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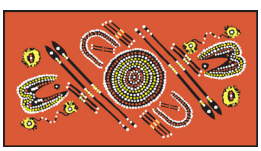
Aboriginal population mobility in Alice Springs:

Analysis of public housing

Centre for Remote Health,
a joint centre of Flinders University and
Charles Darwin University,
in conjunction with Tangentyere Council



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NINTI ONE

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Contributing author information

Centre for Remote Health, a joint Centre of Flinders University and Charles Darwin University, aims to contribute to the improved health outcomes of people in remote communities of the Northern Territory and Australia, through the provision of high quality tertiary education, training and research focusing on the discipline of Remote Health.

Tangentyere Council is the major service delivery agency for the 18 Housing Associations known as 'town camps' in Alice Springs.

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The Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre (2003–2010) was an unincorporated joint venture with 28 partners whose mission was to develop and disseminate an understanding of sustainable living in remote desert environments, deliver enduring regional economies and livelihoods based on Desert Knowledge, and to create the networks to market this knowledge in other desert lands. The work reported in this publication was supported by funding from the Australian Government Cooperative Research Centres Program through the Desert Knowledge CRC. The views expressed herein do not necessarily represent the views of Ninti One Limited or its Participants.

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Abbreviations/Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects
CRH	Centre for Remote Health, a joint centre of Flinders University and Charles Darwin University
DKCRC	Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre
ERP	Estimated Resident Population
NT	Northern Territory
NTDCDSCA	Northern Territory Department of Community Development, Sport and Cultural Affairs
NTG	Northern Territory Government
Qld	Queensland
TCRS	Tangentyere Council Research Subcommittee
TCRU	Tangentyere Council Research Unit
SA	South Australia
WA	Western Australia

Key points

Statistics

In January 2004 there were 321 public housing dwellings listed as occupied by Aboriginal people in Alice Springs, comprising 197 houses and 124 units. In total, 114 dwellings were surveyed in four surveys conducted in June/July 2004, October 2004, April 2005 and June 2005. Survey times were chosen to include possible high and low mobility periods.

The majority of people (68.2%) were resident in the same public housing dwelling for over 1.5 years, and 50% for more than 3.5 years. This suggests that while occupancy turnover exists, there is a stable element of Aboriginal public housing tenants in Alice Springs.

A large proportion of dwellings (44%) were able to be surveyed only once or twice. A majority of people identified as residents (64%) were counted in only one or two surveys.

The survey data showed a total of 712 people: 448 were identified as residents and 264 as visitors. The proportion of visitors ranged from 17.4% (52) in survey 3 to 29.4% (106) in survey 1 and was 37.1% for the total of all four surveys.

The survey data did not indicate much overcrowding in public housing, and any cases identified were due to short-term visitors. However, the possibility of eviction if there is permanent overcrowding may change the number of visitors people have, as well as their willingness to have visitors recorded in the survey.

The majority of survey participants (833, or 65%) identified Alice Springs and 101 (8%) identified a town camp as the place they last stayed.

Visitors

The proportion of visitors in public housing (37.3%) was higher than that recorded in the town camps survey (27.1%), despite strict restrictions on visitors in public housing that do not exist in the town camps.

In surveys 1 and 2 the majority of visitors stayed for less than six weeks, with most staying less than two weeks. In survey 3, 13 visitors (26%) and survey 4, 37 visitors (52%) were recorded as staying for more than six weeks, indicating an increase in the number of longer-term visitors. Twenty (37%) visitors in survey 4 were recorded for the first time in survey 4.

There were generally positive views about visitors, and visitors are perceived as part of normal life. Often they play a major role in assisting the sick and looking after children. The negative views about visitors relate to overuse of grog, noise, mess and burden on limited financial resources.

Mobility

The study indicated a moderate proportion of mobility in Aboriginal residents and visitors in public housing. Of the survey population, 37.3% were visitors and 62.8% were residents. This compares with 26% and 69% respectively of the surveyed population in the town camps (Foster et al. 2005).

The visitors in public housing generally stayed shorter periods of time than visitors in town camps. The exception was survey 4, where a large proportion of visitors had been staying for over six weeks in the public housing survey. A principal reason for the shorter length of stay may be that people have to be more disciplined in the public housing or their host(s) would be evicted.

Mobility for Aboriginal people in central Australia is a necessary way of life. Mobility per se is not a problem; however, it has ramifications for Aboriginal organisations, for federal, state and local government agencies and other service providers. If policies and service provision relating to Aboriginal people are to be effective, mobility needs to be factored into the design of policies and services.

Sex and age

The majority of the residents were female: 248 compared with 200 males. There were a significantly larger number of women than men in the age range 25–50 years: 138 women and 93 men. In aggregate, women dominated the counts of both the residents and visitors. Explanations for this, particularly for fewer male residents, include that women seem far more likely to undertake tenancies than men, or that a proportion of males in this age group are serving custodial sentences. Another is that men may have moved on early in the day or were counted as visitors because the house bosses (especially young women) did not want to disclose that men were living in the house. Public housing has an important social function in providing a refuge for women, a place where they feel secure and able to bring up their children in a safe environment.

Children aged 0–4, 5–9 and 10–14 years were recorded in slightly lower proportions compared with these age groups in the ABS 2006 census data for Alice Springs.

Access to public housing

The current waiting list for housing is two and a half years for a three-bedroom house and over three years for a unit for a pensioner. There is a priority housing scheme that provides public housing accommodation for people with special needs: medical, mental health, family crisis and domestic violence. Access to the waiting list is reliant on a 100-point identification check that many people find difficult to complete, as they may not have the appropriate documentation. Many people from remote communities are also not able to confirm, due to communication difficulties, that they remain on the waiting list.

Staying in public housing

Stability of accommodation is important for a range of health and wellbeing factors and to reduce the cycle of overcrowding and movement through town camps. This may be assisted by Aboriginal liaison officers who support people in maintaining public housing, particularly in communicating rules.

People from the priority list often get placements; however, they are often very sick (e.g. renal patients) and unable to cope with problems that may arise as public housing tenants. A group of flats with a caretaker, where visitors can only stay during the day, would assist in more stable accommodation for this group.

The lack of suitable short-term accommodation greatly increases the pressure on families in public housing to accommodate visiting relatives who have limited or no other options of accommodation.

