



Final Report

Improving housing responses to Indigenous patterns of temporary mobility

authored by

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ACRONYMS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AHCSA	Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia
AHL	Aboriginal Hostels Limited
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
ALRA	Aboriginal Land Rights Act
ALT	Aboriginal Lands Trust
APOSS	Aboriginal Prisoners and Offenders Support Services
APY	Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara
ASGC	Australian Standard Geographical Classification
ATSI	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Council
CAEPR	Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research
CDEP	Community Development Employment Program
CHINS	Community Housing and Infrastructure Needs Survey
CHP	Council to Homeless Persons
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
DFC	Department of Families and Communities
EOC	Equal Opportunity Commission
ERP	Estimated Resident Population
FaHCSIA	Australian Government Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
ICHO	Indigenous Community Housing Organisation
ICO	Indigenous Community Organisation
IYMP	Indigenous Youth Mobility Program
LGA	Local Government Area
MAPS	Mobile Assisted Patrol Service
NAHA	National Affordable Housing Agreement
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NIRA	National Indigenous Reform Agreement
NPA	National Partnership Agreement
NPAEIP	National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Economic Participation
NPAH	National Partnership Agreement on Homelessness
NPARIH	National Partnership Agreement on Remote Indigenous Housing

NPARSD	National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery
NPASH	National Partnership Agreement on Social Housing
NTER	Northern Territory Emergency Response
OARS	Offenders Aid & Rehabilitation Services
OCGRIC	Office of the Coordinator General for Remote Indigenous Services
ORIC	Office of the Registrar of Aboriginal Corporations
PATS	Patient Assisted Travel Scheme
SAAP	Supported Accommodation Assistance Program
SAHT	South Australia Housing Trust
SHAs	State Housing Authorities
SIHIP	Strategic Investment Housing Program
SLA	Statistical Local Area
SOMIH	State Owned and Managed Indigenous Housing
STH	Street to Home
TA	Transitional Accommodation
UCC	Umoona Community Council
UTHS	Umoona Tjutagku Health Service
WADoH	Western Australian Department of Housing
WAICEHNS	Western Australia Indigenous Community Environmental Health Needs Survey
WAPC	Western Australian Planning Commission

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Circular mobility	Mobility within an identifiable region involving regular journeys from rural and remote communities to regional centres, over periods ranging from a few days to several weeks.
Discrete Indigenous Community	A discrete Indigenous community is a community that is predominantly inhabited by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people and is defined as a geographical location, bounded by physical or cadastral boundaries.
Indigenous Community Housing Organisation	A body incorporated under State or Commonwealth legislation. The majority of whose members are Aboriginal persons or Torres Strait Islanders, or both; or controlled, directly or indirectly, by Aboriginal persons or Torres Strait Islanders, or both. The organisation manages housing or provides housing support services. The term also covers Indigenous Community Housing Organisations.
Homeless	<p>Homeless people are classified into three categories:</p> <p><i>Primary</i>—includes all people without conventional accommodation, such as people sleeping rough, squatting in derelict buildings, using cars and railway carriages for temporary shelter, and people who are in improvised dwellings and tents.</p> <p><i>Secondary</i>—includes people staying in emergency or transitional accommodation, people living temporarily with other households as they have no accommodation of their own and people staying in boarding houses on a short-term basis.</p> <p><i>Tertiary</i>—refers to people who live in boarding houses on a medium to long-term basis with a standard of accommodation below a generally accepted minimum community standard.</p>
Migration	Migration involves long-term population movement with some degree of permanent settlement away from the place of origin. This can occur across a range of settings, but is most often applied in the context of urbanisation.
National Affordable Housing Agreement (NAHA)	The NAHA was introduced in 2009 to replace the Commonwealth–State Housing Agreement and the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program Agreement. It aims to ensure that all Australians have access to affordable, safe and sustainable housing that contributes to social and economic participation. It is supported by the COAG National Partnership Agreements on social housing, homelessness and Indigenous peoples living in remote areas.
Remote Indigenous Community	For the purposes of this report, the term is used to describe both remote and very remote Indigenous communities as categorised by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in its Community Housing and Infrastructure Needs Survey. Remote communities are discrete Indigenous communities located in areas that have restricted accessibility to goods, services and opportunities for social interaction. Very remote Indigenous communities are discrete Indigenous communities in areas that have little accessibility to goods, services and opportunities for social interaction.

Return to Country programs	Transport or financial assistance programs that assist Indigenous individuals and families visiting population centres to return to their home communities.
Population churn	Population churn refers to population inflows and outflows experienced within a given area.
Service population	The service population refers to residents and non-residents who are, on average, likely to be present in a dwelling at any given time in the course of a year (Taylor 2006, p.28).
Sorry business	Ceremonial acts of mourning and grieving for the loss of a relative and/or community member.
Temporary mobility	The short-term geographical movement of Indigenous individuals and groups, in ways that impact on service demand. It involves spatial and temporal dimensions associated with how and where people move, for what purpose, and for how long.
Wiltja	Traditional structures, often circular in shape, providing temporary shelter and often abandoned after use.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships to people and place are important contributors to Indigenous homelessness and tenancy failure. The concept of Indigenous temporary mobility has come into prominence as a way of capturing an aspect of Indigenous culture critical to the explanation for the disadvantage experienced by Australia's Indigenous peoples, including adverse housing outcomes (Memmott et al 2004). This understanding is the starting point for this report which seeks to inform housing policy by asking how housing services can improve their responses to Indigenous patterns of temporary mobility.

The study

In responding to the knowledge gaps and service development requirements associated with the housing issues arising from temporary mobility, this project aims to:

- Identify the motives for temporary mobility and migration by Indigenous individuals and families and the relationship between this and the introduction of policies such as income management and the declaration of dry areas.
- Develop definitions and concepts that assist housing services to distinguish between:
 1. Homelessness and temporary mobility.
 2. Temporary mobility and migration in ways sensitive to Indigenous lifeworlds and aspirations.
- Analyse Indigenous medium- and long-term population movement in a number of locations in remote and regional Australia.
- Provide examples of models and strategies for housing provision and tenancy management that take account of temporary mobility in urban, regional and remote locations.
- Identify strategies for social housing providers to assist Indigenous migrants into stable, appropriate and sustainable accommodation.

These objectives are examined in the context of the reforms being taken under the COAG National Partnership Agreements, especially the National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery and the National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Housing. This includes a consideration of the impact of the transfer of responsibility for housing services from the Indigenous community housing sector to SHAs, the mainstreaming of Aboriginal housing within SHAs and a concern with the housing needs of Indigenous migrants moving from remote communities to larger population centres.

A case study approach was employed that combined qualitative and quantitative techniques involving interviews and focus groups in seven locations, three in Western Australia, and two each in the Northern Territory and South Australia, as well as analysis of state housing and SAAP administrative data and the WA Indigenous Community Environmental Health Needs Survey data.

Indigenous temporary mobility

Indigenous temporary mobility refers to the short-term geographical movement of Indigenous individuals and groups, in ways that impact on service demand. It involves spatial and temporal dimensions associated with how and where people move, for

what purpose, and for how long. Kinship relationships form both the medium and the motivation for a great deal of temporary mobility within Indigenous populations. Travel is usually directed to where there are kin and is underpinned by a cultural emphasis on visiting as a way of maintaining kinship networks. Family relationships are embedded within a moral economy of cooperation and mutuality and give rise to what Schwab has described as a 'calculus of reciprocity' (1995 in Penman 2007). Penman explains that reciprocity is central to the kinship system and structures both private relationships and economic, social and political relations (2007, p.115). At its heart is a social obligation to care for and support kin through regular association. This form of voluntary mobility is motivated by factors endemic to Indigenous culture (Birdsall-Jones & Corunna 2008). Temporary mobility also includes journeys related to weather events, including avoiding the wet or hot season, and travel related to ceremony and care for country.

The anthropological literature on Indigenous geographical mobility has carried a tinge of romanticism in accounts of practices that are opaque to the non-Indigenous gaze, exotic in their inaccessibility and apparent spontaneity (Peterson 2004). But in social policy the construction is different. Here Indigenous mobility is primarily perceived as a problematic aspect of Indigenous culture. Children miss school, tenants leave without notification, and visitors are associated with neighbour complaints. This creates difficulties for service providers and contributes to adverse outcomes within Indigenous populations.

This study suggests that the temporary mobility of Indigenous individuals and families is not in itself a problem. Non-Indigenous people are also highly mobile, relocating frequently and making long, daily commutes and travelling regularly to distant locations. In remote contexts, it is the non-Indigenous workforce whose short-term stays create difficulties for local communities. The analysis provided in this report suggests that the real 'problem' of Indigenous temporary mobility is that much of it is forced, arising from, and being maintained by, an unenviable mix of severe housing shortage, structural disadvantage, cultural difference and poverty, mixed in with substance use, and vulnerability to the vagaries of government policy. Overall, the data analysed here suggests that Indigenous people are actually very stable in their attachment to location. In both Coober Pedy and Port Augusta, for example, the SHA housing data showed very little movement was taking place away from these locations. Where interview data suggested people were moving off homeland communities, the reasons related to interpersonal conflicts combined with difficult circumstances of poverty and lack of housing. Similarly, temporary movement is rooted in cultural or instrumental motivations, with even the kind of opportunistic and open-ended movement of young men being driven by rational factors of transition to adulthood and development of autonomous identity. Insofar as there is an issue, it is to do with the inability of successive governments to address the effects of generations of displacement and government neglect of Indigenous communities which urgently need support to develop leadership and self-governance so that they are less dependent on fluctuating government policies.

Homelessness and temporary mobility

The question of the voluntariness of the journeys that Indigenous people make is central to attempts to distinguish between temporary mobility and homelessness, but is challenging to unravel. The intertwining of voluntary/cultural and involuntary/structural factors was examined in the Positioning Paper (Habibis et al. 2010) building on the insights of Prout (2008) and Birdsall-Jones and Shaw (2008). The confused mix of factors is evident in the case studies, which describe how

everyday, culturally-sanctioned journeys overlap with the forced movement that arises from housing exclusion and low resources.

Cultural factors direct the choices for movement that are made, influencing *inter alia*, the preference for staying with kin, the resistance to engagement with mainstream services, the attraction of particular locations, activities, and dwelling preferences, including for some, the appeal of public spaces. But the context for all these accounts is a lack of housing choices. In all the case study locations, low income, discrimination and lack of information mean that, apart from crisis and emergency accommodation, the options for short-stay accommodation are:

- the homes of relatives with attendant risks of overcrowding
- public spaces with health, safety and criminalisation risks
- AHL or specialised hostels that may be non-existent, inaccessible through eligibility requirements and relatively expensive.

This situation was recognised by many service providers who regarded the line between temporary mobility and homelessness as blurred and did not always distinguish between the two.

Existing policies and services

Temporary mobility is a largely overlooked area of housing need, disappearing into the space between provision of permanent, affordable housing and the range of homelessness services provided under the NPAH. The COAG National Partnership Agreements construct housing need in terms of provision of permanent housing at a single location, with individuals either in appropriate, affordable and sustainable housing, in need of it or at risk of losing it. Apart from the Alice Springs Visitors Park provision for temporary accommodation is linked to education, employment and training, rather than the everyday mobility practices involved in accessing services and visiting relatives. A similar gap is evident in state housing policies. There is some provision for visitors but other areas affected by temporary mobility, including housing debt, disruptive behaviour, additional occupants, tenancy abandonment, property damage, tenant absence, tenancy transfer and succession and sub-letting are not well addressed. The impact of temporary mobility on overcrowding, departures without notice and neighbour complaints contribute to high tenancy turnover, unrecovered debt and tenancy failure. Management of these issues has become critical for SHAs since the state and Territory Governments are now responsible for all publicly-funded Indigenous housing.

Motives for temporary mobility and migration

The motives for temporary mobility identified in this study reveal that they arise from cultural and structural constants combined with life-cycle factors, individual choice and changing external drivers, of which the most influential are state policies. How these play out is, however, subject to significant local variation so that the issues in one place differ from those elsewhere.

In South Australia, the most prominent factor identified as influencing population movement was the impact of renal disease on individuals from the APY Lands. In the absence of facilities within a day's journey of these communities, individuals requiring treatment were compelled to travel to Port Augusta and Adelaide. The study reported that in Adelaide there were an estimated 20–25 recently arrived Anangu and that a snowball effect operates as the presence of relatives in these locations increases the likelihood that their relatives will also make the journey. These visitors include young

men, who move between the homes of their relatives and parkland areas, often engaging in drinking. They form part of the 'hidden Anangu' that current homelessness definitions miss.

In Coober Pedy, the motives for temporary mobility arise first from its position as a staging post to more distant destinations, and second because it serves as a small regional centre, where alcohol is more accessible than in Port Augusta and in some communities on the APY Lands. The high cost of electricity also creates high levels of tenancy turnover and increases the risk of homelessness through the accumulation of housing debt.

As a major regional centre, situated on the coast, and with a pre-colonial history as a gathering area, Port Augusta, is an important destination for a range of Indigenous language groups from northern and central Australia. As well as a destination for leisure entertainment, and holidays, Port Augusta attracts visitors accessing health, court and correctional services. Alcohol has also influenced temporary mobility with restrictions introduced in 2005. Temporary mobility in both Coober Pedy and Port Augusta has been affected by mainstreaming of Indigenous services and the withdrawal of funding from local ICOs, leading to a degree of population churn. In each of these locations both the anecdotal evidence and the administrative data suggest that the number of Indigenous visitors has grown in recent years, although for different reasons.

In Broome, apart from seasonal mobility related to the wet season, the most important reasons for temporary travel were access to medical services, especially renal dialysis, criminal justice business, including visiting prisoners, participation in law and ceremony, attending funerals and purchase of full strength alcohol. These motivations are spread unevenly among different communities and groups, with different groups visiting at different times.

This is different from the drivers of mobility in Mungullah and Burringurrah where most temporary movement involves the regular, seasonally related exchange of visits between the two communities. Governance problems within Burringurrah, and resistance to changes to CDEP had also created population churn and migration from Burringurrah to Mungullah.

In Fitzroy Crossing, the wet season was the main driver of temporary mobility, as well as overcrowding. Sorry business was also identified as an important and regularly occurring cause of household departure and travel.

The difficulties of life in some regional and remote communities also appears as an important factor influencing travel. This was especially the case for the Northern Territory case studies. These difficulties are both interpersonal and situational, resulting from a mixture of lifestyle choice and necessity. As well as the desire to find better housing, the case studies provide accounts of individuals leaving their homes because of a range of relationship difficulties within the community rooted in cultural responses to personal conflict. Although the degree of voluntariness may be different, the effects are similar to those faced by women forced to leave their homes because of family violence. Primary homelessness is layered with psychological, spiritual and emotional homelessness. Very little attention has been given to the housing needs of these individuals even though they are likely to be especially vulnerable to substance use and to jeopardise the tenancy stability of their relatives.

The other group whose movement relates to difficulties in home communities and is a similarly mix of voluntary and involuntary motivations are those whose journeys are policy driven. These include responses to income support, to the confusion and

uncertainties created by changes within the ICHO sector, and to the NTER. The Northern Territory study highlights that while these responses represent resistance to White policy, they come at the cost of housing insecurity to these individuals and their relatives. It also suggests that this kind of mobility is a qualified form of 'choice' because the decision to move is determined by extraneous forces and increased vulnerability to social exclusion. The role of employment as a stabilising force is also evident in these two case studies, suggesting that integration into mainstream or Indigenous economies does lead to greater population stability.

Finally, the NT studies point to the potential for air transport systems to service remote communities, to be developed by Indigenous organisations, using the Laynhapuy Air services as a model.

The case studies highlight how the motives for mobility are shaped by lifecycle factors, with gender and age shaping whether journeys are best understood as migration or temporary mobility, whether travel is undertaken solo or with other family members, and what the risks for criminalisation and homelessness are. Each lifecycle stage is characterised by a specific housing need, an accompanying risk of homelessness, and corresponding service needs.

Conceptualising housing need: temporary mobility, homelessness and migration

This analysis suggests that temporary mobility can be understood as framed by the two dimensions of time and agency. Expressed as a continuum, these form a framework along which different categories of geographical movement can be located. Seven categories of mobility can be usefully distinguished: visitors, migrants, boarders, between place dwellers, transients, involuntary travellers and the chronically homeless. Each is located within the framework according to the degree of voluntariness and the duration of their travel. Visitors and boarders are the groups with the lowest vulnerability to homelessness, while the other groups are all high risk.

Time ranges from short-term journeys, involving an overnight stay to a few weeks, to more or less permanent departures, involving long-term relocation of a year or more. Agency expresses the degree of voluntariness involved, with culturally sanctioned mobility at one end of the continuum, and structurally determined, involuntary mobility at the other. The seven mobility categories are distributed between the corners and the middle of the frame with their position indicating their vulnerability to homelessness. The framework is predominantly constructed around the needs of rural and remote travellers, although some of the categories relate to groups living in predominantly urban environments.

1. Visitors

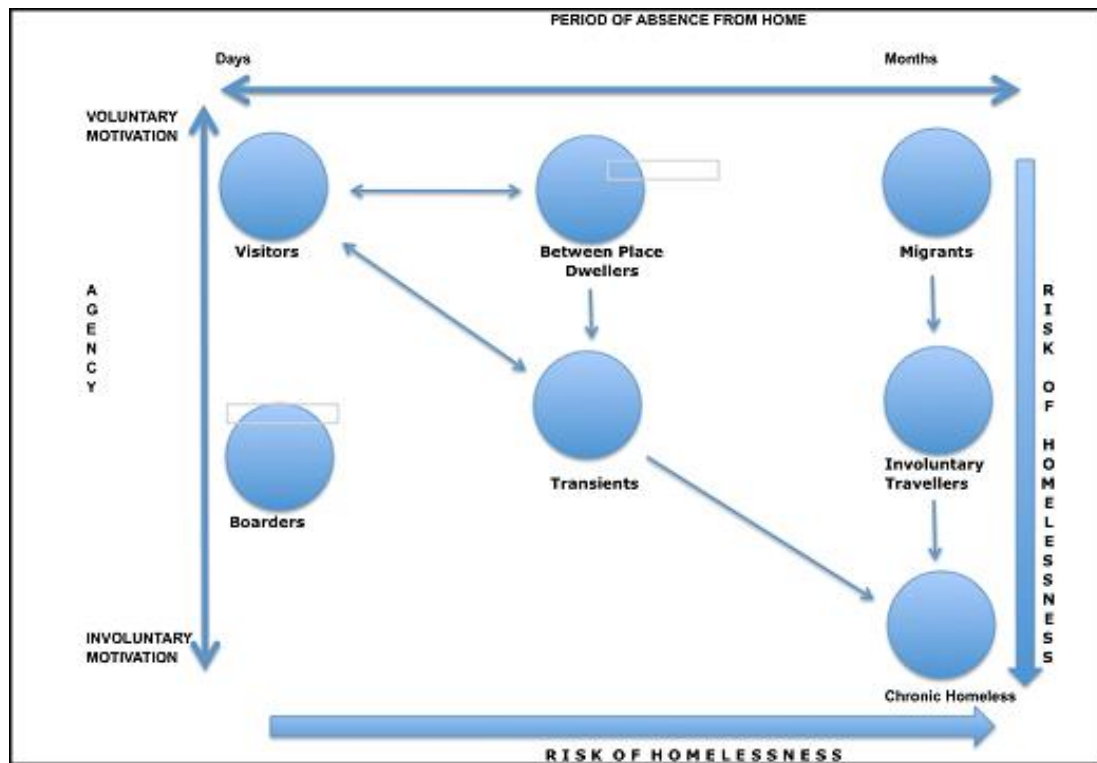
Visitors sit in the voluntary, temporary corner of the mobility framework. Their journeys are undertaken without external pressure and involve largely predictable travel of a short-term nature. Visiting kin, travel to service centres for shopping, customary practices, entertainment, holidays and business travel fit within this category. This kind of activity is often undertaken by in large, kin-related groups with women with families well represented.

2. Migrants

Migrants are defined as sitting in the voluntary permanent corner of the mobility framework. By this definition, to be a migrant implies an act of agency involving a decision to relocate relatively permanently. Employment and marriage are examples of this. Such journeys are typically undertaken by individuals and couples, with or

without children. It is debatable whether or not individuals whose health needs, especially renal dialysis patients, belong in this group because the voluntariness of their travel is more akin to that of boarders, however, for simplicity's sake, and because of their long-term dependence on services unavailable in their home location, they have been included here.

Figure 1: Indigenous temporary mobility, migration and homelessness



3. Boarders

Boarders are located towards the involuntary/temporary area of the framework. Their journeys are directed towards accessing services unavailable in their home location, especially training, education and health, as well as serving a custodial sentence. A defining characteristic is that the length of absence is predictable. These absences are often planned including provision of temporary accommodation.

4. Between place dwellers

Between place dwellers include individuals whose frequent travel between one or more locations is derived from tradition rather than housing exclusion or other involuntary factors. This may be because of kinship ties, as in the case of young women travelling between the coastal Indigenous communities of Mungullah, in Carnarvon and Burringurah, 400 kilometres to the east, in the Upper Gascoyne area. It may be due to weather events, as in the Fitzroy Valley where individuals and families may maintain a home in two locations because during the wet season one home is inaccessible, or the residence is not weather proof. Also included are individuals with bi- or tri-locational residence who travel regularly between different homes within an identifiable mobility region.

5. Transients

Transients are distinct from between place dwellers in the degree of involuntariness involved. Although departure may be experienced as self-determined, agency is compromised by circumstances that are beyond the individual's control and involve a

heightened risk of primary homelessness. Visiting takes place in a context of overcrowding and housing exclusion with frequent moves and some public space dwelling. Where this is combined with alcohol use, this group is especially vulnerable to chronic homelessness. This category includes young men who begin their journey as part of a way of establishing autonomy but their absence, often associated with alcohol use, becomes prolonged. What began as a culturally sanctioned activity changes into one that is perceived as problematic by family and community members (Birdsall-Jones & Shaw 2008). As well as being especially vulnerable to homelessness, this is also the group most implicated in destabilising the tenancies of those with whom they stay.

Transients also include individuals and families whose travel results from resistance to policy change, as occurred after the introduction of the Northern Territory Intervention. This resulted in population churn as some individuals and families left their home communities for a period, but eventually returned. Similar effects were found in Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory, and also in Western Australia in the Upper Gascoyne where the introduction of stringent regulations attached to income support led some individuals to depart. Individuals who leave communities because of difficult circumstances due to stresses associated with inadequate service provision or funding uncertainties also belong to this group.

6. Involuntary travellers

Involuntary travellers are those individuals whose departures involve little in the way of choice. They are forced to move for an indeterminate time, either because their home is unsafe, as in the case of women and children escaping domestic violence, or because relationships within the community have broken down such that they are effectively excluded from it. This group also includes individuals who have a home but leave it periodically to stay with relatives because of overcrowding. In all these examples, the duration of absence is difficult to predict.

7. Chronically homeless

The last group are the chronically homeless individuals who represent the most hard-to-serve population group. These individuals are more likely to be single and to have high and complex needs. Their mobility is overwhelmingly involuntary, associated with substance use and characterised by cycling between overcrowded relatives' homes, public space, crisis and emergency accommodation, and prison or other forms of custodial shelter. As these individuals age, engagement with the criminal justice system declines and health service needs rise. At this stage these individuals are best understood as forming the chronic homeless. They are predominantly single men with high and complex needs.

This categorisation is an ideal type with reality being more complex involving situations that overlap the different groups or exclude some aspects of them. But as a broad brush grouping of characteristics associated with mobility it does bear a relationship to the study's findings on the motives and meanings of different kinds of mobility, the associated risk of homelessness and service need.

Population change

The evidence surveyed in this study suggests that the changes to service provision in remote communities that have taken place in the last five years have produced population churn rather than long-term population movement. The analysis of housing administrative data suggests that the demand for housing in Port Augusta, Adelaide, Broome and Carnarvon, is predominantly derived from Indigenous individuals already

in these locations, rather than those located outside it. Evidence of population churn was present in Port Augusta, Mungullah and Burringurrah and associated with the destabilisation of ICOs following the withdrawal of Government funding. Changes to CDEP were also implicated in the temporary exit of some individuals from Burringurrah.

In the case of liquor restrictions, the evidence from Fitzroy Crossing is that the immediate effect was to create temporary population movement to Halls Creek, Derby and Broome, with the out migration of a small number of individuals compensated by in migration from others returning to homeland communities.

An important proviso to this conclusion is that this research was conducted at an early stage of the implementation of the NPARSD and prior to the complete termination of CDEP. It is too soon to say what will happen to those smaller remote and very remote communities that have not been recognised as viable by state governments. Indigenous informants and some service providers were very concerned about their future despite the expressed determination of community members to remain on their homelands even if they are defunded. The Fitzroy Crossing data and the Fitzroy Valley study (Morphy 2010), suggests that if people do move, it will be to adjacent communities where they have kin.

This study is a relatively small investigation and its findings require cautious interpretation. Each region has its own set of dynamics and opportunities, with the prospects for the development of local economies unevenly spread. The Western Australian case studies, especially Fitzroy Crossing and Broome, represent examples of communities that are being supported with substantial government investment. Other communities have strong ICOs and capacity derived from external income sources, such as tourism or mining royalties, as in the case of Umoona at Coober Pedy, creating the potential for an alternative Indigenous economy. But other communities had few choices. This seems to be the case in the APY Lands where the NPARSD has recognised only two priority communities and the future of some is reportedly uncertain.

The National Affordable Housing Agreement is predicated on a whole of sector approach in which Indigenous homelessness will be addressed by improving access to mainstream housing markets, improving housing amenity and reducing overcrowding. There has always been a question of how realistic the goal of home ownership is, so long as the gap between housing purchase costs and Indigenous incomes remains so wide. It is especially unrealistic in remote settings given the cost of housing construction and maintenance. This has been recognised in the Northern Territory by the Valuer General who estimated the 64 prescribed communities to have a compensatory rental value of only \$3.4 million, or less than \$30 000 each per annum, which is inadequate collateral for mortgage finance (Altman 2010). It remains the case that in those communities deemed unviable by state governments Indigenous individuals and families will find it difficult to remain therestate governments Indigenous individuals and families will find it difficult to remain there.

Improving service responses

Temporary mobility is a major contributor to homelessness with implications for its measurement and service delivery that are currently inadequately recognised. The NPAH targets rough sleepers, defining them as individuals who do not have a permanent home. This overlooks an important group of temporary homeless and misses an opportunity for early intervention contrary to the NPAH principles of homelessness prevention. As well as the provision of culturally appropriate,

inexpensive and family-friendly short-term accommodation, larger homes and return to country programs, the study proposes a range of other measures to improve support for temporary visitors. These include the development of programs that specifically target Indigenous travellers, the establishment of partnerships between SHAs and health services for renal dialysis patients, who are reported to often travel in large family groups, recognition and support of households that are regularly called on to accommodate visitors, and improved communication to tenants about issues relating to visitors and temporary absence.

The Commonwealth Government has developed provision of hostel accommodation to support access to education and employment and some medical services and some domestic violence crisis accommodation. Further provision of temporary accommodation is also needed for those accessing health, drug and alcohol, mental health and juvenile and criminal justice services. In this context it is important to be aware that, while the Commonwealth provides funding, direct service provision has been shifted to the states and territories. Adequate recurrent funding is essential as well as appropriate funding sources for services specifically targeting temporary mobility. If this is not done the targets attached to the funding are likely to be inappropriate, for example, if funded by homelessness programs.

More broadly, this research illustrates that although improving service integration is a goal of the intergovernmental agreements it remains a major policy challenge with many areas where service gaps remain. The examples of renal dialysis patients, of individuals engaged with the criminal justice system, of individuals requiring mental health and drug and alcohol services and women escaping family violence are all areas where there are real opportunities to improve Indigenous housing outcomes through improvements in service integration.

1 HOUSING SERVICES AND TEMPORARY MOBILITY

Differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships to people and place are important contributors to Indigenous homelessness and tenancy failure. The concept of Indigenous temporary mobility has come into prominence as a way of drawing attention to this difference and the lack of fit between Indigenous mobility practices and social housing provision (Memmott et al. 2004). This understanding is the starting point for this project which asks how housing services can improve their responses to Indigenous patterns of temporary mobility.

This chapter introduces the topic by providing a brief outline of the research context for the study and a summary of arguments about its roots in a combination of cultural drivers, structural disadvantage and the policies of the state. It then explores how this creates a very confused environment for policy-makers because of the overlap between temporary mobility, overcrowding and homelessness. The final section presents the arguments for the relationship between housing and temporary mobility and why it is important for housing services to develop policies that take these patterns into account.

1.1 Introduction

The work of Memmott et al. (2006) suggests that services need to take account of the patterns of temporary mobility that characterise some Indigenous populations and which are especially prevalent in rural and remote Indigenous communities. In Memmott et al.'s study the focus was on circular mobility within a mobility region involving regular journeys from rural and remote communities to regional centres, over periods ranging from a few days to several weeks. The study noted that while most of the movement is from country to larger population centres some journeys are initiated in the reverse direction. Memmott et al. concur with other evidence on the strength of Indigenous ties to traditional country and conclude that even as Indigenous individuals and families take up residence in cities and towns they will continue to return periodically to country and that housing services need to recognise this.

Currently, the policies and practices of social housing providers take little account of the temporary mobility of Indigenous populations, despite the difficulties it causes to Indigenous individuals, families and communities and the broader community (Cooper & Morris 2005; Keys Young 1999; Prout 2009). Problems include:

- Overcrowding and associated health problems and deterioration of housing infrastructure.
- Poor access to essential health, education and employment services.
- The accumulation of rent arrears and the establishment of poor housing histories.
- Public concern over social disorder and itinerancy (AIHW 2008).

Housing services form an essential part of the service environment necessary to address the impact of mobility on health and well-being, but there is currently little work that addresses this.

Population movement takes place in particular policy contexts that influence its shape and direction. Since colonisation government policies, whether intended or not, have been a primary cause of both voluntary and involuntary Indigenous population movement and this remains true today. Under the COAG National Partnership Agreements, services and infrastructure to Indigenous people living in remote Australia are being concentrated in regional centres, while support to smaller discrete

Indigenous communities is being limited in the expectation that this will encourage Indigenous people to live in more densely populated areas. Behavioural change is also an identified goal in the form of increased personal responsibility and improved participation in education and training 'consistent with positive social norms and behaviours' (Macklin 2009). This is being driven by changes to income support and endeavours to increase opportunities for greater participation of Aboriginal people in the formal economy. These policies have the potential to influence both temporary mobility and migration in ways which, if not adequately addressed, could work against the goals of 'closing the gap'. This study of Indigenous temporary mobility is located within the broader question of the impact of these developments on Indigenous population movement.

1.2 Indigenous temporary mobility

For the purpose of this study, Indigenous temporary mobility refers to the short-term geographical movement of Indigenous individuals and groups, in ways that impact on service demand. It involves spatial and temporal dimensions associated with how and where people move, for what purpose, and for how long. The forms that it takes are influenced by a wide range of factors, including the historical experiences of local Indigenous populations, cultural norms and values, the physical geography of the area, social factors (such as kinship networks), the policy context, the service environment, and the demographic composition of Indigenous populations, especially age and gender. These, together with the range of cultural, structural and situational motivations that influence practices of mobility, create a complex picture. While it is possible to point to general patterns and trends in Indigenous population movement, there is also considerable regional variation creating locally specific effects.

The ABS 2006 CHINS survey of discrete Indigenous communities found that 248 (21%) communities reported a population increase for two weeks or more during the 12 months prior to the survey (ABS 2006a). Of all the communities that experienced a population increase, just over a third reported increases of a size similar to, or greater than, their usual population. Cultural reasons accounted for the majority of increases (53%), followed by visitors over holiday periods (25%), and changes in wet/dry season (9%)

Table 1: Reported population increases in discrete Indigenous communities (a) (b), by reported usual population

	<i>Communities with a population of</i>						<i>All communities</i>
	<i>Less than 50</i>	<i>50-99</i>	<i>100-199</i>	<i>200-499</i>	<i>500-999</i>	<i>1,000 or more</i>	
	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	
Population increase							
Less than 20 people	13	12	3	4	2	–	34
20–49 people	9	27	19	15	1	1	72
50–99 people	9	18	21	14	5	3	70
100-199 people	1	11	6	11	3	2	34
200 people or more	–	6	15	9	4	4	38
Total with increase in population	32	74	64	53	15	10	248
Reason for increase in population							
Cultural reasons	12	35	31	34	13	7	132
Wet reason	–	7	3	5	2	2	19
Dry reason	–	1	2	–	–	–	3
Sporting or recreational events	–	2	5	3	–	–	10
Holidays	13	23	20	6	–	–	62
Seasonal work	1	1	–	1	–	–	3
Better facilities	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Meetings	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Other	6	4	2	4	–	1	17
No increase in population	22	42	25	18	4	6	117
All communities(c)(d)	865	123	92	71	19	17	1,187

– Nil or rounded to zero (including null cells)

(a) Largest population increase lasting two weeks or more in the 12 months prior to the survey.

(b) Data not collected in 'administered' communities with a population of less than 50. Refer to Explanatory Notes paragraph 16 for further details.

(c) Includes communities where population increase was not collected.

(d) Components may not add to totals as more than one response may be specified.

Source: ABS 2006 Housing and Infrastructure in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities, Australia, 2006 Cat No 4710.0 <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4710.02006?OpenDocument>>

Kinship relationships form both the medium and the motivation for a great deal of temporary mobility within Indigenous populations. The key cultural factor driving Indigenous temporary mobility in remote Australia is kinship. Kinship is defined by both blood ties, marriage, and through a classificatory system of relationships. Visiting kin is essential for the maintenance of social identity and for social relationships and social interaction so travel is usually directed to where there are kin. Young and Doohan (1989, p.130) explain:

When people visit family and friends they are not merely taking part in an enjoyable social occasion. They are also reinforcing reciprocal ties and obligations, all of which are essential parts of their social fabric. In addition they are ensuring that ritual rights and responsibilities to the land will be

carried out. Social visiting demonstrates the high degree of interdependence which is an essential characteristic of past and present Aboriginal society.

Family relationships are embedded within a moral economy of cooperation and mutuality and give rise to what Schwab has described as a 'calculus of reciprocity' (1995 in Penman 2007). Penman explains that reciprocity is central to the kinship system and structures both private relationships and economic, social and political relations (2007, p.115). At its heart it is a social obligation to care for and support kin through regular association. This form of voluntary mobility is motivated by factors endemic to Indigenous culture (Birdsall-Jones & Corunna 2008). Other forms of endosocially motivated mobility include travel related to holidays, funerals, ceremony and care for country. The presence of kin in distant locations plays a role in facilitating or limiting the direction and length of journeys with migration of some individuals and families to new locations extending the network of places for the migration and visits of relatives left behind.

Mobility as a result of regular climatic events is also culturally sanctioned. During the wet season roads may be impassable for periods of up to three months. As communities may be cut off for months at a time many residents move to regional centres, often staying with relatives. Affected areas include central and northern regions of the Northern Territory, including Katherine and Tennant Creek, northern, and north west Queensland, including the Far North, and Mount Isa, and northern parts of Western Australia, including the Kimberley Region and the Pilbara. In the Northern Territory township of Maningrida, (Fien et al. 2008) the population more than trebles during the wet season, expanding from 800 to 2600 with average household sizes swelling from 15 to 30.

Seasonal mobility is also generated in response to hot weather. In the dry and desert regions of Australia the summer months are characterised by intense heat during the day. During the school holidays, individuals and families routinely travel to coastal regions to escape this. Affected areas include parts of the Northern Territory, including Alice Springs, parts of the APY Lands in South Australia, parts of central and southern Western Australia, including the Goldfields-Esperance region, inland areas of the Kimberley region, and far west regions of Queensland, including Central West and South West. Hot weather is also recorded in tropical areas during the wet season, but the associated mobility is predominantly associated with the rainfall. A further impact of seasonal weather variations is its impact on the availability of bush resources which influences the movements of people to hunt and collect bush foods (Memmott 2006).

Cyclones are also associated with temporary mobility, especially in coastal areas of north-western and northern Australia, including Darwin and Broome. In remote locations, specific weather events, such as strong winds, can also generate short-term relocation (Musharbash 2000).

These forms of culturally motivated mobility take place in structural contexts which have an independent influence. The distribution and size of population centres, the transport infrastructure that connects them, and opportunities for housing, employment and income, shape the motives, direction and size of population flows. For individuals and families living in remote settings, limited services make instrumentally-motivated travel to regional centres for health, education and employment a necessary and regular feature of their lives.

The state government is also a critical player through policies that may impede or facilitate Indigenous cultural aspirations. Historically, the major population movements of Indigenous peoples in Australia have been shaped by policies supporting or resisting Indigenous attempts to maintain their connection to their homelands, starting

with the colonial agenda of dispossession. The provision of affordable housing by the state has been an important push factor behind the migration of Indigenous individuals and families. In the mid-1980s, the Aboriginal Family Demography Study (cited in Gray 2004, pp.216–7) found that overcrowding was the main reason for Aboriginal families moving from their former mission homes into towns. Fien et al. also describe how Indigenous people from Palm Island are being forced to relocate to the mainland because of the severity of overcrowding (2008, p.42). The homelands movement that began in the mid-1970s was influenced by policies that provided the arrangements necessary for the establishment of communities at a distance from large population centres. The centrality of the state to Indigenous population movement remains strong today, with current efforts to normalise service provision to Indigenous peoples implicated in both temporary and migratory population movement.

Indigenous temporary mobility can therefore be understood as resulting from a negotiation between Indigenous cultural, social and political aspirations and the impact of the state in both facilitating and impeding these as well as local factors, such as geography and service availability. This mix of factors confounds attempts to provide a neat categorisation of its drivers, creating challenges for social housing providers and managers.

1.3 Temporary mobility, overcrowding and homelessness

There is a close but complex relationship between temporary mobility, overcrowding and homelessness. Temporary mobility takes place in the context of exclusion from housing markets which is simultaneously voluntary and structural. Prout observes that the extent to which Indigenous individuals and families wish to engage with mainstream services is not uniform (2008b). She suggests a continuum of engagement with some Aboriginal people actively engaging with services while others have more 'contested and sporadic interactions' (Prout 2008, p.25). The mobility of the former is likely to be associated with migration or with more permanent settlement in a single location.

Prout suggest the mobility derived from resistance is associated with more transient lifestyles in which frequent movement between the homes of relatives, and public space dwelling arise from a difference in the value attributed to access to health, housing and education and a concern with 'family and other socio-cultural obligations' (2008, p.25). Disengagement arises from self-exclusion from 'whitefella business', an area of governance in which these individuals have little desire to participate (Prout 2008, p.25). Limited participation with services represents a compromise between 'compliance with wider societal pressure ... whilst avoiding wholesale engagement with the system' (Prout 2008, p.26).

The overcrowding of Indigenous households can be understood as part of this attachment to culture in defiance of whitefella's ways. From this perspective, it is a voluntary practice, rooted in traditions of co-residence with kin and the visiting practices that accompany reciprocal hospitality (Birdsall-Jones et al. 2010). The frequent movement it generates, between households, and sometimes public spaces, is a lifestyle choice reflective of Indigenous lifeworlds. Within this framework, the link between homelessness, overcrowding and Indigenous mobility is Indigenous resistance to demands for conformity to the sedentary imperatives of white culture.

What is essential to add to this account is the structural reality within which these culturally-motivated behaviours are embedded. The primary explanation for the poor living conditions of Indigenous individuals and families is low income, discrimination and a shortage of affordable housing. The overcrowding of Indigenous households

occurs in every setting (AIHW 2008) so that while reciprocal hospitality may be a feature of Indigenous culture, it takes place in a context of housing shortage which distorts its effects. The mobility generated by these circumstances is best understood as derived more from involuntary, structural factors than from voluntary, cultural ones. The 2002 NATSISS survey found a close correlation between stress and overcrowding caused by the negative experiences of living in an overcrowded home (Penman 2007). For many Indigenous households, overcrowding is associated with resources being stretched beyond their reach, with privacy compromised and elevated tensions and conflict, generating a forced mobility that occurs in both urban and remote environments.

This suggests that overcrowding and temporary mobility that results from external pressures is experienced quite differently from that associated with a cultural preference for shared living and dense household size. While the latter is an expression of agency and cultural identity, the former is an expression of marginalisation, exclusion and lack of choice. This distinction leads Birdsall-Jones and Shaw (2008) to argue for the need to distinguish overcrowding associated with cultural practices, such as visiting to attend 'sorry' ceremonies, and overcrowding that results from housing exclusion. The latter is caused by external social arrangements, beyond the control of the individual, while the former is derived internally from Indigenous culture.

Understanding this distinction generates an important distinction between homelessness and temporary mobility. While both are facilitated and regulated by the kinship system, temporary mobility is voluntary, culturally sanctioned and occurs in a context of housing stability. Homelessness is involuntary, problematic for Indigenous households, and occurs in a context of overcrowding and housing insecurity creating forced mobility and itinerancy. What complicates the distinction is Indigenous resistance to engagement with mainstream housing services and cultural preferences for open space living. It is this coincidence of voluntary/involuntary, and cultural/structural factors that makes the housing needs of Indigenous travellers so difficult to assess. The effects of cultural preferences and social and economic exclusion interact, blurring the boundary between involuntary homelessness and voluntary temporary mobility, and creating a challenging service environment.

1.4 Temporary mobility and housing services

There are obvious cost-benefits associated with improving social housing responses to the mobility of Indigenous populations. These include a reduction in tenancy turnover and service duplication, improved targeting of services and improved strategies for tenancy support. Better understanding of the motives behind Indigenous mobility, how this influences population movement, and the strengths and weaknesses of existing provisions and policies should lead to improved targeting of services through the identification of services gaps and the development of strategies more likely to be accepted by target groups than is currently the case. Optimising service provision requires policies and practices that acknowledge the social context and lived experiences of the service population. This is especially relevant to the government sector where Indigenous populations represent a hard-to-serve section of the service population (Parity 1999). Models of housing that understand and are responsive to Indigenous cultural practices of mobility should improve tenancy sustainability, reducing the costs of failed tenancies and housing transfers. They should also assist the development of holistic models of service delivery which target the needs of sub-population groups such as women and children and young people. This includes the development of models of short-term accommodation provision that

meet the needs of travellers who are not defined as homeless, but who require culturally appropriate, affordable housing.

Understanding different forms of mobility, their demographic composition and how these are influenced by the policy environment, is essential for service planning. A key aspect of Indigenous temporary mobility is its invisibility to the non-Indigenous world. Peterson describes Indigenous peoples as travelling 'with their backs to the world, turned in on their own domains' (2004). The effect is to make the establishment of reliable estimations of Indigenous population and population trends difficult, as evidenced by the size of the identified error in Census counts for Indigenous populations in Australia (ABS 2006b). This makes it challenging for service organisations to establish accurate information for service planning. The work of researchers at the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR) is going some way towards providing an evidence base on Indigenous population movement, including both migration and temporary mobility (Biddle 2009; Biddle & Prout 2009; Prout & Yap 2010; Morphy 2010), but there remains an information gap such that policy-makers are usually attempting to provide services for a population they have little reliable information about. Better understanding of the requirements for collection and management of data that provides information on the direction, volume and duration of Indigenous population movement, and of the motives and demographic composition of the individuals involved, would be beneficial. It is the first step to ensuring that short-term housing services are located in areas of greatest need, increasing the likelihood that they will be used by the target population. It should also assist in the identification and planning for appropriate governance that takes into account, for example, the need for inter-service or inter-agency agreements.

Housing services are also affected by the consequences of policy change on Indigenous population movement. The history of Indigenous access to housing shows that policies targeting behavioural change within Indigenous populations, including attempts at sedenterisation, have unanticipated side-effects including a worsening of housing outcomes (Altman 2007; Morgan 2006). Unplanned influxes into capital cities and regional population centres puts pressure on all sectors of social housing. This is both direct through an increase in housing demand in these areas, and indirect in its impact on the tenancy sustainability of existing tenants whose homes are subject to overcrowding. Housing services need to identify and plan for the impact of policy changes currently taking place in regional and remote Australia. In particular, state and territory housing authorities who carry responsibility, under the NAHA, to provide for Indigenous housing need to evaluate whether and how much these changes will increase Indigenous urbanisation in their jurisdictions. Given what is known about the challenges that Indigenous individuals and families face in adjusting to the requirements of urban living, this represents an important area of housing policy development.

There is a further, and often overlooked, benefit in better provision for managing visitors that has potential to reduce Indigenous primary homelessness. The resistance of some Indigenous individuals to take on a public housing tenancy stems partly from their perception that the demands of public housing are too onerous and they will risk tenancy failure (Habibis et al. 2007). An important contributor to this is their understanding that if they achieve stable housing it will bring with it expectations for the provision of hospitality which may result in tenancy agreement breaches. In weighing up the trade off between enjoying the living standards of public housing and managing visitors the 'choice' is made to remain in sub-standard or overcrowded arrangements.

1.5 Conclusion

If governments are to succeed in the policy goal of closing the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia (COAG 2007), then mainstream housing services need to develop policies, programs and practices that better respond to the temporary mobility of Indigenous individuals and families. Assisting Indigenous people to access and sustain appropriate housing is fundamental to their health and well-being and has flow-on effects on most other dimensions of social life, including education, labour market relationships and health (AIHW 2008; COAG 2008; AHRC 2008). The historical exclusion of Indigenous individuals and families from the private housing market has been exacerbated by the housing affordability crisis which has tightened the rental market, increasing rents and further reducing availability. Despite Commonwealth and state policy initiatives aimed at increasing Indigenous participation in home ownership and private rental markets, it is likely that, for the foreseeable future, the majority of the Indigenous population will continue to rely on the social housing sector for access to stable housing. Homeownership is not a realistic option for most Indigenous people in remote communities. This is especially true for the Northern Territory which tops the list among the states and territories for levels of Indigenous homelessness and low levels of home ownership.

The importance of social housing for the future well-being of the Indigenous population is given further significance because of its youthful age structure. Large numbers of young people and children are affected by how the state responds to the housing needs of the Indigenous population. If housing outcomes are not improved, there is a very real possibility that another generation of Indigenous people will grow up in conditions that contravene Australia's status as a developed nation.

2 AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

This study builds on earlier work by Memmott et al. (Memmott, Long & Thomson 2006) which described the temporary mobility patterns of Indigenous individuals and families in the area of Mount Isa, Queensland. The primary concern of that study was to provide a detailed account of the pattern of Indigenous temporary mobility in remote Australia and to identify the resulting housing service implications. This study asks how housing services are responding to Indigenous temporary mobility patterns, how this can be improved, and what are the implications of current developments in Indigenous social policy for Indigenous population movement.

This chapter outlines the study's objectives and the methodology used to achieve these. It provides a brief summary of the seven case study sites, as a preliminary to the more detailed information provided in the relevant empirical chapters (Chapters 5–7). The consultative framework employed for the data collection is explained as well as the management of anonymity, confidentiality and other ethical issues. The sources, limitations and analysis of the three administrative datasets used in the case study areas are also outlined.

2.1 Methodological approach

The work for this study is guided by the literature review and policy analysis undertaken in 2009 that formed the basis of the Positioning Paper for this project (Habibis et al. 2010) and the identification of this study's objectives.

2.1.1 Study objectives

The aim of this study is to examine how housing services can improve their responses to Indigenous patterns of mobility. Its objectives include to:

- Contribute to the evidence base about rising levels of urban drift among Indigenous peoples, to identify the reasons for this and the implications for housing policy, and to disseminate strategies for social housing organisations to monitor and plan for these changes.
- Provide good policy guidance and cost-effective strategies and models of housing delivery which better provide for Indigenous patterns of mobility.

These objectives are examined in the context of the reforms being taken under the COAG National Partnership Agreements, especially the National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery and the National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Housing. This includes a consideration of the impact of the transfer of responsibility for housing services from the Indigenous community housing sector to SHAs, the mainstreaming of Aboriginal housing within SHAs and a concern with the housing needs of Indigenous migrants moving from remote communities to larger population centres.

In responding to the knowledge gaps and service development requirements associated with these issues this project aims to:

- Identify the motives for (a) temporary mobility and (b) migration by Indigenous individuals and families and the relationship between this and the introduction of policies such as income management and the declaration of dry areas.
- Develop definitions and concepts that assist housing services to distinguish between homelessness and temporary mobility, and between temporary mobility and migration, in ways sensitive to Indigenous lifeworlds and aspirations.

- Analyse Indigenous medium- and long-term population movement in a number of locations in remote and regional Australia.
- Provide examples of models and strategies for housing provision and tenancy management which take account of temporary mobility in urban, regional and remote locations.
- Identify strategies for social housing providers to assist Indigenous migrants into stable, appropriate and sustainable accommodation.

2.2 Methods

A case study approach was employed which, where possible, combined qualitative and quantitative techniques. The triangulation involved increases the robustness of the findings beyond that available from a single approach. The initial focus was on six case study sites, with a seventh site later added. Sites were identified in consultation with government and community representatives and drew on the existing networks of project team members. Local organisations were relied on to gain information about current levels of Indigenous population movement—both temporary and migration. Three sites were in Western Australia, and two each in the Northern Territory and South Australia. Criteria for selection were that they:

- Included population centres across the settlement hierarchy, as defined by ASGC criteria.
- Incorporated known areas of short- to medium-term population fluctuation.
- Were subject to the policy reforms in relation to Indigenous housing and service delivery.

2.2.1 Consultative framework

The study incorporated principles of consultation with Indigenous individuals, community leaders, Indigenous organisations, government housing authorities, advocacy groups, researchers and non-government SAAP service providers. Where possible, respondents and organisations who contributed to the case studies were given the opportunity to review and provide feedback on the preliminary findings and provided with a draft of the report for comment, prior to its publication.

2.2.2 The case study areas

The Gascoyne region in northwest Western Australia, incorporating Mungullah and Burringurrah, with Carnarvon as the regional centre.

Mungullah and Burringurrah were chosen because they constitute an example of related communities, paired by a common history, culture and patterns of sociality. This affords an opportunity to look at the patterns of mobility that are characteristic of a closed set, as it were, of two related communities as opposed to patterns of mobility concerning a community that is visited by an open set of widely varying communities within a major geographic, climatic and administrative region.

Mungullah is on Commonwealth community-owned land, with an Indigenous Community Housing Organisation (ICHO) under pressure to mainstream. Burringurrah is on ALT communally-owned land with people moving regularly to Mungullah. People from Gascoyne Junction make frequent journeys to Carnarvon. Burringurrah can also be cut off during the wet season. Carnarvon experiences extreme overcrowding due to the strength of kinship networks and the small number of remote settlements. Historical and geographical factors combine to make Carnarvon a focal point for Indigenous population mobility in Western Australia.

Broome in the Western Kimberley coastal region south of the Dampier Peninsula, Western Australia.

Broome was chosen as a field site of significance because it is a hub destination for the entire Kimberley, a region containing over 200 Aboriginal communities of sizes varying from fewer than fifty people, to towns such as Derby containing a resident population of 2867 (ABS 2007d). This is an area with a high number of Indigenous settlements and with seasonal patterns of mobility. People travelling to Broome come from communities around the Dampier Peninsula and across the Kimberley, including Halls Creek, Fitzroy Crossing and Balgo, as well as One Mile camp, close to Broome itself. The absence of kin in Broome is an important influence on mobility patterns and contributes to a high level of transient circulation in the town camps and spaces around the city.

Fitzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley, Western Australia.

Fitzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley have been the focus of national attention following the release of a coronial inquiry into the high suicide rate occurring in the region (Hope Report 2008a & 2008b), and the introduction of liquor restrictions. The town is at the intersection of the four language groups of the area and most people in the region are Indigenous. The town has a history of being a stopping point for Indigenous people travelling through the Kimberley region, and is also the regional service centre for communities in the Fitzroy Valley. This role is set to be developed as it is one of three priority growth towns under the NPARSD. It has a strong Indigenous community sector, with Marra Worra Worra being the largest Indigenous Community Organisation (ICO) in the Kimberley region and the major manager of Indigenous housing in the Fitzroy Valley.

Port Augusta/Coober Pedy, South Australia.

Port Augusta is a major regional town located 300 kilometres north of Adelaide in South Australia and is described as the 'southern gateway to the Northern Territory'. Coober Pedy is an outback opal-mining town located a further 850 kilometres northeast of Adelaide. Both have been identified as 'hot spots' of Indigenous population movement. Indigenous people in the regions surrounding both towns are very mobile, often moving between Port Augusta and remote communities in the far north and northwest of South Australia, and between Coober Pedy and the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) lands. Some of this movement is historical and seasonal, but there have been reports of increased temporary mobility to and from APY lands and Coober Pedy, Port Augusta and Adelaide in recent years. Port Augusta is also the site of a transitional accommodation facility with plans to develop similar facilities at Coober Pedy.

Port Adelaide, South Australia, and surrounding areas.

There is a recorded pattern of settlement by Aboriginal people in the Port Adelaide Enfield area since the end of World War Two when people moved from rural mission settlements to the metropolitan area. Suburbs in the north and northwest (Port Adelaide) of the city were chosen mainly because housing was cheaper. Anecdotal evidence suggests an increase in the number of temporary Aboriginal visitors to the Adelaide metropolitan area from the APY lands in the north of South Australia, with Port Adelaide identified as an area where the concentration of visitors has been highest. Adelaide is also one of the proposed locations for the development of a transitional accommodation centre as an extension of the State of South Australia's Safe Tracks Program.

Tennant Creek, with reference to Alice Springs, Northern Territory.

Tennant Creek is one of the prescribed communities under the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER). As well as being subject to income management and alcohol restrictions, five-year compulsory leases were placed over the Tennant Creek town camps in 2007, with a subsequent sublease negotiated and agreed by Julalikari Council Aboriginal Corporation the following year. Tennant Creek has been identified as a priority area under the COAG National Partnership Agreements, with funding of \$36.5 million also being committed under SIHIP.

Nhulunbuy with reference to Darwin, Northern Territory.

The prescribed town of Nhulunbuy is located in Yolngu country on the Gove Peninsula at the northern tip of Arnhem Land. Nhulunbuy land tenure is an excised mining lease area from traditional Aboriginal owners held as inalienable freehold title under the ALRA. The population of Nhulunbuy is mainly non-Indigenous with a sizeable Indigenous population living nearby at Yirrkala and many more smaller communities living on the traditional homelands of their various clans. The area is distinguished by the strength of customary lifestyles. The mobility region extends as far as Darwin. As well as being a prescribed area under the NTER and subject to alcohol restrictions, it falls within one of the priority areas under the NPARSD.

2.2.3 Sampling

A convenience sample of the service population and service providers was sought in each case study site. These included:

- Indigenous tenants of public, community and ICO housing.
- Indigenous users of temporary accommodation, including Aboriginal hostels, (former) Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) services, town camp facilities, bush camps and public space sites.
- Migrants to regional centres.
- First-time visitors and migrants to metropolitan areas.
- Residents of outlying communities across the rural/remote settlement spectrum who make regular journeys away from home, including visits to regional centres.
- A range of Indigenous sub-population groups including young men, young women, women with children, families, health-needs groups, older men and women, criminal justice involvement, and students.

The service provider population included:

- Housing officers, managers and policy officers within relevant sections of SHAs, state and federal Aboriginal services and Indigenous and mainstream community housing.
- Town camp bosses and managers.
- Remote community managers.
- Temporary accommodation providers.
- Indigenous community leaders.
- Providers of temporary accommodation, including Aboriginal hostels.
- Service providers from housing-related services including employment, health and education.

2.2.4 *Ethical clearance and instrumentation*

Ethics approval was provided by the Human Research Ethics (Tasmania) Network; and the HRECs of Curtin University, the University of South Australia and Charles Darwin University. An interview framework was established and applied across the case study sites. Separate interview frameworks were developed for service providers and service-users, covering the following areas:

1. Service providers

- Knowledge and experience of local Indigenous mobility patterns and identified reasons for these.
- The relationship between temporary mobility and homelessness.
- The housing service implications of this, including specific sub-population groups.
- Current policies, programs and practices that address this: strengths and weaknesses of these.
- Views on the relationship between policy change and Indigenous short-, medium- and long-term population movement.
- Examples of good or innovative practice.

