2012a, 2012b; National Shelter 2012; Larkin 2012; Allen Consulting 2013; Hawgood 2013) include the impact that inadequate IT systems are having on the capacity of housing authorities to implement changes, including managing rental payments (Larkin 2012), and the need to improve oversight, support and management of third party providers (Larkin 2012, Allen Consulting 2013). This latter point is of special concern given national policy directions to increase the role of the community sector in social housing provision. All the studies point to the need to improve tenant communication, support and participation. In the Northern Territory housing reference groups are identified as poorly utilised and understood. There is very little publicly available information about how these and strategies for tenant participation in other jurisdictions are working, what the barriers to improving participation are, and what policy lessons can be established so far. Asking questions about these issues and other areas of tenancy management should provide SHAs with information that will support and improve policy development and practice.

Of particular significance is the absence of information about the costs of tenancy management and how sustainable current models are beyond the life of the NPAs. In addition to comparing tenant outcomes, there is an urgent need to examine tenancy management options with a view to identifying the comparative cost-effectiveness of different approaches.

10.1 The present study

This study is proposed as the first of a two-stage project that aims to provide policy-makers and service providers with a robust evidence base on the cost-effectiveness and housing outcomes of different models of remote tenancy management and the different conditions and contexts in which they optimally apply. This first stage will establish the conceptual framework for this analysis and will identify whether the data necessary for more in-depth analysis is available and appropriate.

To achieve this, the project will use an Investigative Panel design to bring together experts from the research and policy communities, and practitioners, drawing on their experience and expertise in the area of remote Indigenous housing. The Panel will meet twice to examine the questions of interest, and complement this with site visits. The Panel will comprise approximately 15 expert members from state/territory and commonwealth governments in Queensland, South Australia, the Northern Territory and Western Australia, and from Indigenous and mainstream community housing and NGO peak organisations.

The terms of reference for the Investigative Panel will involve consideration of four key issues:

1. The management of tenancies in remote Indigenous communities and different arrangements which influence housing outcomes.
2. The implementation of tenancy management services in remote Indigenous communities and factors which influence decision making.
3. Forms of tenancy management services and differences in the mix of government, community and private sector services.

4. Ways in which a comparative analysis of the cost-effectiveness and housing outcomes of different types of tenancy management arrangements might be organised.

The first meeting of the Investigative Panel in July 2013 will:

- Confirm and develop a shared understanding of the terms of reference for the Investigative Panel.
- Inform a shared understanding of the policy approaches to tenancy management and the contexts and resource rationales that have shaped these.
- Provide advice on possible site visits for more detailed analysis of these questions.

The second meeting will be held in Sydney in September 2013 over one and a half days and will develop a shared understanding of how policies have been implemented in different locations and jurisdictions with discussion of policy lessons across the four jurisdictions. It will provide advice on whether administrative data, in combination with primary data collection strategies (interviews, focus groups and survey), will be available and appropriate to provide in-depth robust analysis of questions about financial and tenancy outcomes.

10.1.1 Site visits

The purpose of the site visits is to provide more detailed understanding of the management and service issues being addressed by state housing authorities, and to identify the factors influencing implementation. They will take place prior to the second Investigative Panel meeting. Visits will initially be to capital cities and regional centres for discussions with senior policy and operational staff. These discussions will form the basis of visits to four remote or very remote locations so that a detailed and contextualised account of tenancy management arrangements can be established. For comparative purposes, some diversity in arrangements and complexities between the different sites will be sought, including quality of housing infrastructure, size and geographical distribution of service population, number of Indigenous and mainstream non-government organisations, and Indigenous population profiles. For each state and territory, up to 10 informants will be sought, including senior policy and operations staff across government and community sectors, database managers, frontline staff including tenancy officers, tenants and community members, housing industry providers and relevant support service providers, such as health, education and children's services.