Improving supply of public housing

There is a decline in total housing stock of 48% from 1726 dwellings in 1996 to 903 in 2007. There is a greater decline in the three-bedroom houses, resulting in a decline in the total number of bedrooms of 53%. The decrease in supply of public housing is in contrast to the increase in population in Alice Springs. A long-term plan for residents to purchase housing and for the provision of financial assistance through a mechanism such as a shared equity program to increase Aboriginal home ownership in Alice Springs should be developed. This program should not be developed at the expense of the provision of public housing, as not everyone will be in a position to own their own home.

A suggestion was a real estate agency that would provide a one-stop shop service of culturally appropriate material for informing Aboriginal people about how to buy a house, how to budget for loan repayments and other costs of home ownership.

Introduction

ABS and other population analysts suggest that population mobility is one of the most difficult aspects to understand in relation to population analysis. In central Australia the impact of colonisation, the establishment of missions and cattle stations and the development of the town of Alice Springs and the settlements around it have had a major impact on population displacement. Population mobility has a major socioeconomic impact on both the immigrating, transient and permanent populations; it has implication for service delivery and for the stability, strength and, at times, governance.

In central Australia there has been an ongoing debate about urban drift[1] – its existence and impact. The issue has been covered in local media, often presented as an argument for leveraging additional financial support for service organisations in town. However, not much is known about the nature of the urban drift, whether in fact there is drift or circular mobility, or the role of major service centres such as Alice Springs. Many people may move to Alice Springs with accompanying family members for long-term medical treatment and then move back to their homes in remote communities. This research provides some insight into the issues related to mobility and housing.

Aboriginal population mobility has been investigated in several studies in the past (Young & Doohan 1989, Taylor 1990, Warchivker et al. 2000, Martin et al. 2002, Sanders 2004). Aboriginal population counts have been identified as a point of controversy in recent studies (Warchivker et al. 2000, Martin et al. 2002, Sanders 2004).

The idea for this project came from concern that the Tangentyere Council had with the ABS census count of people living in town camps. The council had long believed that the census counts were extremely low. The use of this 'official' population has affected the level of services for people in town camps, resources for Tangentyere Council and the ability to lobby for services; and it continues to deny the existence of the town camps and their residents. This concern, and issues associated with visitors to town camps, had been discussed by the Tangentyere Council executive for some time, and a submission was developed in conjunction with the Centre for Remote Health, a joint centre of Flinders University and Charles Darwin University, (CRH) to conduct research into population and mobility.

The Northern Territory Government (NTG) also indicated an interest to expand the project to include an analysis of mobility in public housing in Alice Springs, and this was endorsed by the Aboriginal Housing Association. The proposal was put to the Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre (DKCRC) and funded in May 2004. The Central Australian Human Research Ethics Committee granted ethics approval for the project in April 2004.

The population and mobility study has two components. The first was town camps (Foster et al. 2005), and this report provides analysis of the second component, the public housing data.

Earlier examinations of desert Aboriginal population mobility

Much of the earlier reporting of Aboriginal mobility examined mobility in the context of Aboriginal social, economic and religious life. These studies were by anthropologists, who described mobility in the context of kinship (social), of hunting and gathering (economic), of enrichment of sites (religious) and of trade ceremonies (economic/religious). Examples of such treatment of the mobility issue are addressed by Tindale (1972), who distinguishes between short-term and long-term occupation of an area, and by Berndt (1972), who discusses mobility in relation to visits to sites. Others examined

1 Urban drift is a situation where people move from adjacent communities or settlements into an urban area – in the case of this study, from remote communities to Alice Springs.

population mobility relating particularly to ceremonial events where gatherings of between 100 men near lake Gregory were recorded by Carnegie (2002, first published 1898) and several hundred Aranda and Matuntara noted by Strehlow (1974).

Early accounts of Aboriginal people's movement in country were examined in relation to environmental conditions: the availability or lack of water, especially during drought, was considered by Strehlow (1974) and Tindale (1972). Elkin (1977) describes how Aboriginal people moved away from country in the Petermann Range towards non-Aboriginal settlements because of a prolonged drought.

Early estimation of Aboriginal population in the pre-contact desert concluded that one person per 150–200 km^2 was a reasonably accurate estimate. This would suggest a desert population of approximately 4000 people (Cane 1990). Cane (1990) concluded his discussion by stating that the Western Desert represents possibly the most marginal example of permanent human occupation; it was characterised by very low population density, infrequent group contact and high levels of group mobility.

As the road network expanded, Aboriginal people started to move more readily along these transport routes. Long (1992) wrote that 'in the Centre… the drift in to the railway lines and roads had been a long standing worry for administrators who saw it as threatening the integrity of Aboriginal society'. Aboriginal people were camping next to stations and mining camps. Movement of Aboriginal population was recorded with the establishment of missions, such as Hermannsburg, that from 1879 were regularly supplied by the government with rations for Aboriginal people who gravitated towards these missions (Rowse 1998), ration stations or depots (Jay Creek in 1937, Haasts Bluff in 1940, Areyonga in 1943) in central Australia. One such depot was the one established at Rock Hill, west of the Mount Doreen pastoral lease, which later became Yuendumu community (Long 1992).

The first reports about Aboriginal mobility and population estimates in remote central Australia were the records of missionaries and the first patrol officers. Strehlow's initial count of Aboriginal people at Haasts Bluff in 1941 was 59 adults and 25 children, with 45 of them eligible for rations. In 1942 the Lutheran missionary Albrecht submitted a count of 253 Aboriginal people from the Haasts Bluff depot, of which 120 were eligible for rations. By 1945 the estimated population at Haasts Bluff had grown to 430 according to Battarbee (Rowse 1998).

Much of the push for establishing the ration station in the region to the west of Alice Springs was due to extreme dry conditions in the area in the 1930s and 1940s and concerns by the missionaries and government authorities about the wellbeing of the Aboriginal population. At the same time, the growth in population at Jay Creek was partly due to the determination of the administration to halt the increasing Aboriginal population of Alice Springs.

In June 1953 there were 1396 Aboriginal people living some of the time in five central Australian settlements (Jay Creek, Haasts Bluff, Areyonga, Phillip Creek and Yuendumu). The two missions in Hermannsburg and Arltunga accounted for 573 people. In July 1954 there were 1017 Aboriginal people recorded on 28 pastoral leases in central Australia (Rowse 1998).

Easier and more secure life around these depots and around the cattle stations was a significant factor in population migration in the 1940s–1950s. According to Long (1989), Aboriginal people went from Haasts Bluff to the west to inform their relatives about the opportunities existing in the new settlements. Generally, this persuasion was successful, and Long (1989) recalls that as a result of one such trip 34 people came from the Western Desert to Haasts Bluff in December 1956. Similar reports were coming from the missions (Cundeelee mission east of Kalgoorlie, Warburton Range Mission, Balgo Hills Mission) and stations (Christmas Creek Station, Mt. Doreen Station) at the rim of the desert. This occurred between 1952 and 1956, at a time when the drought could not have been the influencing factor.