2. Service users

- Motivations for both migration and temporary mobility.
- The influence of policy changes on these movements.
- Experiences of travelling and finding somewhere to stay, including use of housing and related services and their views on these.
- Preferred arrangements for temporary and long-term housing needs.
- Services and strategies that would support their migrant and temporary mobility accommodation needs.

Where information was sensitive and included material that was potentially reidentifiable it was included in the Conclusion of the report so that the place of data collection and respondents could not be identified.

2.3 Data collection

Data was collected over a two-year period between June 2008 and June 2010. This coincided with the changes to the Commonwealth's Indigenous policy direction as well as COAG's restructuring of housing and homelessness policies and programs. It also coincided with the NTER. Together these created a highly politicised environment that was the subject of intense public scrutiny. The competitive funding environment established by the COAG National Partnership Agreements, meant that SHAs and ICOs were dealing with intense workloads to meet FaHCSIA's submission deadlines, making accessing informants difficult. The pressures on housing personnel were especially acute in the Northern Territory where the NTER created additional pressures to implement reforms and meet targets. These demands also impacted on Indigenous service users who were expected to provide their opinion and share their experiences on numerous issues, often relating directly to proposed policy developments in their area. These factors made the study environment a challenging one and made consultation and input from service users and service providers especially difficult in the Northern Territory.

2.3.1 Interview data

Data collection involved face-to-face interviews with individuals and focus groups. The total number of respondents who contributed to the study was 116. Table 2 below provides details of the number by case study area:

Table 2: Respondents by case study area

Site	Interviews
Carnarvon	20
Broome	20
Fitzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley	20
Port Augusta/Cooper Pedy	14
Adelaide/Port Adelaide	24
Tennant Creek/Alice Springs	7
Nhulunbuy/Darwin	11
Total:	116

Some respondents were interviewed on two or more occasions. Additional information was also gathered through informal meetings and telephone and email exchanges with government and non-government service providers, policy-makers and housing advocates within the case study areas. In remote locations, service providers were often also Indigenous service users.

2.3.2 Administrative data

Three sources of administrative data were used as a way of investigating short- and long-term trends in housing demand, in Western Australia and South Australia: SAAP service data, SHA administrative data and, for Western Australia only, data from the 1997, 2003 and 2007 Indigenous Community Environmental Health Needs Survey.

SAAP service data

The Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) data refers to the number of new support periods opened by Indigenous clients, by Statistical Local Area (SLA), by month. The data was obtained from the the SAAP client collection by request from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) and covers the financial years 2006–07, 2007–08, and 2008–09. There are two types of support reported: (a) Accommodation support periods opened and (b) All support period openings (including accommodation) opened. The data is monthly and refers to support period openings by clients, although support periods may cover different lengths of time. The median length of support for Indigenous clients is around two weeks.

In addition, data was obtained describing the types of support services required, and what proportion of these were provided, referred, or not provided. This proportion is described as 'unmet need' in the analysis, defined as: 'when an agency worker assesses that a client needs a support service during their support period, and that service is not provided or referred'. This data is for financial years only.

The following support information was reported on an annual basis:

- Number of housing/accommodation services required (level of demand).

- Proportion of required housing/accommodation services that were provided (the extent to which demand for this service was met by SAAP services).
- Number and type of other SAAP services required, including financial, personal, advocacy, other services
- Proportion of other SAAP services, by type, that were provided.

SHA data

For South Australia, 17 Housing SA tenant and waiting list extracts were obtained. These database extracts are termed 'snapshots' as they refer to a cross section of the database at a particular point in time. The snapshots cover 17 points at quarterly intervals over the period June 2005 to June 2009. The snapshots refer to 30 June, 30 September, 30 December, and 30 March of each year. The data extracts refer to Housing SA public housing and to State Owned and Managed Indigenous housing (SOMIH). The tenant database snapshots were used to identify Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) Housing SA clients who were in tenancies in any of three study regions (Coober Pedy, Port Augusta, and Metropolitan Adelaide) as at any of the points in the study period.

The waiting list database snapshots were used to identify ATSI clients who were either on the waiting list for housing in the study regions, or who were registered as living in the study regions and on the Housing SA waiting list for housing (in the study regions or elsewhere), as at any snapshot point in the study period. Waiting list clients include those already in Housing SA housing (transfer applicants), and those living in other housing (new applicants).

Clients were identified as ATSI if at any snapshot point they were registered as ATSI, or if at any snapshot point they were living in SOMIH housing.

A similar approach was used for the Western Australian SHA data, except that dwelling and waiting data was only available by financial year (2004/05–2008/09) with database snapshots for 30 June at the end of each financial year.

Study region clients were identified as belonging to any or all of three categories:

1. Those living in tenancies in the study region.
2. Those on the waiting list for housing in the study region.
3. Those living in the study region and on the waiting list for housing (in the same region or elsewhere).

Two of these categories—clients living in tenancies in the study region, and those waiting in the study region on the waiting list (for housing in that region or elsewhere)—were combined into another category comprising those living in the study region, either as tenants or on the waiting list.

This was used to identify:

- Movement of individuals and households who are either in, or wish to be in, SOMIH or public housing, over the medium- and long-term within and between different locations of the study area.
- Indicators of urbanisation as evidenced by trends in aggregate volume of population movement from smaller to larger population centres.

Western Australia Indigenous Community Environmental Health Needs Survey (WAICEHNS)

The Western Australia Indigenous Community Health Needs Survey has been conducted in three years—1997, 2003, and 2007. The structure of each survey varies considerably, but each version contains questions related to community population changes, including changes in the usual population as well as normal population shifts over the year. The data was based on self-report with no cross referencing of supplied data against other sources to check for internal or external consistency, apart from 2008 when there was some consistency correction for questions relating to resident population size and visitor numbers.

Copies of the survey data in response to the population change questions were obtained for all Western Australian communities in the survey, for the three survey years. The full list of Western Australian Indigenous communities in the survey was filtered down to those in the following study regions:

- Mungullah and Burringurrah: two communities.
- Fitzroy Crossing: seven communities.
- Fitzroy Crossing Suburbs: seven communities.
- Greater Broome: six communities.

The 'usual population' was defined as those people living in the community for nine months of the year or more.

Data analysis

Where available the analysis was triangulated with other administrative data, including health services, police and court data and the South Australian Department of Community and Health's Safe Tracks Transitional Accommodation Programs. This assisted with the sample bias inherent in the use of data held by SHAs since they cover only a proportion of the population and also exclude individuals who choose not to identify as Indigenous. The methodological and environmental limitations of this kind of administrative data are acknowledged including that waiting list applications are not an accurate indication of the housing needs of Indigenous populations in the service catchment area and that occupancy levels are an undercount of actual numbers of residents and visitors (ABS 2006b). Fluctuations in waiting lists may also be subject to data entry factors with requests and removals covering more than a single month being entered at the same time, creating artificial peaks.

A further limitation is that the methodology implicitly assumes that where the tenant is registered is where they are living and so ignores short-term migration outside of the system, or in between waves (snapshots). Similarly, limitations of the SAAP service data include under-utilisation by ATSI individuals, inability to discriminate between SAAP service locations below the level of SLA and the unavailability of SAAP data for some locations for reasons of confidentiality and low numbers or because there were no SAAP providers. These included Carnarvon and Upper Gascoyne, in Western Australia and Port Adelaide Enfield-Coast in South Australia. As well, in some locations low numbers serve to limit the capacity to draw meaningful conclusions.

2.4 Analysis and report

For each of the case study sites a thematic analysis of the service provider and service population interviews was undertaken, focusing on:

- The self-identified motivations of the service population for both temporary mobility and migration, and the influence of the policy context on this.
- How well these motivations are understood by different sections of social housing providers (e.g. SHAs & ICHOs).
- The accommodation problems experienced by the service population that are associated with temporary mobility and migration, and the effects this has on homelessness and itinerancy.
- The policies and strategies currently employed by mainstream and Indigenous housing services that provide for migration, how effective these are, and how they could be improved.

These findings were triangulated with the administrative data, where available, to identify:

- Changes in tenant and occupancy numbers by location.
- Levels and source of demand for public housing, by location.
- Short- and long-term patterns in demand for SAAP services by SLA.

These findings were analysed with reference to the interview data and the literature to provide an explanation of fluctuations, increases and decreases in Indigenous population movement in terms of identifiable factors such as seasonal changes as well as any local factors and policy changes, which anecdotal data and the literature suggested had a potential to influence population movement. These included the introduction of the NTER, the introduction or changes to liquor restrictions, the introduction of CDEP, the increased presence of the police on communities and any local events known to have impacted on population movement that were identified in the case study reports.

3 POLICY CONTEXT

This chapter examines the national policy context for the population movement of Indigenous peoples. It is analysed in the context of one of the aims of the study—to examine the evidence for migration to urban centres and how this might be affected by the COAG National Partnership Agreements and current Indigenous housing policy. The chapter points out that the change in policy direction that commenced with the Federal Coalition Government in 2007 and which has continued with the current Labor Government, includes the expectation of movement of Indigenous peoples from homeland communities judged to be below the optimal level for government services, to larger population centres.

The chapter begins by identifying the relevant National Agreements and then examines their objectives and implications for temporary mobility and population change in relation to five areas: mainstreaming of Indigenous housing; service delivery in remote communities; land tenure reform; welfare reform and strategies for addressing homelessness. This is followed by an analysis of the potential for these policies to have unintended negative effects on Indigenous housing outcomes through the creation of population churn and forced mobility to larger population centres without adequate provision of housing infrastructure.

3.1 The policy context for Indigenous population mobility: the COAG National Partnerships

Since 2007, housing in Australia has been organised under the COAG National Agreements with the National Agreement on Affordable Housing (NAHA) and the National Indigenous Reform Agreement (Closing the Gap) (NIRA) the two Agreements of relevance to this study. The aims of the NAHA are to ensure all Australians have access to affordable, safe and sustainable housing through affordable rentals and home purchase. Indigenous people are specifically targeted for achieving the same opportunities with a particular focus on the reduction of overcrowding and homeless in remote areas and discrete communities (COAG 2010, p.xii). The NIRA integrates the activities of state and federal agencies in relation to Closing the Gap. It provides a Commonwealth commitment of \$3.6 billion over 10 years and a further \$1 billion from the states and territories. Funding of the National Affordable Housing Agreement is structured via a series of National Partnership Agreements (NPAs) between the Commonwealth and the States and Territories, which, with the exception of the NPAH, identify the performance benchmarks and required outcomes. In the case of the NPARIH, the financial arrangements include incentive payments to reward performance, with potential for 25 per cent of capital works funding designated for one State to be transferred to another, intensifying pressures to deliver the required outcomes.

The NPAs of relevance to Indigenous population mobility are the:

- National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery (NPARSD)
- National Partnership Agreement on Remote Indigenous Housing (NPARIH)
- National Partnership Agreement on Social Housing (NPASH)
- National Partnership Agreement on Indigenous Economic Participation. (NPAIEP)
- National Partnership Agreement on Homelessness (NPAH).

Bilateral Agreements and Implementation Plans have been established between the Commonwealth and each state or territory to ensure consistency while also providing

for the different regional contexts. These establish the governance structures, funding commitments, roles and responsibilities, performance benchmarks and timeframe for achieving the identified goals.

3.1.1 Mainstreaming of Indigenous housing

Prior to 2006, social housing for Indigenous peoples, in addition to mainstream public and community housing, was provided through two Indigenous-specific housing strands. The State Owned and Managed Indigenous Housing program (SOMIH) and Indigenous Community Housing Organisations (ICHOs) and, in New South Wales, Aboriginal Community Housing Providers. This changed with the abolition of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Council (ATSIC) in 2005, which led to the incorporation of separate SOMIH housing programs into a single public housing system with single waiting lists. This mainstreaming of Indigenous housing was further accelerated following the 2007 review of the Community Housing and Infrastructure Program (CHIP) (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2007) which provided federal funding for Indigenous housing in remote areas. The review recommended the termination of CHIP and the incorporation of remote Indigenous programs into mainstream public housing. Most of the ICHOs were remotely located in discrete Indigenous communities and closely associated with local Indigenous Community Councils. In 2006, there were an estimated 1187 discrete Indigenous communities in Australia which are home to almost 93 000 Indigenous individuals, with 94 per cent of them living in remote and very remote communities (ABS 2008b). Table 3 below provides a summary of the distribution by state/territory of the Indigenous population implicated in this change as well as the level of social disadvantage.

Table 3: Geographic distribution of Australia's Indigenous population by remoteness and socioeconomic disadvantage

<i>Contextual factors</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>Vic</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>WA</i>	<i>SA</i>	<i>Tas</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>NT</i>	<i>Aust</i>
Population in the most socio-economically disadvantaged areas (bottom two quintiles) (%)	40.3	33.9	37.9	31.7	47.7	56.3	7.6	45.1	37.9
Population in remote and very remote areas (%)	0.5	0.1	3.2	6.6	3.7	2.1	-	44.6	2.3
Indigenous population:									
• number ('000s)	158.8	35.1	152.5	73.5	29.2	18.6	4.4	66.3	539.4
• proportion of total population (%)	2.3	0.7	3.6	3.4	1.8	3.7	1.3	30.2	2.5
• proportion in remote and very remote areas (%)	5.2	np	22.2	42.6	18.7	np	-	79.8	24.6
Proportion of Australian population (%)	32.9	24.8	19.8	9.9	7.6	2.4	1.6	1.0	100
People with disability (%)	17.7	19.9	22.5	21.4	22.6	22.6	15.8	-	20.0
People aged 65 or over (%)	13.7	13.5	12.2	11.9	15.3	14.9	9.9	5.0	13.2

Notes:

1. 'np' means not published due to small numbers. '-' means not applicable.

2. Data are drawn from the most recently available data sources, but timeframes vary.

Source: COAG 2010, p.xiv

These changes have been effected in every state and territory, with the impact greatest in the Northern Territory, Western Australia, Queensland and South Australia. In South Australia, the Aboriginal Housing division within Housing SA was terminated in July 2007. In Queensland, housing has been organised under the new Department of Communities with all programs operating under the One Social Housing Program.

The implications of this are significant for both SHAs and ICO tenants since the states are now responsible for repair and maintenance, and properties are managed by a more regulated and bureaucratised regime than operated under the ICO sector.

From ICO to SHA

Under the NPARIH, the two levels of government are committed to increasing the supply of housing in remote Indigenous communities through the building of new housing and refurbishments. In addition, state and territory governments are required to establish '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 2009, p.5).

The Western Australia Government is unique in passing its own legislation, which empowers the WA Dept of Housing to manage housing assets on Crown Land on behalf of any Aboriginal entity and to enforce the requirements of the WA *Residential Tenancy Act*. The legislative framework for this is the Aboriginal Housing Legislation Amendment Bill 2009 (WA) which requires each community to sign a revised, legally binding Housing Management Agreement with the state. In the interim, they have interim Housing Management Agreements that facilitate housing management under other land tenures. The aim of the legislation is to provide a legal obligation for the application of State housing standards to all indigenous public and community housing, so that this equates to public housing property and tenancy management standards.

How SHAs implement their expanded responsibility is influenced by a range of local and regional factors, including the response of local Indigenous communities, the strength of local ICOs, and the degree of remoteness. There is provision within the NPARIH for ICOs to continue their housing provider and management role. This is managed through the requirement that they apply for registration or accreditation with the relevant SHA as a community housing organisation. In Western Australia there is a three-tier categorisation of community housing organisations, as growth, preferred or registered, with only the first two categories eligible for funding under the State Community Housing Investment Program. Programs to support ICOs for capacity building and support to meet these requirements are operating in most states and territories. In Queensland, the Indigenous Housing and Homelessness Program is supporting 16 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander councils.

Those ICOs that are unable, unwilling or excluded from these new arrangements face an uncertain future. They must either transfer housing assets and management to the state or operate independently of state funding provision. For some ICOs, this funding crisis has been exacerbated by the transfer of federal funding for delivery of municipal services such as garbage collection, from selected ICOs to District Councils.

In Western Australia, the WA Department of Housing has committed to providing housing infrastructure and housing management services to 2400 houses in 140 discrete remote communities, with plans to extend its services to other communities deemed to be sustainable. In Victoria, the Department of Human Services has committed to a 10-year reform process and is working to build capacity within the

ICHO sector so that organisations are able to continue to manage them. In Queensland, the Department of Communities (Housing and Homelessness Services) Indigenous Housing and Homelessness Programs are providing capital grant funding to 16 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander councils, encompassing 34 discrete Indigenous communities, for housing improvements.

3.1.2 Service delivery to remote Indigenous communities: the 'hub and spoke' model

The changes impacting on Aboriginal communities in regional and remote Australia also include a new model of service delivery involving centralisation of infrastructure and services in regional centres, as recommended by the CHIP Review (PriceWaterhouseCoopers 2007). Under the NPARSD, the Commonwealth and the states of New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory have committed to investing \$291.2 million over six years in 29 priority communities. The objective is to establish a standard and range of services to remote Indigenous communities consistent with what exists in comparable locations elsewhere. The model is a 'hub and spoke' design involving the development of core communities for infrastructure and service development so that they become the focal point for surrounding communities. Fifteen locations are in the Northern Territory, six in Queensland, four in Western Australia, two in each of South Australia and New South Wales, with an expectation of subsequent investment in other locations. Included within the goals is baseline mapping of priority sites and an audit of service needs. Infrastructure development includes the construction of employment and training hostels to support the anticipated flow of individuals to hub communities for employment purposes.

The goals of the model include improved health and education, capacity building of Indigenous organisations, greater economic opportunities, including business investment and home ownership, and reduced welfare dependence. Inherent to the model is an expectation that it will encourage voluntary movement by individuals and families to areas of improved service provision.

While this investment represents an important opportunity for the development of services in remote locations within reach of some Indigenous communities, it also raises questions about the future of smaller remote communities and has potential to increase population movement and churn between remote outstations and communities, small towns and regional centres as well as long-term migration (Altman 2007).

3.1.3 Land tenure reform

Acquisition of leases over Aboriginal community-controlled land by the state is a central feature of both the NPARSD and the NPARIH. The rationale for this is twofold. One is the state's requirement for security over its investment in the development of infrastructure and services; the other is the push to improve Indigenous participation in home ownership. To receive the funding being offered by the Commonwealth and states for additional Indigenous housing, housing-related infrastructure in remote Australia, and the development of services in regional centres, community organisations must agree to give the government the right to lease the land for a period of at least 40 years. If this is not granted then there will be no funding for essential services, including housing. Legislative support for these changes is being progressed through the Native Title Amendment Bill.

In the Northern Territory, land tenure arrangements have been agreed for 14 communities under the SIHIP program, covering the Tiwi Islands, Groote Eylandt, and

Alice Springs town camps. Alice Springs town camp, Ilpeye Ilpeye has also agreed to Government acquisition of community land for subdivision and individual purchase.

3.1.4 Welfare reform

Welfare reform is also an integral feature of the NPAs with an expectation of a reduction in welfare dependence and behavioural change 'consistent with positive social norms' (COAG 2009, pp.A-1). Prior to 2009, in remote Indigenous communities the Federal Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) was the primary provider of employment. The program is now being wound down on a community-by-community basis, with complete phase-out planned for September 2011. Where possible, positions are being converted to paid jobs but otherwise all individuals will be required to move on to Centrelink payments, including Newstart, with attendant requirements for job searching and training. In remote settings this is likely to result in a requirement for individuals to travel to where opportunities and programs are available or risk being breached.

Income management, first introduced into the Northern Territory as part of the NTER, involves quarantining of up to 70 per cent of welfare payments with expenditure limited to stores where it can only be spent on essentials such as food and clothing. The scheme is being expanded nationally to all welfare recipients.

3.1.5 Strategies for reducing homelessness

Since 2007, the main policy framework for addressing homelessness, the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) has been replaced by the NAHA. The aim is to develop an integrated system of homelessness services with targeting of groups vulnerable to homelessness. In its White Paper on Homelessness (FAHSCIA 2009), the Commonwealth Government outlines two key targets for homelessness: halving overall homelessness and offering supported accommodation to all rough sleepers by 2020, with interim targets set for 2013 including a one-third reduction of Indigenous homelessness. The NPAH Implementation Plan sets out interim targets for 2013 for each state and territory.

The Partnership is supported by a \$400 million commitment of federal funding over the four-year period between 2009-10 and 2012-13, matched by the states and territories, with additional federal funding of \$150 million specifically for the implementation of the 'A Place to Call Home' initiative, matched by the states and territories (COAG 2009). Core outputs include the implementation of the 'A Place to Call Home' initiative and 'Street to Home' initiatives for chronic homeless sleepers and tenancy sustainment services.

3.2 Population movement and the reform agenda

The strategy of the NPAH and the NIRA for improving Indigenous housing outcomes is to increase access to permanent housing and to break the cycle of homelessness by targeting rough sleepers. Little attention is paid to the relationship between Indigenous mobility and homelessness with the need for short-term accommodation largely limited to the construction of hostels for employment and training purposes under the NPARSD. Similarly unaddressed is the potential for the Indigenous reform agenda to increase housing instability and homelessness as a result of unintended side-effects.

Uncertainty over the fate of ICOs, together with the changes to income support, have created a great deal of confusion about what these changes mean for the future of remote communities as well as concern that the leases over community-titled land represent a 'land grab' by the state. A prominent theme is that the reforms to service

provision and to the CDEP will reverse the homelands movement, taking Aboriginal people 'back to the old days' of being pushed into towns (Coyne 2009, p.8). As well as concerns that withdrawal of government funding, and the termination of CDEP will make it impossible for people to remain on smaller remote communities, income management has also been linked to short- and long-term population movement.

There is some provision within the reforms for their potential impact on population mobility. The NPRIH includes the establishment of hostel and subsidised rental in regional areas as well as an increase in the provision of family-style dwellings and single accommodation for people from remote communities attending training, education, employment and support services, with specific targeting of areas of high employment need for construction of affordable rental accommodation for people from remote areas. Measures to reduce overcrowding as well as the requirement for provision of Life Skills programs to tenants of new housing are also strategies likely to reduce involuntary mobility and tenancy failure.

The National Partnerships have opened space for a new relationship between the ICO sector and state and territory agencies, but it is unlikely to be uniform with potential for increased migration or increased stability and growth in others, depending on whether community members accept or reject the reforms and the options for remaining on communities if government funding for essential services is withdrawn.

4 MANAGING TEMPORARY MOBILITY

This chapter examines existing provisions of state and territory Housing Authorities for the temporary mobility of their Indigenous tenants and their visitors. It reviews the main ways in which temporary mobility and housing services intersect, especially in relation to tenancy management and housing access. This is followed by a detailed examination of SHA policies and provisions for visitors and the absence and unnotified departures of tenants, as well as access to short-term accommodation.

4.1 Housing services and temporary mobility

Many aspects of housing service design and delivery are potentially shaped by temporary mobility, including housing design, provision of short-term accommodation and tenancy management. Service planning requires accurate estimation and prediction of numbers, identification of their service needs, and cultural knowledge about relationships between different language groups. The visitor population includes groups with a diverse range of needs, including high and complex ones. Activities such as visiting relatives, going on holiday, attending a sporting carnival or meeting cultural obligations, have accommodation and support requirements that influence duration of stay, accommodation design (single or family-sized units), and access to health, legal, drug and alcohol and other services. Inadequate provision for the socio-spatial requirements generated by the relationships between different language groups can result in conflict and public disorder, an issue explored by Memmott et al. (2003).

Temporary mobility has implications for both tenancy management and housing access. Visitors, prolonged or un-notified absences and unannounced departure can lead to situations that risk breaches of tenancy regulations, and future housing eligibility. Co- or bi-locational residence is an additional aspect of temporary mobility relevant to remote locations because of its potential impact on housing eligibility. The relationship between these practices and tenancy failure, as well as the area of policy concern, are summarised in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Housing policies and temporary mobility

<i>Temporary mobility practice</i>	<i>Risk of TA breach</i>	<i>Policy area</i>
Visitors	Excessive occupancy numbers	Additional occupants
	Neighbour complaints	Disruptive behaviour
	Property damage	Home maintenance Housing debt
Absence	Unpaid rent	Housing debt
	Failure to notify absence	Tenant absence
	Prolonged absence of leaseholder	Tenancy transfer and succession
	Unauthorised occupants	Sub-letting
Departure	Un-notified departure	Tenancy termination / Property abandonment
<i>Housing eligibility</i>		
Multiple tenancies		Principal residence
Housing debt		Housing history
Neighbour complaints		Housing history
Absence		Waiting list management

4.1.1 Visitors

Failure to declare the presence of visitors can in itself be a breach of the tenancy agreement, but the principle concern in relation to temporary mobility is its association with disruptive behaviour and property damage. Residential tenancies legislation requires landlords to ensure their tenants do not interfere with their neighbours' quiet enjoyment of their premises. All SHAs and mainstream community sector landlords treat failure to comply with this as a breach of the tenancy agreement. This can lead to inequitable situations in which tenants may be evicted as a result of their neighbour complaining about the behaviour of their visitors. The management of neighbour disputes as a result of the disruptive behaviour of visitors is an ongoing dilemma for housing officers and a cause of tenancy failure (Habibis et al. 2007) despite acknowledgement of the cultural context of demand sharing that makes it difficult for Indigenous tenants to refuse hospitality to relatives or some community members.

A similar situation arises in relation to property damage. Overcrowding impacts severely on fixtures and fittings generating increased maintenance requirements. When property damage occurs, housing officers must decide whether it is deliberate and a breach of the tenancy agreement or the result of wear and tear. This is especially an issue in remote locations where overcrowding is high and fixtures and fittings often sub-standard, and not designed for the demands of large families with frequent visitors. Tenants are held responsible for any property regardless of their direct involvement. The result may be the accumulation of housing debt that reduces the disposable income of the tenant, increases vulnerability to eviction if unpaid, and contributes to a poor housing history, which acts as a barrier to future housing access.

4.1.2 *Tenant absence and un-notified departures*

When tenants leave the home for significant periods of time, SHA tenancy agreements require them to notify the Housing Office of their absence, and to return within a stipulated time frame. Failure to notify, or to return within the specified period, can lead to loss of the tenancy. There is variation between SHAs on this period, with the ACT nominating one month without permission as a breach leading to repossession. The Victorian Department of Housing has the most generous provision, providing for six months absence without a requirement for notification. The Department also allows a lower rent to be paid in special circumstances during this period.

Similar stipulations apply in relation to private tenancies, with Residential Tenancy Acts providing for landlords to terminate tenancies if tenants have been absent for significant periods. There are a number of reasons why Indigenous individuals and families may find it difficult to return within required periods or fail to notify landlords of their absence, leaving them open to eviction. They include:

Departure for funerals, an activity especially associated with mature women, and often including accompanying children. These events are relatively unpredictable with time spent away determined by practical and cultural factors, including where the funeral is being held, kinship requirements and opportunities for other activities, including access to services. Some SHAs include policies that make specific provision for funeral attendance.

Although some health service access, such as routine check-ups and treatment attendance are planned, others are unplanned and the period of absence may be uncertain. Mental health episodes fit within this category, as do many other acute health conditions.

Criminal and juvenile justice involvement can incur absences. Individuals travelling away from home may be apprehended for public order, or driving licence offences. If they are held in custody overnight, or longer, this may be a contributory factor to becoming stuck at a distant location, without the resources to return home or the capacity to inform relatives left behind of what has happened. Individuals attending court and receiving a custodial sentence are also vulnerable to losing their home if the sentence is long or they have not made arrangements for the rent to be paid in their absence.

The effects of family violence mostly affect women and children, although, more rarely, it can affect men if an apprehension order is involved and they are the ones who must leave the family home. These events are largely unpredictable in timing and duration of absence and likely to be associated with a failure to notify absence to landlords.

Opportunistic, spontaneous departures, of indeterminate duration and without a clear instrumental purpose has been described as characteristic of young people, especially young men (Peterson 2004; Birdsall-Jones & Shaw 2008).

Even if the Housing Officer is notified of the tenant's absence, there may be no way of contacting the tenant to discuss problems that may arise, for example, with accumulation of rent arrears, property damage and neighbour complaints. If they fail to return within the required period, it may not be possible to contact them to warn of the risk of eviction. In these circumstances, there is also a risk of rent arrears or property damage caused by other occupants, creating a housing debt that will be a barrier to future housing access.

More generally, frequent movement between places, or the absence of a stable address, are a barrier to housing access as individuals may miss appointments and, so lose their position on the waiting list and have to restart the process.

4.1.3 Multiple tenancies

The issue of multiple tenancies arises principally in community settings in tenancies formerly managed by ICOs, in which some individuals have a bi- or multi-locational residence, moving between communities. This can be related to seasonal migration, but it is also reflective of Indigenous relationships to place and kin (Prout 2008b, p.8). SHA tenancy agreements require tenants to reside only in the allocated property as their principal place of residence, requiring individuals with multiple tenancies to relinquish any surplus tenancies.

4.2 Policy responses to temporary mobility

Over a decade ago, the Keys Young report on homelessness among Indigenous individuals and families identified a range of factors that contributed to the high rates of homelessness among Indigenous peoples. These included a shortage of temporary accommodation as well as the administrative arrangements and policies of social housing providers (Keys Young 1998, p.v). Since that time, understanding of the contribution of temporary mobility to Indigenous homelessness has grown, and SHAs have developed more flexible policies and provision in key areas, such as the size of the home and management of debt, but there remain important service gaps.

Overall, temporary mobility remains a largely overlooked area of housing need, disappearing into the space between provision of permanent, affordable housing and the range of homelessness services provided under the NAHA. The COAG National Partnership Agreements mainly construct housing need in terms of provision of permanent housing at a single location, with individuals either in appropriate, affordable and sustainable housing, in need of it or at risk of losing it. Policy is divided between, affordable housing, which is covered by the National Affordable Housing Agreement (NAHA) and includes the National Partnership Agreement on Homelessness (NPAH) and the National Partnership on Remote Indigenous Housing (NPRIH). Indigenous housing is also coordinated with other Indigenous service provision under the National Indigenous Reform Agreement (NIRA). Between them, these policies divide responsibility for affordable housing between the Commonwealth and the states and territories, with social housing and Indigenous housing being the responsibility of the states and territories, and homelessness services being a dual responsibility of the Commonwealth and the states and territories. This spread of responsibilities between different sectors and levels of government creates an unfavourable policy environment for the clear identification of accountability and the development of responsive policies to Indigenous housing need.

4.2.1 Short-term accommodation

Apart from the private sector, provision for temporary accommodation comes in three main forms:

1. Homelessness services, which under the NAHA include crisis, emergency and transitional accommodation services, are delivered through a combination of state government and NGO programs. These provide short- to medium-term accommodation, in shelters, hostels and houses, with periods of stay ranging from overnight to three months. These programs are especially targeted at young people and rough sleepers with specialised programs providing support services for other groups including families, men, Indigenous individuals, women and

children escaping domestic violence, individuals exiting prison, and individuals with disabilities or substance users including Sobering-Up shelters, people from culturally or linguistically diverse backgrounds, and refugees. These services are concentrated in capital cities and large regional centres, with relatively few services in small regional centres, and even fewer in remote and very remote locations.

2. Accommodation services provided by Commonwealth and state and territory governments, NGOs and the private sector to an area of specialised need, including boarding houses for Indigenous students, hostels for trainees and employees, housing for individuals receiving health care and respite accommodation for disability groups.
3. Campsites managed by states and local governments, as well as the private sector, including caravan parks, camping sites and bush camps and hostels.

The focus within the NPAH is on rough sleepers and primary homelessness with temporary visitors only included if they are without conventional accommodation. Camp sites are directed principally at the tourism industry. There is little or no provision for facilities that acknowledge Indigenous cultural preferences for sleeping in the open. There appear to be few programs that provide safe campsites targeting Indigenous visitors, even in areas that regularly receive large numbers and have significant numbers of rough sleepers such as Broome. Memmott et al. (2003, p.35) note that such an accommodation response is challenging 'in terms of public policy and governance' and in the seven years since that report was written it seems that little has changed.

There are currently two programs in Australia that specifically target the temporary accommodation needs Indigenous people. One is the Aboriginal Hostels Limited program, operated by the Federal Government. This is examined in greater detail in the Positioning Paper to this project (Habibis et al. 2010) but, in brief, it operates through a combination of direct service provision and subsidies to community-operated hostels through the Community Hostel Grants program. In 2009 there were 138 hostels with 3167 beds each night. Most staff (82%) and all residents are Indigenous. In 2008–09, occupancy levels averaged 76 per cent, with 63 per cent occupancy in the IYMP houses (AHL 2009). As well as generic hostels for 'transients', the program provides specialised hostels for students, young people participating in the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations' Indigenous Youth Mobility Program, and for medical transients.

The other program is South Australia's Safe Tracks Program which targets the accommodation and support needs of Anangu travelling between remote communities, to regional centres and which is described in detail in the Appendix. There are currently two facilities, one at Port Augusta and one at Ceduna, with plans for the construction of two more, one at Coober Pedy and one in Adelaide. The Alice Springs Accommodation Park that is planned for operation, as part of the Alice Springs Transformation Plan, at the end of 2010 is modeled along similar lines. It provides for 150 individuals and will be run by AHL for the first two years. It provides a mixture of family types, including family groups, couples and single people, with cabins, self-contained units and camping areas, as well as refurbishments to existing buildings. Visitors will normally be able to stay for up to 14 days with provision for three months. Funding of \$11 million includes construction and the first two years of operational costs.

4.2.2 SHA policies relevant to temporary mobility

The need to develop flexible policies that recognise the effects of cultural difference on tenancy sustainability is recognised by SHAs. As the proportion of Indigenous tenants has grown, with mainstreaming of Indigenous housing accelerating this, SHAs have developed policies relating to housing access and tenancy management that reduce housing exclusion. Although temporary mobility is not normally identified as a specific area of need, there are a number of policies that provide for the effects this has on housing security.

Extra visitors

Recognition of the large households that typically characterise Indigenous families is acknowledged by some SHAs through provision of four to seven-bedroom properties. Housing NSW makes specific provision for Indigenous tenants, providing one extra bedroom in recognition of cultural obligations to provide for relatives or friends. Tenants under all SHAs can apply to transfer properties on the grounds that the existing property is unsuitable, but this is related to household, not visitor, need.

In Western Australia and the Northern Territory, there is no specific mention of the size of the public housing properties available. In South Australia, according to the application form, their largest property is a four-bedroom home and these are limited, although properties with a larger number of bedrooms may be available. In Queensland, there are a limited number of properties with five to seven bedrooms. The Department of Communities categorises these properties as 'reviewable', meaning their occupancy is reviewed regularly to ensure that the household occupancy requirements haven't changed.

In all SHAs, although the specifics vary, public housing tenants must report visitors to the housing authority. Where visitors wish to stay for over four weeks, approval must be granted by the department and in most SHAs the visitor's income is included in the household's rent assessment. Generally visitors will not be approved where there is deemed to be insufficient room, and tenants face breaching their tenancy agreement for exceeding the approved number of residents living on the property.

Disruptive behaviour of visitors

Most SHAs provide information informing tenants that they are held responsible for the behaviour of their visitors in the case of neighbour complaints. Territory Housing tenancy agreements specifically address the disruptive behaviour of visitors requiring tenants to ensure that any person on the premises with the consent of the tenant complies with the regulations of their tenancy. In the event of visitor anti-social behaviour, the tenant may be asked to enter into an Acceptable Behaviour Agreement or have the premises declared a Restricted Premise, making it an offence to consume alcohol there. Territory Housing have also attempted to address visitor behaviour through its Good Neighbour Commercial for Visitors. In Queensland, under the *Residential Tenancy and Rooming Accommodation Act 2008*, tenants are required to not allow people on their property to disturb the peace of their neighbours.

Tenant absence

The period of absence that becomes notifiable is not always stated in the relevant policies. For Western Australia, it is four weeks. The maximum acceptable period of absence ranges from six months (Western Australia) to 12 months (Queensland; South Australia). The Queensland Department of Communities specifies the conditions under which these will be granted, with longer provision for health or imprisonment. In Western Australia, under Aboriginal Housing and Infrastructure's

One House Policy, tenants may sub-let the property so long as approval is granted by the housing manager and a formal agreement is established between the absent tenant and the incoming tenant. The incoming tenant must have no debt to the relevant housing organisation. The absent tenant remains liable for rental arrears and property damage. Tenants may also request an extension beyond the six-month period.

The same policy recognises circumstances in which the requirements for tenants to live in their allocated property as their principal place of residence may vary, with specific reference to seasonal weather conditions when access is cut off. The WA Department of Housing also provides for absences relating to family practices, such as Sorry business or law days. For example, tenants receive several reminders before the rental subsidy ceases.

In South Australia, a 'caretaker' can live in a tenant's property while they are away with Housing SA's approval, although the original tenant remains entirely responsible for the property. Again absences of longer than six months are generally not tolerated, and all absences must be reported.

Management of the waiting list

There is provision in NSW for circumstances in which applicants for public housing may be absent overseas or interstate for periods of up to 12 months in circumstances warranting compassion. There is no mention of absence within the state. In Queensland, applications for social housing are contacted regularly. If an applicant fails to reply to letters, and does not respond to phone calls then the department cancels the application. If applicants intend to travel while their application is lodged, they need to notify the department beforehand for their application to remain in the queue. Successful applications are also cancelled if the applicant fails to respond to the offer. Similar regulations exist in SA, although there is a separate waiting list for the Aboriginal Housing Services rental program. In NT, applicants must be residents in the territory from the time when the application is lodged until it is approved. In WA, applicants must keep the department up-to-date with contact details, waiting list applicants and successful applicants who fail to respond to department correspondence risk being removed from the department's waiting list.

Multiple tenancies

The Western Australian Department of Housing makes no provision for multiple tenancies other than establishing a two-stage process in which tenants and housing officers meet to discuss the circumstances and reasons for the dual tenancies and, if a cooperative resolution is not achieved, then eviction proceedings commence.

Housing debt

The Western Australian Department of Housing has a debt moratorium to assist Indigenous tenants to pay off debts that have accrued from previous tenancies. This offers a substantial discount off the debt once a lump sum is paid and arrangements are made to pay off the remainder in instalments.

Territory Housing provides for consideration of all circumstances of tenants who have difficulty repaying their debt and also will consider exempting housing applicants from housing exclusion if their debt occurs as a result of domestic violence.

More generally, some SHAs have dedicated services for Aboriginal tenancy support, although many Indigenous tenants continue to be supported through mainstream services..

4.2.3 Conclusion

Over a decade ago, the Keys Young report on homelessness among Indigenous individuals and families identified a range of factors that contributed to the high rates of homelessness among Indigenous peoples. As well as a shortage of temporary accommodation the report implicated the administrative arrangements and policies of social housing providers (Keys Young 1998, p.v). Since that time awareness of the impact of temporary mobility on Indigenous housing access and tenancy sustainment has led to the development of more flexible policies by some SHAs especially in relation to reducing the negative impact of visitors, These include provision of larger houses and graduated responses to disruptive behaviour. Some SHAs have also developed policies that are more responsive to tenant absences, frequent movement, and the accumulation of housing debt.

Yet the impact of Indigenous temporary mobility on housing access and tenancy sustainability remains a largely overlooked area of housing policy. There is a need for improved strategies for the management of visitors, temporary absences and unnotified departures. Improved dissemination of relevant policies, such as sub-letting and succession, in an accessible format is also essential. There is also potential for the development of preventative strategies, such as, for example, supporting tenants to manage disruptive visitors so that problems are controlled before they impact on the household.

More generally, there is a need for more targeted programs for Indigenous temporary mobility which currently disappears into the space between provision of permanent, affordable housing and the range of homelessness services provided under the NAHA. The COAG National Partnerships construct housing need in terms of provision of permanent housing at a single location, with individuals either in lacking appropriate, affordable and sustainable housing, or at risk of losing it. Policy is divided between, affordable housing, which is covered by the National Partnership on Affordable Housing (NPAH) and homelessness services, which are covered by the National Partnership Agreement on Homelessness (NPAHL). Indigenous housing forms a third area and is organised under the umbrella of the National Indigenous Reform Agreement (NIRA). Between them, these policies divide responsibility for housing between the Commonwealth and the states and territories, with social housing and Indigenous housing being the responsibility of the states and territories, and homelessness services being a dual responsibility of the Commonwealth and the states and territories. This spread of responsibilities between different sectors and levels of government creates a policy environment that is unfavourable for the development of appropriate responses to an area of housing need that is already challenging to manage.

5 THE WEST AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDIES

This chapter is the first of the three chapters that present the findings from the seven case study areas. It examines the three Western Australian case studies of Mungullah and Burringurrah in the Gascoyne region in the north west of the state, and the two Kimberley region areas of Broome on the north western coast, and Fitzroy Crossing, nearly 400 kilometres east of Broome in the Shire of Derby.

The first section provides an overview of the social context and policy environment of Indigenous housing policy in Western Australia, followed by, for each case study area in turn, a description of the service context, an analysis of the administrative data for evidence of population change, and an analysis of what all data sources, including the interview data, reveal about local patterns of temporary mobility.

The motives for mobility are examined in the next section, with insights specific to the case study areas highlighted. Fitzroy Crossing has been at the centre of moves to control access to alcohol and the impact this has had on population mobility is described, followed by an assessment of how the National Partnerships are effecting temporary mobility and migration.

The final section explores informant accounts of the management of temporary mobility, with special attention given to Marra Worra Worra, an ICO located at Fitzroy Crossing.

5.1 Introduction

Indigenous temporary mobility in Western Australia takes place in the context of high levels of overcrowding and homelessness. Indigenous individuals make up 11.2 per cent of Western Australia's homeless population, although only 3.2 per cent of the population identified as Indigenous at the 2006 Census (Chamberlain & McKenzie 2009a, p.32). Much of this homelessness is concentrated in the Kimberley region which, at 638 people per 10 000 has the highest rate of homelessness in the nation, with 23 per cent of Western Australia's Indigenous homeless individuals located in the region (Chamberlain & McKenzie 2009a). These figures reflect the shortage of housing in Indigenous communities where the usual population of 15 112 individuals live in about 2836 permanent dwellings and 303 temporary dwellings, with an average of 5.7 people per permanent dwelling. The 2008 WAEHNSR shows that this figure is higher in the Kimberley region, with an 6.6 people per permanent dwelling in Wyndham-East Kimberley, 6.7 in Broome, 6.4 in Derby-West Kimberley and 6.0 in Halls Creek (Environmental Health Needs Survey Report 2008).

Current measures to alleviate overcrowding and housing exclusion include plans to construct an additional 2500 homes allocated exclusively to Aboriginal individuals as a mainstream public housing program and a commitment to deliver 295 new houses and 1025 refurbishments in remote Indigenous communities by 2013. The majority of these are to be located in Kimberley communities, but with some in Mungullah, the Pilbara, the Goldfields and Ngaanyatjarra Lands.

The effects of public housing policy on Indigenous housing in Western Australia has been under scrutiny since 2004 as a result of the Western Australian Equal Opportunity Commission investigation into discrimination in public housing against Aboriginal peoples (WA Equal Opportunity Commission 2004), followed by the Hope Report into the Fitzroy Valley's high suicide rate in 2008 (Hope Report 2008a). The WA Equal Opportunity Commission report, *Finding a Place* (2004) made wide-ranging

recommendations about housing services in Western Australia, many of which are being implemented by the Western Australian Department of Housing.

The Hope Report, a Coronial Inquiry into the Kimberley region's excessively high suicide rate, identified alcohol use within the Indigenous population as the immediate causal factor for this, but it also pointed to the impact of the long history of government neglect and the failure to develop services and infrastructure, including housing, in the region:

Of \$1.2 billion spent in Kimberley \$450 million was spent on police, courts and corrective services and another \$350 million was spent on primary health care services. Most of the funding, therefore, was applied to 'keeping the lid on social dysfunction'. ... only 5 per cent of the expenditure on services to Aboriginal people went on housing and it is clear that a relatively small fraction of the \$1.2 billion was directed towards addressing the underlying problems responsible for high crime rates and poor health. (Hope Report 2008a, p.22)

The Hope Report has been associated with major policy initiatives including liquor restrictions introduced into Fitzroy Crossing in 2007 and to Halls Creek in 2009. The attention it generated, together with sustained pressure from Aboriginal leaders, may have also influenced the nomination of the area as a priority area under the NPARSD, with Fitzroy Crossing, Halls Creek and the Dampier Peninsula targeted for development. This is taking place in the context of the Western Australian Government's town planning framework (WAPC 2009, p.10) and the Fitzroy and Halls Creek Futures Forums. These last two are community-based initiatives for improving service integration in the North and West Kimberley. Other significant policy developments are the phasing out of CDEP and the trialling of income management in Cannington and East and West Kimberley. It was introduced into Fitzroy Crossing in early 2009.

5.2 The case study sites

This section describes in turn each of the case study sites. Each site is examined in relation to three concerns—the service context, population change and what is known about temporary mobility patterns. The section on temporary mobility patterns draws together all data sources as well as the existing literature. It describes what is known about the volume, timing, destinations and demographic composition of Indigenous individuals making short to medium-term journeys between Mungullah and Burringurrah, and in Broome and Fitzroy Crossing. This account focuses principally on regularly occurring and predictable events, including journeys arising from weather conditions. Although it includes some information about the motivations for these journeys, this aspect is examined in greater depth in section 5.3 of this chapter.

5.2.1 Mungullah and Burringurrah

The discrete Indigenous community of Mungullah is located at the mouth of the Gascoyne River on the north west coast, on the outskirts of Carnarvon, 904 kilometres north of Perth. The community's members have strong kin connections to individuals and families living at Burringurrah which is approximately 500 kilometres east of Carnarvon and which was originally an outstation of Mungullah. Carnarvon is the administrative centre of the Gascoyne. The climate is monsoonal, but temperate. The town's main industries are agriculture and fishing, although tourism is growing in importance. The town is also becoming a significant provider of workers' accommodation to the mining industries in the state's northwest. The total population of Carnarvon is 5682 of whom 1086 are Indigenous. Proportionally, Indigenous people make up 19 per cent of the town's population (ABS 2007a).

The service context

Organisations relevant to Indigenous people in Carnarvon include the CDEP provider Emu Services, the Carnarvon Aboriginal Medical Service, and the Family Support Service which offers financial counselling, child protection and family counselling. The Family Support Service is also responsible for the Carnarvon Women's Refuge. Carnarvon has no dedicated service for alcohol and drug addiction nor any specific services for men or adolescents.

The discrete Indigenous community of Mungullah is located within the Carnarvon town boundary on Boor Street just north of Grey's Plain (see Figure 2). The community was founded in 1981 on Crown Land held by the Aboriginal Lands Trust. Up to that time, the general area of Boor Street was low-lying flat lands on which homeless Indigenous people camped. This area, on the outskirts of Carnarvon, was then, and is now, largely undeveloped land adjacent to the town's general industrial zone. The community was originally made up of the former Boor Street campers and the former residents of the cancelled Aboriginal reserve. The former reserve residents are also the local traditional owners, the Ingarda people. The Ingarda intermarried with a group to the east, the Watjuri people. Currently, the community is largely made up of the descendents of these former Boor Street campers and the former reserve residents. The design of the Mungullah community matches the pattern of Carnarvon suburban neighbourhoods, with a semi-circular street with 43 dwellings situated on ordinary suburban sized housing blocks (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Mungulla outline plan.



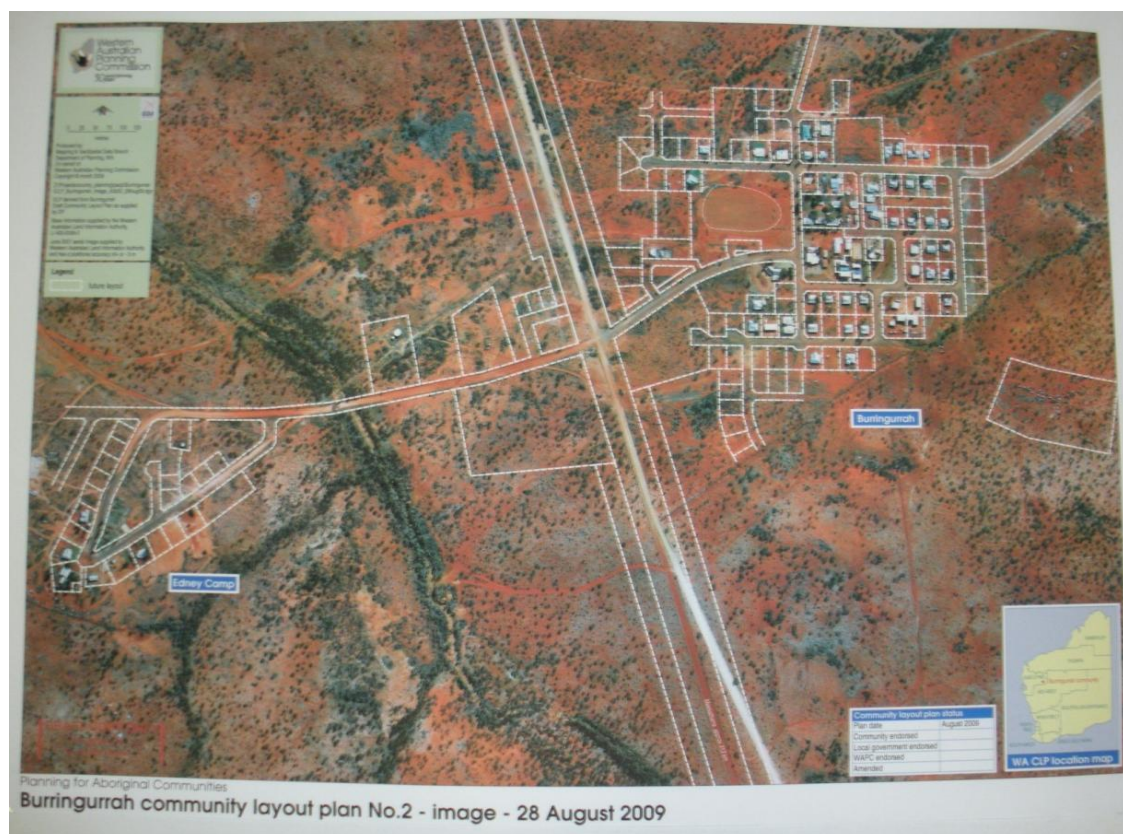
Until recently, housing management at Mungullah was the responsibility of the community board which acted as a community housing provider. However, the community was requested by the state Department of Housing (WADoH) to cede authority as a housing provider to the department. According to Indigenous informants, their understanding was that the consequences of not agreeing to this would have

included receiving no funding for infrastructure maintenance. There were deep potholes in the road, the street lights were becoming an electrical hazard and the sewerage plant needed attention. In September 2009, the Mungullah board agreed to grant control of, and responsibility for, housing to the WADoH. The Housing Authority now has a Management Order over the crown land where Mungullah is situated and there is a five-year Housing Management and Maintenance Agreement and a Service Agreement between the Housing Authority and Mungullah Aboriginal Community Corporation.

Burringurrah is situated around 450 kilometres from Mungullah, 40 kilometres south of Mt. Augustus in the Shire of Upper Gascoyne. This is a sparsely populated arid region. The community is on Crown Land with a Management Order to the Aboriginal Lands Trust and a lease to Burringurrah Community Aboriginal Corporation and Mungullah Community Aboriginal Corporation. It was established progressively in the mid-1970s by Mungullah people who wanted to achieve greater independence from government control. The community was incorporated in 1987 (Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations 2010). It is run by a board and a board president who are elected by the community from its own membership. At the time of the study, Burringurrah community had recently come out of administration and had attained financial solvency.

The design of the community differs from Mungullah in that whereas Mungullah was built to function as a suburb of Carnarvon, Burringurrah was built to function as a town. The membership of the community is predominantly made up of Watjuri people who are the local traditional owners. However, the community includes people from other groups who also are represented at the Mungullah community, including Yamatji and Noongar people.

Figure 3: Burringurra community layout plan 28 August 2009 (Original WA Department of Planning, photographed by Birdsall-Jones.)



Burringurrah has a school, a pool, health centre, store and other municipal buildings and facilities. The health clinic is staffed by a registered nurse and an Indigenous health worker, but receives most of its family, community and mental health services from Carnarvon. Emergency medical services are provided by the Royal Flying Doctor Service. A police station was built in 2009 as part of the establishment of a permanent police presence. While Burringurrah has fewer dwellings, it occupies considerably more land than Mungullah. There are 36 dwellings situated on blocks that are around twice the size of those at Mungullah. In September 2009, 19 of these houses were inhabited and five were uninhabitable owing to damage from vandalism. A five-year Housing Management Agreement with Western Australia's Department of Housing is currently in place.

Population change in Mungullah and Burringurrah

Data sources on population change for Mungullah and Burringurrah comprise the Western Australia Indigenous Community Environmental Health Needs Survey (WAICEHNS) and WADoH administrative data. SAAP data provided limited opportunity for analysis as it was limited to Roebourne and Port Hedland SLAs.

The WAICEHNS data shows that usual population of each community did not change across the three survey years, 1997, 2003 and 2007, as shown in Table 5. Burringurrah and Mungullah are both similarly sized settlements, with each having 150 usual residents as at the 2007 survey. The population of Mungullah decreased slightly between 1997 and 2003. Otherwise, the usual populations of the communities were stable over this period.

Table 5: Usual population, Burringurrah and Mungullah, by year

	<i>Population 1997</i>	<i>Population 2003</i>	<i>Population 2007</i>
Burringurrah	148	150	150
Mungullah	160	150	150
Total	308	300	300

Table 6: Usual population 2007, Burringurrah and Mungullah, by age group

	<i>Aged 0–5</i>	<i>Aged 6–17</i>	<i>Aged 18–49</i>	<i>Aged 50+</i>
Burringurrah	10	70	60	10
Mungullah	40	30	60	20
Total	50	100	120	30

As shown in Table 6 above, according to the 2007 survey, Mungullah has a larger number of young children aged 0–5 years (40 as compared to 10 in Burringurrah). Correspondingly, the survey shows Mungullah has a smaller number of older children and teenagers, aged 6–17 years (30 as compared to 70 in Burringurrah).

At the time of the study the population of the Burringurrah community was 116, indicating a decline of 23 per cent since the 2007 WAICEHNS survey¹. The reason for this reduction was identified as, in part, due to the community having become insolvent leading to a corresponding lack of funding for the repair and maintenance of

¹ 2008 community population figures were kindly supplied by the Burringurrah Management Committee.

housing. In addition, the implementation of the new CDEP arrangements was said to have led some people to relocate to Mungullah.

This account of a relatively stable population punctuated, in the case of Burringurrah, by the debilitating effect of governance problems and resistance to changes in income support, is also supported by the Western Australian Department of Housing data on public housing demand from ATSI clients in Carnarvon. This shows that demand has been steadily growing, but is mainly coming from within the town. Figure 4 below shows that Geraldton and Port Hedland are the stand-out areas for spectacular increase in demand, but the figures for Carnarvon are nonetheless impressive, expanding 42 per cent from 208 in 2005–06, to 357 in 2008–09. This demand is coming from outside of the state housing system, with the demand from existing tenants being generated almost exclusively from Carnarvon residents. Also noteworthy is the jump in demand in the two years after 2006–07 (see Table 7).