10.1.2 Background papers and Final Report

The Investigative Panel's consideration of these matters will be informed by background papers that will comprise desktop analysis, findings from the site visits and expert advice on how tenancy management is being implemented and the merits of different tenancy management approaches.

A Final Report covering the findings of the Investigative Panels and site visits will be prepared and circulated to panel members for validation and comment before publication on the AHURI website.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Methods

A literature review was undertaken to identify the national and international literature on how state/territory housing authorities are implementing the NPARSD and the NPARIH in relation to the normalisation of housing on discrete and remote Aboriginal communities, including progress towards achieving policy goals and the impact of these changes on community members and Aboriginal community organisations. For Canada, the USA and New Zealand the aim of the review was to identify the policy and service delivery directions for housing on remote Aboriginal communities and arrangements for tenancy management.

The research involved three key stages:

1. An international literature review.
2. Internet searching.
3. Contact with state/territory housing policy personnel to provide details of policy implementation that could not be found through the literature searches.

The review located documents produced by public housing authorities with the aim of:

- Describing how the state/territory housing authorities were resolving issues of land tenure and housing management on remote/discrete Aboriginal communities and the legislative changes associated with these.
- Outlining the policies developed in relation to rent setting, allocations, occupancy, visitors, repairs and maintenance and transfers and termination, tenant communication, support and participation.
- Identifying funding arrangements for tenancy management.

The review was carried out as follows:

- Relevant social science bibliographic, internet and grey literature databases were searched from 2007 to date.
- Searches of relevant internet sources, policy websites and further documentary sources were carried out using techniques to avoid any possible omissions not included in keyword searches (see below for a list of websites).

The review then searched for grey literature and other relevant policy documentation from Australia alone. In addition to key policy and housing websites the following electronic databases were searched:

- Proquest
- Scopus
- Google
- Google scholar
- Informit
- Social Science Abstracts
- Social Services Abstracts
- Web of Knowledge (SSCI)
- Web of Science.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria—A number of references, which did not at first sight appear to be relevant, contained relevant papers in their own reference lists. The final search strategy, although it had many terms, was in fact 'controlled' by two sets of terms in order to delimit the scope of the findings to research based on social housing and relevant areas.

For international data sources this was:

Aboriginal OR Indigenous OR Inuit OR First Nation* OR Native OR Tribe OR Indian* OR Maori OR Metis OR Dene OR Reservation* OR communit* OR remote

For Australian data sources this was:

[Aboriginal OR Indigenous] AND housing AND [National partnership* OR agreement]

[Aboriginal OR Indigenous] AND housing AND [remote OR community]

[Aboriginal OR Indigenous] AND remote service delivery

Supplementary searches used the following search terms:

Tenure

Tenancy

Housing management

Home

Social housing

Community housing

Government housing

Tenants

Normalisation

Mainstreaming

Legislation

Implementation

Screening and selection process—The titles and abstracts of identified documents, where these were available, were screened independently by two reviewers. In some databases only the title was available. Where only the title was available the reviewer initially screened the titles to exclude obviously irrelevant and duplicate documents. Around 400 citations were identified through the search strategy. From this around 90 documents were finally obtained for more in-depth reading and inclusion in the final review.

Appendix 2: Websites

Research and policy websites and centres

Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies

<http://www.aiatsis.gov.au>

Australian Homelessness Clearinghouse

<http://homelessnessclearinghouse.govspace.gov.au>

Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute

<http://www.ahuri.edu.au/publications>

Australian Indigenous Health InfoNet

<http://www.healthinfonet.ecu.edu.au/population-groups/rural-remote>

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare

<http://www.aihw.gov.au/indigenous-housing/>

Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research

<http://caepi.anu.edu.au/publications.php>

Desert Knowledge Co-operative Research Centre

<http://www.desertknowledgecrc.com.au>

NintiOne

<http://www.nintione.com.au/publications>

International government and NGO organisations

Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada

<http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/>

Aboriginal Housing Management Association, Vancouver

<http://www.ahma-bc.org>

Bureau of Indian Affairs

<http://www.bia.gov>

Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network

<http://www.caan.ca>

Canada Mortgage and Housing Company

<http://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/>

Centre for Housing Research Aotearoa New Zealand

<http://www.chranz.co.nz>

Community Housing of Aotearoa

<http://communityhousing.org.nz>

Enterprise Community

<http://www.enterprisecommunity.com/about/mission-and-strategic-plan>

First Perspective (Canada)