At the same time not all Aboriginal groups who encountered the settlements or mission chose to stay. In 1957 when Mr EC Evans, Chief Welfare Officer, made an expedition to the Lake Mackay area he encountered people who visited both Mt Doreen Station and Balgo Mission and had chosen to return to the desert to live their nomadic life (Long 1989).

One of the difficulties of population movement for Aboriginal people was the dichotomy of dislocation from their land (for those who moved to the settlements) and isolation from family (for both the stayers and those who lived in and around the settlements). As a solution to these problems Jeremy Long, in his role as a patrol officer, suggested that camps be established in the west as a solution to what he recognised as the inability of a social system to function effectively due to a small population density in the Western Desert region west of Papunya (Long 1989).

The size of the nomadic Aboriginal population in the desert region was a source of constant speculation. For example, in the Great Sandy Desert in Western Australia the Aboriginal population was estimated to be from between 1000 people to a 'politically expedient figure of 6000 people', then to a more realistic estimate by Berndt of 250 people (Davenport et al. 2005). However, these estimations were not based on any formal survey of the region. The figure of 250 was also cited by the Surveyor General, who based his estimates on notes from five surveys conducted in the region in the early 1950s (identification of Aboriginal people in these surveys was incidental).

The creation of non-Aboriginal settlements, stations, missions and rations depots in the desert region had a major impact on patterns of population migration, mobility and use of country among Aboriginal people in the desert. For instance, the establishment of the Telegraph Station in 1872 brought with it many changes to the ways that Aboriginal people lived in and around Alice Springs. By 1915 the Bungalow was set up for Aboriginal children of mixed parentage. Many family members moved to Alice to be closer to the children. In 1928 Alice Springs became a prohibited area for Aboriginal people, and they were not permitted to be in the town after dark. Fringe camps sprang up around the outskirts of Alice Springs. Despite concerted efforts to remove Aboriginal people from the town area, people continued to stay in Alice Springs.

In the late 1950s the population of the major communities to the west of Alice Springs was estimated to be over 700 people in Papunya (the newly created depot station north-west of Haasts Bluff to overcome the water shortage at Haasts Bluff), approximately 300 in Areyonga and over 520 in Hermannsburg (Henson 1992).

The early 1960s was again a time of drought in central Australia; it was a time of exodus from the desert and many of the Western Desert Pintubi people were relocated to Papunya. The drought was a push factor and the family relatives and their persuasions were a pull factor in this wave of mobility. But the 'honeymoon' at Papunya, if ever there was one, was short-lived and the push/pull factors operated in the other direction as people began to return to their country. However, 129 deaths were recorded in Papunya between 1962 and 1966, which included 15 of the 116 Pintubi people who had come recently to Papunya (Long 1989).

The outstations movement in central Australia began in an attempt to find appropriate water resources for the Pintubi to the west of Papunya. Aboriginal people started to move back west to bores at Waruyia, Alumbara and later in 1973 at Yayai. In 1979 a bore was sunk at Ilpili, and later there were bores around the Kintore Range which allowed people to move back closer to traditional country (Long 1989).

Mobility was also common among other Aboriginal populations to the east of Alice Springs. For example, the Eastern Arrernte people – who are currently living in the communities of Amoonguna, Ltyentye Apurte and Alice Springs – have been moving in circular fashion around Alice Springs. In the 1920s and 1930s people started moving into the town of Alice Springs. In the late 1930s the Aboriginal people were living at Charles Creek on the north-western side of the town. Many of the people moved in

and out of town mainly as a result of pastoralists' need for labour in the stations around Alice Springs: Undoolya, Love's Creek, Glen Helen, Tempe Downs, Henbury, King's Creek, Angus Downs and the Garden. Much of this was seasonal movement related to work on pastoral stations.

In 1933 the number of Aboriginal people employed in the pastoralist industry was estimated at 363, and another 546 people were occupying supervised camps. The group of people who were nomadic or who adhered to their traditional lifestyle was estimated at 2490 people. These figures were probably an overestimation, especially of the nomadic people, and by 1940 the figures were revised to 213 people employed, 679 in the category of supervised camp and 'other', and 961 people as nomadic (figures are based on Northern Territory Record Service various reports quoted in Rowse 1998).

During the Second World War there was a rapid increase in Alice Springs' population due to the expansion of army activities. In March 1942, after the bombing of Darwin, a large army base was established in the proximity of Charles Creek camp, and the Arrernte people from the camp were moved to a new location, next to the old mining town of Arltunga (Donovan 1998). However, lack of good water in the region forced the mission to apply for a lease in a different location, and in 1952 they were granted a lease of 480 square miles on the edge of the Simpson Desert. In 1953 most of the people who resided at Arltunga moved to the new location of Ltyentye Apurte.

At the same time as Aboriginal people in the west and north-east of Alice Springs were returning to their lands, there was an increase in the Aboriginal population in Alice Springs. Once again there were push and pull factors that affected this mobility. The pull factors were the stores, being close to family and children who were attending schools and some employment opportunities. Another aspect was the availability of grog, which pulled Aboriginal people to town, especially from the time they were granted citizenship. Another pulling factor was the artist camp, which was established at Morris Soak, and the ability to sell art to locals and to tourists. Finally, the granting in 1951 of permission for Aboriginal people who had non-Aboriginal ancestry to be allowed in the prohibited area of Alice Springs affected Aboriginal mobility.

The push factors included the establishment of equal wages on pastoral stations in 1965, which caused most of the Aboriginal labour force working on stations to become unemployed as a result of becoming not 'eligible' to receive flour, sugar, tea and occasionally bullock meat, which were the methods of payment for Aboriginal work on the stations.

Additional push factors that led people to move away from the large settlements were feuds, sickness, starvation and fear of death. The dislocation of Aboriginal people from their land through the establishment of missions and pastoral stations resulted in feuds, both verbal and, at times, physical. Finally, growing levels of sickness and death in a large settlement was an influencing factor in the move away from Papunya and Arltunga.

Some people had access to wages and became more mobile due to access to motor vehicles. At the same time the attempts of regulators to restrict the movement of Aboriginal people around Alice Springs were relaxed, and in 1964 Alice Springs was no longer a prohibited zone for Aboriginal people. In the early 1970s there were approximately 27 camp sites in and around Alice Springs. Five of them were along the Charles River and twelve along the Todd River. In the 1970s people living permanently in camp sites were living either in ex-army tents supplied by the Commonwealth or in tin and wood shelters built by them (Heppell & Wigley 1981).