Figure 4: Waiting list numbers, Carnarvon region

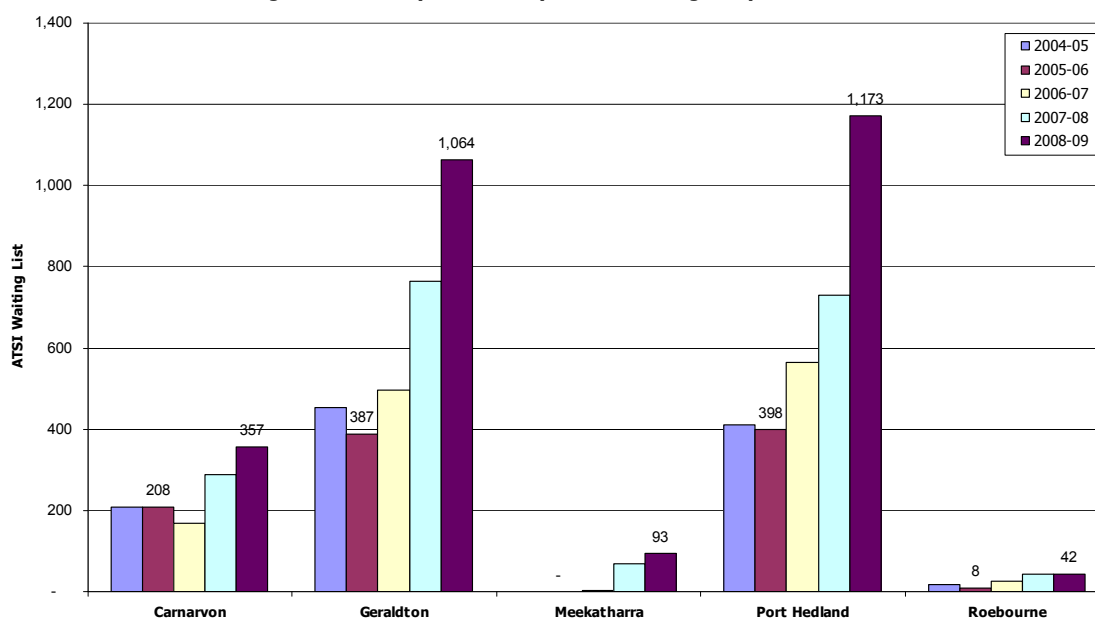


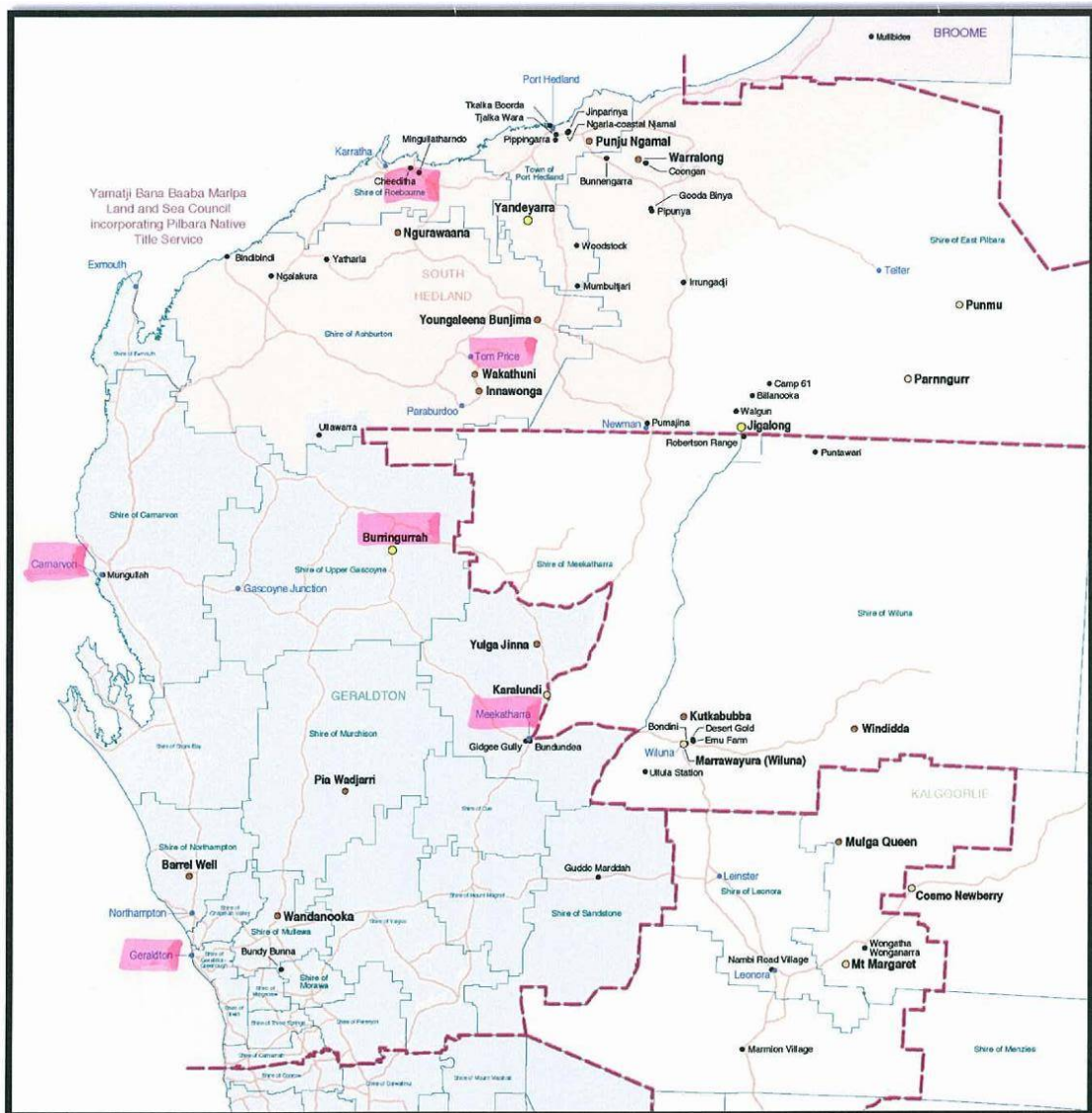
Table 7: Waiting list for Carnarvon by current location (transfer requests only, existing clients)

	2005–06	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09
Carnarvon	21	18	54	44
Broome	1	2	0	0
Port Hedland	1	0	1	9
Roebourne	1	0	0	0
Kununurra	0	0	0	0
North Central	0	0	0	1
North West Metro	0	0	2	3
Other	2	1	3	2
Outside system	176	145	225	293
Total	202	166	285	352

Patterns of temporary mobility

The mobility regions for Mungullah and Burringurrah are virtually the same, covering the western half of the Pilbara and the Midwest, and most of the Gascoyne with the exception of the coast north of Carnarvon up to Onslow, as illustrated in Figure 5. The mobility range for Mungullah includes, but is not limited to, Carnarvon, Geraldton, Meekatharra, Burringurrah, Roebourne and Tom Price. The mobility range for Burringurrah includes, but is not limited to, Carnarvon, Geraldton, Meekatharra, Port Hedland, Roebourne, Karratha and Marble Bar. This depiction excludes the journeys made by young men because these go beyond the range of usual community business. They are exceptional in their distance and may include places that they may never visit again, or at least not for many years. In their reflections back on these journeys, the older men do not seem to claim all the places visited during adolescence as part of the set of places they consider to be within the region of their actual or potential travels.

Figure 5: Mobility regions: Mungullah and Burringurrah



Source: Aboriginal Communities in Western Australia, Department for Housing and Works Hierarchy March 2008. Annotation by Birdsall-Jones.

According to the WAIECHN survey, there is a regular change in the population of both communities. As shown in Table 8 below, the 2007 survey reported that Mungullah's population ranged from between 150 to 250; and Burringurrah's from 150 to 200. These shifts seem to correspond to the stated number of visitors normally in the community at any one time. Burringurrah has a normal visitor population of 50, and Mungullah a visitor population of 100. This account differs from the accounts of the study informants provided two years later, which suggest that during the wet season numbers swell to over 300 people. At this time, Burringurrah's population was reported as falling to around 70. At this stage, it is not possible to state whether this discrepancy reflects a real increase in visitors or whether it is due to perceptual or reporting differences.

Table 8: Regular changes in population, Burringurrah and Mungullah, 2007 survey

	<i>Population changes from...</i>	<i>...To</i>	<i>Usual number of visitors</i>
Burringurrah	150	200	50
Mungullah	150	250	100

In the 1997 WAICEHN survey, the major reason given for regular population fluctuations was the wet season as people travelled in the summer from inland Burringurrah to coastal Mungullah to visit kin, escape the wet season and avoid being cut off by flooded roads. The summer period also coincides with ceremony time with some people travelling to law centres in the north such as Jigalong. In February, around the start of the school year, people begin to come back to Burringurrah. For the remainder of the year, people from Burringurrah travel for funerals or for short, turnaround shopping trips to Meekatharra and Carnarvon.

Table 9: Description of regular changes in population, Burringurrah and Mungullah, 1997 survey

	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Scale</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Reason</i>
Burringurrah	Increase	50 people	3+ Months	Winter months
Burringurrah	Decrease	50 people	3+ Months	Summer months
Mungullah	Decrease	50 people	1-3 Months	Winter months
Mungullah	Increase	50 people	1-3 Months	Summer months

5.2.2 Broome²

The town of Broome is located on the far northern coast of Western Australia, 2176 kilometres from Perth. It is the regional centre of the Kimberley, with long-standing connections with surrounding Indigenous communities, including those in the Fitzroy Valley. Like Carnarvon, Broome is monsoonal, but unlike Carnarvon, it is not temperate. The wet season in Broome is characterised by high levels of humidity which compounds with average temperatures up to 33°C and occasionally 40°C. The dry season is comparatively mild and pleasant which is reflected in the number of tourists in town at this time of the year. The major source of Broome's income is from the tourist market (ABS 2007b).

² The fieldwork referred to in this analysis was originally carried out in the course of research concerning Indigenous Homelessness (AHURI Final Report 143, Birdsall-Jones, Corunna et al.). The information contained in that report is reanalysed here on account of its significance in this research context.

The service context

Services relevant to temporary mobility are very limited with the local AHL Hostel targeting renal residents. There is a five-bed youth accommodation service run by Nirrumbuk Aboriginal Corporation and a 12-bed women's shelter operated by Marnja Jarndu. Kullari provide a MAPS program and sobering up shelter. The Broome Circle offers counselling services including financial, drug and alcohol counselling, family counselling, and men's counselling. There is also a Men's Outreach Service and two Indigenous youth services.

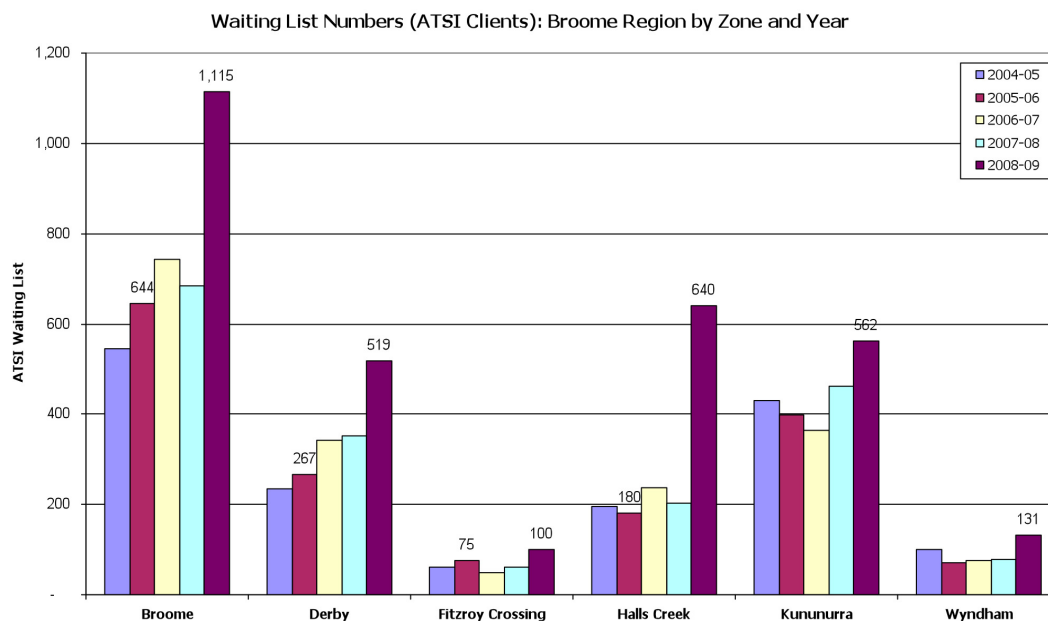
Overcrowding is especially acute in Broome as a result of higher than average median house prices and a lack of affordable rental accommodation. The 2001 Census found overcrowding in Broome was high even by Indigenous standards with 31 per cent of Indigenous households living in overcrowded conditions (Anthony 2007, p.9). Although there are plans for the release of land for construction of 250 new houses, this may do little to alleviate the tightness of the market for low-income persons.

Under the NAHA, Centacare is the principal provider of homelessness services in Broome and has recently negotiated with the Western Australian Government for funding to address homelessness. Although rough sleepers are the primary target, there is provision for people staying with relatives or friends in overcrowded housing, with a focus on their establishment in stable, permanent housing. There are plans for the development of a homeless drop-in centre and the service also provides a return to country program.

Population change in Broome

The 3558 Indigenous people of Broome form 27.25 per cent of the town's total population of 13 059 (ABS 2007b) although the accuracy of Census data is compromised by the considerable movement of Indigenous people from outlying towns and communities in the Kimberley to and from Broome. State housing administrative data shows the number of ATSI tenancies in Broome decreased slightly between 2004–05 and 2005–06 (down from 459 to 436), but increased slightly in other years. In 2009, there were 494 ATSI tenancies in Broome. Occupancy rates over the period 2005–06 to 2008–09 ranged between 2.81 (2008–09) to 2.92 (2006–07).

Figure 6: Waiting-list numbers, Broome and surrounding regions



The extent of Indigenous housing demand in Broome can be seen in Figure 6 above. Apart from a dip in 2007–08, this has been increasing since 2004–05. Demand nearly doubled between 2005–06, when there were 644 applicants and 2008–09 when there were 1115 applicants. Growth was particularly strong between 2007–08 and 2008–09 when numbers increased by 40 per cent. This pattern is evident across the Kimberley, with similar increases for Derby and Halls Creek.

The dataset provides only limited information about the locations of demand with this information available only for current WA Housing tenants who, in 2008–09 represented 18 per cent (N=200) of the total waiting list demand. Within this group, the demand is overwhelmingly from existing residents of Broome with only 39 requests from other locations, nearly all of which were from the Kimberley and West Gascoyne region. Beyond this, it is not possible to say whether the demand is coming from non-government housing within Broome, or from locations outside it.

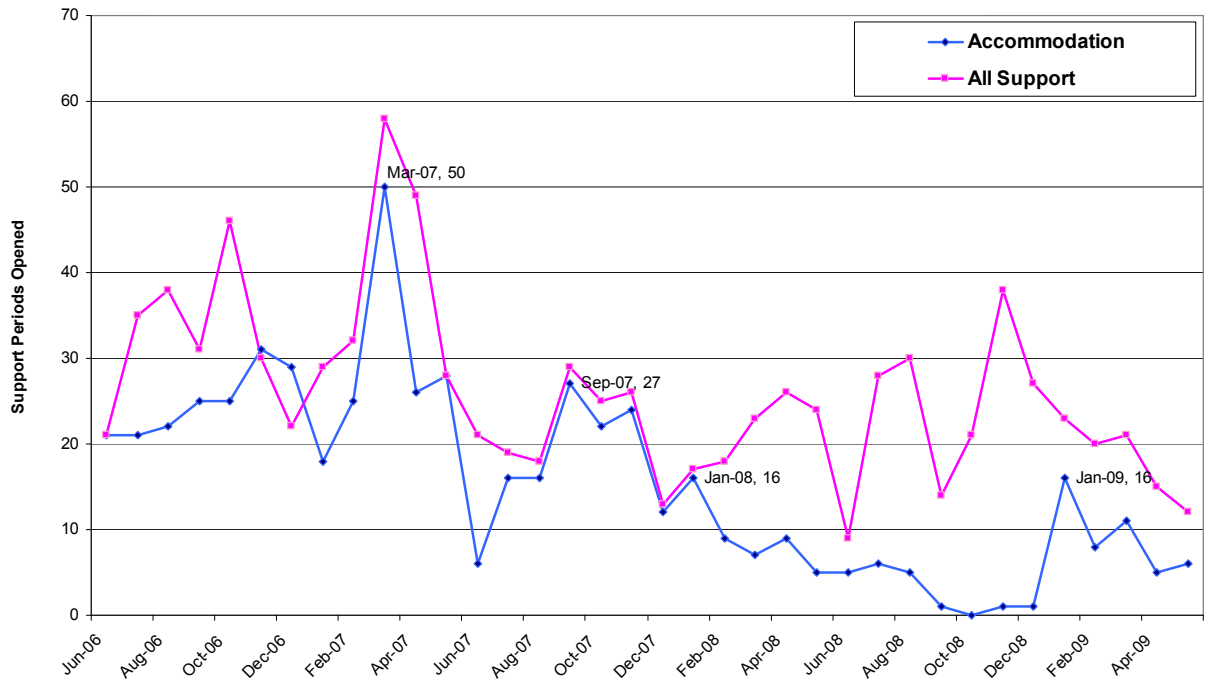
The three WAICEHN surveys only cover a small percentage of the Indigenous population in and around Broome, comprising the seven communities of Bilgungurr, Goolarabooloo, Mallingbar, Morrell Park, Nillir Irbanjin, Rarrdjali and Yawuru (see Table 10). These show that the total usual resident population within these communities was relatively stable over the period 1997 to 2007 increasing from 186 to 194 residents between 1997 and 2003 but declining back to 187 four years later. This stability masks considerable change within the individual communities with Bilgungurr recording a population of 80 in 1997 and none in 2003. This decline was offset by increases in all but two of the other communities, with the greatest growth in Goolarabooloo, Mallingbar and Nillir Irbanjin.

Table 10: Usual populations and population change, Broome Communities, by year

	<i>Population 1997</i>	<i>Population 2003</i>	<i>Population 2007</i>	<i>Changes 1997–2007</i>
Bilgungurr	80	0	0	-80
Goolarabooloo	25	50	63	38
Mallingbar	35	50	56	21
Morrell Park	0	0	0	0
Nillir Irbanjin	40	78	61	21
Rarrdjali	0	10	0	0
Yawuru	6	6	7	1
TOTAL	186	194	187	1

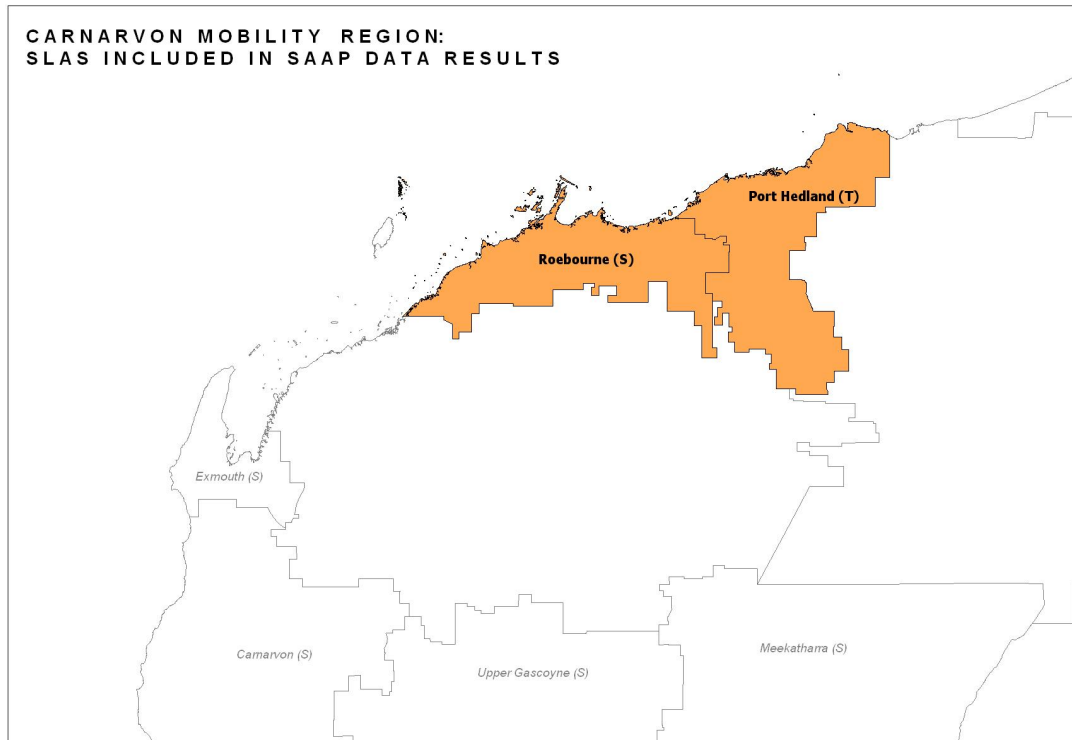
The SAAP data for Broome SLA shows that SAAP support openings by Indigenous clients in Broome were highly variable, but the trend is one of decline in demand for all support types over the data collection period (2006–07 to 2008–09) (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Broome SLA, average number of SAAP support periods by type and month



SAAP openings in Broome were highest on average in 2006, reducing through to 2009. Accommodation openings were highest (with 50 support openings) in March 2007 as were total SAAP support openings (with 58 support openings). This pattern suggests either reduction of demand or more likely the closure of accommodation providers in 2007. This conclusion is consistent with the high level of unmet need for accommodation in 2008–09 when it was 36 per cent (N=114). Currently crisis and emergency accommodation services target special needs groups, with an absence of generic services.

Figure 8: Broome SLA, accommodation and total SAAP support periods opened by Indigenous clients



The SAAP data suggesting declining demand contradicts the high levels of homelessness in the Kimberley region as well as anecdotal evidence of continuing and growing pressure for temporary and permanent accommodation in Broome. The explanation may be that so little temporary and emergency accommodation is available, individuals do not attempt to access it, preferring to make their own arrangements, camping out or staying in the homes of relatives and friends. This explanation is consistent with the seasonal pattern which shows demand peaking in November, during the wet season period when the number of visitors increases and the weather is less clement. For this month, accommodation periods average 18.7 and total support periods average 31.3 over the data collection period.

Other research conducted by Prout and Yap (2010), points to growth in demand for permanent housing coming from outside the Broome region as Indigenous peoples from surrounding regions migrate there as a result of family-chain migration and to access health services, especially renal dialysis, while also maintaining connections with home communities (Prout & Yap 2010, p.8).

Patterns of temporary mobility

The effects of Indigenous temporary mobility is more visible in Broome than at many other locations because of the local practice for incoming Indigenous visitors from the outlying towns and communities to establish temporary camps around the town. Visitors to Carnarvon, Mungullah and Burringurrah, for example, all found shelter with housed kinfolk. This means that many visitors and homeless Indigenous people in Broome live in public view and for this reason there seems to be a great many of them. Because visitors and homeless Indigenous people in the other field sites were sheltered in housing, their numbers appear, deceptively, to be far lower than those in Broome. One service provider captured this anomaly when he observed that 'there's a

nation of people circulating in the Kimberley'. By this he meant that the mobility that was being observed was best understood as exemplary of normal Indigenous behaviour throughout the Kimberley region, rather than a perplexing social phenomenon unique to the town.

This does not mean that the drivers of temporary mobility operate simultaneously across the whole of the Kimberley. Practitioners observed that the people who came into Broome rarely represented a cross section of all or even most of the communities in the Kimberley. Even the wet season varies in its impact from place to place within the Kimberley region, and thus there is a pattern of people coming in from different areas at different times. There was only one exception to this, and that was Law Time. Law Time in the Kimberley occurs roughly between December and January. During this period, people from most communities travel to ceremonies at various law centres, and many of them include Broome in their travels. It appeared that it was only at this time that people from a wide variety of communities visited Broome at around the same time.

The communities of origin for the people who were in Broome during July of 2008 were primarily the Fitzroy Valley communities and Halls Creek. There were also some older boys and young men from Kununurra, the Dampier Peninsula and Derby.

The greatest reported amount of movement into Broome is during the wet season and the lowest is in the middle of the dry season in July (Birdsall-Jones, Corunna, Turner, Smart & Shaw 2010). For communities covered by the 2007 WAICEHNS, Goolarabooloo, Mallingbar, Nillir Irbanjin and Yawuru report experiencing visitors during the wet season resulting close to a doubling or more of the population between January and March. Other reasons for regular changes in population identified across Broome communities in the three surveys include:

- school holidays and long week-ends
- the Shinju Festival
- Christmas
- funerals.

Visits associated with school holidays, long week-ends, the wet season, Christmas and the Shinju festival ranged from one to three months, while those for funerals were for less than one month.

This picture is also supported by SAAP support periods increasing from 24.82 in the dry season to 27.17 in the wet season (see Table 11).

Table 11: Broome SLA: average number of SAAP support periods opened by season

Season	Accommodation	All SAAP
Dry season	13.89	24.83
Wet season	16.94	27.17
Total	15.42	26.00

5.2.3 Fitzroy Crossing

Fitzroy Crossing is located nearly 500 kilometres east of Broome in Bunuba country alongside Walmarjarri, Gooniyandi (Morphy 2010, p.25). The region experiences regular inundation from the Fitzroy and Margaret rivers with part of the town and surrounding areas becoming inaccessible or uninhabitable during the wet season.

The colonial history of the town began in the late 1800s when white pastoralists were granted large pastoral leases. Following the passage of equal pay legislation in 1968 most of the Aboriginal station-hands in the area were forced off their homes on the cattle stations that had developed from these, with many moving to other locations in the Kimberley region, especially Derby, Broome, Halls Creek and Fitzroy Crossing. At Fitzroy Crossing about 2000 individuals from these stations lived in conditions of extreme poverty on the fringes of the town, setting the scene for contemporary conditions of disadvantage (WAPC 2009, p.1; Morphy 2010, p.24).

The outstations movement of the late 1970s saw a gradual return of kin-based family groups to surrounding locations across the Fitzroy Valley where they were able to obtain land either on Aboriginal Lands Trust Reserves excised from non-Aboriginal pastoral leases or on station and outstation settlements on Aboriginal-owned pastoral leases, known locally as 'blocks' (Morphy 2010, p.25).

According to the 2006 Census, within Fitzroy Crossing about 60 per cent of Census respondents identified as Indigenous, rising to 88 per cent in the surrounding communities (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.13). In 2009, there were an estimated 43 communities in the Fitzroy Valley, with a concentration in and around the town itself, including Town Site, Junjuwa, Darlungunaya, Burawa/Old Mission, Guwardi, Mindi Rardi, Kurnangki and Loanburn. Within a 30 kilometres radius are the 'outer suburbs' of Bungardi, Ngurtuwarta, Bayulu, Gillarong, Karnparrmi, Purluwarla, Gogo, Muludja and Eight Mile, with Bayulu serving as a second hub for many of these communities (Morphy 2010, p.37).

The service context

Historically, the town has been dominated by the pastoral industry with some mining and tourism and these remain the primary income sources. More recently Indigenous enterprises have been developed, and the service sector is also increasing in significance as a source of Indigenous employment. Unemployment is high at 8.1 per cent (DEEWR 2010) especially among the Indigenous population and, like other Kimberley towns, Fitzroy Crossing has a high rate of alcohol consumption, relative to other West Australian towns (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.13). Services include a recently established High School and replacement Police station. State and federal health and welfare services include a hospital and child protection services. There is an absence of recreational activities and facilities, especially for young people (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.99).

The Indigenous service sector includes Nindilingarri Cultural Health Service which operates Alcohol, Drug and Mental Health Services, Home and Community Care services and a Frail Aged Hostel. There is also a women's shelter and counselling service, Marninwarntikura. The ICO, Marra Worra Worra, is a major employer, and the largest ICO in the Kimberley region. It has an operating budget of around \$22 million and provides housing management services to over 30 communities as well as CDEP and training services (Marra Worra Worra Aboriginal Corporation 2009). Another large ICO, Bunuba Inc, which represents nine clan groups, is based at Junjuwa, in Fitzroy Crossing.

Housing of any kind is in short supply in Fitzroy Crossing, with constraints on further expansion. The major residential area of Fitzroy Crossing is owned by the state government, with most of the remaining land either Crown Reserve Land vested in the Aboriginal Lands Trust or Crown Reserve vested in one of four Aboriginal Corporations. The floodplain and other geographical restrictions limit the area available for development, with the most suitable area falling within land held by the Aboriginal Lands Trust.

The main sources of housing in Fitzroy Crossing are a small private sector, state public housing comprising 98 ATSI dwellings in 2008–09, government housing for service workers and Indigenous community housing. There are only 70 properties comprising the non-Indigenous housing stock for a population that was recorded at 1507 in 2001, but which fluctuates by approximately 3000 regular visitors from surrounding communities (WAPC 2009, p.3). Much of the housing that does exist is of sub-standard quality, a situation linked to serious overcrowding.

The housing shortage also hinders service provision because there is nowhere to accommodate new staff, even when funding is available to appoint them. (WAPC 2009, p.5). The Shire of Derby/West Kimberley has supported doubling the housing density (WAPC 2009, pp.5–6) to provide housing for workers, but the lack of priority given to local people working in the service sector is a cause of concern. One respondent pointed out that local people working in the service sector face particular stresses delivering services to people who may be their relatives, but ‘they may be living in a shed’.

A similar situation prevails in Valley communities with both housing shortages and sub-standard housing. In Oombulgurri, one-third of homes were acknowledged by the Western Australia Department of Housing and Works to be uninhabitable (Hope Report 2008b, p.13). There are also a number of communities where there is no permanent housing, including Bawoorooga, Eight Mile and Rocky Springs. For most Aboriginal people the ICO sector represents the only option for any form of housing. Marra Worra Worra has a Service Agreement with the Western Australia Department of Housing to provide housing management and maintenance services to over 300 houses.

Provision of services and accommodation options for temporary and seasonal visitors is recognised as one of the challenges faced by Fitzroy Crossing (WAPC 2008, p.5; White 2009, p.19). Crisis, visitor, and transitional accommodation in Fitzroy Crossing are either non-existent, expensive or in short supply. Commercial facilities are prohibitively expensive and the women’s shelter is the only crisis accommodation available. There is no transitional or other form of intermediate accommodation apart from a proposed training hostel for young Indigenous men and women.

Transport is by air and road, with the Great Northern Highway running through the town and almost daily flights to and from Broome, Derby and Halls Creek. Because sections of the Great Northern Highway can become impassable during the wet season many pastoral stations operate their own light aircraft. There is no public transport to Fitzroy Crossing or within the Valley, and the only commercial transport is an expensive Greyhound bus service that connects with Derby, Broome, and Halls Creek. Improving transport has been identified as one of the goals for the development of services in the Kimberley region (Lupton, 2010 *pers. commun.*). Indigenous community services, are also attempting to address the issue. Marra Worra Worra successfully applying for LotteriesWest money for purchase of a community bus, and Nindilingarri Cultural Health Services is seeking funding for a hoist facility in their community bus.

Figure 9: Fitzroy Crossing drop-off area



Original Photo by Daphne Habibis, 2010

The Council is also facilitating travel through the establishment of a drop-off area directly on the Great Northern Highway, next to Marra Worra Worra and other highly frequented community services and less than half a kilometre from other needed services such as shopping and the hospital (see Figure 9). The area has been grassed, and planted with trees that provide shelter from the heat, forming a pleasant area to wait. The Aboriginal people who use it have developed an informal arrangement in which each community collects around a particular tree so that during the day the area is dotted with family groups gathered together in the shade. The success of this arrangement has led to plans by the Shire Council for an adjacent area to be developed along similar lines.

Population change in Fitzroy Crossing

The 2006 Census estimated the population of the Fitzroy Valley on Census night to be 1304, of which 654 identified as Indigenous. Of these, 836 were residents and the remainder visitors (ABS 2007c). The WAICEHNS provides an alternative data source yielding longitudinal information about which are the growth communities in Fitzroy Crossing for the period 1997–2007. The data is divided into communities within the Fitzroy Crossing town boundary, and those up to 20 kilometres outside it, comprising Fitzroy Crossing suburbs. There are six communities from the health survey included within the town boundary:

1. DarlIngunaya
2. Junjuwa
3. Kurnangki

4. Mindi Rardi
5. Burawa (no population in 2007 survey)
6. Parukupan (no population in 2007 survey).

There are eight communities that fall within the Fitzroy Crossing suburbs:

1. Bungardi
2. Karnparri
3. Bayulu
4. Joy Springs
5. Gillaroong
6. Muludja
7. Ngurtu warta
8. Purnawala (no population in 2007 survey).

The community locations are shown in Figure 10, below. Purnawala, Burawa and Parukupan had no population recorded in the 2007 survey and so was excluded from most of the analysis.

Figure 10: Western Australian Indigenous Community Environmental Health Needs Survey: Fitzroy Crossing and suburbs—communities

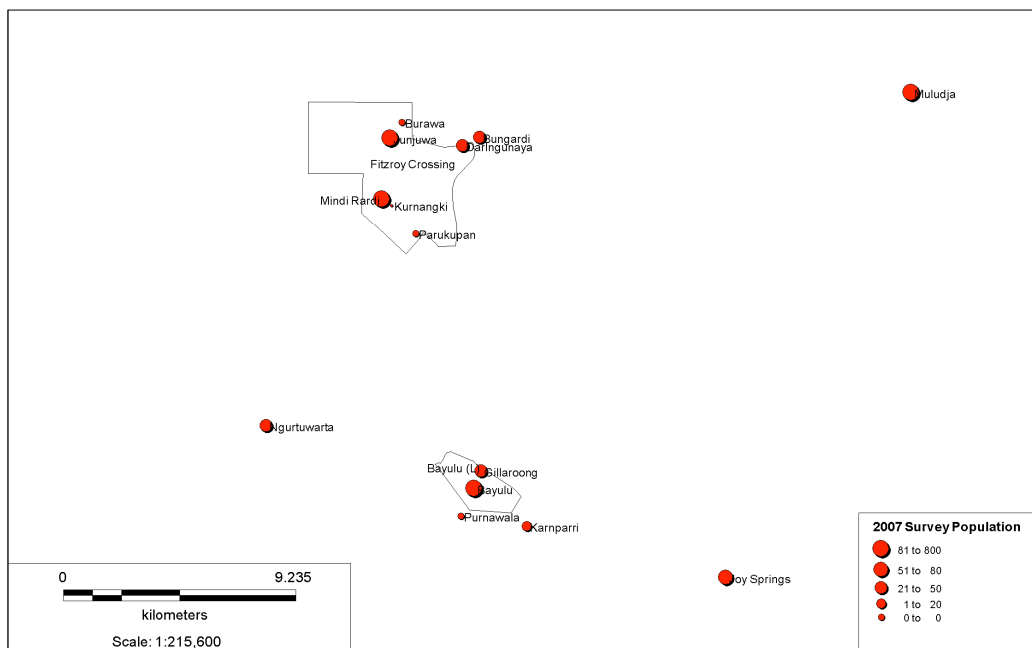


Table 12: Usual population and population change 1997–2003, Fitzroy Crossing and suburb communities, by year

	<i>Population 1997</i>	<i>Population 2003</i>	<i>Population 2007</i>	<i>Pop. change 1997–2003</i>
Fitzroy Crossing				
Burawa	0	0	0	0
DarIngunaya	20	30	30	10
Junjuwa	500	500	250	250
Kurnangki	80	80	80	0
Mindi Rardi	85	90	95	10
Parukupan	18	30	0	-18
Suburbs				
Bungardi	0	20	30	30
Karnparri	27	25	7	-20
Purnawala	15	0	0	-15
Bayulu	200	150	500	300
Joy Springs	49	87	73	24
Gillaroong	16	45	40	24
Muludja	95	125	121	26
Ngurtuwarta	40	55	40	0
Total	1,145	1,237	1,266	121

As shown in Table 12 above, the total usual resident population of the Fitzroy Crossing and suburb communities surveyed increased both between 1997 and 2003 and between 2003 and 2007 by 92 people, from 1145 to 1237, and between 1997 and 2003, by 121 people. The increase was much more substantial between 1997 and 2003, when the number of residents increased by 92 individuals. Growth occurred in most communities but was greatest at Joy Springs, which grew from 49 to 87 people and at Bungardi, which grew from no residents to 20. One community, Bayulu, experienced notable decline of 25 per cent during this time. Between 2003 and 2007 there was further growth of 29 people, with the number of residents at Junjuwa falling by one half from 500 to 250 people, while those living at Bayulu more than trebled from 150 to 500 individuals. There was a corresponding decline in the remaining communities with the exception of Mindi Rardi and Bungardi, suggesting that the growth of Bayulu followed relocation of people from other areas in Fitzroy Crossing and its suburbs. Overall, this data suggests that while there is considerable population change within and between communities the overall trend is up, adding to the existing pressure on housing in the area. This is also confirmed by WA DoH waiting list numbers which shows growth in ATSI applicants from 75 in 2005–06 to 100 in 2008–09.

The most recent information on the demography of Indigenous peoples in Fitzroy Crossing and the Valley comes from a 2009 survey undertaken under the auspices of the Fitzroy Futures Forum. The Fitzroy Futures Population Survey (Morphy 2010) is an ethnographically informed count, applying a classificatory framework based on Indigenous relationships to people and place. It acknowledges the fluidity of the settlement process, with kinship the main driver in the formation of satellite groups which splinter from larger communities to form their own, independent community,

usually close-by. Some of these form permanently occupied communities while others have inhabitants who move regularly between two or more places (Morphy 2010,p.43). The Survey identifies the following four major groups (see Figure 11):

The stable core

Individuals with a relatively stable attachment to a single place and who are present most of the time. They include children or adults absent for specific, temporary reasons, such as visiting relatives, boarding school, training and imprisonment.

The mobile core

These are people who count home as more than one place. Most show a pattern of 'circular mobility' involving regular movement between two or more places, all of which are home. They include people engaged in seasonal work and those moving from one place to another during the survey period. To avoid double counting the survey enumerated them as resident at a single community (Morphy 2010,p.19).

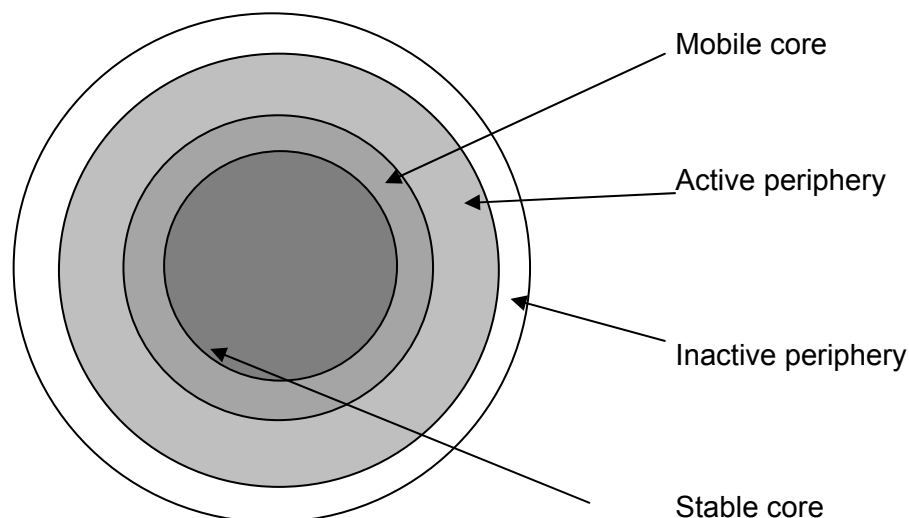
The active periphery

These are people who are not resident in a particular home included within the survey but who visit either regularly or irregularly.

The inactive periphery

These individuals appear having once been present in a community in administrative datasets but are no longer present and unlikely to return (Morphy 2010, pp.18–19).

Figure 11: Morphy's model for Indigenous population studies in the Fitzroy Valley.



Source: Adapted from Morphy 2010, p.9

At the time of the count, in 2009, the survey found that at any one time in the Valley there were likely to be 3000 Indigenous people, comprising the core and the active periphery (2010, pp.31–2). The total population, across all categories was estimated to be 3565, of which 2773 were core residents and 792 peripheral (see Table 13). Within Fitzroy Crossing itself, the core Indigenous population was 967 (Morphy 2010, p.47). This figure is nearly 300 less than the findings of the 2007 WAICENHNS, a fact probably accounted for by the inclusion of more communities than the WAICEHNS and the inclusion of visitors in the Fitzroy Futures Population Survey.

Table 13: Valley population by residential status

Residential status	Number
Stable core	2,679
Mobile core	94
Total core population	2,773
Active periphery	163
Inactive periphery	342
Status unknown	287
Grand total	3,565

Source: Morphy (2010) 'Population, People and Place: A Report to the Fitzroy Futures Forum and the Valley Communities on the Fitzroy Valley Population Project', CAEPR Working Paper, Unpublished Draft, Reproduced with the permission of the author, p31.

Morphy found the population is heavily skewed towards young people with relatively few people aged over 65 years. Within the Valley, the mean age of the population is 25.6 years, while the number of people aged over 65 years is only 6.5 per cent (2010, p.32).

Although data collection problems make it difficult to provide a meaningful historical analysis, figures from a 1986 study estimated the population as 1655, suggesting that, for the Valley as a whole, there has been an annual growth rate of 2.05 per cent (Morphy 2010, p.32).

Population projections by the Western Australia Planning Commission suggest a forward annual growth rate of 5–6 per cent to 2016 for the Shire of Derby-West Kimberley, with an annual growth rate of 5 per cent for Fitzroy Crossing. This represents an addition of approximately 80 individuals every year (WAPC 2009, pp.4–5). This is higher than the state's average which is explained by the youthful age structure, high fertility rates and a trend of in-migration (WPAC 2009, p.4). These predictions are supported by the Fitzroy Futures Population Survey which found a trend of inward migration as well as a preference for living on the smaller communities by families with young children (Morphy 2010, p.33).

Patterns of temporary mobility

The mobility region encompassed by Fitzroy Valley residents is concentrated in the Kimberley region and adjoining areas of the Great Sandy Desert, forming 'an area encompassed by Broome, Derby, Kununurra, Halls Creek, the communities of the Canning Stock Route, and Balgo' (Morphy 2010, p.35), with some movement to Perth and also to the Northern Territory.

Patterns of temporary movement in Fitzroy Crossing are determined by its status as a regional centre and by the geographical conditions generated by the heavy rains that fall during the wet season. As a regional service centre, individuals and families from surrounding communities travel regularly into the town for shopping, access to social, health and education services and for entertainment, sometimes staying with relatives for a night or two, especially over the week-end. Although this was not something that arose from the interviews, the Fitzroy Valley Population Project notes that employment on cattle stations, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal-owned, is a significant driver of seasonal mobility. During the mustering season when extra hands are required, individuals may leave the family home to undertake contract work doing mustering, fencing and other related work.

The wet causes regular temporary population movement with the communities affected varying according to the severity of the rains. During this period when roads become impassable, residents from some affected communities, including Eight Mile (Joy Springs), Muludga and Three Mile (Karnparrmi) move into Fitzroy Crossing and Bayulu for periods of up three months. There is only one community, Ngalapita that undertakes wholesale evacuation during the flood season (Morphy 2010, p.41).

Table 14: Communities experiencing regular changes in population, Fitzroy Crossing and Surrounds, WAICEHNS 2007

	<i>Population changes from...</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Usual number of visitors</i>
Fitzroy Crossing			
Junjuwa	250	310	60
Kurnangki	80	150	70
Mindi Rardi	95	135	40
Fitzroy X suburbs			
Bungardi	30	40	10
Bayulu	500	560	60
Joy Springs	73	93	20
Gillaroong	40	60	20
Muludja	121	151	30
Total	1,189	1,499	310

According to the 2007 WAICEHNS, in 2007 the population of Fitzroy Crossing and surrounding communities was reported to have 310 visitors regularly living in the communities in and around Fitzroy Crossing. The 2003 survey identifies the wet season as the reason for the increase in the populations of Kurnangki, Mindi Rardi, Parukupan and Gillaroong over January to March, with corresponding decreases during the wet season recorded for Kurnangki and Mindi Rardi. The survey shows that people moved to Gillaroong in these times from more isolated communities, to be closer to goods and services. In Ngurtuwarta (not covered in the 2007 survey), a more isolated community, a decrease in population during the wet season (January to March) is reported. Correspondingly, in the dry season over the middle part of the year, the population decreases in Gillaroong and increases in Ngurtuwarta, as the population moves back to more isolated areas. In addition, the regular population increase in Kurnangki was attributed to holidays and cultural activities.

In Parukapen, the community population regularly increased to 50 people over the period October–March with no regular population recorded at other times of the year, presumably because of people moving there from outlying areas in order to be closer to essential services in Fitzroy Crossing. There was no usual population for Parukupan in 2007.

Those who leave their communities generally stay with relatives, either in Fitzroy Crossing, or in communities close to their own, as in the case of Yiyili, or further afield in other Kimberley towns, or even Perth. Some families make arrangements to have a relative living in town so that others on communities affected by the wet have somewhere to go. This adds to existing overcrowding and can cause family tensions and pressures that can spill over into violence, a trend reflected in an increase in hospital presentations during this period (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.26).

5.3 Motives for temporary mobility

This section examines all data sources, including interview data, to identify the motives for short- to medium-term journeys in the case study areas. To avoid repetition, the data for the three areas has been collated but location is indicated where relevant. There is some overlap between service user and service provider views, especially in relation to the Fitzroy Crossing case study where informants often covered both categories. In Broome, where this was less frequently the case, those practitioners working for service providers accustomed to dealing with Indigenous people and their needs, understanding of the drivers of Indigenous temporary mobility was highly detailed. They may have disagreed on such things as the most important driver of Indigenous mobility and the immediate causes of the behaviours they observed, but they understood the generality of temporary mobility across the Kimberley region. Outside of this specialised group, the understanding of Indigenous temporary mobility was relatively poor. These mainstream service providers tended to see only the effects of Indigenous temporary mobility on Broome without a great deal of consideration of the larger issues involved.

5.3.1 *Mobility and the life cycle*

Temporary mobility is heavily influenced by life-cycle factors, with gender, age and marital status being the principal determinants of where and how often individuals travel on temporary journeys. In Broome, Mungullah and Burringurrah, the main groups were young men from remote communities doing the 'grand tour', young girls travelling to stay with relatives at more distant communities for indeterminate periods prior to marriage and older men and women travelling to access essential and non-essential goods and services, to visit relatives and to attend funerals.

The grand tour

After providing an account of their travels over the last year or two, it was not unusual for the men interviewed to state that in their 'young days', they had gone 'everywhere'. Some did appear to have gone very far afield from their own country. One man had gone to travel and work in the southwest of Western Australia for three years, because he wanted to 'have a good look around'. He came back north after that and continued travelling around the Gascoyne, Midwest and the western Kimberley before settling down at Burringurrah to have a family in his mid-20s. Another man recalled the year he was 17, when he went to the western Kimberley and the girl he almost married up there. In the end, he got homesick and came back. Places that other men had visited in their own grand tours included the regions of the Midwest, the Pilbara and the Kimberley. Interestingly, none of these men had included the coastal region associated with the Gascoyne, marketed by the WA Tourism Board as the Coral Coast. Apart from Carnarvon and the fishing sites associated with the town, the furthest point south along the coast that most men went on their grand tour was Onslow.

Some men talked about their involvement with Indigenous law business as having begun in the course of their grand tour, but generally, men did not give reasons for having embarked on the grand tour. Some of the young men in Broome, groups of cousins and brothers, described coming to Broome because they wanted to see it and they always stayed together on their travels. Further hints are available from the Indigenous Homelessness study (Birdsall-Jones et al. 2010). Boys interviewed in Broome were asked why they had left their homes to come to Broome. They responded that they had always wanted to come here and that they were getting away from some kind of family discord. A number of younger men interviewed at

Burringurrah and Mungullah gave similar reasons for some of their travels, saying they felt they just 'had to get away for a while', or to get away from 'all the arguments'. Possibly one motivating force for the grand tour is a maturing boy's sense of a need for self-determination and of being regularly frustrated in his attempts to assert himself within his home community.

The girls

Young girls aged 13 to 18 from Mungullah or Burringurrah, also described travelling relatively freely, but there were significant differences between their travels and those of the boys. The girls travelled within a much narrower region and their travels tended not to extend into their 20s. By the time they were 18, nearly all of the girls had already had their first child and their mobility regions and their motivations for travel had begun to follow the pattern of their mothers and aunts.

The girls tended to engage in a practice of serial migration rather than the wide travels of the boys. The girls would go from Mungullah to Burringurrah and Burringurrah to Mungullah, beginning by saying that they were 'just visiting', or had come 'just for a ride'. Usually this visit became extended enough for them to declare that they were now living at the community. When asked why they had left their home community to live with an aunty or other extended family, they would answer to the effect that it seemed like a good idea at the time. Closer examination might reveal that at her mother's house she may have had to share a room with her younger siblings whereas at her auntie's house, she might have a room to herself. There were broad similarities between the boys' and the girls' motivations insofar as both were exercising an increasing degree of self-determination that comes with adolescence. A significant difference between them was that while the boys were seeking as wide an experience of the Indigenous world as possible before eventually returning home to settle down, for the girls it appeared to be more about trying to make up their minds about which community they wanted to make their home. These respondents from Mungullah and Burringurrah generally migrated several times between the two locations before deciding where to make their home. The rest of these young women's travels were closely tied to the locations to which their mothers or aunties might be going.

The women

Women in their early to mid-20s appear to be the most frequent travellers in Burringurrah and Mungullah. The extent to which this applied was influenced by the location of the home community. In the case of Burringurrah where local community stores stocked limited goods, and there was a heavy dependence on one or two suppliers, travel to Carnarvon or Meekatharra was common. Burringurrah, for example, has a fairly reasonable community store, but it supplies only basic goods. There are times when no matter what vegetables the store manager orders, he gets onions and cabbages. In order to obtain more specialised items, women make the five-hour drive from Burringurrah into Carnarvon or the three-hour drive into Meekatharra. Nearly every woman who is the senior woman in her household goes into one town or the other at least once a month and many go shopping once a fortnight. Where they travel is mediated by where their relatives are. Despite the shorter drive into Meekatharra, informants described making the longer trek into Carnarvon because it gave them the opportunity to stop overnight or for several days, with their relations at Mungullah.

The women mentioned these regular shopping trips, but the men tended not to, even though they go with their partners on most such occasions. Possibly a reason for this is that the regular shopping trip is so much a feature of normal life that it is taken as a given and not worth mentioning.

5.3.2 *Visiting kin and accessing services*

For all the case study sites, visiting kin appears as the most frequently cited reason for journeys away from home. Although often combined with accessing services and travel for entertainment, the principal driver is visiting kin with people described as staying with relatives for periods of a weekend to several months. This pattern is influenced by access to financial resources, with service providers in Broome suggesting that the distribution of tax cheques in late July led to a swelling of numbers as people came in to shop for those more expensive commodities that were unavailable in the sub-regional centres such as Fitzroy Crossing. Prior to this, in June, there was usually a lower number of visitors than practitioners were accustomed to seeing.

All respondents in Broome had some kind of business that brought them into the town. Prominent among these were access to health and justice. Both of these cover a great deal of territory. The need for dialysis and the treatment of chronic illness generally appears to be bringing people into Broome. Along with the people who need treatment, come their families because Indigenous people, by their own accounts, cannot conceive of life in the absence of family. One young woman described how she and her partner had come to Broome from Fitzroy Crossing to support her father who was receiving dialysis treatment there. She accompanied him to his medical appointments and cooked his dinner every day. She couldn't stay at his home however, because some of her young male relations had come with them for company and, because they drank and were noisy, her father had told her to take them away and camp in the sand hills behind the hotels. He came to visit her every day, and brought her and her partner to his home to do their laundry and to shower.

Travel to attend correction services is especially significant for Broome where the major correctional institutions are present. Reasons for visits include court appearances, possibly for remand, as well as attendance for trials and sentencing. All of these may be separate occurrences involving travel into Broome and back to the community until sentencing occurs and jail time commences. Once jail time commences, the prisoner's family will regularly come into Broome to visit. In the town, the visiting family may find themselves without the means of returning to their home community and, in consequence, they stay in Broome for some weeks before finding the means of going home. There were also a number of young men who had been released from prison and then went to live with family in the town.

Accessing employment services also appeared in the accounts of Broome respondents. One had remained there, moving between the homes of her relations. Others found good employment, but could not access housing and so were moving between the homes of their relations.

The prominence of access to health and justice as motivators for mobility is also true for the Fitzroy Valley where Morphy found dialysis services especially significant for those in the 50–74-year age group, followed by attendance for correction services (Morphy 2010, p.35).

5.3.3 *Sorry business*

Matters relating to sorry business creates temporary mobility in a number of ways. First, attendance at funerals is an important and regularly occurring cultural practice. The data from Broome, Mungullah and Burringurrah suggests that the frequency with which individuals attends them depends on the ways they prioritise their significance in relation to the perceived significance of various kin relationships. Some of this depends not on the importance of the relationship to the deceased, but on the

importance of the relationship to the nearest relation of the deceased who lives in the community. For example, when the deceased is a relation of the most senior man or woman in the community, a large proportion of the community will attend. If the deceased is a relation of an ordinary community member, funeral attendance is more a matter of individual priorities. As well, some people will attend the funerals of a wider variety of relations than will others. Consequently, some funerals result in the community being largely emptied because nearly everyone will have gone to the funeral. Some people will be gone from the community for months at a time, travelling from funeral to funeral around the mobility region. One couple in Broome described travelling there from their community in the Fitzroy Valley on account of sorry business following a death in the family. They had been intending to stay in the home of an auntie, but were camping out on the beach. Although the aunt was willing to let them stay with her, they were accompanied by some of their young male relations whose behaviour had led their aunt to ask them to take the boys away to the camp in the sand hills.

Second, sorry business may lead to the vacation of the family home for significant periods. In Fitzroy Crossing it was suggested that this could be for up to six months or a year. Cultural norms were that during this time no one else should live in the house. An Indigenous housing officer explained that the timing of the return to the house was signalled by the start of the wet season:

When somebody moves, most people they wait for that big wet day, that big rain. Then they decide to move back. Some people just do the smoke ceremony then leave it for a couple of months, then they move back.

This practice contributes further to temporary mobility as during this period the affected family members stay with relatives, with other kin visiting them to pay their respects. Because family members may spread across more than one location, visitors may have to journey to more than one house to enact their familial duty.

5.3.4 Family violence

Family violence is a source of temporary mobility that impacts principally on women and children. The Fitzroy Crossing data suggests it is mediated by cultural and structural factors that reduce the likelihood that it will lead to more permanent relocation. This has serious consequences for the safety of Aboriginal women. Policies on domestic violence in Australian jurisdictions increasingly place the onus on the perpetrator to leave the family home (Family Law Council 2009). But currently in the Fitzroy Valley this occurs only rarely, even in situations where the police are involved and/or domestic violence results in legal action because the man is usually the Head Tenant and cannot be legally required to leave the property. Consequently, a woman attempting to protect herself from injury must leave home, usually taking her children with her. She faces cultural, emotional and structural obstacles to permanent departure. Indigenous values relating to the integrity of the family unit make it difficult for other family members to accept her departure, and she may face pressure to return, especially in a small town where her whereabouts are likely to be known. A community sector practitioner explained that leaving the community comes at a considerable emotional cost as a result of the loss of connection to people and place:

If she leaves the community she leaves, home, community, land—the whole lot, really.

The odds are also stacked against her finding an alternative home because there is so little housing available:

They can't just say, 'Right, I want to leave. I'll get a new house. Even priority housing, there are very, very few houses come up ... At the moment they have no choices.

Even if she is prepared to move to a more distant town or city where she has relatives and greater opportunities for finding social housing, the psychological and emotional barriers associated with adjusting to urban life are substantial. The consequence is that most women return home despite the risk of further violence. The effect of liquor restrictions was described as easing the situation not because alcohol is no longer available, but because the women are able to predict with greater certainty when it is coming into the home making it possible for them to make plans to be absent during this period.