<http://www.firstperspective.ca>

Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development

<http://hpaied.org>

Housing Assistance Council (HAC)

<http://www.ruralhome.org/about-hac>

Indigenous Housing Gateway

<http://www.indigenoushousing.org>

National American Indian Housing Council

<http://www.naihc.net>

NZ Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment

<http://dbh.govt.nz/social-housing-nz>

New Zealand Department of Building and Housing, Social Housing Unit

<http://www.dbh.govt.nz>

Statistics New Zealand

<http://www.stats.govt.nz>

US Department of Housing and Urban Development

<http://portal.hud.gov>

US Senate Committee on Indian Affairs

<http://www.indian.senate.gov>

Government websites

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)

<http://www.abs.gov.au>

Australian Government, Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW)

<http://www.aihw.gov.au>

Australian Government Productivity Commission

<http://www.pc.gov.au>

Council of Australian Governments (COAG)

<http://www.coag.gov.au>

Commonwealth Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA)

<http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/our-responsibilities/indigenous-australians/overview>

South Australian Government, Department for Families and Communities

<http://www.dcsi.sa.gov.au/pub/Default.aspx?tabid=140>

Housing SA

<http://www.sa.gov.au/subject/Housing%2C+property+and+land/Customer+entry+points+and+contacts/Housing+SA+customer+entry+point>

Office of the Co-ordinator General for Remote Indigenous Services

<http://www.cgris.gov.au/site/annual-reports.asp>

Queensland Government Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Multicultural Affairs (DATSIMA)

<http://www.datsima.qld.gov.au>

Queensland Government Department of Housing and Public Works (DHPW)

<http://www.communities.qld.gov.au>

Territory Housing

<http://www.housing.nt.gov.au>

Western Australian Government, Department of Housing

<http://www.dhw.wa.gov.au/Pages/default.aspx>

Lobby groups

Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia (ALSWA).

<http://www.als.org.au>

Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara

<http://www.anangu.com.au/about-us.html>

National Shelter

<http://www.shelter.org.au>

NT Shelter

<http://www.ntshelter.org.au>

The Anangu Lands Papertracker

<http://www.papertracker.com.au>

Queensland Shelter

<http://www.qshelter.asn.au>

Shelter SA

<http://www.sheltersa.asn.au/>

Stand for Freedom

<http://standforfreedom.org.au>

WA Shelter

<http://www.shelterwa.org.au>

Women for Wik

<http://www.whatsworking.com.au/WomenforWik/>

Indigenous community organisations

Family Responsibilities Commission, Cape York (most recent annual report)

<http://www.frcq.org.au/content/annual-reports>

Central Australian Affordable Housing Company

<http://www.affordablehousingcompany.com.au>

Marra Worra Worra ICHO (housing and news tabs)

<http://www.marraworraworra.com.au>

Tangentyere Council

<http://www.tangentyere.org.au>

Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Human Services Coalition

<http://www.qatsihsc.org.au/>

AHURI Research Centres

AHURI Research Centre—Curtin University

AHURI Research Centre—Monash University

AHURI Research Centre—RMIT University

AHURI Research Centre—Swinburne University of Technology

AHURI Research Centre— University of Adelaide

AHURI Research Centre—University of New South Wales

AHURI Research Centre—University of Queensland

AHURI Research Centre— University of Sydney

AHURI Research Centre—University of Tasmania

AHURI Research Centre—University of Western Australia

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