There were several attempts at this time to secure land for Aboriginal people on some of the camps in and around Alice Springs. But these attempts were unsuccessful. These early failures, and the growing needs of displaced Aboriginal people resulted in the establishment of Tangatjira – working together – (later Tangentyere Council) in 1974, with the aim to address the need of people camping around Alice Springs.

Currently there are 18 town camps. Two of them have not been granted a lease on the land they occupy and 16 have leases. The first special purpose leases were granted at Inarlenge (Little Sisters) in the south of Heavitree Gap in 1973, and in 1976 at Anthepe next to the drive-in site and at Mt Nancy north of town. Nine of the town camps have predominantly Arrernte speakers as the main language group, two camps have Warlpiri as the main language group, Pitjantjatjara is the principal language group in one camp and Kaytetye is the principal language group in another. However, it is common to find several language groups in one camp.

An analysis of patterns of Aboriginal migration in Australia using ABS census data from 1981 and 1986 was conducted by Gray (1989). He found that major urban areas (towns) in New South Wales and Victoria were losing Aboriginal population through net migration to both large cities and to the country. At inter-state level an Aboriginal migration flow in one direction tends to be offset by a migration flow in the opposite direction. Similarly, country to city Aboriginal population migration tends to be offset by similar-sized city to country migration. Gray (1989) noted that these migrations tend to be age specific, with young people migrating to the cities and older adults with their children migrating to the country. Taylor et al. (2007) indicate there is a clear shift out of the arid and savanna zones in Australia; however, the rate of loss of non-Aboriginal and non-Torres Strait Islander population from the arid zone (which includes central Australia and Alice Springs) is five times that of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population.

Methods

Aboriginal research process

This project was driven by Tangentyere Council due to the combination of interest in accurately reporting the population of the town camps and the effect of mobility, and the previous successful experience with a research project that surveyed town camp residents' attitudes towards the liquor restrictions. Tangentyere Council researchers and executive knew the difference that real Aboriginal involvement in undertaking research could make.

Active participation in research is significantly better when Aboriginal people from the community conduct the research. In the survey of town camp residents' attitudes towards the liquor restrictions, only 12 of the 1270 people selected declined to participate. More importantly, Aboriginal researchers have a comprehensive understanding of the context, so the responses they are given are much more accurate and detailed. In the training for this project researchers talked about their experience with other research and surveys: that many Aboriginal people would just answer yes/no, or often yes/yes to get the questioning over and done with, as they may not understand the reason for the survey, the questions, or they may regard the questioning as an impolite interference on the part of the researchers, but they are too polite to just walk away.

There was discussion about how non-Aboriginal external researchers would not understand an answer and would say, 'Sorry, I'm here to ask you about only this subject'. They understand a narrowly defined topic from their field or approach and may not understand the relevance of the comment made or the question asked of them. The Aboriginal person answering the questions may become frustrated at not being understood or the lack of attempt to understand. They may also have answered what they felt were similar questions or had been involved with similar research before. When they try to tell the researcher this, the researcher still wants to do *their* research. There was also discussion about respect: if an old man talks about another issue that may not be directly related, you must listen with respect. Many non-Aboriginal researchers would not listen and would cut people off and go onto another question.

The most important thing is context. Tangentyere researchers know the people, live the context, speak the language and understand the complexities of the issues in a way that an external researcher cannot. For Tangentyere Council and the researchers, a key aspect is that the research is being conducted 'on this mob by this mob', and therefore they control the process. It is not about having an external person or organisation come in and use their information and take it away. Aboriginal people are not passive in the process.

Having local people collecting the data and conducting the analysis has an impact on the results. In talking about the results at the end of each survey, there was discussion about why the data might give particular results, and what might be missing based on the surveyor's experience and knowledge of the situation.

It is an important feature of any research conducted by Tangentyere that they give something back to the participants in the research. The researchers talked with survey participants about what they could do, such as give an immediate response for repairs and maintenance issues or refer people to appropriate service support.

Research structure

A longitudinal data collection was conducted, consisting of four surveys of residents and visitors over a period of 12 months. The town camps and public housing surveys were conducted together by the survey team. A detailed discussion of the research methodology can be found in Foster et al. (2005). This section summarises that process and highlights differences between the public housing and town camps surveys. A key feature of the surveys was that Tangentyere Council and the Aboriginal researchers participated in training and were the drivers of the development of survey tools. The role of the non-Aboriginal researchers was mainly to facilitate discussion and to provide advice if needed.

The survey times chosen to include possible high and low mobility periods were as follows:

Table 1: Dates of Town Camps and Public Housing Surveys

Survey 1	15–28 June 2004
Survey 2	12–29 October 2004
Survey 3	5–14 April 2005
Survey 4	15–24 June 2005

The July 2004 surveys included the Alice Springs Show, and the survey in April 2005 coincided with the lightning football carnival. Both times were regarded as periods of high mobility.

There were four training sessions conducted prior to each survey. The first was eight days of intensive training, which included the development of the survey tool (refer Appendix 1), the structure of the teams and the ways of conducting the field work. The second was three days and included an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the first survey. The third was a two-day workshop to ensure that new researchers were confident in using the questionnaire and recording the answers correctly. The fourth survey training was mainly administrative, as many people on the survey team had participated in previous surveys.

Oscar Ah Mat and Sharlene Swan trialing the survey tool on an employee of Tangentyere Council during the final stages of the training before the first survey.

During the training the research team developed the information sheet, which was also used as a consent form (see Appendix 2). Some Aboriginal researchers used their own language or used their own English expressions when asking for consent. This information sheet was only used as a general guide.

The research workers came from various departments within Tangentyere Council as well as town camp residents, Executive members and presidents of the town camps. The researchers included speakers of a wide range of languages: Warlpiri, Luritja, Arrernte (Central, Eastern, Western), Pitjantjatjara, Kaytetye and Anmatyerre. Generally, the surveys were conducted by small teams of usually 2–4 people.

Doreen Abbott and Lorraine Pepperill trialing the survey tool during the final stages of the initial training.

Efforts were made to ensure that each team had a balance of men and women, experienced and less experienced researchers, and that at least one of the group could speak an Aboriginal language.[2]

Three research teams – town camps north, town camps south and public housing – conducted the surveys/interviews simultaneously. This team structure was altered for the subsequent surveys, with smaller teams responsible for specific suburbs (or town camps). The information/consent sheet was discussed with the house boss prior to commencing the interviews, and verbal consent was obtained during these discussions. A letter (Appendix 3) was sent to each house on the Friday prior to the first survey.