5.3.5 Escaping difficulties within the community

Difficulties within homeland communities were identified as a common reason for individuals leaving them. The difficulties related to a combination of interpersonal conflict and situations of overcrowding and inadequate services. One short-term accommodation provider said that many of the residents were there to escape 'violence and overcrowded conditions on home communities. They come because things are too bad'. The suggestion was that when they leave they do so with the intention of establishing a new home somewhere else, but when this proves impossible they return home. This description was similar to that of another service provider who said that sometimes conflict within the community meant that individuals wanted to move away, but they face serious problems in finding somewhere appropriate to live. These individuals find themselves in a very difficult position where they are no longer able, or no longer wish, to stay on the home community, but if they move somewhere else there is a high risk of homelessness.

Another problem is caused by the lack of housing in the community the household actually wants to live in. In this case, the household must find housing away from their own community, usually one of the larger communities or in the town itself. Problems can result from this in the larger communities because all of the Fitzroy Valley communities were founded on the basis of particular sets of kin relationships. People coming in from the smaller communities often upset the established constellation of relationships within the larger community and this can cause trouble of a more or less serious nature. People tend to respond by applying for housing elsewhere and may spend some years moving from community to community. These communities may not have the resources to support the incoming households, but until their home community acquires more housing, they have no choice but to find housing in communities where they may not be fully welcomed.

5.4 Impact of liquor restrictions

For Broome service providers, the restrictions on the consumption and sale of alcohol in Fitzroy Crossing and the communities of the Fitzroy Valley in general were identified as a key factor influencing mobility. The liquor restrictions introduced into Fitzroy Crossing in 2007 and currently in place, limit take-away alcohol to light-strength beer. Full-strength alcohol is legally available over the bar, but it is expensive, and Fitzroy Crossing's two hotels have also imposed voluntary restrictions on its sale. It was thought by some Broome practitioners that the Fitzroy Valley people were coming into Broome specifically to gain unrestricted access to alcoholic beverages.

This fits with other research on the effect of the liquor restrictions which identifies concerns that following the introduction of the liquor restrictions:

- Up to 700 individuals, moved away from the town with deleterious effects on the local economy.
- This movement has been associated with alcohol-related nuisance, disorder and violence in other Kimberley region towns especially Halls Creek (prior to the imposition of liquor restrictions there), Derby and Broome.
- Increased numbers of individuals travelling to purchase alcohol from other Kimberley towns has heightened the risk of transport-related injury and criminal offending (Kinnane et al. 2010).

These claims were examined by the Kinnane review (Kinnane et al. 2009) into the impact and effectiveness of the Fitzroy Crossing liquor restrictions, based on administrative data and interview. It also included an examination of the impact on population movement. The review found that the restrictions did change the pattern, timing and direction of population movement (Kinnane et al. 2009). Initially they caused a movement of about 30 or 40 individuals to Derby, but this 'quickly dissipated' and people moved on to Broome or back to the town or Valley communities (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.51). This movement coincided with an increase in the number of presentations to hospital Emergency Departments in Halls Creek, Derby and Broome in the months following the introduction of the restrictions (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.29).

The SAAP data also show a peak in support demands for this period, late 2007 to early 2008, in the towns of Derby, Wyndham/Kununurra and Halls Creek. In Wyndham/Kununurra there were 65 accommodation service periods in March 2008, compared with 12 in March 2007.

The report argues that this pattern has since settled to regular movement between home communities in the Fitzroy Valley, Fitzroy Crossing and Kimberley towns, mainly Broome and Derby. Some people move outside of the Fitzroy Valley to access alcohol, staying for periods of weeks or months, and then return to dry out. Others do the 'rabbit run' involving same-day or overnight travel to Derby, and, to a lesser extent, Broome. Although the initial motive was to obtain takeaway full-strength alcohol, grocery sales show that it is now also being used to buy groceries and other goods at lower prices than are available within Fitzroy Crossing.

There is also a group who travel regularly to Derby, and stay there for one or two nights with the sole purpose of drinking and then returning to their homes with full-strength alcohol. This peaks on pay weeks and has been linked with overcrowding, sleeping rough, and an increase in domestic violence, public drunkenness, litter and other crimes and anti-social behaviours. Tensions are also exacerbated because the Fitzroy Crossing group are from a different language group (Kinnane et al. 2009, pp.119–122).

Permanent movement away from Fitzroy Crossing is estimated to number between 150 to 200 individuals. Most of these were originally from outside the Valley with the easy access to alcohol being one of the reasons why they stayed there. Alcohol dependence was associated with a transient existence and a dependence on relatives for accommodation (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.47, p.124).

A second group have moved from Fitzroy Crossing back to their communities in the Valley.

There's more people staying in their communities now. Before they used to come into town all the time to drink and they'd stay here. These town communities are more quieter. (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.106).

This has had a positive effect on Valley communities, with improvements in the viability of community stores and improvements in the capacity of people to engage constructively with the criminal justice system (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.107). Conversely, CDEP service providers reported no evidence of anyone moving away from the communities following the introduction of the restrictions. However, some young people in the Valleys travel to Fitzroy Crossing around pay day, staying there to drink at the pub for a few days, before returning home.

Public housing occupancy data for Fitzroy Crossing support Kinnane et al.'s analysis, with occupancy levels declining from 95 to 86 between 2006–07 and 2007–08 but recovering to 98 the following year, showing that any permanent migration from Fitzroy Crossing following the introduction of the liquor restrictions was compensated by equal numbers of in-migration.

The concern that the 'rabbit run' has seen an increase in traffic violations and transport-related injury is not supported by the data, with fewer drink driving charges and alcohol related crashes (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.8, p.18). However, more people are getting stuck in towns such as Derby and Broome when their money runs out.

Transport is still a big issue because people have no way of getting around, so they can become stranded in places and have to wait. (Kinnane et al. 2009, p.104).

5.5 Impact of policy change

Interview data from Fitzroy Crossing and Mungullah and Burringurrah showed that the National Partnerships were both a cause of anxiety about their potential to force population movement to larger population centres, and a cause of population churn because of funding uncertainties and the impact of CDEP. In Fitzroy Crossing, the level of government commitment and investment funding that accompanied the town's status as a priority community was regarded as an opportunity for improving living conditions for Aboriginal people in the Valley. This co-existed with concern about how smaller communities not recognised for ongoing funding by the WA Department of Housing would survive. An Indigenous community member pointed out that as well as being a denial of human rights, the failure to recognise some communities for development was seen as undermining the strength of Indigenous culture and likely to lead to overcrowding, and conflict due to the mixing of different language groups:

It's not respectful or recognises and supports where Aboriginal people choose to live ... It denies Aboriginal Peoples' rights to exercise their right as Indigenous Peoples. People may be forced to live in large settings where huge issues around family may occur.

She went on to explain that living on the communities was associated with the maintenance of culture, resulting in social and economic benefits:

Aboriginal people here want to be able to teach their kids language, where they belong and how to be strong in their sense of place, and who they are. It's undermined by this ... There are huge issues that arise for families. They want to be in a safe place. People need to be able to look after their family and move all their family back onto traditional country where they have authority.

This was associated with a belief that even if people left their community for a while they would return to them:

I'm optimistic that the changes will not lead to people moving off the communities. Most people want to be out in their community. It happens that

things will go wrong in a community and people move away, but then 18 months later they come back and the community starts thriving because they want to make it work.

This commitment to the maintenance of the communities in the Valley was shared by all the other Indigenous informants but no one interviewed was aware of any strategy for addressing how smaller communities not recognised by state and federal agencies for funding support will meet capital works and maintenance costs in the future. Predictions about their fate were that as these communities became unviable those living on them would move into adjacent larger communities where they had kin. But without additional housing for these locations, this would increase existing levels of overcrowding, creating a knock-on effect for existing residents, some of whom would then move out. An Indigenous housing officer suggested that this may already be taking place:

There's not enough houses. It's like shuffling a deck of houses. What the government should do is make sure that people go back to country ... The little communities are missing out. So they are all going into the big communities. It's a big job keeping up with them (the way they are moving around).

The communities around Yiyili were identified as a particular concern because they lacked permanent shelter yet had been omitted from the communities recognised by the WA Department of Housing.

There was also concern that because public housing waiting lists only reflected where people wanted to move within the public housing system rather than where they really wanted to be, the use of these as a means of estimating demand would contribute to housing instability since if people were not where they really wanted to be, they would keep moving.

Burringurrah provides an example of a community in which funding uncertainties and resistance to the closure of CDEP had created population churn. At the time of data collection, the community was at a low point. The community was declared insolvent and an administrator was appointed in 2008. To make matters worse, the community store went out of business on account of mismanagement, it failed to meet its financial obligations and so the creditors initiated legal proceedings against the operators. The operators had (reputedly) allowed people to buy on credit which was never repaid. As well, the system of ordering stock which they used resulted in a collection of goods that did not satisfy the community's basic needs. The store closed over the school holiday period when Burringurrah people customarily tend to be away from the community. When the store closed, many of them did not return to the community. By the time the fieldwork for this project was being conducted in the latter third of 2009, the store was under new management and working well, the financial management of the community had been set to rights, a new board and community president had been elected, and the affairs of the community generally were on the way to full compliance with normal business management policy and practice. Despite these improvements, Burringurrah still had no operating funds. On Wednesday, 9 September 2009, the community was declared bankrupt and both the state and federal governments declined further funding to Burringurrah.

The community was saved from disaster by local government. The Shire of Upper Gascoyne had plans for Burringurrah that included the establishment of a police station at a cost of \$6 million. As well, the Mt. Augustus tourist resort was scheduled for redevelopment and the shire viewed the community as an integral element in this process. On the strength of this recommendation, Burringurrah's funding was continued.

Not surprisingly, this upset over a period of nearly two years caused uncertainty among members of the Burringurrah community and this caused nearly half the population to leave on extended visits to relations in other towns and communities around the Burringurrah mobility region. The greatest impact of this movement was felt at Mungullah which is where the larger proportion of the temporary mobility was directed. During this period household densities at Mungullah varied, but there were a few houses occupied by around 20 people. The population of the community as a whole fluctuated between a low of around 150 and a high of around 300 people. Mungullah had no provision for temporary accommodation for so many visitors, and such a solution was never going to be realised. A policy officer explained that under this pressure, the management committee collapsed and was not reconstituted until new elections were held months later.

You had the breakdown of management, and people resorting to simple survival skills were the major problems when the community lacked a management committee and general governing structure.

A history of this time of troubles at Mungullah was collected in the course of interviews conducted at Mungullah by Birdsall-Jones and Turner (Birdsall-Jones et al. 2010) during August 2008. By this time, the Burringurrah community store had re-opened under new management and Burringurrah people who had been making extended visits at Mungullah began returning to their own community. It became possible for the community and the management committee to bring the situation under control by agreeing that the committee could make decisions about household occupancy levels and housing allocation. A year later, it was possible for the housing officer to declare that:

I tell people if they have to vacate their house, but everybody knows that it's not my decision, and that whatever I do it's because that's the decision of the committee and it's according to our policy and procedures. That's the policy and procedures of this community.

Governance problems at Burringurrah led to the depopulation of that community and the overpopulation of Mungullah through temporary migration from Burringurrah. This led to governance problems at Mungullah, which already had some problems of this nature. The added pressure of people escaping problems at Burringurrah may have come close to causing the collapse of the Mungullah community. Two factors enabled Mungullah to retrieve itself from this threat. One was the appointment of a skilled manager and the election of an equally capable management committee, and the second was the return to administrative order at Burringurrah. Once the situation at Burringurrah improved, the level of temporary migration at Mungullah decreased and it became possible for the community to reintroduce a sense of order and, importantly, to engage in activities that expressed order within the community. One member of the management committee emphasised that the committee was very conscious of a need to:

... take ownership of the community by the members, rebuilding the community.

5.6 Views on services

This section, taken from the Fitzroy Crossing case study, focuses first on the views of respondents and service providers, all of whom were Indigenous, on the value of hostels for meeting short-term accommodation requirements, and what factors are important to optimise their use. It then considers issues relating to transport, arguing that inadequate infrastructure results in a range of negative consequences for the

well-being of Indigenous people. The section that follows on the management of temporary mobility also includes some practitioner views on the service issues raised by temporary mobility and the adequacy of the existing provision.

5.6.1 Hostel use

Hostels were generally supported as a means of meeting short-term accommodation needs. Respondents in Fitzroy Crossing and Bayulu, both of which experience regular influxes of visitors in the wet season, believed that they would be used during the wet and would also help take the pressure off families affected by sorry business. They could also be useful for individuals and families needing to attend Fitzroy Crossing for health services, such as breast cancer screening and for training programs.

These respondents also suggested that affordability and co-location with family and language group, were the principal factors influencing whether hostels would be used by the target groups. AHL hostels were regarded as too expensive and used principally when paid for through the state-funded Patient Assisted Travel Scheme. For individuals and families to pay two rents at once was seen as unrealistic. Being accommodated as a family unit, and co-located with people from the same language group was critical because of socio-spatial issues arising from the language and relationship differences that needed to be observed between different groups.

Failure to address these concerns was identified by an Indigenous service provider as the reason why hostel accommodation was not always used, and why some people rejected what were sometimes essential services when family members were unable to be accommodated with them:

Fitzroy Crossing dialysis patients have to go to Derby or Broome. They're accommodated in a hostel but unless they have a partner they go there alone. No one considered that Aboriginal people don't like to be separated from their families ... Some dialysis patients won't stay in the hostel and go stay in the homes of relations in town ... They can't get the right food, attention and then they go to hospital for their dialysis and back to that situation. (Service Provider)

A further advantage of a more developed system of hostels in the Kimberley region was that it could operate as a central communication point where messages could be left for visitors to contact their home community.

One hostel provider observed that security was very important to hostel users as it was important to them to feel safe, so hostel accommodation needed to be positioned so that residents were able to view cars and their passengers arriving and departing.

5.6.2 Transport

Lack of transport was identified as a critical issue for Fitzroy Valley service users, with the absence of alternative ways of travel making private vehicle use the only option. The consequences are multiple and severe. It is implicated in overcrowding and itinerancy as people get stuck in distant locations when their money runs out and they are unable to return home. It leads to high rates of transport-related injury (AIHW 2008) and is an important contributor to the extreme over-representation of Aboriginal men, women and young people in the juvenile and criminal justice systems. Dependence on cars to access essential services and for leisure mean people will drive their cars even though they are not roadworthy, the driver is unlicensed or is over the legal blood alcohol limit. Lack of transport options is also associated with poor health outcomes because of inability to access essential health services. This problem is especially acute for those living in communities outside of Fitzroy Crossing

where outreach services are limited. The lack of facilities for wheelchair transport is a further concern for disabled individuals in the Valley who instead, rely on infrequent outreach visits.

5.7 Managing temporary mobility

The views of service providers on issues related to temporary mobility generally focused on large-scale seasonal population change, or other highly visible aspects of geographical movement. Their concern was primarily with what might be termed the 'pathology' of Indigenous temporary mobility. Given their various roles; child protection, employment and training, justice, health, etc., this is understandable. Their concerns tended to focus on issues such as domestic violence, juvenile crime, neighbourhood disorder and the ways in which these were both the result of and the precursors to temporary mobility. Several service providers in Carnarvon understood that Indigenous people were culturally predisposed to a high degree of mobility but saw the mobility they observed as resulting not so much from culture but from more negative social forces, especially, alcohol.

A lot of domestic violence happens because of alcohol ... Amongst the young boys and girls especially, in the overcrowded homes, there's abuse in the home along with alcohol and drugs. They [the children] don't want to live alone but they want to get away from those situations ... They hop from place to place. They're naughty, and they're rough as guts, and they break the law. They just say, 'if I get arrested at least I'll get a good feed tonight'. The girls, the situations they get themselves into to escape their homes. No child prostitution, but lots of promiscuity, for sure, and a lot of teenage pregnancy. (Service provider)

The domestic violence in households causes kids to move in and out of their homes, and often they don't go to school. (Service provider)

Why do we keep just patching things up? We're feeding the alcohol problem and the [poor] condition of the housing. (Service provider)

Practitioners working for service provider agencies in the shires of Carnarvon and Upper Gascoyne tend to take a determinedly holistic approach to their work with the Indigenous communities. That is, they acknowledge that single issues such as temporary mobility have an impact on the Indigenous housing situation, but challenge the notion that it is either possible to understand or respond to these problems as single issues. Their view is that any single issue must be seen in its context and can only be approached from this perspective. This at least partly reflects the fact that each agency has its own focus within which temporary mobility is one of many issues they must confront in the course of their work. For example, practitioners in the fields of health, counselling and justice focused on the way domestic violence is impacted by the current management and provision of short-term accommodation.

The refuge is the only emergency housing in town. HomesWest provides no emergency housing. The problem is compounded by the fact that HomesWest provides no exit houses; that is, houses for women exiting the refuge to go into for a few months to ease them into the public rental system. (Carnarvon Practitioner)

5.7.1 Agency conflict

In Carnarvon, the holistic approach taken by service providers led them to perceive a certain amount of conflict among the various agencies. For example, a service group focus group participant complained that:

HomesWest are not a community minded organisation ... HomesWest does not liaise with the police and the Department of Child Protection to ensure that people are not offered housing close by those who have abused or attacked them.

This comment by a Carnarvon DoH officer suggests there was some incongruity between what practitioners wished the Western Australian Department of Housing (DoH) to do and the Carnarvon office's own view of its mission.

Emergency (assistance) is not provided [by DoH]. While a property may be vested in [DoH], it does not necessarily form part of the available public housing stock. Emergency housing is perhaps organised by various departments as part of their programs such as DCP, Alcohol and Drugs, DoJ etc. ... it's a conflict of interest (or perhaps objectives) for us to have a house unoccupied. We're in the business of putting people into houses. As soon as we have an unoccupied house, we do the maintenance and get someone into it. Every house has someone allocated to it as soon as it becomes vacant.

One practitioner perceived some conflict among the various service providers and interest groups in the town pointing to the need for improvements in service integration:

... we're all dealing with the same issues. Some people are working on housing, the DCP is dealing with the kids, some people want to set up a men's group and safe houses. I reckon we ought to narrow our focus, to get together and see the links between housing and some of these other things.

These accounts reinforce the NAHA's concern to improve service integration but also reveal how difficult it is to achieve this goal.

5.7.2 Best practice

Despite the possibility of agency overlap and conflict of effort, practitioners expressed hope that facilities could be established that would increase the stability of Indigenous family life by acting as a counter to what might be termed the 'dysfunctional' temporary mobility they perceive. For example, it is known that domestic violence impels temporary mobility (Birdsall-Jones & Corunna 2008; Birdsall-Jones et al. 2010). Women and children flee their homes and go to the refuge, leave Carnarvon to stay with relations in other towns, and return to Carnarvon months later. A Carnarvon practitioner argued that better provision of facilities to support the family in these difficult circumstances would reduce some of their negative impacts.

If there were a men's hostel it would help women and their children stay in their homes. Instead of removing them, and let the men stay in the household while the women and children are removed to refuges, they could refer the men to the hostel and leave the family to carry on with their routine. The domestic violence in homes sometimes causes kids to move in and out of their homes, and often they don't go to school.

While this would be unlikely to resolve the fallout from all situations of domestic violence, perhaps it would improve outcomes for some women and their children who become domestic violence victims.

Another Carnarvon practitioner advised that best practice must involve an understanding that there is no 'quick fix' and also emphasised the need to improve integration across the services via the establishment of a lead agency model.

This kind of thing takes years and we have to get back to the family nucleus. We need a lead agency approach to intensively work with that family.

5.7.3 *ICHO management of temporary mobility: Marra Worra Worra*

In seeking preferred provider status with the WA Department of Housing, Marra Worra Worra was participating in the Western Australian Department of Housing's Sustainability and Development Program and undertaking a major review of its existing tenancy management policies and practices that would bring it closer to the SHA model. This included:

- Working with the Department of Housing in the development and implementation of its Indigenous Housing Management System. This included participation in training for Remote Service Providers so that they could use the system to manage tenancies and maintenance work.
- Establishing an accurate record of the number of properties and occupants.
- Engaging communities so that people cooperated to improve housing management and meet their contractual obligations under the new tenancy agreements.
- Developing new strategies for managing tenant and neighbour disputes.
- Establishing mechanisms for the prevention and reduction of rental arrears and other tenancy-related debts.

The principal strategy employed by Marra Warra Warra for implementing the changes required by the new model of tenancy management was to work with the community chair and council so that they acted as an intermediary between Housing Officers and tenants. The success of this model, and how the community's new relationship with the Western Australian Department of Housing is managed, will have a direct impact on tenancy sustainability in the communities. If, in making the transfer from ICO to SHA-managed housing, tenants are unable to meet the changed tenancy conditions, there is a real risk that breaches will occur and some tenancies will fail.

The model of tenancy management being developed by Marra Worra Worra represented a hybrid of the old and the new. The need for tenant financial accountability and responsibility for property maintenance was accepted, but this sat alongside a client-focused, community-based model of tenancy management that acknowledged local, kin-based arrangements and Indigenous cultural norms. The model operated with a principle of collective responsibility in which the housing service acts as a broker and facilitator for the communities it serves. Although, decision-making is formally vested in the Western Australian Department of Housing, tenancy management operated through the community council, as represented by the community chair. Marra Worra Worra managers explained that in this model, decisions were not based on formal regulations or bureaucratic authority, but on consensus building through regular contact and personal, face-to-face relationships:

What happens now is we maintain an open dialogue with the communities. That's very, very important. We have a great housing team and they're going out a lot. There's a lot of stability in the housing team. (Marra Worra Worra manager)

The formal structure we work under has to be adapted group to group by maintaining constant contact with the community chairs and councils. (Marra Worra Worra manager)

A Marra Worra Worra housing officer explained that tenancy management is not hierarchical and authoritarian, but negotiated through local, kin-based community networks:

The allocation of housing is up to the community. If we made decisions then we would be blamed. The community knows what's going on, so they make the decision.

Another Marra Worra Worra housing officer emphasised that this was essential given the history of the communities and their basis in family networks:

Each community usually arises from family that wanted to go back to country ... We can't just go there and say you move here, you move there. We can't take that responsibility or have that knowledge. The chair people—they are running that community—not us. We're only managing the houses. As it's part of our job to do that sort of stuff we have to take a step back and say we can't just push people around here and there.

The key roles for day-to-day management are the Marra Worra Worra housing officers and the community chair who serves as the community's spokesperson and representative. Decisions on housing allocation, at what point a property should be considered vacant in cases of absentee tenants, how costs associated with property damage should be allocated and the management of tenant and neighbour disputes are made by the community chairperson through the community council, with Marra Worra Worra housing officers acting as advisers and facilitators. A member of a community council explained how this operated within his own community:

Once every fortnight there's a Council meeting. They decide on their rules, they come to agreement, they work something out, they make it work and they'll get an agreement that will keep everybody happy. We had to have the Chairperson, he had to tell some people they had to go back and start living on their own block.

Disputes, and tenancy turnover, are managed in a similarly consultative way, with cultural knowledge about kinship obligations central to their negotiation. Marra Worra Worra housing officers explained that it was essential to understand and respect these:

You can't tell your elders to get out. You've got to be careful how to speak to your elders. The elders can say, this person (tenant) is my niece or my granddaughter so I can stay there. (Housing officer)

Sometimes the house was left empty and there's non-payment of rent and so a new head tenant was found, and there was a bit of an uproar when that person returned but with mediation they went away, they accepted it. (Housing officer)

Marra Worra Worra housing officers described how they worked within the boundaries of cultural norms and community relationships:

You gotta understand when you go to a community, any visitor, whether related, you've gotta (go through the chairperson?). It's just a respect thing. It's not a written law. It's just respect for that community. If you go to a place ... and they've got deaths in the family, usually that whole community is on sorry business, so you can't just go and make a racket. You've got to respect that side of things. (Housing officer)

This kind of flexibility remained central to tenancy management and was apparent in relation to areas relevant to Indigenous mobility, including tenant absences, management of overcrowding and sorry business:

Tenancy agreement limit is three months (absence) but we're more flexible than that. Tenancy agreement is the standard housing one (WA Dept of Housing). It's just like town. But you can't follow that in the communities. What do you say to people who go away to Jiggalong for a funeral? They might have some more business, maybe some punishment business. (Housing officer)

What we do (when a family is engaged in sorry business) we don't bother them with rent or tenancy agreements in that time ... Any paperwork for them, we don't bother them. Any maintenance we do straightaway. (Housing officer)

These arrangements were not without their problems. Few tenants had phones and so Housing Officers relied principally on informal communication networks to establish where the tenant was and how long they were likely to be gone. They also circulated flyers to communities, asking them to keep in touch. But these strategies were of limited success and keeping in contact with absent tenants was 'a constant problem'.

Similarly, the emphasis on working within the boundaries established by kinship relationships was acknowledged as far from straightforward:

Say you've got all these people living in the house and the head tenant leaves. Then lots of other family will come into the house. No one has got any pull to tell family to leave. We need to empower people to say what goes on in a home. Families might get into arguments. Families don't want to argue and tell other family members they can't stay here. It could lead to fighting. Lots of different people might be able to stay there because of cross group marriage.

This example highlights the importance of effective governance structures within the communities that currently may not be present. Some communities lack a well functioning community council and have weak or non-existent leadership in the form of the community chair. The success of organisations like ORIC in developing appropriate governance structures within the communities is therefore central to the success of this model.

Getting the communication and consultation process right was also identified as critical to the implementation of change. This meant:

- Consulting and communicating with traditional owners and those living in the communities, as well as Aboriginal corporations.
- Developing communication strategies so that those affected by the changes understand what is being required of them.

It was suggested that this should include giving presentations in the communities themselves and ensuring that these are effective in explaining what they need to know to do their business with government.

One Indigenous sector housing policy adviser observed:

There's no one who goes out to the communities to talk to them about their obligations, or how the billing system works. ... [People] aren't going to be able to just jump on the phone from out there and ask for explanations.

One suggestion was for CDEP funding to be used for one person from each community to learn about how the housing system operated so that they could be an easily accessible source of information and guidance.

5.8 Conclusion

The types of temporary mobility examined in the three Western Australian case fell into three major groups. The most commonly described kind was involuntary, relating to weather events, housing shortages, health needs, especially renal dialysis, family violence and sorry business. While these situations generate a need for flexible policies relating to tenancy absence, overcrowding, property damage and unpaid rent, the most important need is for improved infrastructure. An increased supply of social housing, more hostel accommodation for those affected by the wet season and sorry business, improved access to transitional and permanent housing for women and children escaping family violence and provision of accommodation for renal dialysis patients and their relatives, would reduce the association between these forms of mobility and homelessness.

The second kind of temporary mobility was related to life course stages as described in the Broome and Mungullah and Burringurrah case studies. This included young men doing the 'grand tour', young girls travelling to stay with relatives in more distant communities and older people travelling to access essential goods and services. The third kind was generated by responses to governance and public policy issues, and involved journeys away from communities in response to changes to CDEP (Burringurrah), to the introduction of liquor restrictions (Fitzroy Crossing) and to the effects of funding and governance issues (Burringurrah). The effects were a combination of population churn and migration, with some individuals departing relatively permanently, while others left but eventually returned.

Transport was identified as a critical issue in the Fitzroy Crossing case study. There is an urgent need to develop programs and facilities that will reduce traffic offences and transport-related accidents for individuals living in remote communities. This includes support for Indigenous people to obtain their licence as well as improved access to safe, cheap transport between the communities and regional towns. In Fitzroy Crossing, liquor restrictions have also created a need for a MAPS service as well as a return to country program between Derby and the town.

In Fitzroy Crossing, the efforts of the local community, together with renewed state and federal government attention, have created a new environment of hope. Government commitments to the development of infrastructure and services are combining with local initiatives, promising radical transformation in the region. Fitzroy Crossing also provides an example of how local authorities can support Indigenous temporary mobility through the effective use of public space. The development of a pleasant, centrally located area which serves as a drop-off point for Indigenous travellers provides an exemplary model for other Shire councils and local government areas to consider. The area offers a single pickup point that is safe and convenient for Indigenous individuals and families, where they can also catch up with other community members and are within walking distance of services. The grassed area, with shade trees scattered around is visually pleasing, presenting a positive image of Indigenous life. One element in the success of this facility is likely to be Fitzroy Crossing's status as a dry community.

The findings on population change provide little evidence of urbanisation. In Burringurrah depopulation was occurring but this was not the result of the lure of urban lifestyles but of funding issues and governance problems. For Broome the data is contradictory. Perceptions that it is a hot spot for visitors and migrants may be influenced by the high degree of visibility of the town's Indigenous population as well as the shortage of affordable housing and hostel accommodation. The WAICEHNS data, which covers the period 1997-shows a high level of population churn between

closely located communities, but the overall population size was stable. There is, however, evidence of a high level of demand for both temporary and permanent housing in the extent of unmet need for SAAP accommodation as well as the size of the ATSI waiting list for public housing, although a proportion of this is derived from existing Broome residents rather than locations outside the town.

For Fitzroy Crossing the evidence is more consistent in pointing to growth at rates above the State average derived from a combination of in-migration and high fertility rates, with considerable population churn within closely located communities also occurring. Housing shortages within some Valley communities are a critical contributor to both of these. Measures to improve and expand the Valley's housing stock will be a major determinant of the extent to which involuntary mobility caused by overcrowding will worsen.

At this stage, it is not clear what effect the NPRSD will have on population mobility in Fitzroy Crossing. Lack of reliable historical data on housing occupancy outside of mainstream public housing made it impossible to investigate this, but the interviews hint at the possibility that there is already some movement from smaller to larger, adjacent communities, in the pattern described by Morphy (2010). This kind of movement may be initially contained within the Valley. However, if housing in adjacent communities is not expanded and overcrowding increases, people may move to other population centres in the Kimberly region and beyond, increasing housing instability within Indigenous communities across the settlement hierarchy. The interviews suggests that even when housing is available in larger communities, some people may remain in sub-standard housing in the area of their choice, moving to those communities only during the wet season.³

How successful the new model of housing management in the Valley will be, and by extension, the effects this has on tenancy sustainability is closely tied to the effectiveness of federal initiatives to improve Indigenous governance in remote areas. The example of Burringurrah demonstrates the effects of poor governance on population stability, with a formerly stable population seriously depleted as a result of funding and governance problems.

Good governance is also critical to the management of tenancies within the ICO sector since, in the example of housing management provided by Marra Worra Worra, well functioning community councils and chairs are needed to support tenants to understand the requirements of their tenancies. In the Marra Worra Worra model of housing management, housing officers, who are also members of the communities they serve, are developing a critical role as mediators between community members and the WA DoH. Another important element in the Marra Worra Worra model is its size since one of its strengths is its capacity to provide training programs for its Indigenous staff. This ensures that personnel within the organisation develop capacities which extend beyond local knowledge to include an understanding of WA DoH policies and procedures and communication and liaison skills.

Greater consultation by the WA Department of Housing with a wider range of stakeholders when planning service development and changes to service delivery was also identified as critical to managing the change in housing management. There remains an important communication gap between the WA DoH and the communities, with a need for greater consultation and more active strategies for information dissemination about the new tenancy arrangements.

³ For example, see Altman (1987) for seasonal movement of Maningrida outstations.

6 THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDIES

The two South Australian case studies of Adelaide/Port Adelaide and Coober Pedy/Port Augusta, are examined in this chapter. The material is organised according to the same structure as for Western Australia (Chapter 5) and the Northern Territory (Chapter 7). The chapter opens with a brief survey of the social context and policy environment of Indigenous housing policy in South Australia, followed by, for each of the case study areas, an examination of, first, the service context, second the evidence for population change drawing principally on the administrative data sources, and third, an outline of what all data sources, including the interviews, reveal about local patterns of temporary mobility. The motives for mobility are examined in the next section, with the findings for each of the case study areas reported separately. The next two sections review what the interviews and administrative data reveal about the influence of liquor restrictions on Indigenous population movement in Port Augusta and Coober Pedy, followed by an assessment of the effects of the National Partnerships on temporary mobility and migration. The final sections consider the management of temporary mobility, including the distinctions between different types of population movement made by service providers distinguish and how temporary mobility is managed by the Coober Pedy ICHO, Umoona Community. This chapter pays special attention to the needs of renal dialysis patients from the APY Lands whose treatment needs have forced them to move to Adelaide or Port Augusta.

6.1 Introduction

The study focused predominantly on the population movement of Aboriginal people (Anangu) living on the APY Lands and moving south to Coober Pedy, Port Augusta and to the Adelaide area, with a special focus on Port Adelaide and the City district. The situation of Anangu has been a largely neglected area of policy attention despite their high needs. Within the discrete Indigenous communities on APY Lands, median weekly incomes are less than half that of the national average, and there are double the number of single parents than the national average. Only 7 per cent own their own home. As with other Indigenous populations, the age structure is disproportionately skewed towards young people, with relatively few people aged over 55 (ABS 2006c). Low income and inadequate housing with high levels of overcrowding are associated with high health needs, alcohol dependence and high levels of homelessness. In 2006, 11 per cent of South Australia's Indigenous individuals were estimated to be homeless although the state's Indigenous population was 1.8 per cent (Chamberlain & MacKenzie 2009c, p.30).

Within the State of South Australia responsibility for Aboriginal Affairs is held by the Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation Division (AARD) which sits within the Department of Premier and Cabinet. It is the lead agency for the NPARSD. The lead agency for the NPARIH is the Department of Families and Communities (DFC) which is also responsible for implementing the NPAH. These agencies work in close connection with the Department of Social Inclusion, within the Department of Premier and Cabinet. Under the NPARIH, the Commonwealth and the South Australian Governments have committed to expenditure over ten years for new houses and upgrades to existing houses in remote Indigenous communities. There are two communities on the APY Lands that have been identified as priority communities under the NPARSD—Amata and Mimili.

State-wide provision of temporary accommodation for Indigenous individuals in South Australia comprises ten AHL hostels of which six are in Adelaide, two in Port Augusta, one in Murray Bridge and one in Whyalla. In addition, there are a range of temporary

Aboriginal client specific accommodation options including those catering for women escaping family violence, youth, family and single/adult couples. The Safetracks program, provided by the DFC, is a response to the movement of Anangu travelling between remote communities, across borders to regional centres. It aims to provide safe, affordable and culturally appropriate temporary accommodation facilities for Aboriginal clients at Port Augusta and Ceduna. The Port Augusta facility is examined in detail in this chapter and in the Appendix. South Australia is the only jurisdiction that includes transitional accommodation as a separate category in its housing programs, and nominates a range of accommodation options for different groups, including new arrivals and young people leaving care as well as Aboriginal people travelling between remote communities.

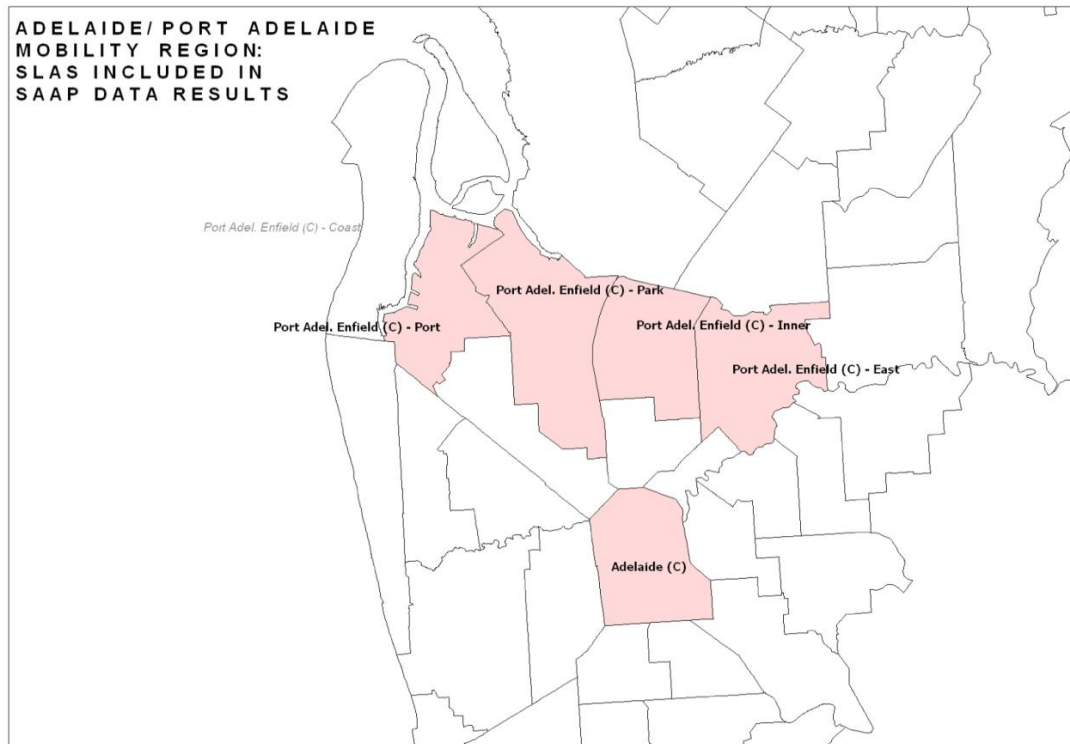
6.2 The case study sites

This section sets out, for each of the two case studies, a brief account of the history, social and economic characteristics, an outline of relevant local services, an analysis of population change, and what is known about the temporary mobility patterns. The analysis draws on all available data sources, including the SAAP client data collection, Housing SA SOMIH and public housing data, the interviews and the literature. The motives for temporary mobility for both case study sites, are explored in the next section.

6.2.1 Adelaide and Port Adelaide

The City of Adelaide incorporates the commercial, government and residential areas of Adelaide and North Adelaide, bounded by the Adelaide Park Lands. The Port Adelaide Enfield area is located on the North Western side of the Adelaide metropolitan area with a population of 102 209, including an Aboriginal population of 2261 (Port Adelaide Enfield Council, 2009) (see Figure 12). Indigenous people live in all local government areas, but the greatest numbers are in the west, south and north of the city (Roberts et al. 2005). There is a recorded pattern of settlement by Aboriginal people in the Port Adelaide Enfield area since the end of World War Two when people moved from rural mission settlements to the metropolitan area. Suburbs in the north and northwest (Port Adelaide) of the city were chosen mainly because housing was cheaper.

Figure 12: Adelaide/Port Adelaide Region, SLAs included



The service context

Aboriginal people make up approximately 33 per cent of Adelaide's homeless according to the 2006 Census (Chamberlain & MacKenzie 2009c). Programs targeting the housing and related social needs of Aboriginal clients in Port Adelaide are offered by a number of NGOs. The DFC provides varying levels of support to these organisations. Uniting Care Wesley Port Adelaide provides housing support services to SA Housing tenants with additional programs targeting young homeless people and people with mental illness. Uniting Care Wesley also offers emergency assistance and financial counselling. Within metropolitan Adelaide, services available to Aboriginal visitors include the Street to Home (STH) assertive outreach service provided by the DFC for Aboriginal people rough sleeping in the City of Adelaide Parklands and the western suburbs. The No Pulgi program is administratively based at the Nunkuwarrin Yunti health service and is the result of a partnership between Nunkuwarrin Yunti, Royal District Nursing Service, Aboriginal Sobriety Group, the Central Western Adelaide Aboriginal Primary Health Care Access Program, Central Northern Adelaide Health Services (Department of Health) and Drug and Alcohol Services of South Australia. No Pulgi delivers health services to homeless Aboriginal people in Metropolitan Adelaide, drug and alcohol services and renal dialysis. Crisis Care accommodation is provided by St Vincent de Paul and the Salvation Army in Central Adelaide and Anglicare offer a state-wide Tenants Information and Advocacy Service. The six AHL hostels represent the main service in Adelaide specifically targeting the needs of Aboriginal visitors. The maximum stay is three months with provision for some flexibility. Individuals unable to pay for their accommodation are eventually evicted.

Population change

The perception among some service providers was that Anangu were mainly living in the Port Adelaide–Enfield area and suburbs to the north and that movement from the APY Lands was greater than thirty years ago, when there were only one or two Anangu living in Adelaide at any one time. Now there are an estimated 150–200 Anangu, including at least 55 children (Edwards 2009). In addition, it is widely accepted that there are ‘hidden Anangu’ living in Adelaide:

No-one has a fix on how many people from the APY Lands are already in Adelaide, where they are living, why they are here, and what problems they are facing (Service Provider).

One estimate of the number of recent Anangu arrivals was 20–25 families with renal dialysis the ‘overwhelming’ reason, followed by legal reasons. Some informants reported increasing numbers living in metropolitan Adelaide and other areas to the north and south of central Adelaide.

Waiting list data shows a steady growth in demand for public housing, especially from September 2008, with numbers increasing from 1384 that year to 1468 in 2009 (see Figure 13). Over the whole period, June 2005 to June 2009, ATSI demand for housing in metropolitan Adelaide increased by 18 per cent rising from 1376 to 1624. Over this period ATSI occupancy numbers also expanded by 20 per cent in line with growth in tenancies so that in June 2009 there were 1624 ATSI tenancies with 3982 ATSI occupants, an occupancy ratio of 2.5. This demand is coming predominantly from applicants’ resident in Adelaide rather than from locations outside it. In June 2009, demand from Port Augusta accounted for less than 2 per cent (N=21) while the figures for Coober Pedy and Ceduna were negligible, confirming anecdotal accounts which suggest there is no migratory pull to Adelaide from these locations to the Adelaide area.

Combining occupancy and waiting list data, and analysing longitudinally, there is remarkable stability within this population, with a high (on average, 88%) and generally increasing proportion of clients in the Housing SA system living in metropolitan Adelaide who were there one year later (see Figure 14). For example, 87.7 per cent of clients either in tenancies in Adelaide or living in Adelaide on the Housing SA waiting list in June 2005 were also in Adelaide in June 2006. This proportion increased over time, with, for example, 90.2 per cent of those in the Housing SA system in Adelaide in March 2008 also there in March 2009. Very small numbers (N=6) moved to Port Augusta or Coober Pedy within each year-to-year period and overall, on average, only 11.7 per cent of Adelaide clients moved out of the Housing SA system within each year-to-year period. This proportion decreased over time, with 12 per cent of clients in June 2005 no longer in the system in June 2006, and 9.5 per cent of clients in December 2007 no longer in the system in December 2008.

Figure 13: Waiting list (ATSI applicants) for housing in Metro Adelaide, by current location

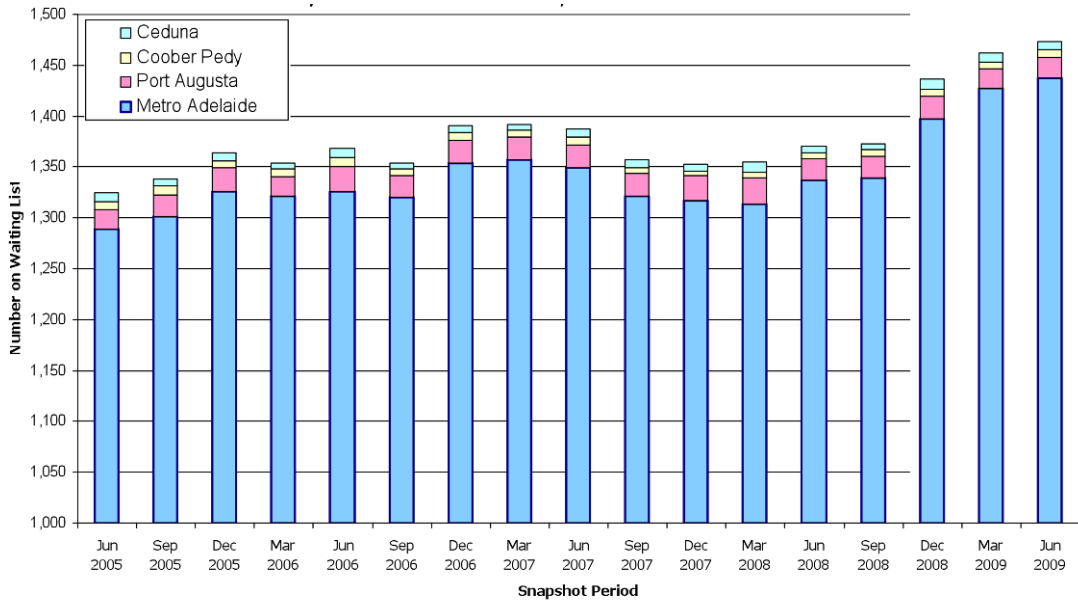
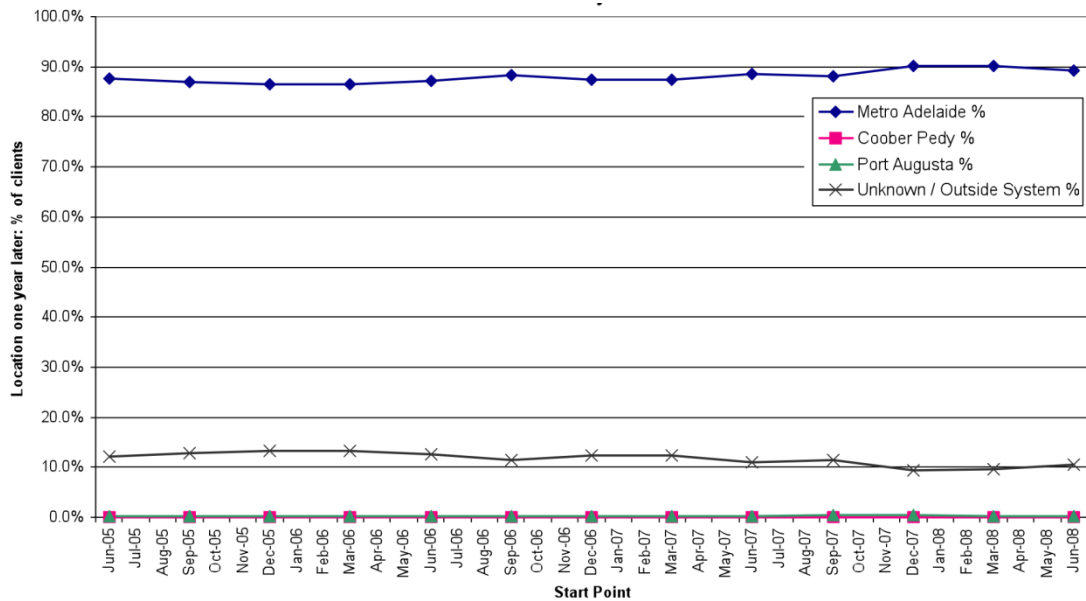


Figure 14: Clients living in Metro Adelaide (in tenancy or on waiting list), by location one year later.



Patterns of temporary mobility

The concentration of temporary Aboriginal visitors, especially those from the APY lands, is reportedly highest in the Port Adelaide Enfield area and in central metropolitan Adelaide. A door-knock survey covering the metropolitan area but concentrating mainly in the Port Adelaide Enfield areas by Edwards in 2009 found that individuals were highly mobile between houses and shelters (such as the Salvation Army homeless shelter in the City) and places for 'sleeping rough'. Some people have reportedly lived in up to five houses. People living rough in the parklands also periodically lived in houses and shelters. People living in the parklands were not

included in the final count because they were too hard to categorise (Edwards 2010, PC). These individuals are reportedly from all communities on the APY Lands with no especially strong representation from particular communities.

In addition to the Anangu population are an unknown number of Aboriginal people, mainly from bordering states and the Northern Territory, who are living in metropolitan Adelaide for unspecified periods of time. Some of these people are included on the STH service database, but at this stage, available STH data does not reportedly provide an accurate picture of Aboriginal client home community or state of origin. One accommodation service provider described his organisation's client base as including predominantly people from the APY lands, and Port Augusta as well as individuals from the Northern Territory, including Darwin, Katherine and Hermannsburg, with the largest group being from Alice Springs. A common reason for travel to Adelaide is reportedly to access renal dialysis services.

The busy period for temporary accommodation demand in the Adelaide metropolitan area is winter, when crisis services report increased demand for supporting rough sleepers into more permanent accommodation. This perception is supported by SAAP service data which was available for the five SLAs of Adelaide Central, and Port Adelaide Enfield East, Inner, Park and Port (see Figure 12). This shows a seasonal trend with demand for accommodation greatest in the cold months of July to September and correspondingly high demand for all support services, in November to January, with a dip in December. This may reflect a preference for travel to home communities during the 'family time' of Christmas (see Table 15).

Table 15: Average SAAP support openings 2005–2009, Port Adelaide/Metro Adelaide, by month

<i>Month</i>	<i>Accommodation</i>	<i>All SAAP</i>
January	26.3	107.7
February	24.7	110.7
March	23.7	99.7
April	19.3	87.3
May	21.7	99.3
June	25.3	92.3
July	30.3	100.3
August	29.3	111.0
September	32.0	100.3
October	26.7	103.3
November	29.7	107.7
December	26.3	93.7
Total	26.3	101.1

The SAAP client data shows increasing levels of services required across all support types over the period 2006–09 (see Table 16). Between 2006–07 and 2007–08, the number of housing/accommodation services required by Indigenous clients increased from 852 to 1308 in 2007–08 (Table 16). The number dipped to 1282 in 2008–09, but the level of unmet need increased over the same period, with 50.3 per cent of need met in 2007–08 and 48.7 per cent met the following year. There has also been substantial growth in the need for general/advocacy services, with services required

increasing from 1595 in 2006–07 to 2106 in 2008–09 and the proportion provided decreasing over the same period from 97.8 per cent to 92 per cent.

Table 16: SAAP Services required by type and by percentage provided: Adelaide.

	<i>Services required (n)</i>			<i>% Provided</i>		
	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09
Adelaide						
Housing/Accommodation Services	852	1,308	1,282	57.2	50.3	48.7
Financial/Employment Services	232	314	414	73.2	78.7	81.6
Personal Support Services	933	1,024	1,072	95.9	96.2	95.6
General Support/Advocacy Services	1,595	1,820	2,106	97.8	95.6	92.0
Specialist Services	618	698	751	87.8	81.3	84.5
Other Basic Support Services, n.e.s.	845	1,075	1,042	92.6	92.1	89.8
All Services	5,075	6,239	6,667	87.4	83.2	82.4

The total number of SAAP support service periods required by Indigenous clients in Adelaide increased from 5075 in 2006–07 to 6667 in 2008–09. The proportion of required services that were provided decreased over time, from 87.4 per cent to 82.4 per cent.

In the SLA of Port Adelaide–East, the number of service periods required by Indigenous clients was relatively high in 2006–07 (190 in total), but much lower in 2007–08 and 2008–09. Requests for financial/employment, personal support, advocacy, specialist, and other services dropped to minimal levels in 2007–08 and 2008–09, suggesting closure of SAAP services in the SLA.

In the SLA of Port Adelaide–Port, the number of support periods required by Indigenous clients decreased slightly in most categories. Required support in the categories of housing/accommodation, financial/employment, and personal support, decreased slightly from around 20 over the year in each category in 2006–07. In 2008–09, the proportion of required services that were provided was lower than in 2006–07 except for housing/accommodation services, which were fully provided.

In the third Port Adelaide SLA, Port Adelaide–Park, required housing/accommodation periods increased from 12 in 2006–07 to 45 in 2008–09, with a decreasing proportion provided (80% in 2008–09). Required support for general support/advocacy services increased from 14 in 2006–07 to 55 in 2008–09, of which around 93 per cent of required services were provided in each year. Service requirements were highest in 2007–08, with 218 support periods required. The proportion of required SAAP services for Indigenous clients that were provided was lowest in 2007–08, at 78.4 per cent. A spike in demand for new SAAP service providers in this SLA is suggested by the data.

Most housing and general Indigenous SAAP support demand is in the Adelaide SLA, where there is a high and increasing demand from Indigenous clients. High pressure on services is also suggested by low rates of service provisions relative to service requirements. Possible explanations for these findings include the effects of a

tightening rental market over the period as well as increasing numbers of Indigenous individuals making temporary journeys to the city to visit or accompany renal patients, as suggested by the anecdotal data.

6.2.2 Coober Pedy and Port Augusta

Coober Pedy and Port Augusta are located on the Stuart Highway, in northern South Australia. Both have sizeable Indigenous populations and experience an intermittent pattern of Aboriginal visitors year round with regular influxes, mainly from the APY lands, over the summer months. Coober Pedy is a small country town, only recognised as an independent Local Government area in 1987, whose facilities revolve around opal mining and associated tourism. Port Augusta is located at the head of the Spencer Gulf, approximately 306 kilometres north of Adelaide and has been an area of cultural significance for Aboriginal people from a wide area. It is the regional service centre and is currently experiencing a major economic resurgence associated with the mining boom as well as some tourism, following a long period of stagnation related to the decline of manufacturing in the late 1980s and 1990s.

The service context

For many Aboriginal people travelling south from the Northern Territory and the APY Lands, Port Augusta and Coober Pedy represent temporary destinations of choice. For others, they represent transit points for other destinations. The influx of visitors places significant demand on local housing, health and other support services. The social and law and order problems arising from excessive drinking by temporary Aboriginal visitors has resulted in measures including liquor restrictions in select locations in Coober Pedy and in Port Augusta which was gazetted as a dry area in 2005.

Coober Pedy's population, according to the ABS, was 1962 in 2007, although the records of the Coober Pedy Council and Post Office show the population to be around 3500 (Northern Regional Development Board 2008, p.15). According to the 2006 Census 14 per cent of this population identify as Indigenous (ABS 2007f). It has a 20-bed hospital and an Indigenous community health service, Umoona Tjutagku (UTHS) which operates a Drug and Alcohol facility and has an estimated client base of 1500 patients. A domestic violence service is provided by the Wesley Uniting Church. With the termination of the CDEP program in Coober Pedy, the Port Augusta based Bungala Aboriginal Corporation became the providers of the replacement program.

Umoona Community Council (UCC) is Coober Pedy's local ICHO and the largest Indigenous service organisation in the town. The withdrawal of government funding for municipal services, has strained its service delivery capacity. This situation is eased to some extent by its ownership of an Opal Mine and related tourism operation, so that it remains a significant provider of Indigenous services in the area. It describes itself, with some accuracy, as a self-managing, self-funding and self-governing Indigenous organisation. UCC operates a Centrelink agency, postal service, youth program, a Sobering up Centre, a Mobile Assisted Patrol (MAP) Service and a Healthy Living Program. It also provides ongoing advocacy and liaison between community members and government and non-government agencies.

Social housing in Coober Pedy is provided by Housing SA and Umoona Community Council (UCC). Housing SA owns and manages a total of 58 houses, including designated women's shelter properties provided to UCC (DFC Stock Report, June 2010). UCC owns and manages 50 houses, 40 of which are located on UCC land held on a 99-year lease from Coober Pedy District Council, with the remainder located

within the town area. UCC also administers a housing rental, repairs and maintenance program for these dwellings.

Port Augusta is a major city and regional service centre with 2006 Census data suggesting a population of 13 874 of which 2303 (16.6%) identify as of Aboriginal descent (Govt of South Australia, 2009b). As well as providing all major government and business services, it has a range of sport and leisure facilities and cultural and entertainment events. The District Court and the state's largest regional prison are located there.

The Indigenous community sector includes Bungala Aboriginal Corporation and Davenport Community Council. Bungala is the largest ICO in South Australia and the main agent for delivery of CDEP services to Aboriginal communities in the region. The Indigenous community health organisation, Pika Wiya, operates clinics in Port Augusta and surrounding communities as well as specialised services.

Port Augusta is experiencing significant pressure on housing as a result of the mining boom. There is a shortage of affordable housing with public housing providing 900–1000 properties, of which 150 are designated as Aboriginal Housing properties. Seventy per cent of Housing SA's clients in Port Augusta are Aboriginal. Under the NPAHL, the principal strategy for addressing homelessness in Port Augusta is \$5.6 million funding to Common Ground, a not-for-profit company that aims to provide market standard affordable rental housing to low income people and those at risk of homelessness.

The service agreement for the 'Housing First' Common Ground development includes a client base target of 80 per cent Aboriginal people. The three proposed developments are in the planning stages and Port Augusta Town Council approval is pending. The sites include:

- Boston Street, with plans for 20, one- and two-bedroom units for singles or small families.
- Lakeview, with plans for five houses offering transitional accommodation and intensive support for the development of living skills for long-term tenancies.
- Augusta Terrace, with plans for 15 one-bedroom units for mainly single and some high needs clients who are homeless or at risk of homelessness. This facility is not a crisis accommodation option and will have on-site staff and security (Pers. Commun. C: Sue Crafter 23 June 2010)

Coober Pedy has no designated services for Indigenous visitors and the only available emergency accommodation is for Aboriginal children and young people. Port Augusta is better served, with two AHL hostels, Lakeview Transitional Accommodation Centre and the accommodation provided by the Aboriginal Prisoners and Offenders Support service. Emergency accommodation for young people who are homeless and crisis accommodation is also provided by the Salvation Army and Uniting Care Wesley, with Aboriginal people from the Port Augusta area reportedly the principal group accessing these.

Population change

Port Augusta and Coober Pedy were both described as experiencing significant population growth, although analysis of administrative data presents a very different picture for each location.

In **Coober Pedy**, informants agreed that the number of Indigenous visitors had increased over the past five years with relatively easy access to alcohol a contributing factor. Evidence for this came from increased demand for power consumption and

MAP service and Sobering up shelter statistics provided by UCC which demonstrated significant service demand increase for the period July 2007 through to June 2008.

The picture from the administrative data is mixed, with SHA data suggesting stabilisation, but SAAP and other data showing increase. SA Housing records for Coober Pedy show increased occupancies and tenancies for the period December 2005 to June 2007 with a small peak (from 107 to 124) in March 2008 followed by a decline to 108 tenancies in June 2009. Waiting list applicants also declined after September 2007, with highest requests in May 2006 (N=45) (Figure 15). Averaging the size of the waiting list before (June 2005–August 2007) and after (September 2007–June 2009) this date shows a decline of nearly 50 per cent, from 42.33 individuals to 24.13 individuals. This coincides with the introduction of the NTER in the Northern Territory which anecdotal evidence suggests caused large numbers of visitors to the town.

Figure 15: Waiting list applicants (ATSI) for housing in Coober Pedy, by current location of client

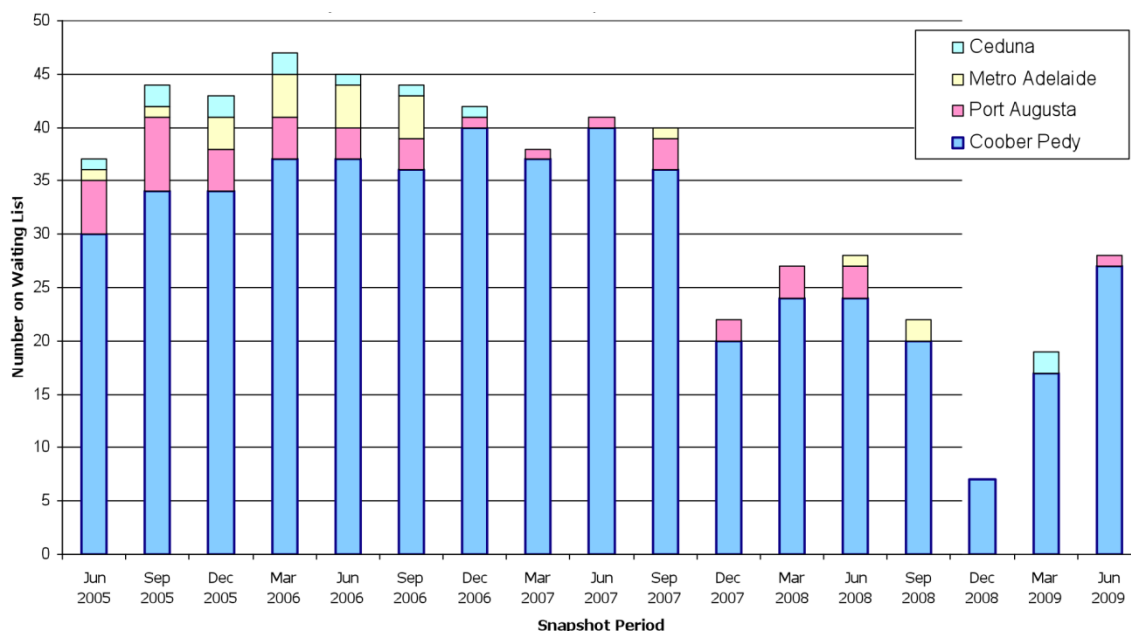
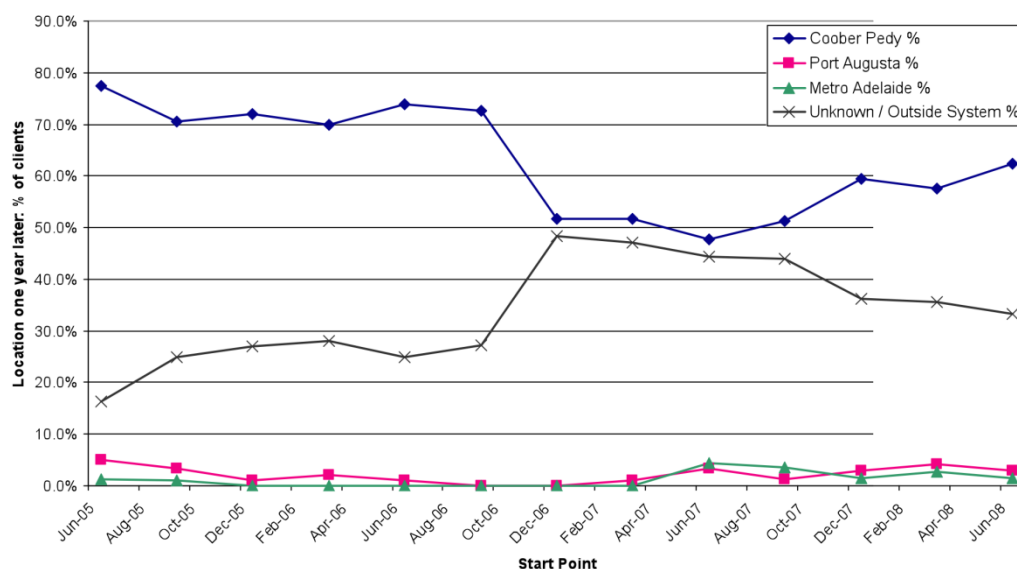


Figure 15 shows that almost all of the demand for public housing in Coober Pedy is coming from individuals already living there, with very small numbers coming from Ceduna and Port Augusta, or Adelaide. Most demand is therefore from individuals who are homeless, resident on Umoona Community or staying with kin there while waiting for public housing to become available.

Very small numbers of individuals living in public housing tenancies in Coober Pedy were seeking transfers elsewhere. In each snapshot period on average seven clients living in Coober Pedy were on the waiting list for metropolitan Adelaide, and four were on the waiting list for Port Augusta. Very few actually moved. An average of 2.2 per cent of Coober Pedy clients had moved within the system, over the course of a year, to Port Augusta. An average of 1.2 per cent moved to metropolitan Adelaide. Although very small numbers, those moving to Port Augusta and Adelaide increased in later 2007.

Combining tenancy and waiting list data provides an indicator of the proportion of the movement of Coober Pedy's Indigenous residents over the period 2005–08 (See Figure 16). In the earlier part of the study period, around 70 per cent of Coober Pedy residents either in a SHA tenancy or on the waiting list were still living there one year later. For example, of 89 clients in the system in Coober Pedy in December 2005, 71.9 per cent of these were also in Coober Pedy in December 2006. This proportion dropped, with around half (51.7%) of the 89 ATSI clients in Coober Pedy in December 2006 also there in December 2007. Similarly just under half (47.8%) of 90 clients in Coober Pedy in June 2007 were also in Coober Pedy in June 2008.

Figure 16: Clients living in Coober Pedy (in tenancy or on waiting list), by location one year later



Retention rates for Housing SA accommodation (tenancies and waiting list) in Coober Pedy are low with 54.1 per cent of clients in Coober Pedy in snapshot periods still in Coober Pedy one year later. Most of this movement is outside of the Housing SA system: accounting for 43.1 per cent of year-to-year changes in client location. One possible explanation for this high, and costly, level of tenancy turnover is that it relates to the impact of high electricity bills as tenants attempt to maintain power in their homes by moving from one property to another, permitting new household members to take over responsibility for the power supply account.

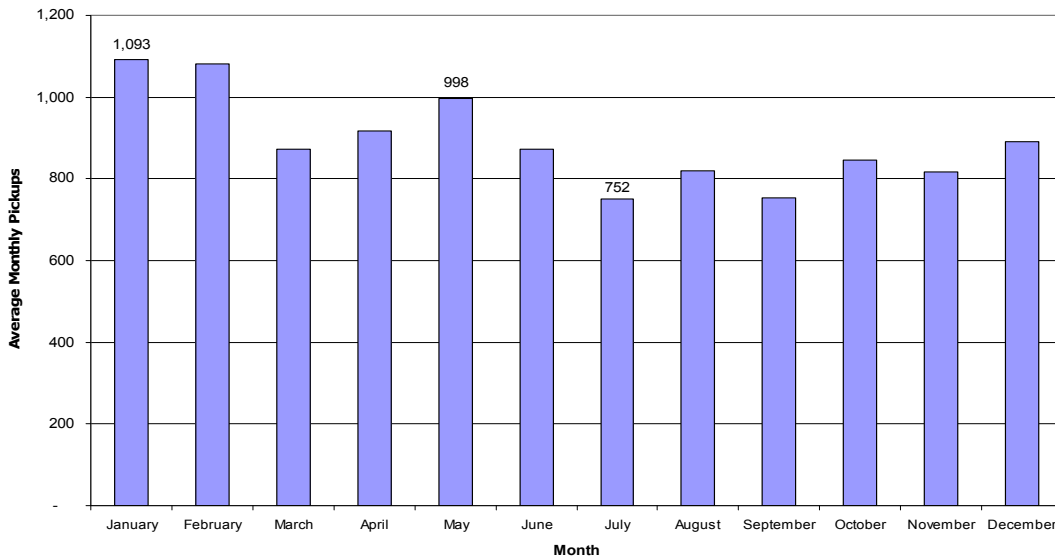
The Housing SA data for Coober Pedy suggests a decrease in movement into Housing SA housing in Coober Pedy. Waiting list requests dropped over the study period, particularly in late 2007, and an increasing proportion of Housing SA clients moved out of the Housing SA databases. The data provides no information about the destination of these individuals. They may have moved to other accommodation in Coober Pedy, most likely UCC owned and managed housing, or they have relocated to another location. However, the very small numbers of individuals from Coober Pedy applying for housing in Port Augusta or Adelaide or becoming tenants in these locations (see Port Augusta) suggests that they either transferred to UCC homes or else to home communities on the APY Lands.

One explanation for the decline in demand for public housing is that Indigenous people in Coober Pedy do not choose public housing and may also experience barriers to accessing it. This view, suggested by some informants, is examined in

greater detail in the next section. This interpretation is supported by UCC housing records that reportedly show tenancy rates consistently close to 100 per cent and occupancy rates estimated at between 8.5 and 9 individuals. According to UCC informants this may be an undercount because the number of individuals in households at any one time is always higher than official records show.

UCC MAP service and Sobering up shelter figures also show significant growth for the period July 2007 through to June 2008 (Figures 14 & 15; Table 11). This period coincides with the introduction of the NTER in June 2007. In its submission to the NTER Review in 2008, Umoona Council suggested that the NTER had had a dramatic effect on demand for this service, which suggested that there had been ‘a more than doubling of transients for each month’ between June 2007 and February 2008’ (UCC report to the NTER Review 2008). A similar pattern can be seen in annual apprehensions reports for Coober Pedy, which show that 959 offences were committed in 2008–09, a 19.1 per cent increase from 805 offences in 2007–08, breaking the pattern of stability in the preceding three years. Indigenous persons accounted for 77 per cent of all offenders.

Figure 17: Umoona Community Council Mobile Assisted Patrol—average monthly pickups, by month

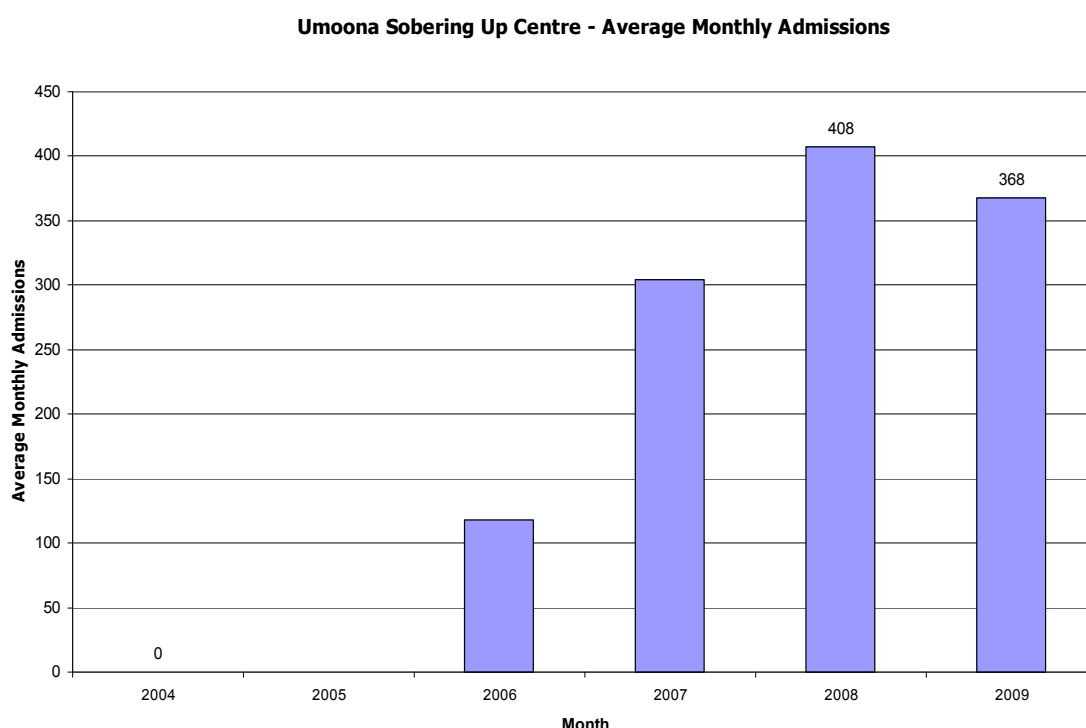


The monthly number of pickups made by the UCC Mobile Assisted Patrol increased in a strong pattern from March 2004 (211 pickups) through to a high of 1850 in January 2008. From early 2008 onward, pickup numbers decreased, and stayed relatively steady, with an average of 1407 pickups per month in the first half of 2009. On average, patrol pickups were highest in January (1093 on average), and lowest in July (752 on average). This pattern of service provision accords with reported patterns of large visitor influxes into Coober Pedy over the summer months, peaking in January of each year.

Table 17: Umoona Community Council Sobering Up Centre: average monthly admissions by year

Year	Average monthly admissions	% Change
2004	0	-
2005	0	-
2006	118	-
2007	304	158%
2008	408	34%
2009	368	-10%
Total	190	-

Figure 18: Umoona Community Sobering Up Centre – average monthly admissions, by Year



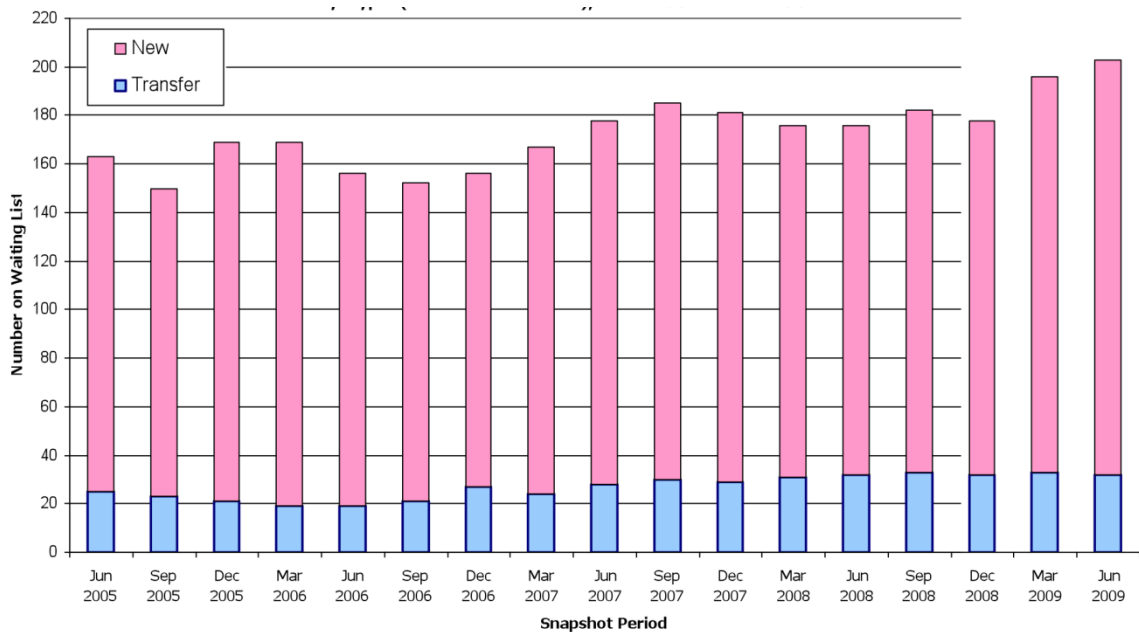
The UCC sobering-up centre opened in January 2006 and, as with the patrol pickups, numbers increased in a strong pattern through to January 2008 with a high of 531 admissions. Admission numbers were relatively stable through 2008 and 2009, with an average of 368 uses of the sobering-up centre per month in 2009. On average, admission numbers to the sobering-up centre were highest in January (252 uses on average), and lowest in April (151 uses on average).

In **Port Augusta**, the introduction of liquor restrictions in 2005 reportedly led to a decline in numbers of seasonal travellers to Port Augusta. Prior to this, the number of individuals staying at Davenport community reportedly swelled from 250 to 500 or 750 (ABC 2007). In 2009, service providers suggested that there had been a steadily increasing number of Aboriginal people moving from the north of the state to Port Augusta over the past year. Although many of these people report that they were from Coober Pedy, it was not clear where they had come from before that. The suggestion

is that many people in this category originally moved between their home communities to Coober Pedy and then on to Port Augusta. This growth was associated with reports of an increase in homelessness among Indigenous individuals and families in Port Augusta.

Housing, SAAP and other administrative data also points to growth in the number of Indigenous individuals in Port Augusta. Between June 2005 and June 2009 the waiting list for ATSI applicants grew from 163 to 203 with around 85 per cent of applicants coming from outside the existing tenants (see Figure 19). On average, 87 per cent of applicants were already living in Port Augusta, with only 2 per cent from Coober Pedy and a more sizeable 10 per cent from metropolitan Adelaide. Most of the increase in the waiting list size for Port Augusta came from clients living in Port Augusta but not in Housing SA housing, possibly as a result of instability within Davenport Community due to funding uncertainties. There were also, on average, 20 or 11.2 per cent of individuals on the waiting list who lived in Port Augusta and were applying to live in metropolitan Adelaide.

Figure 19: Waiting list (ATSI applicants) for housing in Port Augusta, by type



The monthly number of SAAP accommodation periods opened by Indigenous clients in Port Augusta generally trended upwards, with 21 openings in June 2006 and 51 in May 2009 (see Table 18). This figure varied widely, with a low in May 2007 of 14 support period openings. The months from May 2007 to December 2007 all had comparatively low accommodation support numbers.

Total SAAP support period openings in Port Augusta increased in each year, from 36 on average per month in 2006, to 55 in 2009. A seasonal effect is evident with demand for accommodation and other supports highest in December and January as people travel to the coast to escape the heat and for holidays, and also in July, presumably to escape the cold nights (see Table 18) and lowest in August and September.

Table 18: Average SAAP monthly support openings 2005–09, Port Augusta, by month

<i>Month</i>	<i>Accommodation</i>	<i>All SAAP</i>
January	36.0	50.0
February	31.0	47.0
March	26.0	39.0
April	30.0	41.0
May	32.0	48.0
June	25.0	38.0
July	32.0	42.0
August	21.0	37.0
September	20.0	44.0
October	33.0	49.0
November	22.0	36.0
December	35.0	51.0
All	29.0	43.0

Further evidence of intensifying demand in Port Augusta can be seen in Table 19 below which shows the number of housing and accommodation service periods required by Indigenous clients in Port Augusta increased from 371 in 2006–07 to 630 in 2008–09 and a corresponding rise in unmet need with the proportion of service requirements provided decreasing from 97.8 per cent in 2006–07, to 96.5 per cent in 2007–08 and to 91.4 per cent in 2008–09. Although not necessarily coming from new arrivals, this suggests that demand for housing services in Port Augusta is increasing ahead of the extent of SAAP housing service provision.

Table 19: SAAP services required by type and by percentage provided, Port Augusta.

	<i>Services required (n)</i>			<i>% Provided</i>		
	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09
Port Augusta						
Housing/accommodation services	371	549	630	97.8	96.5	91.4
Financial/employment services	63	132	121	77.7	79.6	84.3
Personal support services	136	150	195	100.0	98.0	98.5
General support/advocacy services	201	497	557	96.5	96.8	95.7
Specialist services	52	220	433	88.5	97.2	90.1
Other basic support services, (not elsewhere specified)	634	683	945	99.6	99.0	99.7
All services required	1,457	2,231	2,881	97.4	96.5	94.9

Requirements for other SAAP service types also increased between 2006–07 and 2008–09 with the largest category ‘other basic support services, not elsewhere specified’, which increased from 634 to 945 requirements, followed by general support and advocacy (from 201 requests in 2006–07 to 557 requests in 2008–09).

The one year retention rates for individuals resident in Port Augusta and on the Housing SA system as Housing SA tenants or Housing SA applicants shows a high level of stability within the population, with 85 per cent of residents still resident one year later (see Tables 20 & 21). Movement from Port Augusta to metropolitan Adelaide is apparent, with 134 client movements. Although some clients moved back from Adelaide to Port Augusta, the number was smaller, with 85 client movements,

suggesting net movement into Adelaide but more circular movement between Coober Pedy and Port Augusta.

Table 20: Total year-to-year changes in location of clients within Housing SA system

Start location	<i>Location 1-year later</i>				Total
	Coober Pedy	Port Augusta	Metro Adelaide	Unknown/ Outside System	
Coober Pedy	688	23	13	548	1,272
Port Augusta	26	3,945	134	548	4,653
Metro Adelaide	15	85	32,832	13,514	46,446
Unknown/outside system	265	1,354	5,414	7,504	14,537

Table 21: Total year-to-year changes in location of clients within Housing SA system (%)

Start location	<i>Location 1-year later</i>				Total
	Coober Pedy	Port Augusta	Metro Adelaide	Unknown/ Outside System	
Coober Pedy	54.1%	1.8%	1.0%	43.1%	100.0%
Port Augusta	0.6%	84.8%	2.9%	11.8%	100.0%
Metro Adelaide	0.0%	0.2%	70.7%	29.1%	100.0%
Unknown/outside system	1.8%	9.3%	37.2%	51.6%	100.0%

Apprehensions and offence data also indicates a growth in the number of Indigenous people travelling to, or through, Port Augusta, with a 19.7 per cent increase in apprehensions over the period 2005–09, for offences against good order, an offence closely associated with Indigenous populations (Govt of South Australia 2010b).

Patterns of temporary mobility

Regular patterns of temporary mobility were reported to be associated with the movement of some permanent Aboriginal residents of Coober Pedy travelling between Indulkana (on the APY lands), Marla (to the north) and Coober Pedy in three-monthly cycles. Some indication of the range of travel is provided by Umoona Council Sobering Up service data which shows that an average 23 per cent of clients came from communities in WA, Northern SA and the NT.

Within Coober Pedy, the transient Indigenous population reportedly stay with friends and family in Housing SA and UCC houses. People also camp out at the end of Hutchison Street, just past the sewerage treatment plant. Another camp is opposite the hospital where they are requested to ‘move on’. The tensions this public space dwelling can cause in rural towns is implied in the following account of the seasonal migration of Anangu into Port Augusta:

There is always a spike in transients (mainly from APY Lands) around Christmas time. Because of the alcohol consumption bans in public places—a hard core of drinkers tend to move to the outskirts of town to drink. They congregate near the football oval at Davenport and drink and fight. DCC calls the police and they are moved on. This same group causes problems at the

Wami Kata aged care facility. When they have cook-ups of kangaroo tail outside, the drinkers come down and humbug. Again the police are called and they are moved on. (Service Provider)

This 'spike' is also apparent in the monthly rate for apprehensions and offences recorded in Port Augusta for the period 2005–09, which show a consistent peak in January (Govt of South Australia 2010b).

Indigenous informants also spoke of the difficulties visitors could cause to residents through demands on resources, leaving them with inadequate supplies to meet their own needs. Some indication of the numbers of people involved is provided by the Coober Pedy UTHS service data which shows that of the 1500 clients on their database in January 2009, 450 were regular transient Aboriginal visitors being case managed by the service.

6.3 Motives for temporary mobility

This section analyses the interview data for information about the motives for temporary mobility. It is divided into two sub-sections for each of the two case study locations so that the motives for movement from Anangu homeland to metropolitan Adelaide and from communities in the Northern Territory and APY Lands to Coober Pedy and Port August are analysed separately.

6.3.1 Adelaide and Port Adelaide

Each Aboriginal person residing temporarily in metropolitan Adelaide has a complex mix of personal reasons for doing so. A number of service providers reiterated the importance of noting that individual circumstances often change over time and so reasons given by Aboriginal people for coming to Adelaide or deciding to stay in new places or return to communities of origin are fluid and sometimes change mid-journey. No informants provided a clear distinction between temporary mobility and migration, although there were accounts of some individuals and family groups wanting to make a new life in the city in response to the difficulties they had encountered while living in remote communities. One informant identified women who had lost their partners as an important component of this group. The attraction of Adelaide as a place to 'start a new life' was very bound up with the notion of creating a new home and living in a house.

Other drivers of the movement of Anangu between home communities in remote SA and the Adelaide metropolitan area were access to health and medical services, legal reasons, holidays, visiting family, supporting family members accessing services, cultural obligations and seeking employment. Renal dialysis was repeatedly named as the single most common reason for travel to the Adelaide metropolitan area.

One AHL manager suggested the main reasons for people seeking accommodation were accessing health services; homelessness; needing transitional accommodation while waiting for permanent accommodation; wanting somewhere cheap to stay while accessing educational services; needing accommodation while waiting to travel somewhere else, and leaving their own home in Adelaide because of 'too many visitors' and overcrowding.

There was little anecdotal evidence to support suggestions that the arrangements under the NAHA are impacting on either temporary or longer-term population movement. There was however, a strong sense of uncertainty about the service delivery climate that was impacting on the capacity of services to delivery effective programs. Similar concerns were expressed by some service providers who suggested changes in housing policy being driven by the Federal Government had

created a state of flux that created barriers to effective planning and the achievement of service goals.

6.3.2 Port Augusta and Coober Pedy

The coastal location of Port Augusta, its long association as a gathering place, and the presence of major services including the District Hospital, prison and other government services, make it an important temporary destination for Anangu located on the APY Lands and Aboriginal people from the Northern Territory. The motives for travel by Aboriginal people to Coober Pedy are less clear cut. A significant number of people from the APY Lands visit relatives in Coober Pedy on a regular basis and others travel to Coober Pedy mainly to access alcohol or to stay short term en-route to places further south.

The most visible motive for travel to Port Augusta is related to the effect of the weather, with regular seasonal movement by people from the interior to the coast to escape from the hot summer months in the north of the state from November to March. Less predictable visiting patterns by Anangu, mainly from the far north of the state, relate to attendance at sporting events and funerals, court attendance and gaining access to alcohol. People also reportedly travel south to get away from the difficult and sometimes disruptive conditions of life on some of the home communities. Grant explains:

Life in remote communities further to the north and west is tough. Domestic violence, petrol sniffing, suicide and poverty are everyday realities. (2006, p.8)

An Adelaide service provider explained that:

What people want when they move South is safety and security.

For housing service providers the impacts of transient or temporarily mobile Aboriginal people in Port Augusta, including disrupted tenancies, property damage and rent arrears.

Engagement with the criminal justice system

Levels of Indigenous over-representation for apprehensions are almost fourfold in Port Augusta and nearly sixfold in Coober Pedy. Of individuals apprehended in Port Augusta in 2008–09, nearly 60 per cent were Indigenous (585 individuals).

The location of a District Court and prison in Port Augusta results in a significant number of temporary Aboriginal visitors to Port Augusta, mainly (but not exclusively) from the APY Lands, both to visit relatives in prison and to attend court. Visitors stay in the town for varying periods of time and those whose court appearances result in escalated contact with the criminal justice system commonly need to stay in town for extended periods of time. Many people required to attend court in Port Augusta travel long distances from their home communities. Finding accommodation, lack of transport support and having inadequate money to buy food are cited by court-related service providers as significant problems faced by people participating in trials and for their supporters who travel to Port Augusta with them. People frequently need to find accommodation for periods ranging from days to weeks and it is reportedly common for visitors to opt to stay with extended family members as a first option. A professional from within the criminal justice system explained:

Accommodation for people travelling to attend court is a constant issue, especially when there are major trials at Port Augusta. A trial may take a week or two weeks. They stay with family. Sometimes there are up to twenty people

living in the one house. It puts pressure on the family. They don't have a lot of financial backing with them.

Visitors involved in the criminal justice system are referred to corrective services to request bus fares and to other agencies to request short-term accommodation, including the Aboriginal Prisoners and Offenders and Support Service facilities. A focus group participant from this service noted how difficult it was to find this:

All we can do is make some links to other relevant organisations that can assist them. A lot of the accommodation places have criteria that the person must pay a bond towards accommodation and some people are reluctant to do so. It takes a hefty chunk out of their benefits. It puts pressure on them.

Commenting on the option for visitors to stay at the Lois O'Donoghue AHL hostel, an informant from the local court system suggested that:

It's pretty expensive. Probably out of their reach. Most of these places require cash up front. They ask for 50 per cent of benefits, so are very expensive. When Aboriginal people do come, they come on a shoestring. They have hardly any money to feed themselves, let alone accommodation.

The Lois O'Donoghue Hostel and the Lakeview Transitional Accommodation facility do not accept people who are on bail. An informant from the Aboriginal Prisoners and Offenders and Support Service pointed out the consequences for Indigenous individuals from communities attending court in Port Augusta:

If they haven't got people locally and they are not allowed to go back to the community there is no alternative but for them to be remanded in custody. Prison is filled with people who are granted bail, but they can't take up this option because they can't provide a suitable address.

The location of a Circuit Court at Coober Pedy means that it also has its share of visitors. Transport is only one way, and offenders attending the hearings are expected to find their own way back to their home communities, predominantly on the APY Lands. The difficulties of returning home may be further exacerbated by bail conditions that preclude them from returning to their communities because of conditions associated with apprehended violence orders. It is reportedly common for individuals (especially males) to 'get stuck' in Coober Pedy. The problems this gives rise to are not only those of overcrowding but the risk that they will violate their bail conditions through transgressions against good order or transport offences and end up with a prison sentence.

Power bills

The high cost of electricity and the use of electric hot water systems in Coober Pedy was associated with forms of forced mobility as a result of unpaid bills. Electricity in Coober Pedy is provided by the District Council and sourced separately from the national grid. Although subsidised by the state government, tariffs can be up to three times those serviced by the main SA grid, depending on usage patterns, with bills as high as \$36 per day. When electricity debts accrue, the District Council cuts off the power. One unconfirmed report was of a family who lived without electricity in a Housing SA house for a year. But most residents in this situation leave their homes and stay with relatives, creating or exacerbating overcrowding. This was identified as an important contributor to the movement of individuals and families between Umoona and Housing SA housing. A Coober Pedy Council official explained how this amplifies the burden of debt within families as responsibility for power bills is passed from one

family member to another, expanding the number of Aboriginal people whose access to social housing is compromised by a poor housing history.

People's names keep changing on the list to avoid payments. Person 1 name is on an account [and] gets disconnected, person 2 takes over. This is a problem because one individual is responsible. So if ten people stay in their home it leads to very high usage. Consequently, they can't pay their bill and get disconnected. They have to leave the home and go and stay with someone else. They carry that debt with them.

6.4 Impact of liquor restrictions

The introduction of dry areas has also been associated with population movement in Port Augusta. In Port August, liquor restrictions were first introduced in 1998 in two locations within the city where Indigenous people regularly gathered to drink. This was associated with the movement of Indigenous people to other locations. In 2005, the restrictions were extended to all public areas of Port Augusta, as part of the Municipal Council's response to perceived anti-social behaviour associated with the seasonal visits of Indigenous people from APY Lands to Port Augusta in the summer. Since that time, possession of containers containing alcohol, or consumption of alcohol, was prohibited in public places. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this, together with the opening of Lakeview, was effective in reducing the number of visitors, with reports that individuals were instead travelling to Alice Springs and Adelaide (ABC 2007; Northern Territory Licensing Commission 2007, p.12). However, apprehensions show that the intended impact on good order was not achieved since the rate of apprehensions for crimes against good order increased by 19.7 per cent between 2005 and 2009, although there was a dip in 2007–08. One part of the explanation for this may be the very low number of Indigenous individuals from APY lands who likely account for these offences. Table 22 below shows that only 3 per cent of individuals offending in Port Augusta in 2008–09 were from APY Lands while 75 per cent were from Port Augusta.

Table 22: The top ten local government areas of individuals offending in Port Augusta 2008–09

<i>Local Government Area</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1 Port Augusta	820	74.7
2 Unknown	48	4.4
3 Whyalla	32	2.9
4 Anangu Pitjantjatjara	32	2.9
5 Port Adelaide Enfield	24	2.2
6 Unincorporated SA	21	1.9
7 Port Pirie City and Districts	14	1.3
8 Playford	12	1.1
9 Flinders Ranges	12	1.1
10 Coober Pedy	11	1.0

Source: SA Attorney-General's Department 2010, p.5

Attempts by Umoona Community Council to control drinking within the community also caused some population movement. In May 2007, Umoona Community was declared a dry zone and the main street on Coober Pedy High Street was also made a gazetted area. According to UCC this led to:

... problem residents moving to accommodation off the Umoona Aboriginal Lands Trust. (Australian Government 2008).

In their submission to the NTER Review in 2008, the Umoona Council argued for the need to control access to alcohol for visitors:

Being homeless, with rapidly expended resources and away from their home community, families and the support services can quickly result in high stress situations which, fuelled by excessive alcohol consumption, can rapidly and unexpectedly turn into violence. (NTER 2008 NP)

6.5 Impact of policy change

As with Adelaide and Port Adelaide, the uncertainties caused by policy changes were identified as a source of instability, but unlike Adelaide and Port Adelaide, these were identified as contributing to temporary mobility. This resulted from the effect of the changes on Davenport Community in Port Augusta.

In December 2006, FaHCSIA cut its annual commitment of \$310 000 to Davenport Community for its municipal services operations. Shortly after this, CDEP funding was terminated. Although the Port Augusta Municipal County did some stop-gap work they were unwilling to commit to long-term service. A local informant explained the impact on Davenport community:

The community came to a standstill. Straight after this CDEP funding came to an end and a group of people from Davenport kept doing that municipal work for eight months without getting paid. Sewerage/blocked toilets and drains/fixing things/rubbish. It was too hard—they had to work too hard and I don't think they would do it again. They got sick of it. The houses started to fall apart and there were terrible maintenance problems. Party houses started up in the community (mainly people from town coming in) ... There was increased grog. Everyone stopped paying rent.

Although this account refers only to movement from one part of Port Augusta to another, it suggests a connection between poor service provision and associated deterioration of living conditions and community cohesion and the development of party houses with increased opportunistic visiting of a socially problematic kind. At the time of writing, the community was facing a very uncertain future with reports that federal funding of \$400 000 was terminated in June 2009 (ABC 2009).

6.6 Views on services

Lack of information about housing services was frequently identified by informants as a barrier to finding appropriate accommodation for newly arrived Aboriginal people to the Adelaide metropolitan area. Low literacy levels were compounded by the fact that English is a second language for many Anangu, making it difficult for them to discover and negotiate even the more visible services. Housing and related services were not accessed primarily through the government sector but through assistance provided by personal networks of family and friends as well as a small network of non-government and Church-based organisations, advocacy groups, privately operated arts centres, co-workers, doctors and allied health staff who provide accommodation, advice and a source of income. The picture informants painted was one of desperation in finding accommodation in Adelaide.

A number of Aboriginal informants described visiting Adelaide and staying with friends or family on a temporary basis, finding they needed to stay longer for a range of social and health reasons, and being unable to find appropriate accommodation. The effect

was to create a high degree of homelessness among the respondents interviewed. Poverty, racism within the private rental market, minimal experience of city and regional town life, limited formal education, language barriers and poor understanding of bureaucratic systems, such as the Housing SA social housing application process, compounded their already marginalised status. Those Aboriginal people who are staying in transitional accommodation centres, hostels, or with relatives and friends on a temporary basis, remain at significant risk of becoming homeless.

The need for larger houses with provision for visitors was identified as essential if the cycle of overcrowding and homelessness was to be broken. It was also suggested that Housing SA policies requiring visitors who stayed over a certain period to be notified to the department, were resulting in increased visits and questioning by Housing Officers which is shameful for many Indigenous tenants.

Views on hostel accommodation

Informants were generally positive about AHL accommodation, but also suggested that the facilities in Adelaide hostels were not designed for large families. There were also concerns about how well the needs of children are met. Other respondents described being unfamiliar with arrangements for emergency accommodation and felt uncomfortable about staying in temporary accommodation, including Aboriginal hostels. The primary reasons for this were cost and the inability to stay together as a family. This view was not universal. One informant with a long association with Anangu living in Adelaide said:

They [hostels] are probably cheap compared to running a house and buying food. People may not leave enough money for food otherwise. (Service Provider)

A common complaint related to AHL regulations about food provision with meals unavailable after 6.30 pm and no provision for people to provide for themselves. This was identified as especially problematic for people needing to travel long distances on public transport from hospitals when visiting relatives or attending appointments.

Tension between language groups was another issue that prevented AHL hostels from being used. A number of respondents described not feeling welcome in Hostels managed by Aboriginal people from Adelaide. An informant from a remote area said:

They are too bossy. They don't like us.

Some respondents were concerned about being so close to sick people, as was the case in some AHL hostels. This was a source of anxiety and fear about being in close proximity to strangers who may 'perish'. This fear is founded in cultural beliefs to do with death and dying. More generally, however, when it came to needing short stay accommodation while visiting Adelaide for hospital appointments, AHL Hostels were described as largely satisfactory.

Some of these concerns were recognised by AHL informants who acknowledged that the hostels were 'not a home', that the rules and regulations, strict mealtimes and shared bathrooms were a barrier. There were no amenities for disabled individuals or large families and the service model did not extend to provision of support. Although they did refer individuals to support services, staff had neither the training nor the mandate to identify and provide for, support needs. There was no provision to ensure that when individuals left they had appropriate accommodation even though it was accepted that such persons were homeless.

Views on the proposed Adelaide transitional accommodation centre

The SA Homelessness Implementation Plan (2009) includes provision of a transitional accommodation centre (along the lines of the Lakeview and Ceduna Transitional Accommodation Centres) in metropolitan Adelaide. When asked about their views on this, Anangu informants were supportive of the concept but opposed to it being located in Port Adelaide. The problem of ready access to alcohol and other drugs was cited as a main reason for situating the centre in a different urban location. A strong view was put forward that security (i.e. lockable gate with a curfew) and alcohol prohibition were important considerations as was location close to transport facilities so that attending hospital and visiting relatives would not be too expensive.

Recommended design features included the need for a mix of traditional and conventional living spaces. In response to being asked if separation of families from single people was a priority, one middle aged woman answered:

No, we like to be near family. We want young people and old people mixed up together.

The importance of being able to live with family was even clearer in the response of one woman who said she would be happy to give up her Housing SA house and move into a TAC centre because

... I want to be near my family.

The issue of locating Aboriginal people from different geographical locations in one Transitional Accommodation centre drew a strong response from Aboriginal respondents recently arrived in Adelaide from the APY Lands. Women respondents were especially concerned that the centre should only accommodate Pitjantjatjarra people and close relatives from across the WA and NT Borders.

Views on Common Ground Proposals—Port Augusta

Some Port Augusta housing service providers and housing advocates expressed concern that the small size of the Boston Street and Augusta Terrace units (and the strict eligibility criteria attached to applications) will do little to address the short-term accommodation needs of Aboriginal people, especially families, moving to Port Augusta from the APY Lands, or individuals exiting custodial facilities. A commonly expressed concern is that the protracted nature of negotiations over the Common Ground developments has tied up government funding for other proposed crisis accommodation initiatives in Port Augusta. The short supply of Housing SA stock and the bottleneck within emergency accommodation provision in Port Augusta is unlikely to be addressed by the Common Ground proposal. Visitors to Port Augusta will likely continue to rely on emergency accommodation providers, or the transitional accommodation centre. It is predicted that significant demand for accommodation provided by relatives will continue and that the related problem of overcrowding in Housing SA tenancies will not be relieved.

Lakeview—Port Augusta

A detailed outline of Lakeview, the transitional accommodation centre provided by Housing SA, and located on Davenport Community controlled ALT land, is provided in the Appendix. The profile of residents includes both short-stay visitors and individuals and families who decide to stay in the town for extended periods of time. They are able to stay at Lakeview until permanent accommodation is found and are supported to apply for public housing by Lakeview staff. A small percentage of residents reportedly stay for a while and then move on to Adelaide—typically for health-related reasons and to deal with escalated court issues. One service provider suggested that

many of the clients were male and that they also had mental health and drug and alcohol issues.

Within Housing SA Lakeview was believed to have significantly lessened the impact of transient and homeless Aboriginal visitors, reducing pressure on Housing SA homes in Port Augusta. Concerns were initially raised in relation to the process of consultation, the appropriateness of the site, sub-standard facilities that were poorly designed for the heat, insensitive provisions for security, and inadequate facilities for children and for people with disabilities (Grant 2006). Since that time some changes have been made, but there remain concerns about the heat and the use of wiltjas. As one local service provider commented:

... the facilities are pretty basic, but it's all they've got. If units are full they stay in tents. Not real flash, especially in summer. Some people stay there because they got no choice and there are some who don't mind sleeping like that—stinking hot, and these poor buggers in tents, no shade. They go and sit down at the beach all day (to get away from the heat in the tents at Lakeview).

Lakeview shares with other short-stay facilities the problem of inadequate throughput because of a lack of appropriate exit points. Some of the residents require transitional accommodation, but it is not available. One service provider suggested that once on the public housing waiting list it was about 18 months before an offer came through. Another told of a family who needed access to medical services for seriously ill children, but at the end of their six-week period stay, the NGO was placed in the impossible situation of finding accommodation that did not exist.

The problem is we end up with people in these houses and we cannot move them on. This is a big problem because there are not enough Housing SA houses in Port Augusta. (Service Provider)

Other difficulties identified by service providers included operating under Housing SA regulations which leads to the exclusion of some Indigenous population groups, including those with criminal histories. Staff were described as frustrated at having to turn many otherwise eligible Aboriginal people away from the facility. Problems with completion of paperwork were also cited as leading to the exclusion of some people with medical conditions. But the exclusion of groups where violence was involved was identified by an NGO practitioner as a positive policy:

There has been poor behaviour at Lakeview—smashed windows—by some clients and they've been banned. The recent tightening up of rules is a good thing.

This informant also suggested human resource issues were a further area of concern, with staff quickly becoming burnt out, and difficulties for Indigenous staff in managing residents who might also be relations, suggesting the need for specialised training and mentoring programs.

They make the best of what they have got. They need more staff and the centre is often full. They can't meet the need.

Transport

Currently, the only support for Anangu in metropolitan SA who wish to return to their homeland communities, but find themselves without the necessary financial resources, is the Return to Country Program operated within Safe Tracks. Very few Aboriginal respondents were aware of the program or any other return to country program in Adelaide. A number of people expressed great interest in such a program, especially

for young men who come to visit family, get into drugs and alcohol and end up staying in the city indefinitely.

Those who were aware of the program described difficulties in making contact with the service, with suggestions from service providers that it was under-staffed. Service delivery organisations in Port Augusta and Coober Pedy argued for the service to be available in these locations so people could get back to their communities in the north. There was also a view that funding should be partially devolved to non-government crisis accommodation providers who are well placed to respond quickly to requests for urgent travel.

6.7 Migrants

In Adelaide, the main group requiring long-term accommodation in the Adelaide metropolitan area were Anangu who had left their homeland for Adelaide to receive renal dialysis treatment. They were almost invariably accompanied by relatives and also received visitors. A second group were people who had left their homelands in search of a 'dream of a new life' which included a house in the city. But once arrived the dream proved hard to realise, with difficulties in negotiating income support and finding housing. A third, smaller group, were individuals who had come for employment purposes.

For most migrants requiring permanent accommodation in Adelaide, public housing was one of very few options, but barriers of language and literacy made access difficult. Respondents described problems talking over the phone to DFC staff, lack of computer access, difficulty in completing Housing SA application forms, and the unavailability of interpreter services when they were required.

In Adelaide, a service provider described issues relating to inadequate urban living skills as principally about the need to support people to maintain their houses and ensure external areas were maintained in line with public health and safety standards:

People use houses in the city the same way they use houses in communities: as storage places and for sleeping when it's cold. A lot of living still takes place out of doors.

But there were also difficulties with the suitability of housing. One Indigenous informant described how difficult she found it living in a built-up area without adequate structures to ensure her children were safe:

I have little kids. My house is on a main road. No fences and no back yard. No good— too much danger for little kids.

The allocation of small houses and units to Aboriginal families by Housing SA in Adelaide was reported as a regular problem by both tenants and advocates. Financial management was also identified as challenging for recently arrived Anangu. Very large utility bills are commonly accrued in overcrowded houses making service disconnection a regular occurrence with dangerous implications especially for sick people and young children.

Mainstreaming was also described as exacerbating access problems in both Adelaide and Port Augusta, as South Australia DFC staff were less familiar with the needs of Indigenous housing applicants. One Aboriginal informant from Port Augusta observed:

Respect and kindness are really lacking ... toward people seeking housing services.

This view was not always shared by Housing SA informants, with one Port Augusta practitioner suggesting that the move from Aboriginal housing to mainstream housing had not been problematic:

... (because) our majority client base has always been Aboriginal people. Our staff are experienced at dealing with the needs of Aboriginal clients.

An Adelaide housing advocate noted that meeting Housing SA Proof of identity requirements was a cause of delays and frustration:

We heard of one woman recently who had to wait six months for a birth certificate for proof of identity to satisfy the Housing SA requirements. Other people [who are quite clearly Aboriginal] say they stand at the counter at Housing SA and say—just look at me—I shouldn't need to fill in a form.

In Coober Pedy respondents described the discomfort and shame they experienced when having to ask people they have known all their lives to verify their Aboriginality. The process was also lengthy, because Housing SA documentation required the common seal of the ICO which required a full UCC meeting. This meant that the process could be delayed by up to six weeks. A service provider from the NGO sector explained that these requirements lead to disengagement from the mainstream housing system:

They don't bother ... they just don't bother ... They're not prepared to subject themselves to the requirements of living in public housing. Even the application forms are insulting. They are required to verify their Indigenous status. It's demeaning. They have to do this even if they have already been a Housing SA tenants.

Making contact with Centrelink and satisfying the 100 point identity requirements was also described as problematic although it was also indicated that changes were taking place that were making it easier for people who have lost their documentation and who are homeless.

In Coober Pedy and Port Augusta, concerns raised by Aboriginal and NGO housing informants included long waiting lists, evictions, high levels of overcrowding, slow repair and maintenance, sub-standard housing, including houses containing asbestos. But the fundamental concern was with the lack of affordable housing stock which meant that for those seeking long-term stays in Port Augusta there was no exit from temporary accommodation of any kind. One service provider observed:

... there would still be a bottleneck after people left transitional housing. With only nine properties in town to provide accommodation to those people leaving transitional accommodation, there is no possibility for throughput. There is not enough housing stock in Port Augusta to meet the need.

Respondents in Coober Pedy identified the co-location of Housing SA in the same building as Families SA as a barrier to accessing public housing because of the legacy of distrust relating to child removal policies. Aboriginal clients prefer not to deal with 'Child Welfare' (Families SA), yet are expected to approach Housing SA staff at the same service counter as Families SA.

In both Port Augusta and Adelaide, concerns were raised about the potential for conflict between new arrivals from the APY Lands and long-term Aboriginal residents with concern that the new arrivals were being housed ahead of locals who had been waiting for public housing for years. More housing, and a strategy for addressing the needs of the migrants from the APY Lands, was seen as essential for the maintenance of good relations.

Renal dialysis migrants

In April 2009, the Northern Territory Government announced that it would close its borders to new renal dialysis patients. This change impacted immediately on Aboriginal patients from remote communities near the Western Australian border and on the APY Lands in northern South Australia who could no longer relocate to Alice Springs to access renal dialysis services. According to the Anangu Lands Paper Tracker (2009), this dramatic change in policy means that if a person from the APY Lands needs to go on dialysis, they are not able to relocate to Alice Springs but, instead, have to move much further away to Adelaide or Port Augusta. The Anangu Lands Paper Tracker (2009) points out that attempts to divert APY dialysis clients from Alice Springs to Port Augusta are clearly inconsistent with the state government's strategy to make it easier for people living outside of Adelaide to access health services closer to home.

On 4 December 2009, representatives of the South Australian Department of Health met with their Northern Territory and Western Australian counterparts to discuss Central Australian dialysis services. The Anangu Paper Tracker reported that at this meeting the WA and NT governments reached an agreement that Western Australian renal patients living east of Warburton are, once again, able to access dialysis services in the Northern Territory but ...

unfortunately a similar arrangement was not established with the South Australian Government. Instead, at the conclusion of the meeting, the South Australian Government noted that it would 'not be providing any additional funding to the Northern Territory government' and that 'newly diagnosed renal dialysis patients' from the APY Lands would 'be treated in South Australia', specifically in Port Augusta, Whyalla and Adelaide. (The Anangu Lands Paper Tracker, 15 January 2009)

In March 2010, there were at least 24 people from the APY Lands receiving renal dialysis treatment in Alice Springs, Adelaide or Port Augusta. SA Health was reportedly preparing to respond to the needs of up to 20 more dialysis patients from the APY Lands by the end of 2011. (The Anangu Lands Paper Tracker, May 2010). Expectations are that the number of renal patients being required to move from the APY Lands to either Adelaide or Port Augusta for treatment will continue to increase until treatment arrangements are made available closer to APY communities. Although Alice Springs is the closest location for treatment, the state government is unwilling to negotiate an agreement with the Northern Territory Government to accept patients from South Australia into the renal facility at Alice Springs (Anangu Lands Paper Tracker 2009).

The number of renal patients from the APY Lands currently undergoing treatment in Adelaide is difficult to verify. Some patients have recently arrived and others have lived in Adelaide for over five years. In 2009, Anangu informants reported that in January 2010 an additional seven patients would be coming to Adelaide from the APY Lands for treatment, while other sources put the number at nine. Each patient is estimated to be accompanied by an average of six family members. A conservative estimate is that, in the first half of 2010, an additional 35 Anangu from the APY lands will arrive in Adelaide and need a place to stay for an indefinite period in the Adelaide metropolitan area.

One informant from the APY Lands who had been in Adelaide for 11 months described staying with family and friends in a house that had 10 people in it. His wish was for public housing so that his family could be with him while he was undergoing

treatment. Overcrowding was linked to two tenancy terminations with more in jeopardy. The impact on tenancy sustainability was highlighted by service providers in Adelaide:

Quite a few dialysis patients are on their last warning—because of overcrowding, noise and complaints from neighbours ... The biggest problem is visitors. (Service provider)

A lot of the people who come to visit are young and male and drinkers. They get into trouble with the legal system when they are down here and are a very big drain on households who are here for dialysis or to support a dialysis patient. (Service provider)

Informants suggested that when people leave their home communities they had little idea of the difficulties they would face and did not understand how hard it would be to find accommodation. The results are summarised by Whittaker:

They usually arrive with no arrangements in place except that they live individually or with an escort in an Aboriginal Hostel. These hostel arrangements often don't last long once the wider family arrives. The dialysis patient then has to start from the beginning, getting their Housing SA applications in and trying to get a priority one listing for a house for themselves and their family. In the meantime, in Adelaide, they often float from existing Anangu household to another Anangu household, pushing up levels of overcrowding, and possibly rubbish issues and neighbour complaints—and thus sometimes contributing to the likelihood of an existing tenancy being lost ... I am aware of at least three Anangu households in Adelaide who have dialysis patients residing in them who have been provided with formal warnings in the last three months for not complying with their tenancy conditions (Whittaker, 2010, p.3).

An Indigenous service user argued that when services were well coordinated, the experience could be different:

Dr X wrote a letter and helped me. Community council wrote a letter to Housing Trust. I went straight into a house when I came down here. They sent my records from Nunkawarrin Yunti to Parks to Martha Purrti. My Kidney Dr at QU is Dr X ... I've got good family who support me. They come down support me with food then they go back. I have a home carer. (Indigenous Service User)

A service provider explained that even when housing is provided, the lack of provision for visitors caused problems:

The problem with Housing SA is that they continually put dialysis patients in two-bedroom houses—knowing full well that they will have a lot of visitors. Not adequate. The tenancies get disrupted because of overcrowding and the behaviour of visitors. It is setting them up to fail ... The other problem is that a lot of people from the APY lands have never lived in a house in a suburban street and they don't know how to do it. There is no assistance from government to teach them basic living skills and who to contact for basic household maintenance and rubbish removal. There are no supports available to help people sustain tenancies. Then Housing SA evicts them. 'Where are the support services to help people on dialysis to sustain tenancies?'

6.8 Managing temporary mobility

The views of service providers on the management of temporary mobility have been covered to some extent in the previous section, and their views on the Lakeview TAC are included in the section on that facility contained in the Appendix. This section covers two main areas, service provider views on the conceptualisation of temporary mobility in terms of distinctions between transients, homelessness and other overlapping categories, and some insights into UCC's management of temporary mobility.

6.8.1 Practitioner conceptualisations of temporary mobility

The views of practitioners on how to categorise the different needs arising from temporary mobility were influenced by the sector they were working in. One health service provider made little distinction between visitors, migrants and homeless individuals, but housing service providers had clearer ideas about the distinction. One suggested transients were homeless, while 'visitors' were attending to specific needs. A housing service manager observed that visitors usually travel in large groups, homeless people are usually single or in pairs, and migrants are usually looking for permanent accommodation. In general, it was agreed that it would be helpful for the housing sector to develop greater clarity in relation to the different housing needs groups.

The voluntariness or otherwise of itinerancy was an issue, with one Coober Pedy service provider arguing that a lack of housing did not equate to homelessness.

Some people seem happy with the absence of housing. They don't see themselves as homeless. They are camped out and have no desire to take on responsibility for housing [one extreme] Some individuals are camped opposite the Aged Care facility. If it's windy they just move themselves a little further on ... Then there are the really homeless. (Service Provider)

He suggested that the group least likely to want a stable home were those who were dependent on alcohol:

There are some people who don't want a home; they just want somewhere to drink. These are transients who are looking for grog.

The term 'transient' was sometimes used to distinguish between those travelling purposively and those travelling without a predetermined destination or time frame. A health service provider provided this definition:

A transient person is a lot different from people who want to get from place to place. Transient people can't live in a house; some transient people just want a holiday—bed and breakfast. Some people are transient by choice. For example, two Aboriginal men from a remote town were in Port Augusta recently—they were travelling around—just like a holiday.