Short and long surveys were used in every interview. The short survey details of names, age, sex, length of stay in Alice Springs, usual community of residence and the last place stayed prior to coming to the surveyed house. The long survey included qualitative data about house bosses, questions to residents about visitors and questions to visitors about reasons for coming to Alice Springs, means of transport, how long they intend to stay, and how they intend to get back to their community. The way the long survey was conducted changed after the first survey, where tick boxes were used for researchers to summarise the answers. In the second survey, open-ended questions were used instead of the boxes to provide more of a story about people's feelings towards the visitors. The reason for change was that people looked at the tick boxes and picked a few out rather than telling their stories in their own words. The researchers were comfortable to write the stories of the people interviewed.

A debriefing was held after the first two days of the survey. The attempts to talk to men and women separately, particularly about visitors, were not successful as most house bosses responded to the questions. There were difficulties getting responses from visitors, so it was agreed in such cases the house boss could speak for the visitors. It was agreed to also try to talk to women and the visitors separately from talking to the house boss.

Data were entered in MS Excel and analysis undertaken using SPSS. After the initial survey, a team of four Aboriginal researchers entered the data and the first analysis was presented to the executive committee of Tangentyere Council, which raised a constructive discussion. Throughout the project the Tangentyere Council Research Subcommittee and the Executive of Tangentyere Council provided guidance. After each survey a presentation of preliminary results was made to the Tangentyere Research

2 In the first survey, the teams were larger, usually 4–5 people per team. As people felt more confident in their skills, team size was reduced.

Subcommittee. The mobility study partners, especially in the initial period, provided technical expertise to the project. Individuals were identified and coded on the data collection sheets in order to be able to follow up in subsequent surveys. These data were stored securely and only available to the research team. After the last survey, data were de-identified so that individual and households are not identifiable in the final report.

Reflections on the survey

The researchers felt the long survey was often difficult to complete as they had not been able to talk to visitors – many of them were too shy to respond, and it was left to the house boss to provide the information. The questions overlapped, and in some cases people just shrugged their shoulders as they felt they were being asked the same questions again. The number of households asked to complete the long survey could have been reduced by half as the researchers felt that the additional information received did not justify the effort.

The researchers thought that more language speakers were needed for the public housing survey, noting that residents would see researchers approach, would look at the team and know the family connections and the language they speak and would feel more comfortable to be interviewed and invite the researchers in.

Outcomes of training and participation

One of the aims of both the public housing and town camps research projects was to provide researchers with new skills and increase the internal expertise of the Tangentyere Council. Of the 20 Aboriginal people who finished the first training for this research project, the majority were in full-time or part-time employment at December 2006, compared with half employed and the rest on CDEP or a benefit at the commencement of the survey. Three of the people obtained employment in research and one started a private business.

In addition, the 2006 census count of town camps, conducted by the ABS, employed researchers who had participated in these surveys. Additional census workers were recruited in conjunction with Tangentyere research workers who had worked on these surveys.

Survey population

A stratified random sample of dwellings was selected to ensure adequate representation by suburbs, housing type (houses and units) and duration of residency. The required sample size was 80 dwellings. Alice Springs was divided into six suburbs: East Side, Gillen, Gap, Larapinta, Racecourse and Sadadeen.

In January 2004, 321 public housing dwellings (197 houses and 124 units) were listed as occupied by or designated for Aboriginal people, of a total of 878 (NTDCDSCA 2004), which represents 36.6% of the total available housing stock. In June 2004 this had risen to 366 (41.7% of available dwellings) listed as designated for Aboriginal tenants and 499 designated for non-Aboriginal tenants (NTDCDSCA 2004 pers. comm.).[3] In June 2007 the allocations of public housing were approximately 50% each for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal households.

Data from the 2001 census indicate that 17% of the total Alice Springs population were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, of which 13% lived in town (not in town camps) (ABS 2002). The data do not indicate if people lived in public housing. Data from the 2006 census indicate that 20% of the total Alice Springs population were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (ABS 2007).

3 The available housing stock differs slightly from the total housing stock as set out in Figure 4: Public housing stock in Alice Springs by type of dwelling, 1996–2007, which indicates a total stock of 931 dwellings in 2004. The difference may be due to renovation programs, which temporarily remove dwellings from available stock.

The initial survey sample included 120 of the 321 dwellings listed as Aboriginal-tenanted. This was increased to 150 to achieve a target of 80 surveyed dwellings in the first survey, due to a high number of non-consent in the first week. Several dwellings were not able to be surveyed, as no-one was home when the interviewers called. Three attempts were made to survey a dwelling. These dwellings remained on the survey list and were revisited in subsequent surveys. There were several dwellings where people stated they were not Aboriginal and these were removed for subsequent surveys.

Table 2 below illustrates the difficulties of surveying all dwellings in the sample. In the first survey there was a large proportion of non-consent, especially in two suburbs: Gap (11) and Gillen (9). This was reduced to 11 in the second survey because the surveys were conducted by researchers who knew the residents of the house/units where people had previously not consented. There were large numbers of houses/units where no one was home. In some cases, neighbours told the researchers the people were at work or that the house had been empty for a period of time and they had not seen the people who lived there. Many people were at work and not available during the survey hours; however, in many cases the team knew where the person was working and managed to track them down.

Table 2: Reasons why dwellings were not surveyed

Reason	**Survey 1**	**Survey 2**
No consent	25	11
Not at home	19	24
At work	2	4
Empty house	3	5
Reason not stated	6	18
People not responding	5	4
People in hospital	1	
Out bush	2	2
Not Aboriginal	3	
House being renovated	1	2
House belongs to an organisation	1	
Total	68	70

Results

Survey coverage of dwellings

Of the 150 dwellings in the sample, 114 were surveyed at least once. The target of 80 dwellings was achieved in surveys 1 and 2 but not in surveys 3 and 4. It became more difficult to reach the target as 12 dwellings became vacant between surveys 2 and 3 (6 houses and 6 units). The majority of these vacancies were due to renovations.