There was also a suggestion that the difference between homelessness and temporary mobility is not well defined within housing services and most service providers do not make a distinction between homelessness and temporary mobility. Operational procedures would, however, ensure that any individual who had housing elsewhere would not meet the criteria for homelessness, with the exception of those escaping family violence. But the idea that visitors should be placed in the same category as homeless was also seen as inappropriate and disrespectful to Aboriginal culture, since the majority have a home. Among support services, there is also only a relatively superficial understanding of the factors influencing seasonal variation that

explain fluxes in demand for housing services—for example, why there are more people in the parklands surrounding Adelaide during the summer.

6.8.2 Service integration and cooperation

Inefficient service integration was identified as negatively influencing program delivery. For example, a service provider complained that:

Often services don't know what the others can and do provide. Agencies work in silos ... when it comes to policy and administration, it's not working.

The competitive environment created by the tendering process associated with the transition to the NAHA was seen as having contributed to this by creating unhelpful competition within the NGO sector. This was impeding the development of co-operative relationships between community service providers. Inter-agency co-operation was also seen as dependent, to some degree, on the 'personalities at a managerial level at any point in time'. In Port Augusta and Coober Pedy, the small size of the sector made co-operation between key stakeholders across the Indigenous and non-Indigenous sectors easier. As one District Council informant put it:

It is all about relationship—relationship is everything. In a small place like Port Augusta, you get to know people—it makes things easier.

Cooperative relations were reported to exist between Housing SA, local ICHOs (Davenport and Umoona) and District Councils. This was identified as important factor in the capacity of Davenport to recover after the initial deterioration of housing services that followed withdrawal of municipal services funding in December 2006. Cooperation between health service providers was also cited as an example of good practice with effective information sharing between the Coober Pedy Hospital, UTHS and Families SA facilitating the case management of individuals. A less positive relationship was reported between local councils and service providers and Indigenous Co-ordination Centre staff partly because of perceptions that policy decisions were imposed without adequate consultation.

ICHO management of temporary mobility

The overcrowding of UCC homes as a result of the high number of visitors residents receive, has a major impact on housing infrastructure, resulting in high maintenance bills. UCC policy is not to attempt to control visitors, since this was assessed as unrealistic in the context of the reality of cultural obligations, but to maintain an active maintenance program. A UCC representative explained that fortnightly maintenance checks are routine for all UCC houses with a policy of billing for damage only when it is deliberately caused.

If damage is deliberate then the tenant has to pay, but if it is due to wear and tear due to overcrowding, then we don't ask them to. If the damage was done by another member of the household then we may not seek to recover the costs.

Umoona Community Council adopts an informal policy of consideration for tenants known to support significant numbers of visitors. This can include the forgiving of rent arrears and helping to cover the cost of power. As well, a direct debit from Centrelink payments is negotiated to help clear rent arrears. This level of discretion points to a considerable strength of ICHO's.

6.9 Conclusion

When compared to the situations in other states and territories, there are aspects of provision for the housing and related service needs of Aboriginal individuals and families in South Australia which are at the forefront of policy development. The *Safetracks* Program in particular, is the only state run program of its kind that specifically addresses the housing needs of Indigenous travellers. But there are also glaring gaps, with few services targeting the needs of Indigenous peoples. This is evident in Adelaide despite predictions that numbers are growing and will continue to do so. Aboriginal visitors currently report difficulty accessing appropriate permanent housing and short-term accommodation in Adelaide. Without development of specialised housing services to support them it is likely that they will be dependent on relatives, creating the knock-on effects of tenancy failure associated with overcrowding.

The case studies suggest one way of addressing the needs of these individuals would be to support renal dialysis patients with accommodation and support in Adelaide, so long as treatment is not available closer to their home communities. If renal dialysis treatment is not available closer to home, these individuals need to be treated as migrants to Adelaide who require permanent housing sufficiently large to accommodate other family members, including a carer. This needs to be accompanied by a case management approach which addresses issues such as the need for periodic visits back to home communities and for participation in culturally appropriate living skills programs. The findings of these case studies suggest that if Indigenous individuals and families visiting Adelaide from the APY Lands cannot find shelter with relatives, their small funds place them at risk of homelessness. Aboriginal Hostels are generally considered to be too expensive. Motels are out of the question. They are also implicated in increasing homelessness among their housed relatives. The interview data suggests that visitors can destabilise existing tenancies especially when the visitors are young men with alcohol and drug issues. Tenants, who were likely formerly classified as migrants who were homeless or at risk of homelessness, can face eviction as a result of visitors, creating a cycle of temporary mobility, itinerancy and homelessness which impacts especially severely on children, the frail, the sick and the aged.

The situation is not helped by current definitions for the enumeration of homelessness. Almost all of the Indigenous people interviewed for this research were living in conditions that met the definition of primary, secondary or tertiary homelessness. Situations of overcrowding, and insecure accommodation were the norm. Excluding temporary homelessness from homelessness counts reinforces the invisibility of Aboriginal people and undermines the potential for accurate and responsive service planning.

There is a need for more targeted service provision which distinguishes more clearly between the housing needs of temporary visitors, homeless people and migrants as well as the needs of specific service groups. For Adelaide and Port Augusta the group that has been identified as especially in need of housing are individuals and families from APY Lands who attend Adelaide for renal dialysis treatment. It seems that the majority of these individuals are living in unsatisfactory, overcrowded houses with attendant risks to tenancy sustainability. Existing housing services for this group are limited and although they are recognised as a priority group by Housing SA there remain significant barriers to permanent housing access. For Aboriginal people forced by circumstance to live in Adelaide because of poor health there is an urgent need for a different approach to linking people to housing and other support services.

Aboriginal visitors and migrants represent a neglected group within an already neglected population. This is as true in urban locations as it is in remote ones. The current policy environment for Indigenous individuals focuses primarily on remote locations with insufficient attention to those in urban areas. The South Australian Government's *Safe Tracks* program is unique in its attempt to provide an integrated response to the needs of temporarily mobile Indigenous populations, but its proposed transitional accommodation facilities in Adelaide and Coober Pedy have yet to come to fruition. This concern must be balanced against the need to ensure that adequate planning and consultation with end users and other stakeholders takes place to ensure that the facilities achieve the objective of providing safe, affordable shelter and easy access for Aboriginal people.

The evidence for urbanisation suggested by the interviews and administrative data is not strong. While there has been a noticeable increase in the movement of Anangu to Adelaide this seems to be predominantly the result of the unavailability of renal dialysis facilities at locations close to APY homelands rather than the attractions of the city. For Port Augusta the data sources show growth in Indigenous demand for both SAAP services and public housing, but there is insufficient information to say whether this is coming from the existing Indigenous population or locations outside of it. For Coober Pedy local administrative data points to growth in the number of visitors to the town, especially since the NTER, but public housing data suggests that any migratory pull is negligible as waiting list applications have declined in recent years and most of the demand is coming from within Coober Pedy.

7 THE NORTHERN TERRITORY CASE STUDIES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the two Northern Territory case study areas of Nhulunbuy region in East Arnhem Land and Tennant Creek in the Barkly Tablelands. It begins with an outline of the Territory's Indigenous housing and homelessness context and the policies that target these, especially in remote and very remote areas. This is followed by, for each of the two case studies sites an examination of the social and local policy context, and a brief description of what the interview data reveals about patterns of temporary mobility. The small sample size for these two case studies means there is relatively little information about the direction, timing and duration of journeys, especially in the case of Tennant Creek. No administrative data was available for an analysis of population change.

The motives for mobility are examined in the next section. As well as examining the impact of the National Partnerships on migration and temporary mobility, this section emphasises the push and pull of urban lifestyles that influences population movement from very remote areas like Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek. A brief section on the views of Indigenous informants on services for temporary mobility follows before the chapter concludes with an overview of the key issues.

The Northern Territory has the highest representation of Indigenous people in its total population (30%), approximately four-fifths of whom reside in remote and very remote areas, leaving small but significant numbers in the population centres (COAG 2010). Similar to Indigenous populations in other states and territories, higher birth rates and lower life expectancy create a relatively young population. Only five per cent of the Northern Territory population is aged 65 or over, compared with 13.2 per cent for Australia as a whole.

The Northern Territory is unique in Australia in that approximately 50 per cent of land is inalienable freehold held under the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (NT) 1974 (ALRA). Under the NTER and related policy developments, the Australian Government compulsorily acquired five-year leases over 64 Aboriginal communities located on these lands. The Northern Territory government has taken responsibility for the priority community leases, so between them, the Commonwealth and the Northern Territory government have responsibility for, and control of, any houses on the leased land. A large percentage of the remaining 50 per cent of land is under pastoral leases, with some areas held under freehold, special purpose leases or crown land.

The Northern Territory has the highest rate of homelessness in Australia at 272 per 10 000 people compared to the national rate of 53 per 10 000 (Chamberlain & MacKenzie 2009b). Thirty five per cent of the homeless population is Indigenous (Australian Government 2010a). The 2006 *Counting the Homeless Report* reported that Darwin (including Palmerston & Litchfield) had an average rate of homelessness of 238 per 10 000 equating to 2478 persons (Chamberlain & MacKenzie 2009b, p.9). It is estimated that every night in Darwin 3000 people sleep on the streets. In every other reported area in the Territory, the rate of homelessness is well above the national rate, with Katherine nearly 10 times the national average and remote areas more than five times (see Table 23).

Table 23: Number of homeless people and rate per 10 000 of the population, Northern Territory

	<i>Katherine</i>	<i>Tennant Creek</i>	<i>Alice Springs</i>	<i>Remote</i>	<i>All</i>
Number	415	43	446	1403	2307
Rate	507	147	187	281	272

Source: C. Chamberlain and D., MacKenzie, 2009b, Counting the Homeless 2006: Northern Territory. Cat. no. HOU 210. Canberra: AIHW, p.44

Included among the Indigenous homeless population are long grassers, living in public spaces around Alice Springs and Darwin. Many researchers have found a high level of substance use among this population. It has been argued that this is a coping mechanism for deep-rooted unresolved issues associated with poverty, dispossession and child removal, and that it is a reasonable expectation that homeless people will continue to turn to alcohol to cope with trauma. In addition to contributing to poor physical and mental health, the use of alcohol as a coping strategy is not tolerated by some and has led to profound social exclusion, with individuals being stigmatised by mainstream society for their behaviour (Holmes & McRae-Williams 2008, p.10). This form of 'cultural expression can often develop a sharp political edge because of the white response' (Cowlshaw 1993, p.188). Research has also suggested that the multiple health needs and effects of repeated trauma, if left untreated, are likely to impede the ability of these individuals and families to maintain housing in the future (Taylor & Sharpe 2008).

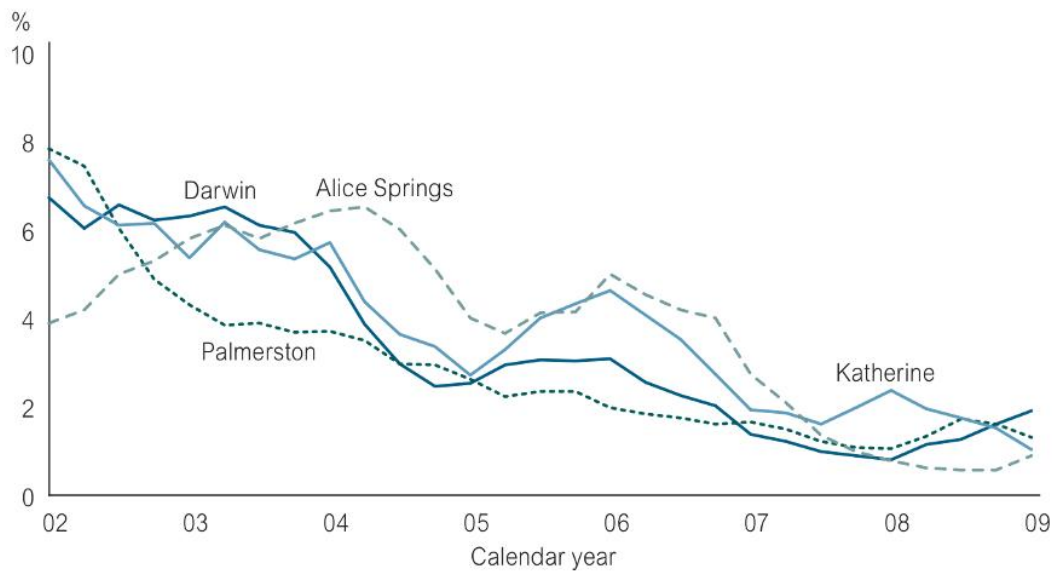
Table 24: Median house price by Region—Northern Territory: 12 months to August 2010

<i>Location</i>	<i>\$</i>
Darwin	553,000
Alice Springs	425,000
Tennant Creek	155,000
Nhulunbuy	230,000

Source: <http://www.domain.com.au> (Accessed 1 October 2010)

Indigenous homelessness in the Territory takes place against a backdrop of extreme pressure on housing markets as a result of strong economic and population growth and rising disposable incomes due to the mining boom. In recent years median house prices for Darwin have been consistently in the top three for any capital city, with Alice Springs not far behind (see Table 24). Inadequate housing supply for all demand sectors is evident in a high dependence on public and other forms of rented housing. In 2006, 42 per cent of Territory dwellings were rented compared with 27 per cent nationally (ABS 2006). In recent years, average vacancy rates have declined to less than two per cent for major population centres (see Figure 20). This especially impacts on Indigenous individuals and families because of their over-representation in this sector.

Figure 20: Northern Territory vacancy rates: 2002–09 (Moving annual average)



Source: Northern Territory Government 2010 Budget Papers 2010–11: Residential Property Markets <http://www.budget.nt.gov.au/papers/econ_over/9.residential_property.pdf>, p.94

Access to public housing is severely restricted with minimum wait times of two years (Tennant Creek) and up to five years for Darwin. This contributes to the high rate of overcrowding for Indigenous households in the Territory which, at 38.5 per cent, is far higher than for any other jurisdiction. The next highest is Western Australia at 16 per cent (ABS 2008a). Under the NPARSD, fifteen sites in the Northern Territory have been designated priority communities. These include 15 of the Territory Government's 20 *Working Futures* Growth Towns (see Figure 21) which have been designated for investment to enable them to operate as economic and service delivery centres for their regions. Four of the priority communities are in the Gove Peninsula, Yirrkala, an Indigenous community 15 kilometres from Nhulunbuy, Ramingining 420 kilometres west, Gapuwiyak 220 kilometres west and Galiwinku, on Elcho Island, 150 kilometres to the north.

Figure 21: Northern Territory priority communities



Source: Commonwealth of Australia 2009:21

The identification of these towns for development needs to be placed in the context of the Northern Territory Government's *Working Future's* policy statements (Northern Territory Government 2009, p.3) and the 2007 Memorandum of Understanding between the Commonwealth and the Northern Territory Government that:

- Outstation and homeland housing on Aboriginal land is privately owned and not suited for a public housing model.
- Any service provision arrangements for private housing must involve reciprocal obligations of service fees and care agreements.
- The Australian Government will not provide funding to construct housing on outstations in the Northern Territory.

Under the Northern Territory's Implementation Plan for the NPAHL the focus is on supporting 'rough sleepers' into more stable accommodation and also on expanding the Tenancy Sustainability Program which provides intensive case management and life skills training to public housing tenants and applicants, as well as residents of town camps who require assistance to manage and sustain their tenancies. Other services include accommodation and support for young people. The Northern Territory Government is also establishing a program in which Indigenous individuals moving from remote to urban areas are provided with transitional housing and intense living skills with provision for those having difficulties to be returned to transitional housing for additional support.

There has been some attention to the housing service needs arising from Indigenous temporary mobility. In 2008, the then Justice Minister, Chris Burns, argued that the focus on Indigenous housing should be in the context of 'improving and boosting

short-term accommodation options and helping people get home after visiting Darwin for medical and other services' (Calacouras 2008). The area which has received funding for the development of services is Alice Spring which, under the SIHIP program, has seen the development of the Alice Spring Accommodation Park as part of the Alice Springs Transformation Plan. This commits \$11 million toward short-term accommodation which specifically targets visitors as well as homeless individuals. Under the NPAH, the Northern Territory Government is also providing five new short-term accommodation facilities in Alice Springs, including one for renal dialysis patients and one for women escaping family violence.

Social housing services in the Northern Territory are focused principally on homelessness and itinerancy, and support with the transition to urban living. Homelessness services are concentrated in Darwin/Palmerston, followed by Alice Springs and Katherine, with a few services also situated in East Arnhem and Barkly. As well as crisis, emergency and transitional programs offering generic accommodation and support services, there are specialised services with the main groups targeted being young people, women and children escaping family violence and people with substance use problems. Programs operated by the Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services comprise A Place to Call Home; Street to Home Initiatives and Tenancy Sustainability programs. Of these, Street to Home has some focus on temporary accommodation through funding support for a YMCA hostel in Darwin and the Bakhita Centre operated by St Vincent de Paul as part of its transitional accommodation program for single men. Service providers include Anglicare, Centacare, the Salvation Army, the YMCA and St Vincent de Paul as well as a range of non-aligned services. There are only two Indigenous specific homelessness programs in the Northern Territory, both located in Darwin. Services targeting women escaping domestic violence are well represented, being available in each of the five locations where services are available. There are 24 AHL hostels in the Northern Territory, nine in Darwin, eight in Alice Springs, four in Katherine, and one each in Nhulunbuy, Tennant Creek and Yulara.

Mission Australia operates a number of programs relevant to transients including Grass Roots Solutions, an outreach service, a mobile information, assistance and referral service that visits the Darwin and Palmerston town camps. Aboriginal organisations that provide social support and accommodation services relevant to temporary mobility include Larrakia Nation's transport service which provides transport to essential services within the Darwin and Palmerston area as well as a mobile and information referral service for individuals living in camps and long grass sites. In Darwin, low-cost private sector short-term accommodation includes a caravan park and the Leprechaun Motel and Caravan Park which has a dedicated block for mixed, short-term accommodation for Yolngu people with an option for longer stays.

7.2 The case study sites

7.2.1 Nhulunbuy

The Indigenous region of Nhulunbuy lies on the Gove Peninsula at the north eastern border of Arnhem Land (see Figure 22). The Gove Peninsula is a 97 000 square kilometres tract located in the middle of Australia's northern coast and bounded by Kakadu National Park, the Arafura Sea and the Gulf of Carpentaria. The region is rich in dramatic land and seascapes with an abundance of plant, animal and marine life in its coasts, islands, rivers, woodlands and rainforests. Its natural wealth has made the region one of the densest and most settled Aboriginal populations in Australia (see Figure 23). There are an estimated 40 clan languages in North East Arnhem Land. The climate is monsoonal and cyclonic with the wettest months occurring between

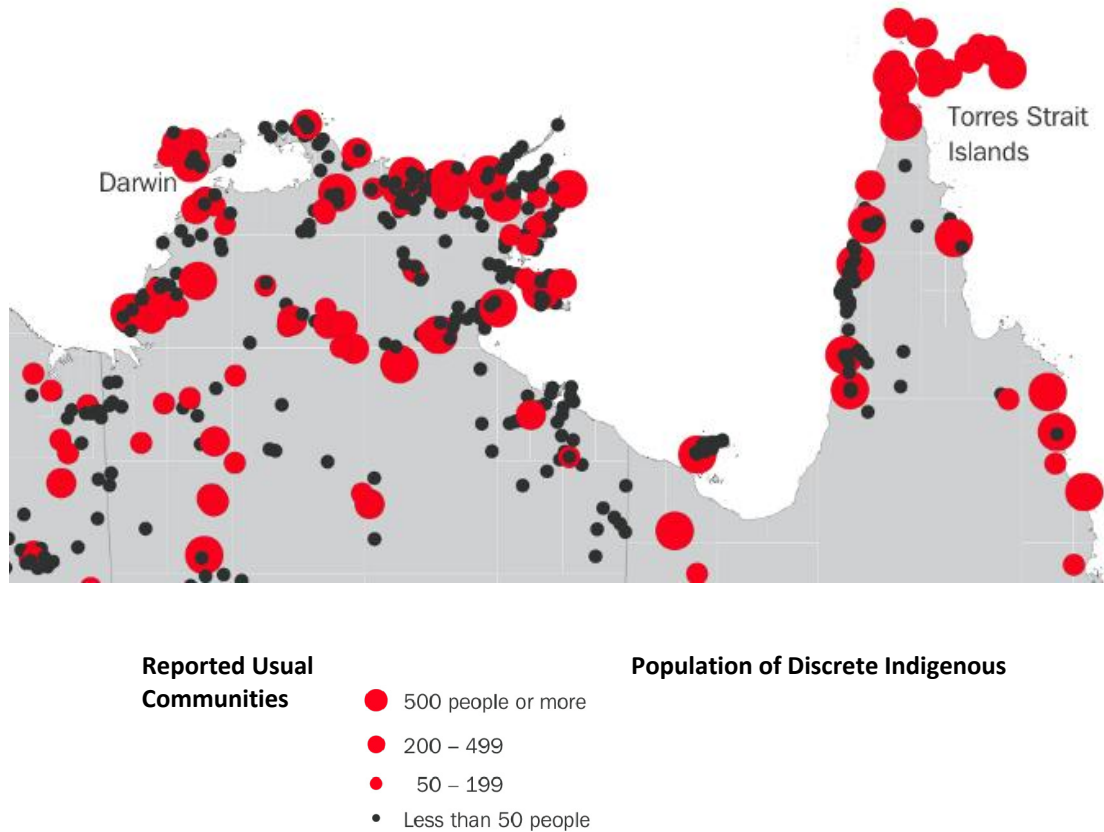
December and April. As a region, North East Arnhem Land has high levels of temporary mobility but low levels of migration. According to the 2006 Census, at 23.25 per cent, the intrastate immigration rate for Nhulunbuy SLA is the third lowest in the country (Charles Darwin University 2008).

Figure 22: Nhulunbuy SLA



Source: ABS 2010 National Regional Profile: Nhulunbuy (Statistical Local Area)

Figure 23: Reported usual population of top end discrete Indigenous communities—2006



Source: ABS 2007: Housing & Infrastructure in Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Communities: Australia 2006 (Reissue) Cat. No. 4710.0 <<http://www.abs.gov.au>> (accessed 1 October 2010).

The service context

The coastal town of Nhulunbuy is the service centre for the region. It is located on its north-eastern corner. Fishing had always been part of the local economy, but the expansion of the settlement to its present status of regional town began in the 1960s as a result of the establishment of a bauxite mine, developed in the face of opposition from local Yolngu located at Yirrkala. Nhulunbuy land tenure is a mining lease area excised from traditional Aboriginal ownership. The overall land tenure is inalienable freehold title under the ALRA. Yolngu is the name given to the Indigenous groups of the Gove Peninsula. They have recognised land and marine estates and strong attachment to traditional Aboriginal culture. In the genealogical research for the Blue Mud Bay native title claim it was established that the kinship configurations between the clans of the area have retained the same pattern since at least 1788 (Morphy 2005, p.6).

The population of the East Arnhem region at the time of the 2006 census was 13 947 with Nhulunbuy being home to an estimated 4108 people. Individuals who identify as Indigenous comprise 8551 (61%) of the total population of East Arnhem land (ABS 2007g). Around 900 Indigenous individuals live at Yirrkala. Also close by is Marngarr,

a discrete Indigenous community, whose population in 2006 was estimated to be 324 persons of which 90 per cent identified as Indigenous, speaking a language other than English at home (ABS 2008b). Many more Yolngu live in small communities on the traditional homelands of their various clans. In 2005, Morphy noted that estimates of the number of homelands in Yolngu-speaking north-east Arnhem Land varied from around 60 to 85 (Morphy 2005, p.3).

Clan-based kinship relationships are fundamental to the social and cultural realities of Yolngu lifeworlds, including their strong association with their homeland land and sea areas. The strength of the kinship-clan-homeland-centred life is evident in well-developed homeland organisations that unite the clans for purposes that include the management, administration and delivery of services. This reality adds intensity to the debate about the impact of program changes on the viability of clans living in their homelands.

Industry in the region includes fishing, mining, tourism, Aboriginal services, construction, retail, community and government services. Plans for the construction of a gas pipeline from Katherine to Gove are anticipated to generate economic benefits in the future. Sixty-eight per cent of the population are of working age, with unemployment in 2008 at 9.4 per cent for the region, and three per cent in Nhulunbuy town. In 2008, the region received 230 000 visitors (InvestNT 2010). Territory Government Budget 2010 estimates commit around \$339.1 million to improve infrastructure for East Arnhem including essential service infrastructure, support for home ownership, jobs and training, land servicing and new police stations and officer accommodation at Ramingining and Gapuwiyak (NTG 2010).

Housing is in short supply in the Gove Peninsula, with average occupancy rates for the East Arnhem region at 4.6 (InvestNT 2010). In Nhulunbuy there are 940 dwellings of which 92 per cent are rental properties. Yirrkala has only 120 houses although 50 new houses are planned under the National Partnerships. The AHL operate a 41-bed hostel in Nhulunbuy town which is the only culturally appropriate low-cost accommodation available for Yolngu. In 2008–10 occupancy rates were 100 per cent (AHL 2009, p.54). The only other inexpensive short-term accommodation facilities are a shelter for women and children escaping family violence or who are homeless, and a sobering up shelter operated by Mission Australia. There is no established caravan park or camping facility, but bush camping without facilities are available in the recreation areas managed by Dhimurru Land Management Aboriginal Corporation.

Nhulunbuy town includes a 32-bed regional hospital providing medical, surgical, paediatric, respite and maternity services, Miwatj Aboriginal Health service and 15 remote community clinics. As well as a primary and high school, Charles Darwin University has a campus there.

Transport in the area is restricted, with no bitumen road to any major population centre from Nhulunbuy. The Bulman track is a 700 kilometres gravel road that links with the Stuart Highway through to Darwin and Katherine, a journey of 10 to 15 hours. The wet season makes the road impassable for perhaps four months of each year. Gove airport, located in Nhulunbuy, offers regular flights to Darwin and Cairns as well as discount charters to homeland communities through three Indigenous-owned airline services, Marthakal Yolngu Airline (Elcho Island); Numburindi Air (Numbulwar) and Laynhapuy Aviation. These discounted flights are still expensive for employed people, let alone the unemployed, but they do ameliorate the problem of people from homeland communities 'getting stuck' in Nhulunbuy when they come in for health or other reasons. Quite a few homelands are on islands off the Gove coast, and while boats are used in some instances, travel options are limited.

Patterns of temporary mobility

An informant from Milingimbi community 250 kilometres from Nhulunbuy town described how temporary mobility had changed between his parents' generation and today:

Long time ago when the people were hunting and gathering more we used to go to Galiwin'ku for the bush food during the dry season and during the wet season—as the food became scarce—we went to the coastal areas to hunt and gather food. We used to walk from Arafura Swamp to Numbulwar to Roper River; that was when I was little. Now that was another reason for longer stay movement. Now people want to stay in homelands. (Nhulunbuy Informant)

Respondents describe making regular journeys between Darwin and homeland communities within Nhulunbuy Indigenous region and between remote towns and communities hundreds of kilometres apart on the Gove Peninsula. These included Milingimbi in the north east, Gunbalanya and Galiwin'ku extending to Maningrida. Nhulunbuy town was the focal point for regular journeys for services, including shopping and health, as well as for entertainment. The unavailability of culturally appropriate and affordable hostel accommodation meant that travellers mostly stayed in communities up to 7 kilometres distant from Nhulunbuy, including Yirrikilli, in the long grass, or on known camp sites on the beach, including Wallaby Beach, Lomuy, Gadalathami Gumuniya, Banambarrnga, Dhamitjinya and Galaru.

During the dry season, temporary mobility increases as Yolngu engage in hunting and participate in ceremony. Ceremony is important because of the opportunities it provides for connection to the land, and is especially important for those living away from the community. One respondent whose home was now in Darwin explained:

There are always lots of people wanting to go; some not able to afford the travel, but they long for the reconnection of their spirit with the land.

For those not wishing to attend ceremonies, this period is one when they will move to larger population centres including Gove, Galiwin'ku, Darwin, and Katherine (Gapuwiyak).

This is also the period for festivals such as the ones held annually at Galiwin'ku and Milingimbi. These serve as opportunities for entertainment, connection with country and visiting kin. As the build-up to the wet season commences in late October people whose communities will be cut off, move into wet season camps, remaining there until late March or April. The Laynhapuy Homelands Association reports that during the wet season the population of the 19 communities it services falls from about 1000 to 700 or 800 (Layngapuy Homelands Association 2010).

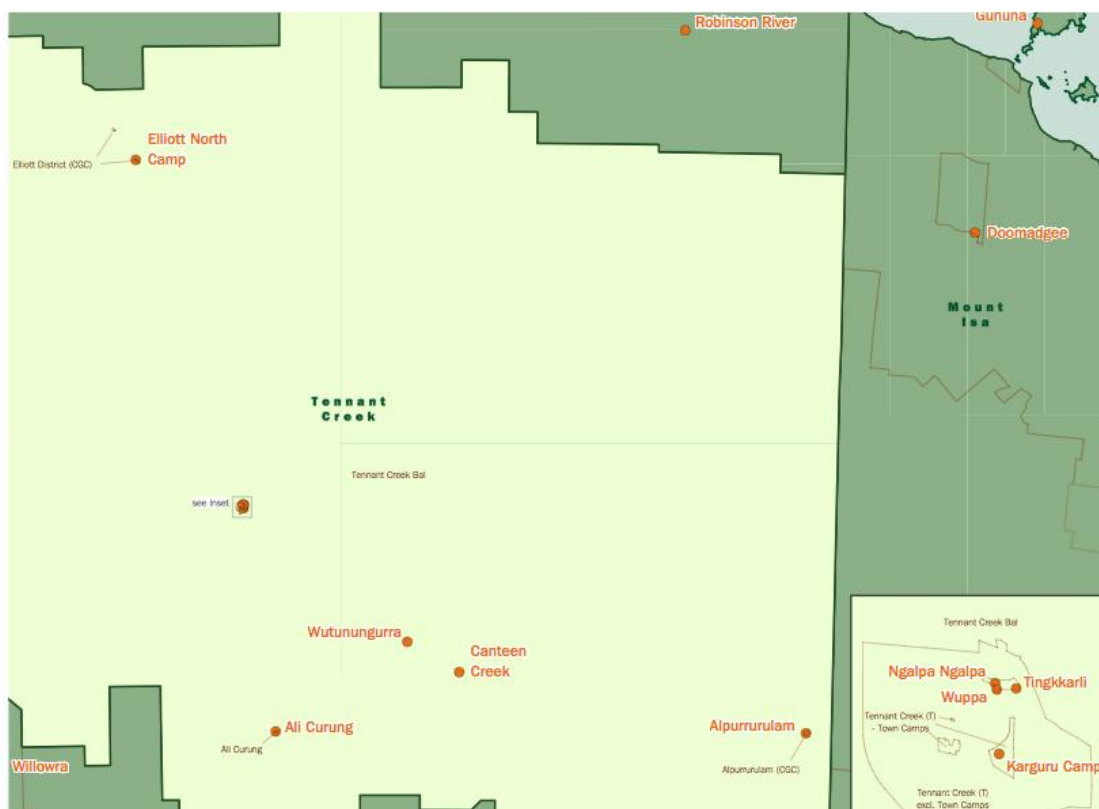
7.2.2 Tennant Creek

Tennant Creek, in Central Australia, is the fifth largest town in the Northern Territory and the service centre for the Barkly Tablelands although the residential population is only about 3500 people (Northern Territory Govt 2009). It is located 500 kilometres north of Alice Springs and 1000 kilometres south of Darwin. The region is classified as very remote in the ASGC system. The town is surrounded to the east by the Barkly Tablelands—a huge expanse of land that supports some of Australia's premier outback cattle stations. In 2008, the Barkly Shire region had an estimated population of 7924 over a land size of 322 693.27 square kilometres (NT Govt 2009). In the 2006 Census, the Indigenous population was estimated to comprise 60.4 per cent of the

total Barkly population (ABS 2006) with estimates that this will increase to 70 per cent over the next 10 years.

In 2008–09 agricultural production in the Barkly region represented 19 per cent of total primary industries in the Northern Territory. Other major industries are mining and tourism, with 100 000 tourists visiting the area in 2008. In recent years mining has declined resulting in a contraction of the local economy and a decline in the size of the white population. The unemployment rate for Tennant Creek SLA in 2008 was 4.6 per cent (Northern Territory Govt 2009).

Figure 24: Tennant Creek Indigenous region



Source: ABS 2006, Maps and Census Profiles, Australian Indigenous Geographical Classification, 2006: Indigenous Region Map—Tennant Creek, Cat. No. 4706.0.30.001, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4706.0.30.0012006>

The service context

Land tenure in Tennant Creek includes freehold, Aboriginal freehold under ALRA, special purpose (town camps), mining and pastoral leases. The region is home to nine Indigenous language groups, including the Warrumungu, Warlpiri, Kaytetye and Alyawarra people (Barkly Shire Council 2010, p.16). The traditional owners of much of the area surrounding Tennant Creek are the Warrumungu people who maintain their cultural practices. Indigenous organisations include Julalikari Council Aboriginal Corporation, a town camp organisation of about 900 Indigenous individuals formed in 1985. It provides services to about 32 Tennant Creek town camps and homeland communities. About half the population of Tennant Creek live in town camps. In 2008 Julalikari agreed to sign 60-year leases over eight town camps to the Northern Territory Government in return for a commitment of \$30 million SIHIP funding for refurbishment of 83 properties, later increased to \$36.5 million.

The local hospital includes a renal dialysis unit. As well as primary and secondary schools there are campuses for Charles Darwin University and the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education. Liquor restrictions have operated in the town since the mid-1990s and since 2008 the town has been dry, with no drinking permitted in public areas within the town boundary.

Short-term accommodation in Tennant Creek is in short supply with no temporary or emergency accommodation. Vacancy rates for a three-bedroom house in the 2009 March quarter were 0.025 (NT Govt 2009). The local AHL hostel is designated for young people attending the local school. There are two women's shelters. Tennant Creek is included within the proposals to extend Territory Housing's Tenancy Sustainability Program and there are plans for construction of a 12-bed accommodation facility for young, homeless people. One informant suggested that there is a need for an additional 200 to 300 houses to meet the current demand.

Alice Springs is the nearest urban population centre and is served by the bituminised Stuart Highway. Regular bus services are available to Alice Springs to the south and to Darwin and Katherine in the north. Charter flights are available from Tennant Creek Airport. Mobility between Tennant Creek and the remote and very remote adjacent regions, known as the Barkly region, is by roads many of which are unsealed, and may be cut off during the wet season.

Patterns of temporary mobility

The wet season is the major factor influencing temporary mobility among Indigenous communities in and around Tennant Creek with Julalikari Council reporting that, of the 32 communities, only 14 are occupied permanently. During the wet season, people whose communities are likely to become cut off move into camps in and around Tennant Creek creating severe overcrowding. Beyond this, predictable forms of temporary movement relate mostly to shopping, football competitions and to accessing health services. Visitors stay at one of the town's seven town camps, with family in Territory Housing property, in one of two caravan parks, or else in one of the nearby outstations. Difficulties arise as visitors have difficulty in returning home to remote communities because of the lack of affordable transport, including overcrowding. This problem is exacerbated by family members accompanying senior members of their family when they travel from their community.

7.3 Motives for temporary mobility

As service towns, both Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek receive visitors from outlying communities for access to services, including health and employment, for entertainment and for ceremony. While these visits were framed in terms of the instrumental motives of clothes purchase, clinic attendance or festival participation, they were also closely linked to the desirability of maintaining connection with kin. A Nhulunbuy informant described how the spread of the family across different locations provided an emotional pull to visit relatives living elsewhere.

When there is extended family in town and others back on community and homelands we all miss each other. You will find that some people will have a continual circulation visiting the extended family relationships/maintaining the connections.

The data did not provide first-hand accounts of between-space living of individuals engaged in 'continual circulation' between relatives' homes, but the description below shows that it remains a feature of Yolngu lifeworlds. What is regarded as home may

or may not relate to where a person was born, depending on the connection with ancestral ties, as reflected in this account by an Indigenous informant from Nhulunbuy:

From the mission days there were children who grew up at Milingimbi, but they did not come from there. They do not feel at home. They need to reconnect to their own country even though that is where they grew up. My daughter knows her mother's side very well. She knows her country, but she does not have a strong attachment. When people migrate into small communities and raise their kids and their grandfather is buried there, then it is home; there is strong connection to us. For me, this is a trap. I grew up in Arafura Swamp; that is home for me.

For people living in Nhulunbuy, the limited facilities available at Gove District Hospital meant that serious illness often required a journey to Darwin. For those with chronic illness, including renal failure, such moves were semi-permanent. An informant from Milingimbi community pointed out that as people aged they become especially vulnerable to such pressures.

Older people do not have a choice if their health requires them to attend a tertiary hospital for care. It is sad for them because if the care was available in their community they would not leave. It is a hard thing for people to move to Darwin.

These moves are rarely made by the individual on their own but while the patient may receive support for travel-related costs through the Patient Assisted Transport Scheme, this is not available for their relatives. Consequently they, and sometimes their relative, lived in public spaces or other forms of primary or secondary homelessness. An informant whose home was in Galiwin'ku, on Elcho Island, but who was currently living in Darwin explained how when a family member is sick their relatives usually accompany them when they travel for treatment but there is little support to cover the costs of the journey:

When people come in for illness the Department of Health pays for travel. This person is usually accompanied by other family when they have to come in for long periods—there's not much funding to help in these circumstances. If they have family in town, they stay there or else try to find something or public space while looking. For me, if I am sick and need to go to hospital, everyone will come with me.

Funerals were frequently mentioned as a cause of temporary mobility, by both Tennant Creek and Nhulunbuy informants. Domestic violence, combined with an absence of accommodation options, was also mentioned, as in the case of this Tennant Creek service provider:

When there is domestic violence and one partner takes out a DVO on the other they have to access short-term accommodation wherever they can get it—sometimes this means public spaces. It depends on their money situation—they need to find somewhere cheap.

One informant referred to a 2005 report on domestic violence, which identified a 'staggering' degree of unmet demand in East Arnhem Land with a lack of safe and appropriate short-term accommodation being the most common reason for homelessness (O'Meally & Barr 2005). For both case study sites, information on where women escaping family violence sought shelter was not identified, but if shelters are full or otherwise inaccessible, for those unwilling to live in public spaces the only option may be to travel to Darwin or Alice Springs.

For both Tennant Creek and Nhulunbuy, family conflict came across as one of the most significant reasons for movement away from communities into town. The close-knit nature of community existence provided few places to escape conflict so one culturally sanctioned solution, was to move somewhere else for an indefinite period. This point was made by Indigenous participants in a focus group held at Milingimbi community:

If there is an argument at home [community] they will move into town. Once people come into town, it can take them time to go back. (Indigenous participant)

People get into trouble; like there is a family dispute. These people want to get away from being blamed all the time so they come to Darwin to live for a little while but some stay for a long time. (Indigenous participant)

There might also be movement regarding blame The people who are being blamed feel out of control and a deep sense of loss, mixed with ill feeling so they leave for a long time. (Indigenous participant)

What is intended as a short trip to town may also be extended, especially for young people:

If there is an argument at home they will move into town. Once people come into town it can take them time [years] to go back. I left home ... to get married. I was going for six months and it turned out to be ten years. We then moved to Darwin for work. I try to get home ... whenever it is possible. I had to get a car to get to work in Darwin, so I took out a bank loan and now I need to keep my job to pay for things.

This account reveals how a visit to town may derive from a relatively spontaneous decision, such as one arising from family conflict, or from a deliberate action, as in the formation of a new family. Once there, opportunities for permanent return but return visits are made whenever possible. This attraction was described as passed on to the next generation so that 'the young children growing up, they want to see their homelands' (Nhulunbuy Informant).

Substance use was identified as a motive for mobility to Nhulunbuy where access to alcohol is easier than on communities, many of which are dry. One informant suggested that Nhulunbuy experiences problems associated with long grass people which creates conflict within groups. In remote areas the drinkers were described as making long journeys, involving three hour drives, to have a drink and then returning home.

Housing access influences both temporary mobility and migration. The lack of housing on communities was identified as 'a big problem. The informant from Galiwin'ku, one of the Territory growth towns, described how the tensions caused by overcrowding were causing some people to move off the community to larger population centres. The length of these stays is closely tied to whether accommodation becomes available at home:

Some move from their homelands because of overcrowding and have a long holiday in town waiting for housing to become available back home ... In places like Galiwin'ku, the community is getting bigger and there is not enough housing. Not enough and it creates family problems. This is one of the reasons why people move from the community and go to the city to get better services and opportunities.

Here housing availability operates as a pull factor drawing people away from homeland communities to larger population centres.

7.4 Risks and opportunities of urban life

This account identifies a mix of push and pull factors influencing short-term movement into larger population centres. Pull factors include visiting relatives, the search for work, access to alcohol and drugs, leisure and entertainment and access to services including health care. Push factors are related to housing shortages, lack of leisure activities, and family conflict, including domestic violence. Once in the regional centre or capital, individuals are exposed to risks and opportunities that may result in a longer stay that might subsequently be termed as migration.

As indicated in the previous section, opportunities for employment mean that for some individuals the move becomes permanent and any return to living on the community stretches into the distant future. But for others, difficulties accessing accommodation and lack of money to return home, are compounded by ready access to drugs and alcohol, creating a risk of becoming trapped in a marginalised lifestyle including homelessness. Many respondents spoke of the difficulty of negotiating urban life and of the health risks of living rough.

The reliance on kin and public spaces for accommodation in Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek differs from how respondents found temporary accommodation in the major population centres of Darwin and Alice Springs where they had few contacts and little local knowledge of services. The informant who had moved from Galwink'u to Darwin outlined the difficulties:

Once in Darwin, many people have difficulties returning home and become homeless and forced to live rough. Even if they are accepted onto Territory Housing's priority wait list category, there are few solutions to the need for temporary accommodation even for individuals who may be seriously ill ... Aboriginal hostel provides an option for short time; your rent covers bed, washing, meals. If you are ill and on the waiting list for a house in Darwin, you can stay longer, but you will need a letter to show that you are on the waiting list. Red Cross provides short-term accommodation, but they would not allow us to stay for too long. So we moved around a bit prior to getting our house.

In these circumstances, individuals and families often ended up in the long grass where substance use is widespread among the population (Holmes & MacRae-Williams 2008). The cycle of housing shortage, overcrowding, substance use, family conflict and temporary mobility is well described in the following account of a Nhulunbuy respondent:

We still have very old houses and population is expanding growing faster than the houses here. People complain about it. Some people go to the city (Nhulunbuy, Darwin) to secure work and get a house. But their extended family turn up there too. It makes it hard. But they have to look out for each other. Different rules in city. Many people do not know where they could go to get somewhere to stay, where to sleep. When they try the private accommodation, public accommodation, they cannot get anywhere. They feel rejected. When they drink they get angry and upset about it.

Another Nhulunbuy respondent spoke of the difficulties that visitors can cause families with housing, with whole families at risk of eviction:

People arriving there and some start to drink. This causes all kinds of problems for the family. If they get somewhere to stay, the whole family can

get kicked out because of the drinking. Most families get evicted. There are lots of my families going through that stage in Darwin. Some want to go in for shopping and a drink. They stay for a week or few days then come back home.

Those who obtain Territory Housing live with the risk that they will lose it as a result of relatives coming to stay and placing their tenancy at risk. One respondent, for example, stated that when in Darwin the family choose to stay in hostels even though it is expensive, but they don't want the responsibilities of dealing with Territory Housing or owning private property. The justification for these concerns is evident in one woman's account of attempting to manage the conflicting requirements of Territory Housing and relative's expectations of hospitality:

For me, there was one fortnight when I had over that time 50 relatives come in. It is the hardest thing to explain to family that in town you also have to respect the neighbour—they have rights too, no shouting and drinking.

7.5 The benefits of community

Concerns about the risks of substance use and homelessness associated with living in major population centres were closely linked to the desire to remain closely attached to communities rather than moving into hub communities. Milingimbi community focus group respondents contrasted communities as places where culture is strong with town life where easy access to drugs and alcohol created serious dangers:

Young people are influenced by government closing homeland schools and wanting people to move to the bigger communities. I remember one of the homelands at Milingimbi wanting to go to disco and movies, sports and festivals; I wanted my kids to have cultural ways and training. Many of the kids that go into town for the larger festivals stay in town for too long and live badly; some do not make it back alive.

Although living in town was acknowledged to have some benefits, maintaining connection with country was seen as essential for mental and physical health:

There are advantages for coming in to town, but should have a balance; touch base with country every year. At bush always walking, always drinking water and more healthy, the mind is more alert; more so than living in town. But out there we have berries and water lilies ...

... The Territory housing offered me a house in Palmerston, but I don't want to live in Palmerston. I wanted to try and get a house closer to where I work so that I could walk to and from work. I need to stay fit for when I return to the homelands for hunting.

7.6 Impact of National Partnerships

The policy changes introduced through the NTER, and the National Partnerships, were generally spoken of as a source of anxiety about the future by Indigenous Nhulunbuy respondents:

When the NTER came, many felt they were second-class citizens; some people moved and stayed in town on Centrelink. Others were worried that they would be blamed; some of this blame refers to fear of retribution. (Indigenous Nhulunbuy respondent)

This is a huge change to our way of life. (Indigenous Nhulunbuy respondent)

Since all the changes with the Intervention they want us to have a job so that we can pay rent, water and electricity costs. The rent is too high. There are not many jobs around. Many people are finding this very hard in their own community. All the promised new houses to be built on the Island will be under the control of the Territory Housing Department. They want more rent. If people cannot pay rent they have to leave the house. This does not seem fair ... where are the jobs for everyone ... Many people are not literate in English and find it hard to cope. Most of the jobs are learnt by watching people perform the job and then they copy. If people do not have job they have to go to Centrelink ... where they are referred to training. But because their English literacy is poor, they feel 'shame' to write or speak in front of others. They want us to change overnight, but they have not thought about the amount of training and available jobs for us. (East Arnhem Informant)

There was dissatisfaction with the perceived failure for promised benefits to be delivered and distrust in the promises of both Federal and Territory Governments. A Northern Territory policy officer observed:

Because it has taken so long—all the talk talk—people know of the Federal Government elections, Territory elections and they are scared that there will not be houses. They are used to changes in government bringing in new ways, policies and not following through. For now people say 'too much talk and not enough action to build the houses'. Some places like Tiwi and Groote Eylandt have some houses being built and other places have some renovations, but these renovations of poor quality, some houses left without floors and cupboards being completed.

In Tennant Creek concerns about the quality of renovations were mixed with anger that there was no commitment to build new housing, despite Julalikari being one of the first ICOs to agree to lease their land to the Northern Territory Government (see also Owen 2009; Robinson, Koch & Owen 2009).

For both Tennant Creek and Nhulunbuy, the NTER and National Partnerships were associated with population mobility. In Nhulunbuy, movement was from homelands that fell within the prescribed communities, to other locations not affected by income management or alcohol restrictions. Identified locations included Darwin, Gunbalanya, Galiwin'ku, Milingimbi and Nhulunbuy with a slight increase in people accessing the AHL hostel there. But whether this was creating the kind of movement anticipated by the National Partnerships was questioned by one Northern Territory policy officer informant:

People from some smaller homelands close to Gunbalanya have moved to Gunbalanya. This movement is not a pattern of mobility though. Other homelands and smaller communities are not moving as they perceive this forced living arrangement creates more humbug and unrest between the families.

The NTER was described by service providers and Indigenous service users as creating population movement from affected communities into Tennant Creek, causing overcrowding in the town camps. One service provider suggested that, since then, temporary mobility patterns had 'normalised' but another suggested that income management and the aggregation of Shire Councils were causing population churn. Nhulunbuy was also described by an indigenous informant as having been effected:

Initially movement of people increased because they were worried about the removal of their kids when the intervention started; people were confused

about what the intervention meant. Did not understand why they had to have their kids checked when they are well.

Another Nhulunbuy informant suggested that the changes to CDEP had since created movement away from communities:

Younger people in homelands and communities are influenced by this movement and make the journey into town just because they get pressure to take a CDEP position.

One informant expressed concern at the impact the COAG National Partnership Agreements would have on overcrowding in Yirrkala, predicting that, as homeland living become untenable, the occupancy rate would rise from around 10 to 15 people per house. Two other Nhulunbuy informants believed that the National Partnerships would not lead to growth of hub towns because of the determination to remain on their own lands, as well as distrust of Government promises:

If we cannot get a job to pay the rent we have to make our own shelter on our own lands. (Nhulunbuy informant)

People are not moving to the designated growth towns. They go for shopping, sport and health and see that there is no movements regarding houses being build, improvements to services and other infrastructure—so they do not want to live there. (Nhulunbuy informant)

7.6.1 Views on services

There was a generally favourable view of Aboriginal hostels among Indigenous service users. Although expensive, it was seen as one of the better possibilities to live safely in town and city providing a small place with appropriate supervision and maintenance.

Living in open spaces was also regarded as socially legitimate, especially among those used to life on homeland communities where some people live this way most of the time. One informant, a fluent Yolngu Matha speaker, saw the real problem of public space dwelling as its association with substance use and the failure of services to provide adequate protection and support.

This is how generations in that homeland were grown up...In Darwin, if people are living on beaches and they are sober and happy it should be permitted. I am aware of some people who live in the mangroves around Darwin. Some wives and grandmothers live in public places as their husband is on dialysis and they cannot afford accommodation. These people need safety from police. Society should be more understanding of people, but where there is fighting, abusing, this should be stopped.

This account also suggests that public space dwelling is problematic when it is not really a choice but results from poverty and the absence of alternative accommodation.

Lack of transport was identified as a problem in Tennant Creek, especially in relation to health needs, with sick patients having to wait at Tennant Creek hospital overnight before being transferred to Alice Springs hospital by private company bus the next day. It is at least a five hour trip to Alice Springs by bus.

7.7 Conclusion

Temporary mobility in Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek takes place against a backdrop of housing shortage, severe overcrowding and an absence of culturally appropriate, affordable hostel accommodation. This makes public space dwelling an inevitable

choice for those who are unable to stay with family, or where overcrowding becomes unbearable. Given the regularity of population movement into regional centres, there is a need for improvements in provision of short-stay accommodation in these locations. As well as hostel accommodation, this could include development of existing camp sites to provide an environment that is safe for individuals and families and takes appropriate account of skin and language differences (see Memmott & Fantin 2001). Such sites would most likely need to be dry areas, necessitating separate provision for those individuals for whom this is not a realistic option. Living in open public spaces without security of legal land tenure can be described as a discourse of resistance for transient Aboriginal people. It can also be associated with living without an authoritative figure where they are free to choose where they want to sleep, who they may want to associate with, and what activities they may choose to pursue. But they remain vulnerable to harassment and prosecution under 'move them on' laws. There is a real need to review this dynamic and develop more culturally sympathetic ways of responding to public space dwelling.

Transport was not a strong theme in the interviews, but was implicated in stories of individuals remaining too long in towns and cities and disrupting the tenancies of relatives. The inadequacy of current provision for access to acute care and specialised service was part of the Tennant Creek account, suggesting a need for improved patient transport facilities between that town and Alice Springs. The use of charter aircraft to travel between communities and regional centres is a positive note, suggesting that in remote locations, such as North East Arnhem Land, more consideration could be given to the development of air transport systems for Indigenous individuals living on remote communities, using a model such as that operated by Laynhapuy Air Services.

The accounts highlight the impact of substance use on temporary mobility. As well as generating short, regular journeys to access alcohol by those living in areas where there are liquor restrictions, it creates journeys of longer duration by those seeking to access drugs. It is heavily implicated in the destabilisation of tenancies in both remote and urban areas. It also forms part of the explanation for why some people, especially young people, become trapped in town so that what may start as a short visit becomes a permanent one. Concerns about this risk are one of the reasons why respondents preferred life on homeland communities.

The Northern Territory case studies suggest a mixture of motives for temporary mobility, with many relating to cultural and instrumental reasons, including visiting relatives, shopping and ceremony, but also arising from a mix of culturally rooted voluntary motivations and structurally rooted involuntary ones. Both case studies suggest that going on a journey to get away from difficulties is common although there is scant reference to this in the literature. There are a number of accounts and references suggesting that individuals often leave home communities because of interpersonal difficulties, with 'going away for awhile' seemingly normalised as a response to personal conflict. There is insufficient detail about this to provide a full account of how this is experienced and where people travel to. The literature on women leaving communities to escape family violence suggests that where such departures are more or less forced they are traumatic not only because of the practical difficulties of finding an alternative home, but also because of the separation from family and country.

The case studies are in agreement that policy changes since 2007 have caused population movement. These policies include the NTER, income management, the changes or termination of CDEP and the redrawing of Shire boundaries. The interviews suggest that this kind of mobility is not experienced as choice. It may be an

act of resistance, but its determinants are external and impact may well confirm and entrench existing social exclusion. Resistance is also evident in the suggestion that the hub communities will not see movement into them from surrounding communities. This view was most powerful in Tennant Creek where anger and resentment at the perceived betrayal of promises of improved housing by the Federal and Territory Governments was strong. When they visited the town they could see that the promises were not being delivered creating little incentive to move. Whether or not this position is maintained as house standards are improved remains an open question. In Nhulunbuy concerns about the growth of Yirrkala suggest that some urbanisation is already occurring and this is sharpening the determination of some individuals to remain on homeland communities.

The power of employment to create population stability is evident in these accounts, suggesting that, for some people at least, the material rewards that employment brings acts as a powerful incentive, encouraging people to move to a more sedentary lifestyle. The pull and push of the contradictory attractions of town versus community life comes across in these accounts. Both environments have their attractions and their risks. Communities are constructed as places of peace and safety, of connection to kin, country and spirit, of maintaining culture and living the good life. How people feel about this is more fully described in the following excerpt from an article by Morphy:

People have seen what is happening at Yirrkala—what they perceive as social breakdown, loss of culture, the loss of younger generations to drugs and alcohol—and they want none of that for themselves and their children. Indeed, they would like to persuade those of their close relatives who live at Yirrkala to come and live on the homelands ...

... The proactive reasons why Yolngu leaders want to maintain their homelands communities are also straightforward. These communities are functional, in a social sense. People are living on or near their own country, and for Yolngu this is a potent source of wellbeing, both spiritual and social. On the homelands people feel that they have a degree of autonomy, of control over their own destiny. The more analytical among them see the sociological aspects of the equation as well. They point to the problem of scale at the larger settlements, where Yolngu systems of leadership fare less well.

But what of the general populace rather than the leaders? For some homelands have failed, and the leaders have not been able to stop the drift to Yirrkala and beyond. In successful homeland settlements with effective leadership, and particularly in regions where there are several successful settlements in close proximity to one another, people inhabit a rich and satisfying social world, one in which they feel secure. They are grounded, both in the physical sense of being on their own country and in the social sense of being enmeshed in a complex web of kinship. (Morphy 2005, pp.8–9)

These observations are strongly supported in this study. Morphy's account stresses the close relationship between successful communities, prosperity and good governance, and it is their absence that may explain why 'getting away from communities' runs parallel with returning to them. Communities are places where relationships are intense, where resources are scarce, and if things are not good there are few places to go. Resolving conflict by removing oneself may be socially normalised, but for some groups, especially young men, the movement from community to town is one of high risk, associated with engagement in risky lifestyles

involving drugs and alcohol and rough sleeping. Once in this environment, individuals can find it difficult to make the journey home.

There were positive accounts of living in the city, which brought employment, improved living standards and access to other mainstream opportunities. In these accounts those who made this move described the experience as an ambiguous mixture of desired material gain co-existing with a yearning for connection with country and a determination to honour this by make regular return journeys home.

8 CONCLUSION

This conclusion divides the material into six parts. The first makes the point that insofar as Indigenous temporary mobility has been problematised by service providers, the real issue is one of structural disadvantage and housing exclusion. The relationship between temporary mobility and homelessness is then summarised in an analysis which suggests that because this is a largely overlooked policy area, opportunities for breaking the cycle between overcrowding, mobility and homelessness are missed. This is followed by a model for conceptualising different forms of Indigenous population movement and their vulnerability to homelessness. The next section provides a range of suggestions for improving housing responses to mobility. The focus is principally on temporary mobility, with some recommendations relevant to the migration of Indigenous individuals and families from remote to urban locations. The needs of renal dialysis patients are singled out in a separate section as the absence of integrated services was one of the key findings of the study. The report concludes with a summary of the findings on population change in the Western Australian and South Australian case study areas.

8.1 Deproblematizing Indigenous temporary mobility

The anthropological literature on Indigenous patterns of mobility has carried a tinge of romanticism in the accounts of practices that are opaque to the non-Indigenous gaze, exotic in their inaccessibility and apparent spontaneity (Peterson 2004). But in social policy the construction is different. Here Indigenous mobility is primarily perceived as a problematic aspect of Indigenous culture. Children miss school, tenants leave without notification, and visitors are associated with neighbour complaints. This creates difficulties for service providers and contributes to adverse outcomes within Indigenous populations.

The findings of this study suggest that the temporary mobility of Indigenous individuals and families is not in itself a problem. Non-Indigenous people are also highly mobile, making long, daily commutes, relocating frequently and travelling regularly to distant locations. In remote contexts, it is the non-Indigenous workforce whose short-term stay creates difficulties for local communities. This analysis provided in this report suggests that the real 'problem' of Indigenous temporary mobility is that much of it is forced, arising from, and being maintained by, an unenviable mix of severe housing shortage, structural disadvantage, cultural difference and poverty, mixed in with substance use, and vulnerability to the vagaries of government policy. Non-Indigenous people move around all the time, but it is not a policy concern. They have the resources to buy the technology to keep in touch, to drink behind closed doors and to stay off the streets. This is not the case with the majority of Indigenous individuals whose difficulties in accessing stable, affordable housing in their places of residences are multiplied when on the move. Where the anthropological literature is right is in its identification of the invisibility of that movement. This has been portrayed as arising from the inward looking nature of Indigenous lifeworlds, with their reliance on kin and their rejection of mainstream government services. But the other side of the story is the contribution of policies that are inadequate in their provision for temporary mobility and that also in their conceptualisations and measurement, contribute further to the hidden nature of this aspect of Indigenous housing need.

Overall, the data analysed here suggests that Indigenous people are actually very stable in their attachment to location. In both Coober Pedy and Port Augusta, for example, the SHA housing data showed very little movement was taking place away from these locations. Where interview data suggested people were moving off

homeland communities, the reasons related to interpersonal conflicts combined with difficult circumstances of poverty and lack of housing. Similarly, temporary movement is rooted in cultural or instrumental motivations, with even the kind of opportunistic and open-ended movement of young men being driven by lifecourse factors of transition to adulthood and development of autonomous identity. Insofar as there is an issue, it is in the inability of successive governments to address the effects of generations of displacement and government neglect of Indigenous communities which urgently need support to develop leadership and governance so that they are less dependent on fluctuations in government policies that damage attempts for self-management and autonomy.

8.2 Homelessness and temporary mobility

The question of the voluntariness of the journeys that Indigenous people make is central to attempts to distinguish between temporary mobility and homelessness, but is not easy to untangle. The intertwining of voluntary, cultural and involuntary, structural factors was examined in the Positioning Paper (Habibis et al. 2010) building on the insights of Prout (2008) and Birdsall-Jones and Shaw (2008). The confused mix of factors comes across in the case studies, which describe how everyday, culturally sanctioned journeys overlap with the forced movement that arises out of housing exclusion and low resources. For one family from a remote community a temporary visit to a health clinic became more permanent when diagnosis revealed that long-term treatment, unavailable in the home community, is required; a daughter visiting her father to support him after he became sick was asked to camp out on the beach because of neighbour complaints about noise caused by her cousins who accompanied her; a couple leave their own home to stay in a hostel because of the overcrowding caused by visiting relatives. There are many similar accounts where, through a combination of choice and circumstance, people remain in one place or move on to another. Cultural factors direct the choices that are made, influencing *inter alia*, the preference for staying with kin, the resistance to engagement with mainstream services, the attraction of particular locations and activities, and dwelling preferences, including for some, the appeal of public spaces. But the context for all these accounts is a lack of housing choices. In all the case study locations, low income, discrimination and lack of information mean that, apart from crisis and emergency accommodation, the options for short-stay accommodation are:

- the homes of relatives with attendant risks of overcrowding
- public spaces with health, safety and criminalisation risks
- AHL or specialised hostels which may be non-existent, inaccessible through eligibility requirements and relatively expensive.

This situation was recognised by many service providers who regarded the line between temporary mobility and homelessness as blurred and sometimes did not distinguish between the two. Yet, despite this overlap between the two categories, temporary mobility barely features in national or state policies on housing and homelessness. The Green Paper on Homelessness acknowledges the contribution of Indigenous visitors to the homeless population, and its roots in overcrowding and a lack of emergency and short-term accommodation, but links it principally with conditions in Northern Australia although this study shows that it occurs in Adelaide (Commonwealth of Australia 2008a, pp.22–23). In the White Paper on Homelessness (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b), homelessness is described as including:

...people who are sleeping rough, as well as people staying in temporary, unstable or substandard accommodation. Many people who are homeless

cycle between homelessness and marginal housing. People are staying in crisis accommodation for longer because they have nowhere else to go. (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b, p.viii).

Indigenous visitors are recognised insofar as they meet criteria for staying in 'temporary, unstable or substandard accommodation', but the context is assumed to be permanent location, rather than the fluid situation of Indigenous visitors. The NPAHL's focus on 'rough sleepers' is similarly concerned with chronic homelessness rather than temporary visitors. Its principal target is primary homelessness, '*largely rough sleeping*' (COAG 2010, p.xv). The policy response is outreach services aimed at provision of long-term, appropriately supported, accommodation.

There is a gap between service delivery practice and homelessness policy that fails to recognise the contribution of temporary visitors to homelessness, including primary homelessness. Service providers were aware of this, pointing to the exclusion of Indigenous visitors from homelessness counts. The definition of homelessness employed in the ABS's quincennial Census of homelessness excludes individuals who have a permanent address of their own. Even though the precise contribution of temporary homelessness to the rough sleepers' population is not known, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that this definition means that the count excludes a sizable number of Indigenous individuals who are living for relatively lengthy periods in arrangements that would otherwise meet the definition for homelessness. The findings of this study about the cycling of Indigenous individuals and families moving between overcrowded homes and public spaces confirms earlier work on the link between primary and secondary homelessness within the Indigenous population (Cooper & Morris 2005). This is of special concern given other evidence on the increase in population churn being generated by the changes in service delivery to discrete Indigenous communities.

Although COAG is recommending improvements to counts of homelessness and those at risk of homelessness, these are concerned with additional performance measures, use of administrative data, and measures of repeat homelessness, and do not address the homelessness that arises from temporary mobility.

8.3 Motives for temporary mobility

The motives for temporary mobility identified in this study reveal that they arise from cultural and structural constants combined with lifecourse factors, individual choice and changing external drivers, of which the most influential are state policies. In these respects, many of the same issues occur in every context, such as high levels of need for renal dialysis and the effects of housing exclusion on short-term movement. But they are also mediated by local factors, so that in each location the motives and patterns of mobility are distinctive. Distance to essential services, the locations of kin and liquor restrictions, are examples of variables that intersect with long-standing traditions of geographical mobility to create the particular patterns of temporary mobility that prevail in particular localities. Port Augusta's cultural significance as a gathering place, combine with its coastal location and status as a regional centre to create a particular configuration of temporary movement that is distinct from that of Coober Pedy or Adelaide. The configuration of services therefore needs to be planned on the basis of detailed local analysis of the service groups which takes account of demographic characteristics, cultural affiliations, service needs, and the volume, timing and duration of journeys. An important, less well understood, factor is the role that conditions in home communities are having in driving movement and the possibilities for addressing these through infrastructure or mediation services.

8.3.1 *The case study areas*

In South Australia, the most significant factors influencing population movement was the impact of renal disease on the APY Lands. In the absence of facilities within a day's journey of these communities, individuals requiring treatment were compelled to travel to the nearest facility. Since the termination of the arrangement between the health services of the Northern Territory and South Australia, treatment has only been available in Port Augusta and Adelaide. For the individual requiring this treatment and their supporting family members, the move is more or less permanent and best understood as migration. But it also gives rise to temporary mobility as other family members travel to visit, and stay with, their relatives for what may be relatively unpredictable periods of time.

This was especially important for understanding temporary mobility in Port Adelaide, where there are an estimated 20–25 recently arrived Anangu. The data suggests a snowball effect, in which as the number of people migrating to Adelaide from the APY Lands increases so does the number of visits because the migrants expand the places to stay, making the journey more viable for visitors. These individuals include young men, who move between the homes of their relatives and living in the parklands, often engaging in drinking. They form part of the 'hidden Anangu' that current homelessness definitions miss.

In Coober Pedy, the motives for temporary mobility arise principally from its position as a staging post to more distant destinations, and secondly because it serves as a small regional centre, where alcohol is more accessible than in Port Augusta and in some communities on the APY Lands. The high cost of electricity also creates high levels of tenancy turnover and increases the risk of homelessness through the accumulation of housing debt.

As a major regional centre, situated on the coast, and with a pre-colonial history as a gathering area, Port Augusta is an important destination for a range of Indigenous language groups from northern and central Australia. As well as a destination for leisure entertainment, and holidays, it attracts visitors requiring health services and also for court and correctional services. Liquor restrictions are also alleged to have influenced temporary mobility since 2005 leading to a reduction in visitors. Temporary mobility in both Coober Pedy and Port Augusta has been affected by the mainstreaming of Indigenous services and the withdrawal of funding from local ICOs, leading to a degree of population churn.

In each of these locations, both the anecdotal evidence and the administrative data suggest that the number of Indigenous visitors has grown in recent years, although the reasons for this differ.

The accounts of mobility in Western Australia have some similarity with those of South Australia, especially between Port Augusta and Broome. This is not so surprising given that they share a similar coastal location, serve as regional centres, and have historically been a crossing point for local Indigenous groups. In Broome, apart from seasonal mobility related to escaping the wet season in the Fitzroy Valley and Halls Creek, the most important reasons for temporary travel were access to medical services, especially renal dialysis; criminal justice business, including visiting prisoners; attendance for law ceremonies; going to funerals, and purchase of full strength alcohol. These motivations are not spread evenly among the different Indigenous communities and an important finding was that there is a pattern of different people coming in from different areas at different times.

This is different from the drivers of mobility in Mungullah and Burringurah where most of the temporarily mobile population involves an exchange of visits between these two communities. But, as with Coober Pedy and Port Augusta, events within the community created population churn, with people leaving Burringurrah for Mungullah. This occurred as a result of governance problems within the community, and later, in response to the introduction of CDEP. In Fitzroy Crossing, the wet season was the main driver of temporary mobility, as well as overcrowding. Sorry business was also identified as an important and regularly occurring cause of household departure and travel.

For the Northern Territory case studies the difficulties of life in some regional and remote communities, that is also identified in other case studies, stands out as one of the most important factors influencing travel. These difficulties are both interpersonal and situational, resulting from varying degrees of lifestyle choice and necessity and caused by both cultural and policy factors. The case studies provide accounts of individuals leaving their homes because of a range of relationship difficulties within the community rooted in cultural responses to personal conflict. A little acknowledged component of this is that the practicalities of living in small, kin-based communities mean that when conflict occurs and tensions become unbearable, those involved have nowhere to go so. If the situation is to be avoided, then departure for one of the parties involved is the only option. The degree to which such departures can be considered voluntary is debatable and the impact has similarities with women forced to leave their homes because of family violence. The homelessness they risk is not only physical; it is also psychological, spiritual and emotional. Very little attention has been given to this group even though they are at high risk of substance use and of destabilising the housing security of their relatives.

The other group whose movement relates to difficulties and is a similarly complex mixture of voluntary and involuntary motivations are those whose comings and goings are policy driven. These include responses to income support, to the confusion and uncertainties created by changes within the ICHO sector, and to the NTER. The Northern Territory study highlights that these responses represent resistance to White policy but this can come at considerable detriment to these individuals and their relatives. It also suggests that this kind of mobility is only experienced as choice in a qualified sense. It may be an act of resistance, but it takes place in a context that is determined by extraneous forces whose impact is also to create a feeling of loss of control and which confirms and entrenches existing social exclusion. Implicit in the data is a suggestion that 'escaping' usually involves travel to a larger population centre. For the Kimberley region, and the Gascoyne, Broome is the destination of choice; for Fitzroy Crossing it is Broome and Derby; for communities on the APY Lands it is Port Augusta and Adelaide, with Coober Pedy serving as a stopping point.

The case studies also highlight the appeal of public space dwelling, and its origins arising in a web of motives including resistance and personal autonomy, often related to policies that have impacted on life in the home community, such as change to income support. The role of employment as a stabilising force is also evident in these accounts suggesting that greater integration into mainstream or Indigenous economies will increase population stability.

Mobility through the life cycle

The case studies show that the motives for mobility are shaped by lifecourse factors, with gender and age shaping the objective of the journeys, their timing, direction and duration, whether travel is undertaken solo or with other family members and what the risks for criminalisation and homelessness are. The following section identifies some

of the mobility patterns that the case studies, together with the literature, suggest are characteristic of the major demographic groups, focusing principally on individuals living in remote and regional locations.

Men

For men, the findings, together with the literature, suggest that, in regional and remote locations, mobility is initially of a voluntary, temporary kind, involving young men leaving the family home in an endeavour to establish an autonomous identity. This kind of travel is often taken in the company of other men. It carries a high risk of criminalisation, principally as a result of good order and driving offences. At this stage the journeys of these individuals are best understood as a form of temporary mobility, but the open-ended and fluid nature of travels distinguishes it from the kind of travel undertaken by purposive, predictable visits to service centres. Within housing services these individuals are understood as transients and although this term is a somewhat stigmatising one, it does capture the fluidity and indeterminate nature of this kind of mobility. Such individuals may have a family home, but it is unlikely to be their own. Low resources, cultural preferences and the lack of affordable short-term accommodation mean that these individuals are likely to stay with relatives or sleep in the open. They form a sub-group within the primary homelessness category, distinct from the chronically homeless because of the temporary and voluntary nature of their living situation. This kind of mobility generates a need for low-cost, short-stay accommodation, post-custodial accommodation support, access to drug and alcohol services, and assistance to return to home communities. Their relatives who act as hosts also need support to minimise the potential that their housing tenure will be destabilised.

The anecdotal evidence suggests that most of these men eventually form families and return to their home communities, with a small number finding work and effectively becoming migrants. A minority remain highly mobile, vulnerable to deeper engagement with the criminal justice system and attendant risks of chronic homelessness. For these individuals mobility is essentially forced mobility, associated with substance use and characterised by cycling between overcrowded relatives' homes, public space, crisis and emergency accommodation, and prison or other lock-ups. As these individuals age, engagement with the criminal justice system declines, and health service needs rise. At this stage these individuals are best understood as forming the chronic homeless. These men are the ones currently targeted under the NPAH with its focus on outreach services for rough sleepers. Their high and complex needs require case management, involving integrated services directed towards long-term, stable accommodation. Within this group there are likely to be some individuals requiring mediation services to explore the possibility of returning to their home communities.

Women

The findings from Western Australia describe a pattern of mobility among young women from remote communities that falls somewhere between visitor and migration. The periods of absence are too long to be defined as visits, and not purposive enough to be migration, even though this may be the eventual outcome. It may be that the knowledge about the kinds of journeys made by young women is currently insufficient to provide useful categorisation.

Once women have established their families, by their early 20s, a number of patterns are apparent. One of these is routine, predictable and planned visits involved access to services and travel for entertainment and holidays, especially to coastal areas around school holidays and the hottest months of January and February, and in the

wet season. Funeral attendance can also be located within this category. Also predictable are journeys as family supporters for relatives accessing health services and in prison. These journeys are usually made in family groups and are best understood as voluntary visits requiring family-friendly short-term accommodation, with access to information about transport and Centrelink as well as translators. The kind of homelessness generated within this group is similar to that of young men. It is principally secondary homelessness, involving temporary residence with relatives, and even if rough sleeping is involved, this is distinct from the involuntary chronic itinerancy that characterises older age groups.

Unpredictable, involuntary mobility among women occurs mainly in relation to family violence and carries the greatest risk of homelessness. For women in remote areas in situations of family violence the choices are stark. If they leave their partners, it is difficult for them to remain in their communities. To stay home is to risk injury. If they do leave, they risk both emotional and physical homelessness. These individuals are best understood as involuntary travellers, requiring permanent accommodation. The interviews suggest that the need for housing leads them to travel to larger population centres, so their initial requirements are for transitional accommodation and support to obtain permanent accommodation. This should include an assessment of the need for additional space to provide for visitors, as well as access to information about Centrelink services, schools, family and child health services, living skills programs so that they develop the skills to sustain their tenancies. Mentoring programs involving the support of other Indigenous women from the same language group are especially appropriate for these women. An alternative approach, currently being developed in South Australia is the provision of accommodation for male perpetrators so that they are the ones who leave the family home, rather than the women and children.

8.4 Conceptualising temporary mobility, homelessness and migration

This analysis suggests that temporary mobility can be understood as framed by the two dimensions of time and agency, each of which is a continuum and which, taken together, form a framework along which different categories of geographical movement can be located. Seven categories of mobility can be usefully distinguished: visitors, migrants, boarders, between place dwellers, transients, involuntary travellers, and the chronically homeless. Each is located within the framework according to degree of voluntariness and the duration of travel. Time ranges from short-term journeys, involving an overnight stay to a few weeks, to more or less permanent departures, involving long-term relocation of a year or more. Agency expresses the degree of voluntariness involved, with culturally sanctioned mobility at one end of the continuum, and structurally determined, involuntary mobility at the other. The seven mobility categories are distributed between the corners and the middle of the frame with position indicating vulnerability to homelessness. The framework is predominantly constructed around the needs of rural and remote travellers, although some of the categories relate to groups living in urban environments.

1. Visitors

Visitors sit in the voluntary, temporary corner of the mobility framework. Their journeys are undertaken without any underlying external pressure and involve largely predictable travel of a short-term nature. Visiting kin, travel to service centres for shopping, customary practices, entertainment, holidays and business reasons fit within this category. This kind of activity is often undertaken by in large, kin-related groups with women with families well represented.

2. Migrants

Migrants are defined as sitting in the voluntary permanent corner of the mobility framework. By this definition, to be a migrant implies an act of agency involving a decision to relocate relatively permanently. Employment and marriage are examples of this. Such journeys are typically undertaken by individuals and couples, with or without children. It is debatable whether or not individuals whose health needs, such as access to renal dialysis treatment, belong in this group because the voluntariness of their travel is more akin to that of boarders, however, for simplicity's sake, and because of their long-term dependence on services unavailable in their home location, they have been included here.

3. Boarders

Boarders are located towards the involuntary/temporary area of the framework. Their journeys are directed towards the need to travel elsewhere in order to receive a needed service, including training, education, health, and serving a custodial sentence. A defining characteristic is that the journeys involve a high degree of predictability as to the length of time away from home. They are often planned and provision for temporary accommodation has been made.

4. Between place dwellers

Between place dwellers include individuals whose frequent travel between one or more locations is derived from tradition rather than housing exclusion or other involuntary factors. They include individuals with bi- or tri-locational residence who are located within a mobility region but who count home as more than one place, travelling regularly between two or more locations. This may be because of kinship ties, as in the case of young women travelling between the coastal Indigenous communities of Mungullah, in Carnarvon and Burringurah, which is situated 400 kilometres to the east, in the Upper Gascoyne area. Or it can be due to weather events, as occurs in the Fitzroy Valley where individuals and families may maintain a home in two locations because one of them gets cut off, or provides inadequate shelter, during the wet season.

5. Transients

Transients are distinct from between place dwellers in the degree of involuntariness involved. Although the departure is voluntary, the act of agency is compromised by circumstances that are beyond the individual's control and involve a heightened risk of homelessness. Visiting takes place in a context of overcrowding and housing exclusion with frequent moves and some public space dwelling. Where this is combined with alcohol use, this group is especially vulnerable to chronic homelessness. This category includes young men who begin their journey as part of a way of establishing autonomy but whose absence, often associated with significant alcohol use, becomes prolonged. What began as a culturally sanctioned activity changes into one that is perceived as problematic by other family and community members (Birdsall-Jones & Shaw 2008). As well as being especially vulnerable to homelessness, this is also the group most implicated in destabilising the tenancies of those with whom they stay.

Transients also include individuals and families whose travel results from resistance to policy change, as occurred after the introduction of the Northern Territory Intervention. This resulted in a degree of population churn with individuals and families leaving their home communities for a period, but eventually returning to them. Similar effects were found in Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory, and also in Western Australia in the Upper Gascoyne where the introduction of stringent regulations

attached to income support led some individuals to move somewhere else. Individuals who leave communities because of difficult circumstances due to stresses associated with inadequate service provision or funding uncertainties also belong to this group.

6. Involuntary travellers

Involuntary travellers are those individuals whose departures involve little in the way of choice. They are forced to move for a relatively indeterminate time, either because they are unable to stay in their home, or because relationships within the community have broken down to such an extent that they are excluded from it. This group includes individuals who have a home but leave it periodically to stay with relatives because of overcrowding as well as individuals, predominantly women, escaping family violence where the duration of absence is difficult to predict.

7. Chronically homeless

The last group are the chronically homeless who represent the most hard-to-serve population group. These individuals are more likely to be single and to have high and complex needs. Their mobility is overwhelmingly involuntary, associated with substance use and characterised by cycling between overcrowded relatives' homes, public space, crisis and emergency accommodation, and prison or other custodial shelter. As these individuals age, engagement with the criminal justice system declines and health service needs rise. At this stage these individuals are best understood as forming the chronic homeless. They are predominantly single men with high and complex needs.

This categorisation is an ideal type and reality is far more complex with some groups overlapping categories or sitting outside them. But as a broad brush grouping of characteristics associated with mobility it is helpful insofar as it does bear a relationship to the motives and meanings of different kinds of mobility, the associated risk of homelessness, and service need. Visitors and boarders are the groups with the lowest vulnerability to homelessness, while the other groups are all high risk.

8.5 Improving service responses

Temporary mobility is a major contributor to homelessness with implications for its measurement and service delivery that are currently inadequately recognised. The NPAH targets rough sleepers, defining them as individuals who do not have a permanent home. This ignores an important group of temporary homelessness and misses an opportunity for early intervention, contrary to the NPAH principles of prevention.

8.5.1 Redefining homelessness

The findings from this study suggest that within the category of Indigenous rough sleepers there are a wide range of groups, with varying vulnerability to homelessness. Involuntary travellers and transients from remote and very remote communities are especially vulnerable because through choice or exclusion they are unable or unwilling to return home. These individuals are likely to be single, and to have high and complex needs involving combinations of substance use, gambling and physical and mental disabilities. Their itinerancy and rough sleeping may be experienced as a lifestyle choice, but the lack of housing options and limited tenancy sustainment skills provides so few options that it is best understood as involuntary. The remaining groups are at less risk of homelessness, but for migrants and boarders without accommodation arrangements as well as between place dwellers, there is a possibility that the absence of options for safe, secure and affordable temporary accommodation may eventually lead to long-term housing exclusion. Consequently individuals from all

these groups, apart from visitors, need to be included in the homelessness count to establish a more accurate estimation of need, providing a necessary first step to reducing the link between overcrowding, temporary mobility and homelessness. This is especially the case for the transient group of young men who, as they age, form one of the most hard to serve chronically homeless.

8.5.2 Transit centres

The establishment of transit centres in locations known to receive high numbers of visitors and transients, such as Coober Pedy, Port Augusta and Broome, would help to reduce the associated risks of homelessness and criminalisation. These could provide information about short-term accommodation and homelessness services, Centrelink and employment, access to translators and the internet and return to country programs. Such centres could also serve as a meeting point and communication centre, with a system for messages to be left and collected by visitors. As a one-stop shop providing information for new arrivals, they also fill the current gap in provision of information services for newly-arrived Indigenous migrants, including women and children escaping domestic violence. The establishment of such centres was one of the recommendations of the Hope Report (2008a, pp.52–3). These centres would involve a substantial capital investment and recurrent funding on the part of the governments in addition to well-developed inter-agency agreements.

8.5.3 Short-term accommodation

The accommodation needs of visitors and transient individuals and families are not currently well served. With the exception of South Australia's Transitional Accommodation Centres and the facilities being developed as part of the Alice Springs Accommodation Park, AHL hostels is the only program that targets the needs of these groups. The Transitional Accommodation Centres provide an alternative model of short-term accommodation that complements the existing system of AHL Hostels, providing facilities more appropriate for travellers from remote communities. The provision of traditional and conventional accommodation, and of arrangements that allow families to remain together, as well as the integration of support services, is consistent with the views of the Indigenous informants of this study. AHL hostels seem to be most effective when the fees are covered by other services, such as the PATS program, and appear less suited for the individuals travelling from remote communities who wish to remain together as a family, and who resist the institutionalised environment of the AHL program. The transitional accommodation centre style of accommodation is especially important for regional and sub-regional centres experiencing high numbers of visitors and transients.

It is important to note that Indigenous beliefs about death and dying mean that for some individuals, being accommodated close to those with serious health conditions can create anxiety and fear and result in a reduced willingness to use those AHL hostels that target renal and other chronically ill groups. If these facilities are to achieve optimal capacity there is a need for arrangements that take this into account.

The sociospatial implications arising from the management of different language groups are examined in some detail in Memmott et al. 2003, p.36). This highlights the need for such centres to be developed with an understanding of the social structure and cultural identity of service users so that their needs and social dynamics are taken into account (Memmott et al. 2003, p.37). The development phase requires a needs assessment and a strategy for Indigenous and non-Indigenous community consultation. This should include plans for dealing with the potential conflict between local businesses, who usually want to locate these facilities away from tourists and at

a distance from the city centre, and service users, who need to be located centrally where they can access essential services.

The Commonwealth has developed provision of hostel accommodation to support access to education and employment and some medical services, and some domestic violence crisis accommodation. Further provision of temporary accommodation is also needed for those accessing health, drug and alcohol, mental health and juvenile and criminal justice services. It is important to be aware that while the Commonwealth provides funding, direct service provision has been shifted to the states and territories, limiting the resource base necessary for such facilities to be developed. Adequate recurrent funding is essential as well as appropriate funding sources for services specifically targeting temporary mobility. If this is not done, the targets attached to the funding are likely to be inappropriate, for example if funded by homelessness programs.

8.5.4 Policies and practices

Over the last decade, SHAs have made significant changes to policies in response to their changing tenant profile and the growth in the number of Indigenous tenants but housing needs arising from Indigenous temporary mobility remains marginally addressed with a number of areas where provision could be improved.

A transitional accommodation program

Apart from South Australia, temporary accommodation is largely missing from the programs provided by SHAs. South Australia is the only state that has a distinct program specifically targeting the short-term accommodation needs of Indigenous and other individuals that is distinct from that provided by homelessness services. For Western Australia, the Northern Territory and Queensland, who are responsible for housing services covering large areas containing discrete Indigenous communities, there is a need for a distinctive program targeting the housing needs associated with high levels of mobility. The transitional accommodation centres that are currently being developed in Western Australia and the Northern Territory are obvious candidates for inclusion. As they are an extension of existing services these developments require adequate additional resourcing, covering both recurrent funding as well as capital costs. This investment is justified in terms of the early intervention focus of such a program, and its capacity to prevent chronic homelessness.

Transport and return to country programs

Difficulties in making the return journey from larger population centres to remote and very remote communities appears as a constant theme in the case studies. Most of the Indigenous respondents who contributed to this study were unaware of return to country programs, relying instead on private transport, while service providers spoke often of clients who lacked the resources to return home. Of the seven case studies, Broome and Adelaide were the only locations operating a return to country program, and in each case these seemed to have a low profile and offer a limited service. This includes leaving people in regional centres rather than ensuring that they are able to return to their home community. Further investigation of the ingredients for the successful operation of these programs is warranted. One suggestion was for staff with strong connections with the communities from which Indigenous travellers often came from to be employed and to travel to the communities prior to major travel times, including the summer 'migration' so that they could inform key staff about the services. This would enable knowledge of the service's existence to be disseminated before people had even started their journey. The experience of one service provider suggested that establishing such connections requires constant work, but it means

that the organisation has a face and service users will feel more comfortable contacting it for help. This is a relatively low resource, but effective strategy for improving the uptake of these services, reducing the likelihood that people will become caught for indefinite periods in cities and towns. In general, the more connections services have with home communities, the more likely they are to be used by community members when travelling away from home. Return to country programs should also be integrated with other services, including health, women's services and criminal and juvenile justice facilities.

The study also highlights the need for improvements to public transport servicing connections between remote and very remote communities and regional towns. Public transport is limited and expensive and there is a heavy reliance on private transport. Improving transport is critical to reducing the risks associated with temporary mobility, with data on apprehensions providing a strong indication of the association between mobility and criminalisation, and a corresponding increased vulnerability to homelessness. The NT studies point to the potential for the development of an air transport system in remote locations, in association with Indigenous organisations, using the Laynhapuy Air services as a model.

Service planning and coordination in regional centres

In those regional centres, such as Port Augusta and Broome, which are known to attract significant numbers of visitors, service coordination could be improved through the establishment of a planning body targeting the needs of these visitors. Membership should include government and non-government stakeholders, including representatives from Indigenous community organisations. Initial goals would be to establish a robust evidence base of the needs of temporary visitors, followed by a plan for community consultation and service provision, along the lines of transitional accommodation programs outlined above, with provision for transit centres, alcohol management strategies and return to country programs.

More generally, SHAs and ICOs could develop a much clearer understanding of periods of peak use, for example, ceremony times, major entertainment events, and school holidays. These could be anticipated and planned for in conjunction with innovative strategies such as supporting key hosts.

Consultation

Inadequate consultation was raised as an issue in a number of the case study areas. Indigenous informants described local Indigenous organisations being by-passed or consultation being conducted in a cursory way which provided inadequate time for representative community input. A failure to consult traditional owners was also identified. Adequate plans for consultation that include key stakeholders, and provide opportunities for considered input from key Indigenous stakeholders are essential for the establishment of new services, especially capital intensive infrastructure such as the proposed transitional accommodation centres in Adelaide, Coober Pedy, Broome, Fitzroy Crossing and Alice Springs. Where consultation processes are inadequate there is a risk that these facilities will be under-utilised.

Improving communication to tenants

Provision of information to tenants about policies and services relevant to temporary mobility could be improved. Tenants need to understand how the arrival of visitors and their own temporary absence will be treated by the housing service so that they have a full understanding of the risks to tenancy stability and strategies for effective visitor management. Currently, clear guidance on relevant policies, as identified in Chapter 3, is lacking. Tenants could be better supported if they were provided with easy to

understand information in the form of Fact Sheets, short booklets, notes, fridge magnets, and other strategies that, through a combination of imagery and text, explain the requirements of these aspects of their tenancies.

Flexible provision for absence

Regulations on absence could be improved through some loosening of requirements for notification of absence, especially in circumstances outside of the tenant's control. The Victorian Department of Housing's provision for six months absence without a requirement for notification and for lower rent to be paid in certain circumstances necessitating absence is an example of good practice. Although housing providers need to ensure their scarce resources are used effectively, the absence of the tenant need not mean that the house is empty. In both urban and remote locations there are possibilities for negotiation with people from local communities and leaders to make arrangements that provide for the occupation of homes during the tenant's absence.

Recognising and supporting hosts

There is a consistent account that within Indigenous communities, in both metropolitan and remote settings, some households are regularly called on to accommodate visiting family and community members. There is opportunity to develop policies that recognise and support the individuals involved through formal recognition and provision of larger homes, with capacity for additional space. They could also benefit from improved access to translation services, to support workers to help them to manage high needs visitors, including drug and alcohol services and assistance to help their relatives return to their home communities. The wear and tear associated with frequent visitors justifies a more active maintenance program and some debt relief. These policies are especially relevant in urban areas where some households become destination points for visiting relatives, especially during the school holidays.

Service integration: housing, drug and alcohol and mental health services

Alcohol use is deeply implicated in issues affecting some kinds of itinerancy and homelessness. This has been a subject that has not been well addressed in the housing literature although there is increasing attention to the development of services that address the associated mental health issues. Alcohol use creates situations that result in some individuals relocating to escape liquor restrictions, and contributes to tenancy failure through its association with disruptive visitor behaviours. The Northern Territory case study points to the roots of these behaviours in trauma, stress, mental illness and social exclusion and emphasises the importance for housing services to develop links with alcohol and drug and mental health services so that tenants can be supported to address these issues if they are affecting the behaviour of their visitors. This is an area where the expertise of ICOs such as UCC in Coober Pedy may be especially useful.

Service integration: housing and criminal justice services

The short-term housing needs of individuals involved in the juvenile and criminal justice systems is a core finding of the study. Individuals from rural and remote areas experience difficulties in returning home after being released from bail or a custodial sentence, partly because transport is limited and expensive. Those who stay run the risk of further engagement with the criminal justice system and they may also threaten the tenancies of their relatives. Attending court is expensive and may necessitate a prolonged stay in town, but affordable accommodation is difficult to find, especially as many hostels exclude individuals with criminal justice involvement. Individuals from remote communities often lack the living skills and information necessary to navigate

the support systems available. Families visiting relatives serving custodial sentences also require affordable temporary accommodation. Improvements in service integration between housing and criminal justice systems, is needed in relation to:

- Providing inexpensive short-term accommodation close to District Courts, detention centres and prisons for visitors and individuals from rural and remote areas who are attending court, exiting prison or visiting relatives. The entrance criteria of hostel facilities need to be flexible enough not to exclude individuals who have involvement in the criminal or juvenile justice systems.
- Providing support systems for individuals attending court so that they are able to negotiate Centrelink requirements and access their income.
- Developing strategies, in consultation with local governments, that support individuals facing good order and other drug and alcohol related charges, to return home safely and in a timely fashion.

Identity requirements

Requirements for the establishment of Aboriginal identity by SHAs are currently slow and onerous, and, in small towns, experienced as shaming by Indigenous housing applicants. There is no provision for discretion to be adopted by local housing service officers over this requirement—even when the applicant has been known to the Aboriginal officer all their lives. In Coober Pedy, for example, Aboriginal people must provide proof of Aboriginality as a precursor to being considered as potential Housing SA clients and the form must be counter-signed by an authoritative Aboriginal organisation. For a range of reasons, including shame at having to ask people they have known all their lives to verify their Aboriginality, they may fail in their attempts to get the form signed by an appropriate authority. In these locations, consideration could be given to accepting the housing officer's prior knowledge of Aboriginal applicants.

Cultural awareness programs

Indigenous informants spoke of breaches of cultural protocols in ways that contributed to tenancy failure and so to involuntary mobility. Sometimes there was a sense that the articulation between SHA housing policy and practice was incomplete. Although SHA housing officers routinely participate in cultural awareness programs, these need to be reviewed for their effectiveness. Consideration could be given for housing officers to have greater exposure to the everyday experiences of their Indigenous tenants so they have a better understanding of their needs—for example, by establishing a buddy system for non-Indigenous and Indigenous housing officers.

Administrative data for service planning

Improved information capture and exchange is a priority of the NAHA, with all three associated NPAs focusing on improving the collection of data. As this takes place, this will provide an opportunity for more accurate mining of this data for service planning in relation to the needs of visitors, transients and migrants. The contribution of housing and other administrative data to this study, as well as the work of other researchers (Prout & Yap 2010), shows that administrative datasets held by agencies can do much to assist accurate targeting of programs and planning for future needs. Current data capture for Housing SA and the Western Australian Department of Housing does not identify the home community of waiting list applicants or tenants. Including this variable would enable accurate enumeration of trends in housing demand and profiling of tenants for better identification of service needs. This needs to be accompanied by an awareness of the limitations of the data so that there is an

understanding that, for example, waiting lists are shaped by housing availability and are not necessarily an accurate reflection of where people actually want to live.

Building on local solutions: the ICO sector

The South Australian and Western Australian case studies identified strong local networks in Port Augusta, Coober Pedy, Carnarvon, Broome and Fitzroy Crossing, with a high level of cooperation among key players across major sectors. Relationships between state government housing and local ICOs were reportedly strong with ICOs moving towards becoming recognised as preferred managers of SHA housing. This was described as a positive development and essential for the stability of remote communities. ICOs have long experience in handling the complex issues arising from Indigenous temporary mobility, such as the vacation of homes as part of Sorry business, and management of the maintenance issues arising from large, and changing households. The support they provide to some of the most difficult to serve populations is illustrated here:

There are some individuals in [town] who are reportedly so disabled by alcohol use that they reportedly can't manage to sustain a tenancy. These individuals can't even get a key in the door.' [ICO] have units for these individuals. The Units are cleaned by [ICO] staff, weekly or more often as required.

They would be homeless but for this support. The [SHA] won't have them. There is no funding for the service we provide. The support is provided from rental income. They have families with them, eight or nine people per household.

A recognised strength of ICOs is the extent of local knowledge (linguistic, cultural and personal) within the ranks of the Board and administrative staff. It would be a mistake to overlook the capacity of ICOs to connect with the local community and provide effective services and yet they are not currently in a strong competitive position to tender for future service delivery programs. This problem has been exacerbated by the withdrawal of municipal services funding to some ICOs and slow payments for ongoing maintenance of housing stock. Continued financial and professional support for ICOs to meet necessary external accreditation requirements and to complete tender applications for service delivery is recommended.

Mediation services in communities

Difficult, tense and conflicting relationships within communities were identified as a common reason for individuals leaving them. Closely allied to this were concerns that the unpredictable and unplanned nature of such journeys, together with the difficulty of finding affordable, culturally appropriate accommodation, creates a heightened vulnerability to homelessness and substance use. One way of supporting these individuals and preventing the slide into homelessness would be to provide mediation services in regional towns and capital cities aimed at exploring with them, and community members, the possibilities for either returning home or establishing a new home somewhere else.

8.5.5 Renal dialysis patients

End-stage kidney disease appears as a major cause of population movement among Indigenous peoples in these accounts. The high prevalence of kidney disease within the Indigenous population means that the number of people affected is substantial and the mobility impact is multiplied by the accompaniment of kin. These individuals must access renal dialysis services several times a week and where treatment is not

accessible in their home communities they have to relocate to where it is located. This point is put starkly by Whittaker:

Anangu going on to dialysis now have little choice about their future; either they must exist in exile far, far from their home communities and their country, or they can go home and die. They have no other choice. (Whittaker 2010, p.2).

These individuals are best understood as migrants in need of housing close to renal services, with tenancy sustainment supports to enable them to adjust to urban living. Where this support is inadequate, there is a strong likelihood that they will not be able to sustain tenancies and will risk homelessness. Individuals in this situation will either choose to return to their homeland communities or continue to live in sub-standard conditions with consequent severe health consequences.

There is an urgent need for the establishment of partnerships between SHAs and health services so that an integrated package of housing, health and related services can be provided for this highly vulnerable group. The NPAH specifies that there should be 'no exit to homelessness' from institutional care, including health care. This highlights the policy imperative to provide temporary accommodation for this group. There is a need for the establishment of dedicated outreach and integrated service delivery approaches. The housing and related needs of individuals requiring renal dialysis services needs to be assessed before they leave their communities, with accommodation requirements for family supporters and visitors taken into account. On arrival, they need to be provided with information, financial management and a living skills program so they can successfully manage their tenancy, with provision for some return visits to their community homes to engage with families.

The first step to resolving the key question of who should fund this requires the establishment of a high-level inter-agency, inter-government group whose first task would be to establish the costs involved in the likely locations.

Renal and other health services that require short- to medium-term stays should have an Indigenous worker attached to them to provide for clients whose first language is not English. They should also consider a case management approach to individuals located at a distance, which provides for meeting the accommodation needs of clients and relatives likely to visit or stay with them for short to medium term. The costs of this should also be assessed against the cost of provision of accessible treatment in home communities.

This study has found that this need is especially acute in relation to the APY Lands with all informants in Adelaide agreeing that this group accounts for the majority of recent population movement of Anangu from APY Lands to the Adelaide metropolitan area.

8.5.6 Building on existing resources

In considering these suggestions, consideration needs to be given to where efficiencies will be greatest by building on existing infrastructure, or developing low resource suggestions, such as improving cultural awareness programs. The development of transit centres, for example, could be most relevant in locations where there is already a solid foundation for such facilities, such as an ICO which is already providing many of these services, or a well-resourced, centrally located community centre. Developing a 'key hosts' program might be a relatively low resource strategy that is especially useful in regional centres subject to predictable population influxes associated with the wet or holiday season.

8.6 Population change

The evidence surveyed in this study suggests that the changes to service provision in remote communities that have taken place in the last five years have produced population churn rather than long-term population movement. The analysis of housing administrative data suggests that the demand for housing in Port Augusta, Adelaide, Broome and Carnarvon, is predominantly derived from Indigenous individuals already in these locations, rather than those located outside it. The implication is that the most pressing need in these locations is permanent, affordable housing and that this would reduce some of the forced mobility that arises from overcrowding.

The movement associated with these changes is principally population churn. This kind of spontaneous and unplanned population movement was present in Port Augusta, Mungullah and Burringurrah as well Tennant Creek and Nhulunbuy. It was also associated with the destabilisation of ICOs following the withdrawal of government funding. Changes to CDEP were also implicated in the exit of individuals from Burringurrah, Tennant Creek and Nhulunbuy.

In the case of liquor restrictions, the evidence from Fitzroy Crossing is that the immediate effect was to create significant temporary population movement to Halls Creek, Derby and Broome, with the out-migration of a small number of individuals compensated by in-migration from others returning to homeland communities.

There is evidence from the Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek case studies that in the Northern Territory the NTER and the COAG National Partnership Agreements have not created long-term population movement, but rather damaging population churn that is causing itinerancy, overcrowding and tenancy failure, as well as anxiety about what the NPARSD means for the viability of smaller communities, with predictions that it will lead to forced migration. As in the Fitzroy Crossing study, the direction of population movement is described as to adjacent communities rather than more distant locations.

An important proviso to this conclusion is that this research was conducted at an early stage of the implementation of the NPARSD and prior to the complete termination of CDEP. It is too soon to say what will happen to those smaller remote and very remote communities that have not been recognised as viable by state governments. Indigenous informants and some service providers remained very concerned about their future despite the expressed determination of community members to remain on their homelands even if they are defunded. The Fitzroy Crossing data and the Fitzroy Valley study (Morphy 2010), suggests that if people do move, it will be to adjacent communities where they have kin.

This study is a relatively small investigation and its findings require cautious interpretation. Each region has its own set of dynamics and opportunities, with the prospects for the development of local economies unevenly spread. The Western Australian case studies, especially Fitzroy Crossing and Broome, represent examples of communities that are being supported with substantial government investment. Other communities have strong ICOs and capacity derived from external income sources, such as tourism or mining royalties, as in the case of Umoona at Coober Pedy, creating the possibility of the development of an alternative economy. But there are others that have fewer choices. This seems to be the case in the APY Lands where the NPARSD has recognised only two priority communities and the future of some is reportedly uncertain.

The NAHA is predicated on a whole-of-sector approach in which Indigenous homelessness will be addressing by improving access to mainstream housing

markets, improving housing amenity and reducing overcrowding. There has always been a question of how realistic the goal of home ownership is, so long as the gap between housing purchase costs and Indigenous incomes remains so wide. It is especially unrealistic in remote settings given the cost of housing construction and maintenance. This has been recognised in the Northern Territory by the Valuer-General who estimated the 64 prescribed communities to have a compensatory rental value of only \$3.4 million, or less than \$30 000 each per annum, which is inadequate collateral for mortgage finance (Altman 2010). It remains the case that in those communities deemed unviable by state governments, the Indigenous individuals and families will be unable to remain there.

The Northern Territory study also drives home the context of inadequate housing in which Indigenous temporary mobility takes place. In locations like Darwin where an estimated 3000 individuals sleep in the open every night and homes are severely overcrowded, and in Tennant Creek where the case study suggests there is a shortage of up to 300 houses, the question of how housing services can improve their responses to Indigenous temporary mobility seems secondary to meeting this need. The data on Lakeview suggests that in the absence of exit points, staff and support workers struggle to juggle the risk that temporary accommodation will become permanent or exiting people into inappropriate and unstable forms of housing.. Unless the underlying issues of housing shortage and sub-standard housing are first addressed, it is difficult to see what can be done to change the revolving door of overcrowding, housing failure and homelessness.

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APPENDIX: GOOD PRACTICE EXAMPLES

The study's objectives include provision of some costed good practice examples relevant to Indigenous temporary mobility and migration. Six are provided here, including:

- A short-term accommodation facility that provides an alternative model to that of AHL and targets Indigenous travellers from remote locations.
- A program for the provision of portable accommodation units provided to SHA tenants with large families.
- Two homelessness programs supporting Indigenous individuals and families into stable accommodation, both of which have the potential to support temporary visitors into short-term accommodation.
- A progressive proof of identity policy especially relevant to the needs of Indigenous travellers or migrants moving from remote to urban locations.
- A tenancy support program that targets Indigenous migrants who have moved from remote areas to Perth who require medium to long-term accommodation.

Lakeview Transitional Accommodation Centre, South Australian Department of Families and Children

Lakeview provides an example of a service that is most relevant to Indigenous individuals and families from remote locations travelling to larger population centres that require culturally appropriate short- to medium-term accommodation, which is family friendly. A high percentage of the staff belong to either the same, or closely related, language groups as the clients. The facility is designed for independent living but support services are available, including informal case management.

Street to Home homeless service, South Australian Department of Health and Department of Families and Children

This is a generic program that targets rough sleepers and aims to support them to achieve stable, appropriate long-term accommodation. There is potential for it to be adapted to meet the short-term housing needs created through temporary Indigenous mobility and thereby be used to address overcrowding (secondary homelessness).

Western Australian Department of Housing Proof of Identity Policies

The WA proof of identity policy reviewed here is directly relevant to housing service access issues facing all Indigenous people in WA. It is especially relevant to those who have moved away from their home community (either temporarily or who have migrated) and require medium to long-term accommodation at a new location where proving their identity may be difficult.

Proof of identity policies are relevant to all Indigenous people requiring access to accommodation services (short-term, transitional or long-term) across Australia.

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Proof of identity policies are relevant to all Indigenous people requiring access to accommodation services (short-term, transitional or long-term) across Australia.

Large Family Accommodation Program: Sleep Outs

This program is most relevant to Indigenous people who require short to medium-term accommodation on an existing SHA property. Short to medium-term housing is needed by a tenant to support visitors who are experiencing homelessness, visiting family, or in the area for healthcare.

The program directly addresses the housing needs created by the following types of Indigenous mobility: temporary mobility (primary or secondary homelessness), and chronic long-term mobility.

Private Rental Liaison Program

This program is most relevant to Indigenous people who have migrated to a particular area or who require medium to long-term accommodation for reasons such as health treatment and escape from family violence and where the length of stay required may be uncertain.

Ruah Community Services Tenancy and Aboriginal Tenancy Support Programs

Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro is a generic housing service that addresses the housing needs created by the following types of Indigenous mobility: chronic long-term mobility (homelessness), medium to long-term stays in a particular location, and migration.

The *Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support Service* is most relevant to Indigenous individuals and families who have a poor tenancy history, or a history of chronic long-term mobility and who require medium to long-term accommodation in the Perth metropolitan region. Accommodation is required for a range of reasons, such as healthcare, family violence or migration.

The program directly addresses the housing needs created by the movement of community-based Indigenous people to urban settings for medium to long-term stays. In particular, this program supports the housing needs of Indigenous people moving from Gnangara and Cullacabardi Aboriginal town-based Communities to Perth.

Lakeview Transitional Accommodation Centre

Port Augusta, South Australia

Website: <http://www.dfc.sa.gov.au/pub/default.aspx?tabid=262>

Context and history

The need for transitional accommodation in the regional town of Port Augusta was driven by the movements of Anangu (Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara) people travelling between remote communities and regional centres for cultural, social, health and personal reasons. Over recent years, limited accommodation options, combined with increased economic activity within the Port Augusta and Davenport Council area, have exacerbated overcrowding and community disruptions from visitors occupying and sleeping 'rough' in the town's public places.

The Lakeview Transitional Accommodation Program was designed to provide a coordinated response to the social, domestic and health issues of Aboriginal visitors in Port Augusta by establishing and developing infrastructure and an integrated Human Services response. Plans for the transitional accommodation centre received strong community support, as well as multi-level government support (Port Augusta Council, Davenport Community Council, the state government and other key stakeholders). Lakeview Transitional Accommodation Centre opened on 5 December 2005, following the successful transitional model of Wangka Wilurrara Accommodation Centre in Ceduna. Both transitional accommodation centres operate under the Safetracks Program. According to FAHCSIA, 235 adults and 203 children were provided with accommodation at Lakeview during 2007–08 (FAHCSIA, 2010).

The centre is located 6 kilometres from the city centre on land donated by the Davenport Aboriginal community council. The site has been developed in stages and currently has capacity for approximately 140 residents. Accommodation varies in type and size; there are ten one-room units (with double-bed, single-bed and trundle), three one-bed independent living units with kitchen, and 35 wiltjas (combination of small and large). The centre provides bedding, ablution and laundry facilities. Independent cooking facilities are available, including a traditional eating area to service a number of family groups, alternatively residents have the option for cooked meals twice daily. The centre houses on average 30 residents each month, although in summer the intake is considerably higher, averaging over 100 residents a night.

Governance and funding

In the outset, project management of Lakeview was undertaken by the Aboriginal Housing Authority (AHA). Responsibilities were outlined within two separate Memoranda of Understanding between:

- The High Needs Housing Unit, Supported Accommodation Assistance Program and the AHA .
- The AHA and local Port Augusta service providers regarding the establishment of a Planning and Development Committee to develop the infrastructure and the delivery of integrated human services for residents.

The Planning and Development Committee consisted of the Davenport Community Council, the Department for Families and Communities (including the Aboriginal Housing Authority, now Housing SA), the Department of Health, the Division of

Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, City of Port Augusta, SAPOL, ALT and ICC Port Augusta.

These governance structures were reformed in April 2009 in order to better connect Lakeview's residents with housing and support options offered by Housing SA. Today, Safetrack's centres are under local Housing SA management. The Lakeview Transitional Housing program is administered by Housing SA in partnership with remote communities, government, non-government organisations and cross border agencies. Parties to current MOUs include: Davenport Community Council, the DFC, Housing SA, Disability Services, Office for Ageing, Aboriginal Health Division, North and Far West Regional Health Service, Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation, City of Port Augusta, SAPOL, Pika Wiya Health Service, Aboriginal Lands Trust and the Indigenous Coordination Centre Port Augusta. It is anticipated that these governance arrangements will enable the centre to address residents' housing pathways from transitional, supported accommodation to independent living options.

Capital funding was approved by the Housing Executive Committee (HEC) and provided through the Crisis Accommodation Program (CAP). At the outset, operational funding for a six-month period was obtained through the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP), with funds provided totalling \$280,000 (Mortimer et al. 2006:5). Current funding is supplied under the National Affordable Housing Agreement (NAHA) at \$700 000 per annum.

Program aims

Initially Lakeview was solely directed at Aboriginal people and families coming from the APY Lands, but nowadays all Aboriginal people are eligible. The centre aims to provide safe, affordable, culturally appropriate transitional accommodation to Aboriginal people who require short-term accommodation while in Port Augusta. Accommodation is provided for periods up to 12 weeks. The service takes a holistic approach to social, domestic and health issues through provision of informal case management, referral and support. The centre targets the accommodation needs produced through Indigenous temporary mobility, rather than Indigenous homelessness. Notwithstanding this, a small proportion of clients are homeless, and do require support to transition homelessness into alternative/long-term accommodation after their stay.

Service model

The initial Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) required Lakeview to: assess residents' needs for services; collate and disseminate information on local services; undertake case work and case management around resident needs, including direct service provision, advocacy, and the facilitation of referrals to appropriate agencies; and assist residents' return to communities or to alternative longer term accommodation on exit. In reality, the centre followed a relatively informal case management model that involved engaging with residents, helping them settle into the centre, and assisting with parenting issues. Today, staff assist residents to apply for permanent accommodation with Housing SA or the Salvation Army accommodation applications, especially in relation to obtaining proof of identification and income, and liaise with external service providers such as Centrelink and others relating to issues ranging from health checks to Easypay deductions.

There is an emphasis on the establishment of constructive, efficient relationships and networks with local external service providers who make regular onsite visits (Salvation Army, Centrelink, MAPS, and fortnightly Red Cross onsite 'Food Cent'

workshop on nutritional low-cost meals, homemakers program and arts and craft). Other external providers' involvement includes Pika Wiya (health and well-being), Drug and Alcohol services, the Aboriginal Resource Centre (domestic violence support), Sober Up services and Return to Country assistance.

The employment of Indigenous workers is an essential part of the service model and has been central to the success of the facility. These have enabled the centre to offer comprehensive services to its APY visits with limited knowledge of English. These staff have been supported through a capacity building program.

Resourcing

The Lakeview Manager and Administrative Officer are employed by DFC, with remaining staff recruited via an employment agency. These include:

- 1 x Support Worker
- 1 x Week day Cleaner
- 1 x Week day Cook
- 1 x Weekend Cook/Cleaner
- 1 x Week day Maintenance person
- 7 x 7-Day rostered Accommodation Workers
- x On Call workers Accommodation Workers

Management is based in the regional office rather than from Adelaide.

Client profile

The centre client base is Aboriginal men and women, individuals, couples and family groups from across the age spectrum. Information relating to the resident profile of the centre was collected in 2006 using the SAAP's SMART data collection instrument. A survey of the first six months of operation found: 146 adult clients accompanied by 61 children accessed transitional accommodation at Lakeview; almost half the adult residents were aged between 20 and 39 years, with a median age of close to 38 years; almost two-thirds of Lakeview clients presented alone, with a further 23 per cent presenting with children; and all adults who were alone with children were female.

In contrast with comparative centres in city settings that deal with clients from a very diverse range of Aboriginal communities, the target client base at Lakeview is generally more homogenous with its clients tending to come from a smaller range of communities. The SMART survey shows Lakeview is primarily providing accommodation to people visiting Port Augusta and most commonly from the APY Lands (65% of adults previously lived in the APY Lands or from areas further North, 20% per cent from elsewhere in South Australia). The centre experiences seasonal fluctuations in occupancy rates, with occupancy peaks in the summer period (December to February). This reflects the influx of between 300 and 500 Indigenous people who come into the area between November and April for a range of reasons including the hot weather.

Most of Lakeview's clients require support services in addition to accommodation: around 93 per cent of adults seeking accommodation at Lakeview were identified as recent arrivals to the Port Augusta area with no means of support, or itinerants. Generally these clients are temporary visitors to the Port Augusta area who plan to return to their home communities or travel elsewhere after their short term stay. Over

86 per cent of adult residents identified that they lived in a house or flat prior to arrival at Lakeview. A small proportion of clients are identified as requiring support to transition into medium- to long-term accommodation.

The 2006 survey reflects that Lakeview is succeeding in providing accommodation of a short-term nature: 47.6 per cent resided at Lakeview for less than seven days; 52.3 per cent are recorded as remaining at the facility for longer than two weeks, with 22.8 per cent of those residing for longer than one month. Generally, the data suggests that people returned to their original form of accommodation.

Benefits

Within Housing SA, the Centre is perceived as largely successful in addressing the temporary accommodation needs of Port Augusta. Further benefits for residents have been identified by stakeholders and Centre staff in relation to residents' independence, improved health and decreased alcohol usage. The Centre's positive profile and positive impact on the area and the local community, as identified in early government reviews, is confirmed through the improved public order in public places in Port Augusta. The centre's high summer occupancy rates and its steady numbers of referrals are further confirmation of this.

Lakeview has assisted in establishing inter-service links with a range of services and agencies. For example, in providing residents with access to health services by helping residents to seek assistance and keep appointments, and in aiding residents in keeping Court-related appointments and improving follow up of justice-related matters and thereby avoiding penalties.