Table 3: Numbers and proportion of dwellings surveyed by suburb

Suburb	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	No. of dwellings
East Side	11 (92%)*	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	7 (58%)	12
Gillen	20 (74%)	18 (67%)	17 (63%)	16 (59%)	27
Gap	1 (8%)	8 (62%)	12 (92%)	9 (69%)	13
Larapinta	24 (96%)	18 (72%)	9 (36%)	17 (68%)	25
Old Racecourse	18 (75%)	21 (88%)	13 (54%)	16 (67%)	24
Sadadeen	8 (62%)	9 (69%)	8 (62%)	10 (77%)	13
Total surveyed	**82 (72%)**	**80 (70%)**	**65 (57%)**	**75 (66%)**	**114**

*Figures in brackets are the percentage of total dwellings surveyed in that suburb

It was expected that less than 100% of dwellings would be able to be surveyed in each survey, for the reasons outlined in Table 2. Only 26% of total dwellings were surveyed in all four surveys, 31% in three surveys, 25% in two surveys and 19% in only one survey. The low proportion of dwellings surveyed four times in the Gap was due to a high level of non-consent in the first survey, and in Gillen due to renovations to units during the third survey. In East Side, Sadadeen and Larapinta people were home at some dwellings but did not open the door to the researchers. Another major reason that houses were not surveyed was that they had become vacant due to residents moving to another location in town or to a community in the region, or the residents had been evicted.

Table 4: Number of times dwellings were surveyed by suburb

Suburb	Surveyed once	Surveyed twice	Surveyed three times	Surveyed four times	Number of dwellings
East Side	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	12
Gillen	6 (22%)	7 (26%)	9 (33%)	6 (22%)	27
Gap	1 (8%)	7 (54%)	4 (31%)	1 (8%)	13
Larapinta	5 (20%)	6 (24%)	5 (20%)	9 (36%)	25
Old Racecourse	4 (17%)	2 (8%)	12 (50%)	6 (25%)	24
Sadadeen	3 (23%)	3 (23%)	2 (14%)	5 (38%)	13
Total surveyed	**22 (19%)**	**28 (25%)**	**35 (31%)**	**30 (26%)**	**114**

Note: Numbers in brackets are the percentage of total dwellings surveyed in the suburb

The survey target was similar proportions of houses (60–70%) and units (30–40%) in each survey. In the first survey, 65% of the dwellings surveyed were houses, and 35% were units. In the third survey 72% of the dwellings were houses and 28% were units. The largest change was a decline in the number of units surveyed, from 29 in surveys 1 and 2 to 18 in survey 3.

Table 5: Number of dwellings surveyed by dwelling type and suburb

	East Side		Gillen		Gap		Larapinta		Old Racecourse		Sadadeen		Total	
	H*	U*	H	U	H	U	H	U	H	U	H	U	H	U
Survey 1	11	0	11	9	1	0	17	7	8	10	5	3	53	29
Survey 2	6	0	11	7	5	3	13	5	10	11	6	3	51	29
Survey 3	6	0	14	3	8	4	7	2	6	7	6	2	47	18
Survey 4	7	0	11	5	5	4	12	5	8	8	7	3	50	25

*H = House and U = Unit

The difficulty in surveying the same houses and units in subsequent surveys may indicate a level of mobility (19% of the sample was surveyed only once). For example, there were 13 houses (3 in Gillen, 3 in East Side, 4 in Larapinta, 2 in the Racecourse and 1 in Sadadeen) that were not occupied by the people who rent them during three visits to the houses in three of the four surveys conducted. Similarly, there were 9 units that were not occupied during three of the four surveys. It is thought that these people were likely to have been visiting families in communities in the region. In five houses, the house boss changed during the year of the survey.

Duration of occupancy

The majority of people (68.2%) stated that they had been resident in the same dwelling for over 1.5 years. Approximately 50% of people interviewed stated the dwelling had been occupied by the same family for more than 3.5 years; over 25% of people interviewed said the same family had occupied the dwelling for more than 5.5 years.

Table 6: Duration of occupancy, surveys 1–4

Duration of occupancy	1 month to 1.5 years	1.5–3.5 years	3.5–5.5 years	5.5–10.5 years	Over 10.5 years
Number of dwellings	102	59	79	55	26
Percentage	31.8%	18.4%	24.6%	17.1%	8.1%

Residents and visitors

The distinction between resident and visitor in the survey data was decided by the house boss or tenant who was interviewed. The Aboriginal researchers decided while developing the survey instrument that the house boss would be the best authority to determine who is a resident and who is a visitor.

The method used – a survey conducted over a period of two weeks – makes possible the double counting of people. Similarly, the use of four surveys over a period of 12 months may result in double counting and in people being redefined: at one survey being ‘residents’, at another being ‘visitors’, or vice versa. The total number of residents and visitors listed in all four surveys was 724; however, ten people were counted twice, seven of them in the same survey, and one person was counted three times.[4] The adjusted total for residents and visitors was 712. While nominal double counting did occur, it was able to be identified.

There is also some possibility that double counting occurred between the town camps and the public housing in the survey data. In the second, third and fourth town camp surveys, 85 people (from a total count of 2326) were noted as having gone to Alice Springs. In the public housing surveys 101 people stated that they had stayed at a town camp prior to moving to the public housing.

4 Three people were visitors, of which one was listed twice during the same survey in two different suburbs; the other two were listed twice in two different surveys. Five people were listed as residents in two different locations; two of them in the same survey. Four people were listed as residents in one location and as visitors in another.

The numbers of residents were similar in all four surveys (Figure 1), fluctuating between 246 in survey 3 to 275 in survey 4. Despite the low numbers of dwellings surveyed in survey 3, there was no significant decline in the numbers of residents surveyed. The numbers of visitors declined in survey 3 and 4 from a peak of 106 visitors in survey 1 to a low of 52 in survey 3.

The total number of visitors for all four surveys was 264, which is 37.3% of the total population surveyed. The highest proportion of visitors was recorded in survey 1 (29.4%) and survey 2 (28.5%) and the lowest in survey 3 (17.4%).