The location of the centre, despite its criticisms, is beneficial in that: it was largely supported by the wider community and Aboriginal people appreciated the site's significance and the Lake; its location on the outskirts of town avoided issues with neighbours; and the topography of the site allowed staff a clear outlook across the site from the administrative buildings and this thereby avoided hidden pockets from becoming safety hotspots.

The range of accommodation types enables the centre to cater to diverse client demographics (families, couples, small groups, big groups, etc). Additionally, the centre can support a range of flexible living practices, from European-style units to the wiltjas and campfire areas more akin to traditional lifestyle needs. Further, a key determinant of the success of the centre and its services is that their design catered to the unique needs of specific communities. The transferability of this model to more urban areas where services are needed to meet a more diverse range of communities might be problematic.

Challenges

Aspects of the consultation and planning process for Lakeview were problematic insofar as no-end user consultation took place (Grant 2006: 9). An assumption was made that user needs could be determined through consultation with stakeholder groups, in particular with the APY and Davenport Councils. Aboriginal groups will often defer to the traditional owners of the land regarding decisions outside their traditional lands. In this case, while the APY council appears to represent end-user needs, they are likely to defer decisions to the Davenport Council, raising questions about the impact such cultural practices would have on the consultation process.

The characteristics of the transient population in Port Augusta are not well documented. Consultation practices assumed visitors would be Anangu people,

ignoring the possibility of further diversity in end users. Data suggests that visitors may originate from further afield, such as Northern SA, WA, and NT (Grant 2006: 10).

Reaching consensus on the location of the centre was a significant hurdle in the planning of Lakeview. While Indigenous people were keen to have the centre located in town close to existing services, others in the local community, and key stakeholders (such as local government) argued for its positioning on the outskirts of town. The chosen site is not only culturally significant to Indigenous people, but it also has a history of tragic events. In recognition of this, some argue that the site would be better suited to ceremonial or sacred purposes, or left empty. Further, the anomaly of the centre's siting (given the dry-zone legislation in place in Port Augusta), adjacent to dry-zone legislation-exempt ALT land (Davenport community) has also been noted.

The centre faces challenges in the development and implementation of an effective case management model. These include:

- It is difficult to attract appropriately qualified Indigenous staff. Informants from the non-government sector suggest that, at times, Lakeview has been understaffed.
- The case management model of service requires the effective provision of ongoing education, training, development and support for staff. Management stability, as well as staffing and rostering structures need to provide support for evolving priorities. Staff also have difficulties balancing the need to enforce regulations, while focusing on providing effective support.
- Service providers and mainstream agencies related challenges in terms of the development of effective models and networks to connect residents with on and off-site support.
- The duration of residence of a small group indicates a small trend towards longer stays. This pattern of usage needs to be monitored. The development of 'exit pathways' support (through individual case management and inter-agency/service provider networks) to address post-transition housing needs is required. Notwithstanding the development of such support, Lakeview's ability to maintain its transitional focus is somewhat dependent on the reduction of existing medium and long-term housing pressures in the Port Augusta area.
- Current admittance procedures at Lakeview are determined by Housing SA regulations. Problematically, the centre is therefore forced to refuse accommodation to people with criminal histories. Conversely, people with medical conditions must provide all the relevant paperwork to staff and sometimes this makes it difficult for them to stay at Lakeview.
- While onsite regulations are strict, poor resident behaviour has been reported at Lakeview with alcohol management difficult to enforce. Policies and procedures are now in place to assist staff in effectively responding to this with strong relationships established with Drug and Alcohol services which employ Aboriginal staff, as well as extra support at night. However, promoting good behaviour is an ongoing challenge, and staff have reported the need to address the limited recreational/meaningful activities available to residents onsite. Further socialisation activities for adults and family groups are needed, as is a regular transport system to link residents to the Port Augusta town centre.
- Aspects of the centre's physical design have been a source of controversy. Contention surrounding the use of the site has been mentioned. Other notable issues are: the images of segregation, discrimination and racism evoked by the centre's three-metre prison-like barbed wire perimeter fencing (labelled 'Blackster' after the nearby Baxter Detention Centre); health and safety concerns related with

permanent sited wiltjas, and access for physical disabilities. Inadequacies in the consultation process have been identified as a source of some of these issues.

Capital and recurrent costs

The capital costs for the construction of the Port Augusta centre were \$1 408 000 (Mortimer et al. 2006, p.5). This capital funding was approved by the Housing Executive Committee (HEC), with funds provided through the Crisis Accommodation Program (CAP). Since the construction of the first phase of the centre, additional accommodation has been built.

In 2005–06, the annual operating budget for the Lakeview centre was \$836 000 (Bennell 2007). Operational funding for a six-month period was obtained through the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP), with funds provided totalling \$280 000. Funding is currently provided by NAHA at a rate of \$700 000 per year.

Street to Home

Program operated by SA Health and SA Department of Families and Children

Website: <http://www.dfc.sa.gov.au/pub/default.aspx?tabid=262>

Context and history

In August 2005, the Street to Home Service (SHS) was established following the 'housing first' model. SHS is founded on the understanding that while multiple factors contribute to homelessness, the provision of housing supports the first steps out of homelessness. The service views the 'provision of appropriate long-term accommodation and personal support as essential in not only assisting people out of rough sleeping but to prevent people returning to homelessness' (Kerdel, 2008; NP).

SHS initially targeted rough sleepers in the Adelaide city area through an assertive outreach and intensive case management approach, but now includes people experiencing primary homelessness across the Adelaide metropolitan region (SA Health 2008, p.10). It is part of a nation-wide initiative under the NPAHL.

Governance and funding

SHS is a joint initiative of the Department of Health and the Department for Families and Communities (DFC) in consultation with the Social Inclusion Unit Adelaide.

There is a MOU between the Department of Health (DH); Department of Families and Communities (DFC); the Social Inclusion Board; the Central Northern Adelaide Health Service (CNAHS), and a service agreement between DH, CNAHS and the DFC, both in place for the period July 2009 to June 2012. The auspicing agency is CNAHS, with the CNAHS Chief Executive Officer providing executive leadership.

The Strategic Steering Committee is comprised of representatives from the DH, CNAHS, and DFC and meets quarterly.

SHS receives a total of \$1 543 000 government funding (and in-kind resources) for each of the financial years 2009–10, 2010–11 and 2011–12 from:

→ the DFC (totalling \$828,700) through:

1. National Affordable Housing Agreement (NAHA)—\$387 400
2. Office of Disability and Client Services—\$86 000
3. Community Services Special Projects—\$355 300

→ the DH (totalling \$714,300 excluding in kind contributions) through:

1. CNAHS Primary Health Base Funding—\$381 300
2. Aboriginal Health Funding—\$33 000.

Program aims

As part of South Australia's NPAH Implementation Plan, the SHS aims to contribute to the NPAHL target of halving the number of South Australians 'sleeping rough' by 2010. The aim is to provide a holistic, integrated service that provides street-based outreach and tailored case-management to homeless people until they are stabilised in longer term accommodation.

Service model

People sleeping rough are identified, tracked, profiled and engaged through procedures and practices outlined below.

There is a strong staff presence in parklands, city squares, homelessness agencies and at other services.

There are strong linkages with other service providers who work with the homeless to help track, profile and engage with the homeless.

Staff practice continual, persistent engagement with people sleeping rough, including those who are less receptive or unwilling.

A profile is kept of all homeless people that SHS encounters, irrespective of whether the client was successfully engaged as a client.

An assessment of each client is undertaken identifying the risks, and their health and accommodation needs. Assessments are made through staff interaction with clients as well as through information provided by interagency networks.

Clients receive assertive support to gain access to transitional accommodation and in order to address immediate health care needs.

SHS assertively supports and encourages clients to access transitional accommodation and to access care for immediate health needs.

SHS advocates for access to accommodation and healthcare.

SHS develops an interim health plan with accommodation and/or healthcare providers to support the provision of these services to SHS's client.

SHS develops informal and formal networks with accommodation and healthcare providers to enable their clients to access these services.

Further assessment and care planning for SHS clients' transition from the street is undertaken.

A comprehensive assessment of SHS clients is undertaken covering substance abuse, housing, general health, mental capacity, financial, tenancy and lifestyle support needs.

SHS coordinates this assessment with other service providers to identify the most appropriate long-term housing option, issues that might impede the transition into this accommodation, and strategies to support this transition.

Where appropriate, an alternate lead agency is appointed, SHS assists as required.

SHS clients housed in transitional accommodation or with a healthcare provider are supported by SHS to transition to longer-term accommodation.

A client care plan is developed in collaboration with other care providers. This includes, for example, advocating with the accommodation provider; accessing white goods, furnishings, household items; assisting clients to establish tenancy (bond, utilities, etc); and provision of in-home practical supports to enable the tenancy to be sustained.

Assertive case-management continues through transition until the client has stabilised in longer-term accommodation or until an alternative agency has taken over the primary case management/support role.

The Street to Home Service is based on a strong interagency collaborative approach. SHS establishes and maintains strong networks (and works in partnership) with other health and human service agencies within the community.

Services are provided in a way that supports an individual's right to self-determination, while recognising that some homeless people will require repeated assertive contact

to engage them, and that some homeless people will require the protection afforded through the orders of the Guardianship Board. SHS is offered as a last resort; therefore the service does not retreat from service provision irrespective of the challenging nature of and/or complexity of a client's need.

A key component of Street to Home's approach is the adoption of a central intake point or 'Duty System'. This system positions SHS as the lead agency accepting direct referrals or requests for support or advice from other services. The Duty System also aims to provide immediate support in accessing accommodation or meeting related client needs. Clients are also referred to SHS through key referral points across metropolitan Adelaide, including Local Government and SA Police.

Client profile

The issues facing Adelaide's homeless people are varied and complex, often including a combination of interrelated social, economic and health issues that together define them as high risk/need individuals. SHS specifically targets the most vulnerable, complex, at-risk group of people sleeping rough. Each SHS client has both inherently complex, and individual needs. The diversity of clients' needs necessitates a service response that is suitably personalised and tailored to these needs.

It is estimated that 25 per cent of SHS clients are Aboriginal: roughly half are local South Australian clients, mainly from outside the metropolitan area (such as from Ceduna, Port Augusta and Ralpin) and half are from interstate, primarily from APY lands, Alice Springs and central Australian communities and a smaller number from NSW, Victoria and communities near the border in WA. Some clients reportedly want to stay in Adelaide, while others want to go back to their home communities.

An example of SHS's work with Indigenous clients is in the local government area of the City of Charles Sturt where SHS worked with the then SAHT, through Housing SA, City of Charles Sturt, and other key health and support agencies, in assisting Anangu and cross border visitors rough sleeping (DFC 2009a, 40).

Benefits

Data relating to Street to Home confirms the effectiveness of this approach (Heggarty, 2006; 31): in its first year of operation, it supported 64 people into long-term accommodation and 198 people in short-term/transitional accommodation; in 2006–07, the program had assisted 112 rough sleepers into short-term and transitional accommodation with a further 71 assisted into long-term housing (Urbis 2009); between 2005 and 2007, SHS housed 130 chronic rough sleepers—40 of whom had been sleeping rough for between five and 15 years (Cappo, 2007: NP); and during 2008–09, 105 people were placed into short-term/transitional accommodation and 87 were placed in long-term accommodation (DFC 2009a, 49). Additionally, first steps in identification and assessment were made with a much larger number of homeless people (Heggarty 2006, 48).

The collaboration between the DFC, the Social Inclusion Unit, and inner city homelessness services (including SHS) enables twice yearly 'Street Counts' to enumerate primary homelessness in the Adelaide CBD and monitor homeless trends over time. The May 2009 'Street Count' constituted the fifth count since the system began in 2007, and revealed a continuing decline in the number of people sleeping rough (down from 108 in June 2007 to 53 in May 2009), with Adelaide now registering the nation's lowest rates of homelessness (SA Health, 2008:7). Notwithstanding this imperfect measuring technique, this system provides a good snapshot of the scale of rough sleeping, and 'has proven trustworthy when done repeatedly' (Heggarty,

2006:19). Read in parallel, all this data provides one yardstick by which the efficacy of recent initiatives to address homelessness in Adelaide can be measured.

SHS's integrated case management approach demonstrates that sustainable housing solutions for homeless people are possible when adequate levels of service integration and service outreach are achieved (Heggarty, 2006:23). The anecdotal case of Mr W. illustrates this: following years of homelessness and failed service provider intervention, the SHS placed him in accommodation, arranged a daily Meals on Wheels service and regular Royal District Nursing Service (RDNS) nurse visits (Haggerty, 2006:12).

While SHS currently only caters to people who are classified 'primary homeless' (sleeping rough), its management model represents a promising way forward in the delivery of services to other client groups. In particular, an opportunity might exist for the adaptation of the SHS model to service the needs of temporarily mobile Aboriginal people in Adelaide. Aboriginal people forced by circumstance to live in Adelaide because of poor health, especially those in need of renal dialysis access, urgently require an effective service approach linking them to housing and other support services.

The success of SHS is also reflected in the roll out of the Regional Assertive Outreach Program to address long-term sustainability of housing outcomes for people moving into new environments. Geographical areas with higher populations of rough sleepers will be targeted such as the Far North, Riverland and the West Coast (DFC 2009a: 13).

Challenges

Housing availability: The availability of long-term housing in the Adelaide metropolitan area has been tabled by the current director of SHS as an impediment to the service's ability to support pathways out of homelessness (REF Kerdel in Srimgeour?). This problem is exacerbated by the overall lack of accommodation options for homeless people in Adelaide, as well as limitations in the availability of social support.

Service Integration: Achieving effective integration in the provision of available services is also noted as a challenge. Inadequate service integration results in homeless people experiencing barriers to service access and, at times, falling victim to gaps in service provision. These issues are increasingly recognised as being paramount to service success. (REF Kerdel in Srimgeour?)

Improved Data: Better homeless data is critical to the design of effective, tailored provision models for housing, social and health support services. Although the 'Street Count' partially addresses this need, further cross and intra-agency data is needed to determine common clients and patterns of service use (Heggarty, 2006:19). New measures under the Homeless National Partnership seek to address data issues. A multi-million dollar state-of-the-art centralised Service Coordination and Information Database aims to provide all agencies within the specialist homelessness service sector, as well as those having contact with homeless people (e.g. mainstream services) with access to a centralised intake and information system (DFC 2009a, p. 24).

Limited Clients: Homelessness classifications (primary, secondary and tertiary classification of homelessness based on the Australian Bureau of Statistics' (ABS) cultural definition of homelessness), reflect the complex structure of the accommodation and support services sector for homeless people. At present, the SHS model does not offer any assistance to mobile Aboriginal people in Adelaide who

are not classified as primary homeless (sleeping rough). Although ineligible under these classifications, this group require attention.

Housing First Model: The premise of the model—that people are better able to re-establish themselves and deal with their problems when they are in their own home—means that services and access to housing isn't dependent on the person's state of being—for example, being drug-free (Urbis 2009). There are evident problems associated with this. Some also suggest that the 'housing first' approach is more appropriate for people who have been homeless for a long time, and less suitable for those who have recently become homeless.

Proof of Identity Policies in State and Territory Housing Departments

Context and client profile

Applications for public housing, and related housing services, in all states and territories require that individuals meet identification requirements. For Aboriginal people, meeting conventional identification system requirements can be problematic.

The lack of personal identity documentation is widespread among Indigenous people. The problem stems from high levels of unregistered Indigenous births, and registered births where a birth certificate was not obtained at the time and cannot now be obtained due to either an inability to satisfy identification requirements or to pay fees. This is then coupled with the current barriers to obtaining formal identification documents (such as a birth certificate), which can be complicated and time-consuming, as well as disempowering when people have no supplementary form of identification.

For Indigenous people, the consequences of their lack of personal identification documents are significant. For Indigenous people across Australia, it can exacerbate their level of disadvantage and lead to further marginalisation: it impacts on their access to mainstream services such as housing; enrolment in education; receipt of social security payments, and their ability to obtain a tax file number.

Despite this, current government policies with regard to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) identification apply conventional identification methods that do little to alleviate this known barrier to access. Proof of ATSI identification policies, that recognise some of the challenges facing Indigenous people in proving their identity, can help remove a significant barrier to service access for Indigenous people. Western Australia's housing application proof of identity policies formally recognises these challenges, and attempts to cater for this disadvantaged population group.

Although this section focuses on the ATSI identification requirements for access to housing and housing-related services, the issues that Indigenous people face with regard to proof of identification are not limited to the housing sector. Good practice policy profiled here is also of relevance to other government service access.

Proof of ATSI identity policies in state housing departments

Commonly, state housing authorities require proof of ATSI descent for access to specific tailored accommodation services, for example, at Housing SA, to access Aboriginal Services accommodation. In most cases, housing authorities rely on the standard 100 points of ID system (POI). Inability to meet this proof of ATSI identity requirement confounds challenges to service access for Indigenous people.

In Western Australia, the Department of Housing uses a form of the standard POI system. Applicants must provide either of two combinations of documents:

1. one document from Category A and one from Category A or Category B
2. three documents from Category B.

The selected documents must show the applicant's name and address.

Category A includes birth certificate or extract issued at least five years ago; passport; and citizenship papers. Category B includes marriage certificate or divorce papers; birth certificate or extract; legal documents such as maintenance agreement;

restraining order; adoption papers; letter from a government department; tax Assessment Notice; Telstra or SECWA account; verification of income document from Centrelink or Department of Veterans' Affairs; driver's licence; car registration papers; bank, building society or credit union account showing transactions for at least one year; and insurance policy or insurance renewal notice.

Where these identification requirements cannot be met, Western Australia's Department of Housing policy allows Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to use a reference from a recognised Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander organisation confirming their identity. Alternatively, a letter can be provided by any reputable person (i.e. a doctor or elder) who is able to confirm the applicant's identity.

While less flexible than the WA Department of Housing policy, the South Australian Housing policy is notable in that its policy offers applicants a broader than usual range of suitable identification documents. Additionally, Housing SA policy accepts other forms of identification (provided they contain the applicant's name, address and signature, and preferably a photo), as deemed appropriate by Housing SA. Further, mirroring stated WA policy, in SA, the involvement of Aboriginal organisations in supplying Indigenous people with proof of identification letters is common. However, it should be noted that WA's system is comparatively more flexible, and far less onerous on the Aboriginal organisations, and is therefore deemed better practice.

Benefits

More lenient approaches to the standard 100 points of ID system or policies tailored specifically to the identification issues facing Indigenous people ultimately facilitate access to mainstream services. In doing so, these identification policies prevent in part difficulties in service access from exacerbating the level of disadvantage that Indigenous people experience.

Challenges

Under current housing authorities' policies around Australia (with the exception of WA), much of the onerous responsibility of confirming an applicant's ATSI descent falls to Indigenous Community Organisations (ICOs). For example, roughly 90 per cent of ICOs in South Australia assist with Confirmation of Aboriginality claims (according to ALRM staff). Eligible community organisations include, for example:

- an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander association incorporated under the Corporations (*Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander*) Act 2006
- an incorporated community organisation where all the members of the governing body are Aboriginal persons or Torres Strait Islanders or both.

In all cases, considerable power and responsibility is vested in ICOs for granting service access to eligible Indigenous people through the confirmation of their descent, and likewise, the burden of monitoring and denying access to people who are not. Organisations must have evidence that the applicant is of ATSI descent, and that the applicant identifies as such. Further, the applicant must have community recognition in the given community where the claim is lodged. ICO decisions regarding applicants' confirmation of Aboriginality claims are made only through approval at formal meetings of the organisation's governing body. The record must be sealed with the Common Seal of the organisation and signed by authorised signatories who must also be of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent.

While heavily used, the transferral of power to Indigenous Community Organisations to verify the ATSI identity of applicants is not without issue. The first issue is one of timing. Government services often stipulate that all documentation must be in order

before they can provide access to a service. Yet Aboriginal people using ICOs to obtain confirmation of Aboriginality are tied to the administrative cycle, of often infrequent, ICO board meetings. A further notable issue is the limited suitability of the ICO service; given the stipulations of the ICO's vested power, the service is only really of use to Aboriginal people who have relationships, either directly or through family, with ICO board members who can therefore be confident about confirming their descent. There will be some community members who, for a multitude of reasons, are therefore not able to use the service of their local community organisation. Perhaps more commonly, Indigenous people who have moved away from their birth communities might also struggle to find an ICO with whom they have sufficient connection for them to be able to verify their claim.

Under these policies, where the ICO route is ineffective, there are limited options offered to ATSI applicants seeking ATSI identity verification. In South Australia, the Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement (ALRM) offers an alternative to some of these people. It can assist Aboriginal people to obtain Confirmation of Aboriginality by supporting the applicant in the completion of a declaration, which is then signed in front of a Justice of the Peace. Again, this service is limited: it is not available to interstate visitors who must return to their communities of birth to seek out confirmation; all decisions are made at ALRM board meetings, yet Aboriginal clients often need their Aboriginality confirmed promptly to receive access to services, and are disadvantaged by the schedule of board meetings (usually every three months); and finally, as with an ICO, the board must be convinced that the person applying for Confirmation of Aboriginality is Aboriginal.

Ultimately work must be done to remedy the problem at its source: through advocacy for birth registrations, and effective Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages policies to enable adults to obtain a birth certificate (see the Koori ID Project in Victoria). In the interim, however, ATSI identification policies for government services will determine to a large degree, access to mainstream services for Indigenous people.

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The Large Family Accommodation Program: Sleep Outs

Context and history

Larger families in public housing in South Australia are often housed in accommodation that is not ideally suited to their needs. Housing SA's usual tenancy occupancy standards often remain unmet when faced with accommodating larger families. This is largely due to limited housing options (Housing SA has a limited number of four or more bedroom properties) and the urgent need for shelter.

The Large Family Accommodation Program aims to find housing solutions for larger families whose needs are not met through Housing SA's current rental stock portfolio. In particular, it seeks to address the suitability of housing for large families, including Indigenous households (as required under the SA Strategic Plan target to reduce overcrowding in Indigenous households). The then South Australian Housing Trust, through Housing SA, developed the 'Large Family Accommodation Guidelines'. The guidelines incorporate a range of maintenance and renovation responses for households accessed as overcrowded. The options included portable accommodation (Portable SleepOuts), or referral to Housing SA Building Program or Housing SA House Purchase Program. Additions, conversions and extensions are only carried out as a final option if the housing needs of larger families cannot be met either through current rental stock and where the Housing SA property has been identified for longer term retention.

The Portable SleepOut response is profiled here. Portable SleepOuts are portable, one or two-bedroom units with en-suite which are transported and installed on existing Housing SA properties, and then removed when tenancy requirements change. They have been used in South Australia to target Indigenous overcrowding.

As part of the Large Family Accommodation Program, in 2008–09, 16 properties were extended or converted at a cost of \$0.417 million. In the last financial year, four Portable SleepOuts were supplied to larger families' properties.

Governance and funding

The Portable SleepOut initiative is part of the Large Families Accommodation Program within Housing SA. The program receives funding under the 'Large Families Accommodation' in Housing SA's budget.

Housing SA developed a specification for the supply of two-bedroom sleepouts with ensuite. A public tender process resulted in the Portable SleepOut work being awarded to the private contractor, EMAC.

Program aims

The Large Family Accommodation Program seeks to address the housing needs of large families in South Australia by addressing the suitability of Housing SA's public housing accommodation. The program seeks to reduce the level of overcrowding experienced by Housing SA tenants, and in doing so redress some of the consequences of overcrowding.

The program aims to use minor extensions and renovations or temporary building structures, to make its public housing properties more appropriate for larger families. The Portable SleepOuts option within this program aims to temporarily increase the amount of accommodation available at some of Housing SA's existing properties, through the use of portable/relocatable structures.

The Portable Sleep-Out response aims to address Indigenous overcrowding in Housing SA tenancies.

Service model

The Large Family Accommodation Program is aimed at both Indigenous and non-Indigenous large families.

Portable SleepOuts provide sleeping accommodation to members of an overcrowded household in either one or two-bedroom units located on the Housing SA property. Portable SleepOuts are provided at no extra rent charge to the tenant.

SleepOuts are not provided for alternative purposes; for example, they are not to be used as a playroom, workshop, office or for storage.

Households requiring the Portable SleepOut service must complete a Portable Sleep Out Request Form available at a Housing SA office, or contact Housing SA.

On receipt of a Portable Sleep Out request, a Housing SA manager or officer will verify the following:

- whether a transfer to larger accommodation is possible, and may place a household on a transfer list as a Category 2 transfer. (Housing SA has four categories for housing transfer cases; with Category 1 being those with the highest need and Category 4 being those who have a preference to move)
- the household is not on 'eviction status'
- the household has no Housing Trust or Aboriginal Housing debt for which payment arrangements have not been made.

Thereafter, the Housing SA manager or officer may visit the home to determine whether the household meets their eligibility criteria with regard to overcrowding conditions, the ages of people who will be living in the SleepOut, and the suitability of the property.

Portable SleepOuts can only be provided to properties that meet Housing SA site requirements. In most cases, a level or nearly level site is required, with enough space for the portable accommodation. In order for the SleepOut to be brought to site and positioned, adequate access to the site is also required. Prior to the siting of the portable accommodation in an eligible tenant's yard, Housing SA obtains approval for the temporary portable structure from the local council.

Tenants are required to abide by certain rules in regard to the SleepOuts. For example, the area below and immediately around the SleepOut must be kept free from obstruction of any type, and be clear of grass or any other inflammable material.

Where conditions are not met, Housing SA will give the household 14 days notice before removing the Sleep Out.

Resourcing

Housing SA existing field staff in regional offices (Housing SA Maintenance Coordinators) are involved with a range of housing programs including the Large Family Accommodation Program. Besides administrative work, the installation and removal of the SleepOuts is outsourced to contractors who are responsible for work on site. This contract is currently held by EMAC.

Client profile

Sleep Outs are available to SA Housing/Aboriginal Housing accommodation tenants whom Housing SA deem to be living in overcrowded conditions and where it is not possible for them to transfer the tenants to a larger home.

Housing SA uses generic occupancy standards to match housing with tenants' requirements. Occupancy standards seek to minimise both under occupancy and overcrowding. The standards provide that:

- parents are not required to share a bedroom with a child or children
- children of different genders are not required to share a bedroom once one child reaches the age of five
- children are eligible for separate bedrooms where the age gap is seven years or more regardless of gender.

To be eligible for Sleep Outs, households must be assessed as overcrowded. Housing SA's provides the following examples of overcrowding:

- Children of the opposite sex have to share a bedroom and there are more occupants than the number of bedrooms. However, it would be considered reasonable for children of the opposite sex, up to the age of five, to share a bedroom.
- Children of the same sex sharing a bedroom and their age difference is five years or more.
- Tenants who have regular access to a child (and who is considered part of the household when assessing rent charges) is included in overcrowded assessments for eligibility for Sleep Outs.

A Portable SleepOut can only be used by a member of the tenant's household. More specifically, Portable SleepOuts are provided for use by teenage children (aged 13 to 19 years) or older people. For the safety and security of young children, Portable SleepOuts are strictly not for the use of children under 13 years of age.

In special circumstances, Sleep Outs might also be provided where SA Housing deems that there is a valid medical or social reason to supply a household with extra sleeping space, despite the household not meeting its standard overcrowding criteria. For example, if a particular medical or social need means that family members cannot share a bedroom, Housing SA must be provided with a letter of support in such cases, either from a doctor, social worker or other relevant party.

Benefits

The program allows Housing SA's existing accommodation assets to be altered to better suit the needs of larger families and to remedy overcrowding.

The provision of a Portable SleepOut on a tenant's property offers an immediate solution that relieves some of the pressures of overcrowding facing the household.

The temporary nature of the Portable SleepOuts is well suited to address the characteristic, temporary influxes in housing occupancy in Aboriginal households due to family, medical and social visits. The Portable SleepOuts can be sited and then removed when household needs change.

The Portable Sleep Outs avoids problems associated with moving households to alternative accommodation. It allows a household to preserve their connections with the area including connections with family, friends and services.

Challenges

Portable SleepOuts do not address overcrowding in the communal spaces of that property. Living spaces (such as verandas and lounge rooms) will remain overcrowded. Some of the ill consequences of overcrowding/overuse are therefore not remedied solely through the provision of additional sleeping accommodation.

While Portable SleepOuts provide a temporary fix to an overcrowding problem, issues may arise when temporary structures become more permanent. For example, having to go outside to access communal areas in the main house raises the issue of the quality of life that the accommodation provides for the tenants.

A renovation to an existing house or the transfer of the household to a larger property might provide better, more permanent, longer-term outcomes by allowing a family to live in more standard accommodation.

Although the installation of Portable SleepOuts requires council approval, there is a concern about the overall effects on an area if temporary structures became more commonplace.

The provision of temporary structures by Housing SA may put pressure on some tenants to respond to their kinship obligations by applying for a Portable SleepOut to accommodate their relatives.

Some may challenge expenditure, both administratively and in capital terms, on a 'temporary' program such as the Portable SleepOuts, that may not provide inroads to address overcrowding more permanently in the longer term.

Capital and recurrent costs

Housing SA has a recurrent maintenance budget and a capital budget. The Large Family Accommodation program is funded by capital funds for Housing SA rental housing stock. The Housing SA 2010–11 capital budget has an account line for Large Family Accommodation totalling \$0.400m

Aboriginal Housing has a recurrent maintenance budget and a capital budget. The Large Family Accommodation program for Indigenous families living in Aboriginal rental housing stock is funded by the Aboriginal capital budget. This 2010–11 budget has an accounting line for Large Family Accommodation totalling \$0.070 million.

As part of the Large Family Accommodation Program, in 2008–09, 16 properties were extended or converted at a cost of \$0.417 million (DFC 2009a).

The capital cost of a two-bedroom sleepout with ensuite is \$30 000.

Private Rental Liaison Program, Housing SA

Context and history

The development of the Private Rental Liaison Program (PRLP), was initiated by the then South Australian Housing Trust in 2003. The project recognised that the private rental market is a limited and restrictive option for many people seeking low cost long-term accommodation. The PRLP is premised on using mainstream housing services to produce better housing outcomes for all through assisted access to private rental housing. PRLP sought to develop mechanisms to identify and respond to individuals and families who were finding it difficult to access the private rental market through the provision of support and referral services.

The project initially targeted Elizabeth, Salisbury and Berri—three regions that had been identified through SAHT data (detailing lost bonds and homelessness) extrapolated from the *Counting the Homeless: South Australia Report*. During 2004–05 the project expanded to the Noarlunga Region, Adelaide, Port Adelaide and Port Augusta. Expansion continued in 2007–08 into Marion, Modbury, Murray, Port Pirie and the Mount Gambier region.

In 2008, a 12-month pilot project for an Aboriginal specific Private Rental Liaison Officer (PRLO) received approval. This project recognised that this population group often struggles to secure private rental accommodation for a number of reasons: they generally cannot compete with other applicants at interviews, the high financial cost, discrimination, the need for accommodation to suit larger family sizes, and perceptions among property managers and landlords that overcrowding will become an issue. The Aboriginal PRLO was initially located in the Eastern Adelaide Region of Housing SA allowing for the service to be provided across the Adelaide metropolitan area, from inter-office referrals from other Housing SA regions. In other areas, PRLOs continued to provide services to Aboriginal customers. The primary source of referrals has been from the Pt Augusta Region which accounted for 4.06 per cent of referrals across the state. Berri Office was the next highest Region with 1.3 per cent of referrals.

Since its inception, the Private Rental Liaison Program has assisted a total of 7107 clients and, of these, 2788 have been housed with only 29 evictions. Since its inception, Indigenous customers comprised 14.7 per cent of referrals and 32.5 per cent of these have been successfully housed.

Governance and funding

Prior to June 2008, the Private Rental Liaison Project was funded by the Social Inclusion Unit. In July 2009, Housing SA funded PRLO positions for another year. In December 2009, PRLP was mainstreamed with Housing SA's core business, and became one of a suite of options for clients requiring housing assistance but who may not be eligible for public housing. The program is now recurrently funded by Housing SA.

Funding for PRLP covers 12.4 Full time equivalent (FTE). This funding includes provision for salaries, a vehicle allocated per officer, brokerage funding, as well as mobile phone and office set up.

The PRLP currently does not have any contractual or service agreements in place.

Program aims

PRLP aims to aid vulnerable people, who are having difficulties entering the private rental market, by addressing existing barriers to their access and limiting the associated stress through support.

The program seeks to liaise with landlords or property managers, with the aim of fostering a positive relationship between private landlords and tenants.

Private Rental Liaison Officers also aim to assist tenants to understand their rights and responsibilities as private housing tenants.

PRLOs aim to maintain contact with clients for a period of time after housing arrangements have been made, in order to offer continuous support and ensure that the tenancy arrangements can be sustained long-term.

Service model

Local Private Rental Liaison Officers provide support to Housing SA's low-income clients who are unable to secure accommodation in the private rental market. PRLOs initiate and implement early intervention and prevention strategies to assist clients to access and maintain accommodation in the private rental sector. PRLOs provide clients with information, advice, advocacy support, negotiation support, referral and other support services in order to achieve sustainable tenancies.

In particular, PRLOs provide the following services:

- liaise with landlords and property managers with rental vacancies
- advise clients of their rights and responsibilities as tenants
- attend appointments and inspections with the client if requested
- provide a monitoring service for the tenancy by:
 1. visiting the client at 2/4/6/12 weeks to assess the tenancy
 2. liaising with the landlord if difficulties arise
 3. responding to any difficulties arising with the tenancy as needed
 4. working with the client to address issues if they arise
 5. undertaking the final inspection with the client where possible
 6. advocating in various forums and situations on behalf of the client
 7. referring clients to other organisations, agencies and services across a broad range of housing and non-housing matters
 8. coordinating the delivery of services from external organisations.

Clients are also referred on to non government organisations for intensive tenancy support where required to address risks to the tenancy.

The Private Rental Liaison Officer maintains contact with clients once they are established in private rental accommodation. Generally, PRLOs have the capacity to support individuals in private rental tenancies for six months after allocation. In some cases, the program will continue to support tenants long after this, especially if the tenant is not confident about maintaining the tenancy unassisted.

Aboriginal-specific PRLO officers provide a similar range of services as other PRLOs to Aboriginal clients. These staff are employed based on a range of skills, including their knowledge and demonstrated understanding of Aboriginal culture and issues facing South Australia's Aborigines.

The work undertaken by PRLOs predominantly follows an outreach case-management model, however, staff also run workshops to disseminate information about their services. PRLOs are also required to establish service provider networks with a broad range of government and non-government organisations, including Residential Tenancies Branch, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Community sector agencies, and private rental property managers.

At the end of their tenancy, clients are asked to provide feedback on the PRLP service, usually in the form of an exit survey or interview.

Resourcing

The PRLP is managed by a Senior Project Officer who provides ongoing support to the PRLOs. This role includes: all administrative matters for the program, recruitment, ongoing training, reporting of data, coordination of team meetings, government responses to enquiries regarding the program, induction of new team members, main liaison with PRLOs and Housing SA regional offices, and a support and mentoring role. As of 1 July 2010, PRLP will be mainstreamed and services previously provided by the Senior Project Officer will be managed by Team Leaders and Operations Managers within Housing SA Regional offices across the state.

Private Rental Liaison Officers operate through Housing SA offices in local areas to provide private housing access support to prospective tenants.

PRLOs work with SA Housing Team Leaders, SA Housing team members, other regional staff and government and non-government agencies.

Client profile

PRLP clients come from a range of backgrounds, and includes people/groups who:

- feel they are being discriminated against in the private housing market (such as Indigenous clients)
- are over the age of 18 and leaving home for the first time
- lack confidence in approaching landlords or agents
- have low-income
- have no previous rental experience
- have poor English/literacy skills or difficulty understanding forms.

Roughly 30 per cent of people assisted by the program are under the age of 25. Since its inception, Indigenous customers comprised 14.7 per cent of referrals and 32.5 per cent of those have been successfully housed.

Benefits

The key determinants of success for the PRLP have been:

- Accessibility—Clients who are seeking assistance to access the Private Rental market through bond and rent assistance, can be assisted at the one point.
- Assessment—Clients are assessed by PRLOs to enable an appropriate, tailored response to assist in housing access and in sustaining a tenancy.
- Networks—PRLOs are well placed to effectively use established networks to address clients' needs. PRLO's have spent considerable time in establishing networks with Real Estate Agents/Private and Social Landlords and community service agencies in order to ensure access to housing supply and service. Staff at PRLP report that these networks have been very successful, with cases of Real

Estate Agents notifying the PRLOs of properties prior to, and sometimes instead of, advertising in the public press. Networks have also been established with key stakeholders within social inclusion and Housing SA.

- PRLO skills—The employment of individuals well qualified and well suited to carrying out the aims of the PRLP. This includes skills in relation to communication, problem solving, community development and conflict resolution. Staff also require broad network connections.

Some of the benefits of PRLP are as follows:

- By helping people to enter the private rental market, demands on public housing stock and crisis accommodation is reduced, allowing these services to be freed up to those most in need.
- Tenants are prevented from experiencing some of the risk factors that lead to homelessness; tenants receive early assistance when they are at risk of becoming homeless; and the number of tenants from private rental accommodation who enter homelessness is reduced. Thus, PRLO in their provision of tenancy support makes tenancies more durable in the long term.
- Perceptions of private rental support programs such as PRLP are generally positive among both tenants and those administering the program.

Private landlords welcome PRLP's support service for tenants with regard to their rights and responsibilities as tenants, as it provides some assurance that the tenancy will be managed appropriately by the tenant.

Challenges

Private rental accommodation, including new stock delivered through the National Rental Affordability Scheme (NRAS), provides opportunities for individuals and families to access private housing. Yet despite programs like PRLP, private housing access remains difficult for some individuals, especially with high demand for services and extreme low vacancy rates of affordable properties in the private rental market.

Indigenous people assisted under the program represent 14.7 per cent of PRLP's clients. Yet despite this, the program has struggled to meet its target of 5 per cent Indigenous clients in some areas, for example in most metropolitan regions. This is a reflection of Indigenous clients' preference for public housing even if private rental housing is manageable from a financial point of view. Reasons for this are the fact that public housing offered more security than private rental accommodation, they knew the public housing system better, and they believed that they experience more discrimination in a private rental context.

The difficulties in housing Indigenous people in the private rental market were because of the reluctance on the part of the Real Estate Agents to accept Indigenous people as tenants. This reluctance stems from perceptions that tenancies will become overcrowded with visitors and the properties will not be maintained. Some groups and individuals (for example, ex-prisoners and Indigenous people) remain uncompetitive in the private market despite these support programs.

The PRLP had found that Aboriginal clients could be quite difficult to engage with and advocate for. Since the employment of an Aboriginal PRLO, it has become known that customers looking to relocate from the lands are more accepting of the assistance if a previous family member or friend has received a service from the PRLO.

Finally, although PRLO can successfully provide support to private housing tenants, they are unable to deal with the entire gamut of issues that can negatively impact on a

tenancy's viability. In many cases, the longevity of a tenancy will remain strongly reliant on the provision of services by other agencies (life skills, advocacy, etc) and which together with PRLP enable a sustainable tenancy.

RUAH—General Overview

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

Context and history

Ruah Community Services is an organisation that operates across the metropolitan region of Perth, providing housing and homelessness services and community mental health services. Their work also addresses issues of domestic/family violence, addiction, employment, women leaving prison, and family support. Ruah continues the services started in Perth by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in 1959. Their work is guided by their Indigenous Strategic Framework, Environmental Sustainability Strategy, Participation Framework, and their Inclusive Spirituality approach, alongside a strong alignment in practice with the organisation's vision, mission, and core values.

Ruah operates tenancy support services under four programs administered by several different Western Australian Government tenancy support programs. The services are:

Ruah Tenancy Support-South East (RTS), Ruah's oldest service funded as part of the Department of Child Protection's Private Rental Support and Advocacy Services program which provides tenancy and other support services to households at imminent risk of homelessness who are experiencing difficulties sustaining their tenancies in the private rental market;

Tenancy Fast Track as part of the SAAP Innovation and Investment Fund (I&IF) which seeks to fast track those families at risk of homelessness or newly homeless into private residential tenancies;

Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro, a service in the Supported Housing Assistance Program (SHAP), which provides tenancy support to those entering private, community, or public tenancies from homelessness through the Homeless Advisory Service (operated by the Western Australian Department of Housing) and other referral sources. In this case, tenancy and personal support is provided from the beginning of the tenancy to ensure a strong transition into new housing.

Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support, a new service that provides intensive tenancy support to former residents of the Gnangara and Cullacabardee town-based Aboriginal communities to transition into Department of Housing tenancies across the Perth metropolitan area. Funded by the Aboriginal Housing Unit, Department of Housing and Works

Governance and funding

Ruah Community Services is the trading name of Daughters of Charity Services (WA), which is a Company Limited by Guarantee, a form of not-for-profit entity under Australian Companies law. This company has a Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors are charged with approving the strategic directions, approving the financial budget, regularly reviewing financial performance, and ensuring that overall organisational health is being sustained.

The following governance activities support this approach and ensure accountability.

→ Regular Board Meetings are conducted and documented (approx. 10 times a year)

- Financial reports are regularly reviewed by the Board.
- Annual external financial audits are conducted and provided to appropriate stakeholders.
- A Risk Management Framework has been approved and is being implemented from a strategic and a service level.
- Appropriate governance policies are in place.

In June 2007, Ruah launched a Strategic Framework to Increase Ruah Community Services' Response to Indigenous People. Drawing from its experience as a service provider, and following community consultation, the document sets out a five-year plan. The objectives of the framework are for Ruah to provide a culturally competent workforce, to provide culturally secure services, and to support the implementation of the framework.

Ruah has over twenty different funding contracts, often with varying financial reporting requirements. Funding contracts require that service output and outcome reports are made on a regular basis. Further, contract management officers from funding bodies are engaged in a proactive manner so that they are aware of the issues and challenges of service delivery.

Ruah has been actively involved in the preparation of a Standard Chart of Accounts for community service delivery in WA. It believes that the implementation of this project will lead to administrative efficiencies for both funders and providers of community services

Resourcing

Ruah has approximately 200 staff working across its programs.

Ruah seeks to provide a culturally competent workforce to deliver culturally secure services and programs.

Capital and recurrent costs

Ruah reported improved financial management information and budget monitoring practices in 2008 following the implementation of an accounting system and the employment of additional administrative staff. Ruah's Directors regularly review financial statements that outline the financial results compared to budget, and receive more detailed briefings on particular financial matters as requested (RUAH 2008).

An independent financial audit of Ruah is conducted annually.

Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro

Context and history

The Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro service, started in 2003, is a free service that supports families and individuals to make a successful move from homelessness to independent public rental, community or private housing in the Perth metropolitan region. At its outset, the service was developed in response to a recommendation in the State Homelessness Strategy 2002, which called for the use of the private rental market to address homelessness. In this sense, it started out as a private rental initiative. In recent years, the state of Perth's private rental market has meant that the Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro service has diversified to support people to transition to private, community and public housing accommodation options.

The service uses all of the key principles and service delivery models of the other Ruah Tenancy Support models, however, it differs in that it only provides services to assist people who have a past experience of homelessness and/or failed tenancies to sustain tenancies on entry to housing.

Although the service is not Indigenous-specific, a significant number of Indigenous clients with high needs have historically been referred to this service.

Governance and funding

The Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro service is provided under the Supported Housing Assistance Program (SHAP) within the Department of Housing, Western Australia. This service differentiates itself from other SHAP services, which are predominantly public housing focused and which also engage with households when significant tenancy risk indicators appear, such as the commencement of an eviction process.

Prior to the diversification of its referral options, Perth Metro used to have regular monthly meetings with the Department of Housing. Meetings between Department of Housing and Perth Metro to discuss the service now occur several times a year..

In the 2009–10 financial year, the Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro service received \$191,328 through SHAP.

Program aims

The overall aim of the tenancy support service is to support and enable clients to stabilise and strengthen their tenancy to prevent/reduce future homelessness.

The service aims to improve the quality of life of clients through the provision of holistic case-management support that includes: the provision of information; the organisation of referrals; negotiating and advocacy with property managers and landlords; and linking the client with services and resources in the community.

The service aims to support tenants for up to six months and when the support workers, and housing providers are confident that the new tenancy is strong and stable, and when that the tenant feels confident that they are not at risk of becoming homeless again.

Under funding agreements with the Department of Housing, Ruah aims to provide support to approximately 40 households within a six-month period. Each Ruah staff member has a case load of approximately 6 to 8 household at one time. So generally in each six-month period 24 households finalise their work with the service.

Service model

The service supports families and individuals in the community who have been referred to Ruah's support services through several different avenues. A large majority of Ruah's clients are referred through the Ruah Day Centre, where the service has been located over the last two years. This referral service will continue despite the service's recent relocation to Ruah's Head Office. Clients are also referred by the Homeless Advisory Service (WA Department of Housing) as part of the Supported Housing Assistance Program (SHAP). Some clients are also referred through Regional Department of Housing offices.

Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro works in partnership with tenants and their Property Manager/Landlord/ Housing Service Officer for a minimum period of three months until the tenancy is strong and stable and tenants feel confident that they are not at risk of becoming homeless again.

Every individual or family who accesses Ruah Tenancy Support is allocated a Tenancy Support Worker.

The tenancy support worker meets with clients in their own home on a weekly basis, or as required. In recognition of the fluctuations in household occupancies, the service model seeks to engage with all household members and visitors to ensure that issues surrounding overcrowding and anti-social behaviours are dealt with appropriately and that tenancies are not put at risk as a result.

Together the support worker and the tenants discuss the individual needs of the household members, including the short and longer-term individual needs of the household members, and plan how to work together to achieve the following goals:

- make the new tenancy a home, and establish a sense of connection with the local community
- increase skills and knowledge to maintain a home long-term
- develop links to community resources and services that can address underlying life concerns that lead to homelessness.

These discussions form the basis for Tenancy and Personal Support Plans that the Tenancy Support Worker develops. These plans outline what needs to be done by the tenant to stabilise the tenancy. In cases where the tenancy is not viable, the plans help outline what the tenant needs to do to ensure that the tenancy ends 'on the best possible note'.

Resourcing

Funding covers the salaries of two full-time employees, with any spare monies allocated towards the salary of a part-time manager.

Client profile

This service is aimed at families or individuals who are moving from a period of unstable housing/homelessness to private rental, community or public housing accommodation in the Perth metro area and who:

- have a history of homelessness/tenancy management concerns in both the private and/or public housing areas
- seek support to make a successful transition into their new home and community

- are not normally eligible for further bond/moving in costs assistance from Homeswest due to tenant liability/outstanding debts with the WA Department of Housing.

Benefits

Ruah's assertive case-management model has successfully alleviated the barriers to housing access that many of its clients experience.

Further, the service has succeeded in achieving sustainable tenancies with clients despite their previous histories of failed tenancies. In part, this is due to Ruah's model of holistic assessment. Although Ruah provides a tenancy specific support service, it recognises that all aspects of a household's life can impact on their ability to successfully sustain a tenancy. Ruah's staff are trained in making holistic assessments of their clients' needs with regards to a whole range of household and personal issues (such as domestic violence, drugs and alcohol, etc). Further, Ruah staff are well placed to carry out these assessments since they build up relationships with their clients, see their clients regularly, and are able to observe the client in their home environment. These assessments allow them to target specific issues and help establish fundamental linkages between the client and other key support services.

The partnership model with the Department of Housing facilitates effective networking and relationship building which provides the basis for meaningful, continuous tenancy support services to clients.

Challenges

The partnership approach (between Ruah and the Department of Housing) used in this service model, which seeks the housing provider to be part of the solution in keeping people housed, has been a challenge to maintain. Philosophically, the Department of Housing did not necessarily see that they could be part of the solution to homelessness in terms of how they partner with a support service. Ruah's Perth Metro service continues to encounter challenges in being a small, two-person team funded by a large government department that finds it hard to be responsive and flexible due to an old culture and due to the history of the Department.

The current system of referrals, with the exception of the successful referral system at Ruah's Day Centre, is not deemed ideal. Originally, all referrals were to come from the former Homeless Helpline (now Homeless Advisory Service), however the ability of staff to assess callers' housing needs was limited. Ruah is currently seeking to establish a more streamlined system of referrals with the Department of Housing, whereby clients on Department of Housing waiting lists with high priority housing needs would be systematically referred to them.

Capital and recurrent costs

In 2009–10 financial year, Ruah Tenancy Support Perth Metro Service funding totalled \$191,328.

The approximate breakdown of the 2009–10 budget was:

- 60 per cent of the budget (or \$115,00) was allocated for staff wages
- 11 per cent of the budget (or \$21,046) was allocated to administrative costs

And the remainder, approximately 19 per cent (or \$55,282) was allocated to cover all other costs.

Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support Service

Context and history

Ruah's Aboriginal Tenancy Support Service is an intensive mobile/outreach case management support service aimed at Aboriginal individuals and families who are transitioning from two Perth-based Aboriginal community sites to mainstream public housing in the Perth metropolitan region.

In 2008, the Department of Housing, Aboriginal Housing Unit, identified several Aboriginal communities, in particular the Gnangara and Cullacabardi Aboriginal Town based Communities, which it sought to transition into mainstream public housing for those families that wanted to pursue this option. The department recognised the need for a support service to be provided to assist households in making successful transitions into public housing as many had demonstrated difficulty in managing tenancy responsibilities and maintaining housing in the past. The department then looked for a suitable service provider to address this need. Ruah was a likely candidate given the organisation's track-record in the provision of tenancy support services to at-risk population groups across the Perth region.

Through a partnership with the Department of Housing, Ruah's Aboriginal Tenancy Support Service was developed in December 2008 to respond to this need. The partnership began as a one-year, short-term project. The service was then extended for a second year, with extra funding allowing for service evaluation and action-research. Negotiations are currently underway to extend the funding for the case-management service for a further six months, to finish in June 2010.

Governance and funding

Ruah's Aboriginal Tenancy Support has six weekly meetings with both regional Department of Housing offices they work with; with the Manager of ATS and Manager/s of the Department of Housing plus relevant Housing service Officers and Tenancy Support Workers (Ruah).

Every quarter, the managers of Ruah's Aboriginal Tenancy Support, Ruah's Executive Manager, the Department of Housing, plus the Aboriginal Housing Unit, meet to discuss the program model at a strategic level, focusing on aspects such as what can be done from within senior roles to improve the program, and communication between people in order to benefit the clients'/program aims.

The Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support service is funded by the Aboriginal Housing Unit within the Department of Housing in Western Australia.

For the 2009–10 financial year, the Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support service received \$210,000 in funding, with an additional \$20,000 funding for service evaluation and action research work.

Program aims

The aims of the Aboriginal Tenancy Support Service are to ensure that:

- families' tenancies are established and maintained
- regular rent paying systems are established and maintained
- rental arrears are reduced/prevented
- antisocial behaviour is prevented/reduced
- complaints from neighbours are prevented/reduced

- property standards are maintained
- property damage is prevented/resolved
- a positive relationship with the Housing Service Officer is established.

Under funding agreements with the Department of Housing, Ruah aims to provide support to 15 households at one time with the overall aim that families stay housed upon the service finalising its work with households

Service model

At the service's outset, clients were identified by a senior Department of Housing staff member who directly approached the households in the targeted communities, and spoke with family members about the provision of a support package to assist them to successfully transition into mainstream public housing.

Following this initial contact, Ruah staff have provided intensive mobile/outreach case management support to each of the households. Ruah works in partnership with Housing Service Officers from the Department of Housing who are allocated to each household. The Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support service is tailored to the particular needs of each household. In some cases, tenancy support is provided over a period of three to four months, but in others, support remains in place for over six months.

The households receiving support are characterised by high numbers of transient visitors and family members visiting and staying temporarily. For this reason, the Aboriginal Tenancy Support service defines 'household' as all tenant/s, household member/s, and extended family member/s staying for a period of time less than eight weeks. As such, their services are provided to address issues in this wider household group.

Resourcing

Funding covers the salaries of two full-time employees, a part-time (0.5) manager, and a small locum role.

Client profile

Individuals and families are eligible for tenancy support under the Aboriginal Tenancy Support service if they are transitioning from the Gnangara and Cullacabardi Aboriginal town-based Communities to mainstream public housing in the Perth metropolitan region. Alternative referral points for indigenous families on the DoH priority waitlist are also currently being explored.

All of the individuals referred to the Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support have a history of homelessness or chronic tenancy problems marked by rental arrears, property standards concerns, property damage, and anti-social behaviour notifications.

Benefits

The key benefit of the program is that people are provided with support (both tenancy and psycho-social support) at the start of a tenancy, rather than waiting for that tenancy to become vulnerable. The service has successfully transitioned families from town-based Aboriginal communities into mainstream housing, and households have been able to sustain their tenancies. For example, over the first period of operation of the program, 1 November 2008 to 30 April 2009, 12 households received support, representing 15 tenants and 81 individuals in total supported by the Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support service. Further, in cases where tenancies were at risk of failure, tenancy support plans were put in place (Flatau et al. 2009: 9).

By chance, all clients have chosen to move into two Perth metropolitan zones. This allowed Ruah staff to establish a relationship with both housing zone managers and staff over the course of meetings held approximately every six weeks.

Ruah's action research component this year has enabled workers to experiment, rather than be locked into certain service model practices, to see what really works and what can be improved. In particular, action research has identified new practices for case management that work well with clients where English is a second language.

Challenges

An initial challenge was that, in the case of some households, Ruah only became involved after the tenants had moved as the service contract took several months to finalise. This meant that the standard tenancy support in their transition was not available to the clients and, in some cases, clients were not convinced that they needed Ruah's services as the transition had already occurred, and in a sense a 'honeymoon period' was being experienced at the point of contact. Establishing an effective support service proved more challenging in some of these cases.

A number of the families who missed the service's transitional support phase had been in Department of Housing properties for several months, but had not been able to sustain their tenancies due to rental arrears and anti-social behaviour notifications. In these cases, Ruah Aboriginal Tenancy Support worked with the household to end the tenancy on the best positive note and secure alternative accommodation (Flatau et al. 2009).

Another issue that Ruah faces is tenants' capacity to respond to the pressures placed on them as a leaseholder. Elderly people, and in particular older women, were identified by Ruah staff as facing challenges in their ability to manage some of the responsibilities for maintaining a household's tenancy, due to the many competing demands on their time and cultural obligations/responsibilities in taking care of family, it made it difficult to turn away family in need, despite family members not contributing positively to the household, and many times placing extra pressure on the tenancy.

Ruah faces challenges in managing anti-social behaviour both within households and towards its workers. Strategies are needed to help staff identify what type of anti-social behaviour they are dealing with (family or domestic violence, the effects of overcrowding, etc) and to help staff respond effectively to enable the tenancy to be sustained. This is being explored via the action research process.

Current service arrangements mean that most households using this service see many different Housing Service Officers from the Department of Housing during their tenancy. While this is not a problem in itself, staff at Ruah have expressed that advantages could be gained from having several dedicated Housing Service Officers allocated to the households receiving the Aboriginal Tenancy Support Services. Further, due to the high turnover of Department of Housing staff, there are some issues with continuity of support personnel, and their ability to establish effective working relationships with households is challenged. If this high changeover of staff cannot be addressed, then strategies for dealing with the consequences of this could be established. Current Ruah action-research seeks to further investigate this.

Capital and recurrent costs

In the 2009–10 financial year, Aboriginal Tenancy Support Service funding totalled \$212,000.

The approximate breakdown of the 2009–10 budget was:

- 70 per cent of the budget (or \$148,400) was allocated for staff wages
- 11 per cent of the budget (or \$23,320) was allocated to administrative costs.

The remainder, approximately 19 per cent (or \$40,280) was allocated to cover all other costs. This included items such as fleet car leases for the mobile outreach workers at approximately \$9,000 each; and office energy requirements. All capital/start-up costs (such as workstations) were addressed using this portion of the budget at the outset of the service.

Sources

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AHURI Research Centres

Queensland Research Centre

RMIT Research Centre

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Australian Housing
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