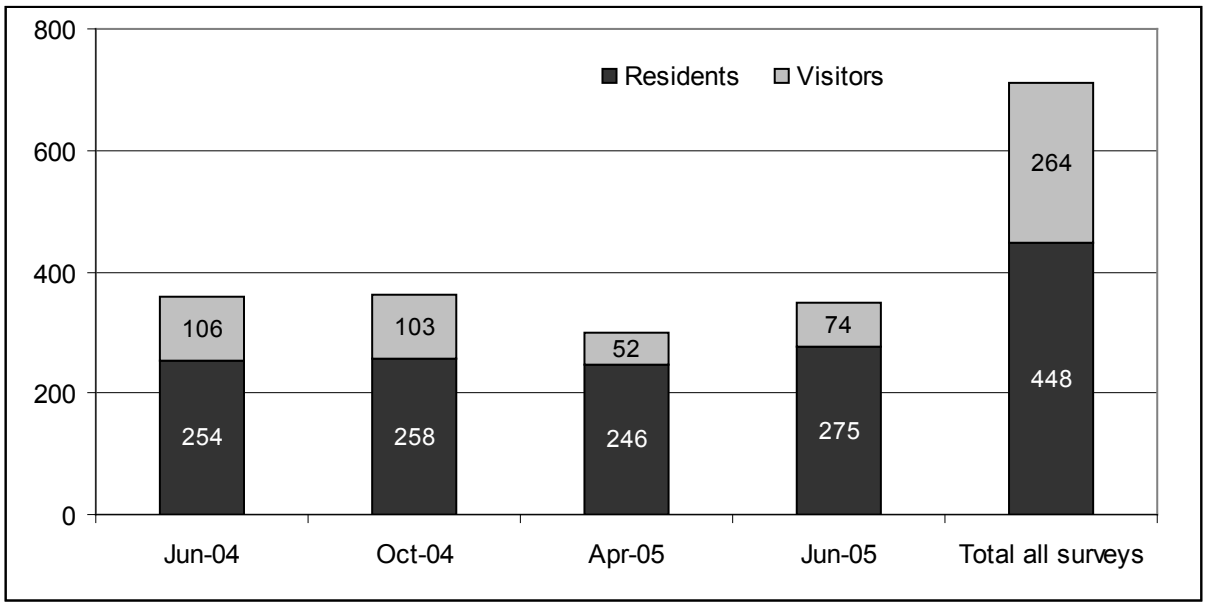

Figure 1: Numbers of residents and visitors in public housing in the four surveys

Note: Visitors and residents listed as both residents and visitors in the 'Total of All Surveys' were distributed proportionally on the basis of the total residents and visitors in all surveys.

A large number of visitors (245) were listed in only one survey. They were not 'stayers'; they came to town and by the time of the next survey they were no longer in town. Thirty-nine of the visitors were counted in two surveys; the majority of them were counted in three suburbs: East Side, Gillen and Larapinta (10 in each suburb). There were only four visitors who were counted in three surveys. There were 36 people who were counted as visitors first, then as residents in subsequent surveys. Three people were identified as residents first, then as visitors in subsequent surveys.

Table 7: Numbers of times residents and visitors in public housing were surveyed

	Surveyed once	Surveyed twice	Surveyed 3 times	Surveyed 4 times	Total number
Residents	174 (37%)	114 (24%)	114 (24%)	74 (16%)	448
Visitors	245 (85%)	39 (14%)	4 (1%)	0	264

The high proportions of residents surveyed once and twice may be the result of the following:

- a high level of residents' mobility out of town
- a change in status from visitors to residents and vice versa
- dwellings not re-visited in some surveys as the quota of 80 dwellings was reached (these houses may have been visited once or twice but not for a third or fourth time) or due to renovations.

Table 8 below shows the visitors and residents in each suburb. Sadadeen had the least visitors (19, or 27%). The Gap had the highest proportion (50%) and Larapinta the second lowest (36%). The highest numbers of residents listed were at Gillen (108) and Larapinta (109).

Table 8: Numbers of residents and visitors by suburb

Suburb	Status	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4	Total people
East Side	Residents	35	20	25	37	56
	Visitors	25 (42%)*	15 (43%)	5 (17%)	16 (30%)	46 (45%)
Gillen	Residents	50	50	70	50	109
	Visitors	17 (25%)	11 (18%)	21 (23%)	13 (21%)	46 (30%)
Gap	Residents	4	30	36	28	45
	Visitors	14 (nc)**	19 (39%)	13 (27%)	9 (24%)	45 (50%)
Larapinta	Residents	85	61	39	68	108
	Visitors	19 (18%)	31 (34%)	6 (13%)	18 (21%)	61 (36%)
Racecourse	Residents	54	67	44	54	85
	Visitors	24 (31%)	21 (24%)	5 (10%)	10 (16%)	53 (38%)
Sadadeen	Residents	26	30	32	38	51
	Visitors	7 (21%)	6 (17%)	2 (6%)	8 (17%)	19 (27%)

* The numbers in brackets represent the percentage of people identified as visitors in each suburb in each survey

** Not calculated (nc) as only one dwelling surveyed

The above table indicates the fluctuations in residents and visitors between surveys and suburb. In a majority of cases (14/24) the proportion of visitors exceeded 20%. In 6 cases it was 30% or more, and only in one case was the proportion of visitors less than 10% (in Sadadeen, in the third survey, where it was 6%). There are large fluctuations in visitor numbers between the surveys in three of the suburbs: Racecourse, Larapinta and East Side. However, the number of different dwellings surveyed in each survey will affect the reliability of those data (refer Table 5). These suburbs provide a reasonable indication of fluctuation in the number surveyed.

While there were houses surveyed with large numbers of residents and visitors, in most cases these did not recur in subsequent surveys. The table below shows how across the surveys, the average number of residents was usually up to 3, and visitors was usually up to 5, except for in the Gap in Survey 1 where the average number of visitors was high, at 14.

Table 9: Average number of residents and visitors per house, surveys 1–4 by suburb

Suburb	Status	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4
East Side	Residents	3	4	5	5
	Visitors	2	2	2	3
Gillen	Residents	3	3	5	4
	Visitors	1	1	1	1
Gap	Residents	4	5	4	4
	Visitors	14	3	1	1
Larapinta	Residents	4	4	4	4
	Visitors	1	2	1	1
Racecourse	Residents	4	4	5	4
	Visitors	2	1	0	1
Sadadeen	Residents	4	4	4	4
	Visitors	1	1	0	1

The largest number of visitors recorded in a house in one survey was 14, and the same house recorded the highest number of visitors (21) over the four surveys. The highest number of residents recorded in one house was 11; this was recorded in one house in two of the surveys, and in three houses in one survey. In nine houses there were 10 people or more in any one survey.

To provide a comparison of number of people per dwelling and overcrowding, a table of number of people recorded in dwellings by number of bedrooms would be required. There are not the available data from the survey dwellings to prepare this.

The largest average number of people staying in a unit was 4, recorded five times: in the Gap (2 residents and 2 visitors); in Larapinta (4 residents); and 3 times in Survey 4 at Larapinta, Racecourse and Sadadeen (3 residents and 1 visitor).

Table 10: Average number of residents and visitors per unit, surveys 1–4 by suburb

Suburb	Status	Survey 1	Survey 2	Survey 3	Survey 4
Gillen	Residents	1	2	1	2
	Visitors	1	1	1	1
Gap	Residents	0	2	2	2
	Visitors	0	1	2	1
Larapinta	Residents	2	2	4	3
	Visitors	1	1	0	1
Racecourse	Residents	2	2	2	3
	Visitors	1	1	1	1
Sadadeen	Residents	2	2	3	3
	Visitors	0	1	0	1

Only seven units recorded more than 6 people and this was recorded in one of the four surveys. The largest number of people recorded in a unit was 8, recorded twice at Larapinta and once at Racecourse. In all but one of these dwellings, visiting children accounted for the large numbers of people recorded. Generally, short-term visitors increased the numbers of people in units to more than two per bedroom.

Age and sex

The male:female ratios of children and youth up to the age of 14 were similar to the ratios in the usual resident population in Alice Springs from the 2006 census, except the numbers of male youth were higher in the surveyed population than in the usual resident Alice Springs population for these age groups. The proportion of residents aged 0–4 years ranged from 9% of females in survey 1 to 16.8% of males in survey 3, and in total was 13.4% of all residents. This is slightly higher than the 2006 census data of 12.7%. The residents aged 5–9 and 10–14 years were 9.8% and 10.9% respectively of the total survey population, which is slightly lower than the 2006 census proportions of 11.5% and 11.4% respectively. There were more male than female residents aged 0–14 years recorded in most surveys: a total of 164 female and 198 male children.

Table 11: Numbers of residents in each survey by age

	Survey 1		Survey 2		Survey 3		Survey 4	
Age group	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**
0–4	13	16	16	20	16	17	22	16
5–9	11	16	12	18	13	10	10	18
10–14	14	18	13	18	11	16	13	15
15–19	14	6	17	5	13	6	16	8
20–24	7	7	9	5	8	8	9	8
25–29	15	7	15	5	14	3	18	4
30–34	20	7	16	10	13	9	11	8
35–39	5	7	6	6	8	6	10	7
40–44	4	0	4	2	4	4	5	2
45–49	6	3	6	2	3	1	9	3
50–54	10	8	8	7	13	5	12	8
55–59	9	4	7	3	8	4	8	6
60–64	5	5	5	4	4	2	5	5
65 and over	9	4	9	7	8	5	10	6
no age reported	2	2	2	1	6	5	2	1
Totals	**144**	**110**	**145**	**113**	**142**	**101**	**160**	**115**
Proportion (%)	57%	43%	56%	44%	58%	42%	58%	42%

There were more female (56–58%) than male (42–44%) residents in all surveys, which may reflect a tendency of single female households to be more common among the public housing population. Females outnumbered males in the age groups 15–19, 25–29 and 30–34 years in all surveys. Females were more likely to be surveyed (present in two or more surveys) compared with males.

Females aged 25–39 years had a slightly higher representation as residents of public housing than 2006 census data: 9.3% compared with 8.9% in the 25–29 age group and 10.1% compared with 8.4% in the 30–34 age group.

The representation of older people who were visitors (Table 12) is lower than for the 2006 census data for Alice Springs. The proportion of children among the visitors was slightly lower than the 2006 census data: females aged 0–4, 5–9 and 10–14 years were 9.0%, 4.5% and 4.5% of the visiting population respectively, compared with 10.47%, 10.1% and 9.8% in the census. Males aged 0–4, 5–9 and 10–14 years were 10.0%, 11.5% and 8.5% respectively compared with 12.7%, 12.9% and 11.8% from the 2006 census. There were small numbers of visitors in the age group 10–14 years. However, the numbers are too small for any conclusions to be drawn.

Table 12: Numbers of visitors by age, surveys 1–4

	Survey 1		Survey 2		Survey 3		Survey 4	
Age group	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**	**Males**
0–4	4	2	3	4	4	2	5	6
5–9	4	5	1	6	1	3	1	3
10–14	2	7	3	1	0	3	1	3
15–19	9	5	8	1	2	4	5	4
20–24	6	5	8	7	3	3	4	8
25–29	7	7	4	3	2	2	2	3
30–34	7	3	4	4	4	3	6	0
35–39	2	4	5	5	2	2	3	1
40–44	4	3	5	4	1	1	4	2
45–49	5	2	3	3	0	0	1	1
50–54	2	1	4	1	1	0	1	1
55–59	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	1
60–64	0	3	2	3	1	0	2	1
65 and over	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
no age reported	4	1	2	3	2	4	1	2
Totals	**56**	**49**	**54**	**48**	**23**	**29**	**37**	**37**

The following table provides a summary by age and sex of the total number and proportions of residents and visitors for all four surveys with duplicates removed. For comparison, the proportions for the usual resident count in Alice Springs in the 2006 census have been provided. The total numbers of female (134) and male (130) visitors are similar. The expectation that males aged 20–34 years would dominate the visitors is partly supported by the data. The highlighted section shows that for the age groups 20–29 there is an over representation of males, but then the number of male visitors aged 30–34 years dropped to 7 (5.4%) of total visitors compared with a representation of 7.4% in the census data.

Table 13: Residents and visitors by age and sex, surveys 1–4 and 2006 census

	Residents				Visitors				2006 census	
Age group	**Females**		**Males**		**Females**		**Males**		**Females**	**Males**
0–4	30	12.1%	30	15.0%	12	9.0%	13	10.0%	10.4%	12.7%
5–9	19	7.7%	25	12.5%	6	4.5%	15	11.5%	10.1%	12.9%
10–14	22	8.9%	27	13.5%	6	4.5%	11	8.5%	9.8%	11.8%
15–19	21	8.5%	18	9.0%	17	12.7%	10	7.7%	8.6%	10.7%
20–24	16	6.5%	16	8.0%	17	12.7%	18	13.8%	9.5%	7.9%
25–29	23	9.3%	10	5.0%	11	8.2%	14	10.8%	8.9%	7.7%
30–34	25	10.1%	18	9.0%	17	12.7%	7	5.4%	8.4%	7.4%
35–39	16	6.5%	11	5.5%	10	7.5%	9	6.9%	7.0%	6.8%
40–44	9	3.6%	5	2.5%	11	8.2%	8	6.2%	6.2%	6.3%
45–49	10	4.0%	4	2.0%	6	4.5%	7	5.4%	5.2%	3.6%
50–54	17	6.9%	12	6.0%	8	6.0%	2	1.5%	5.1%	4.0%
55–59	13	5.2%	6	3.0%	2	1.5%	3	2.3%	3.2%	2.9%
60–64	7	2.8%	5	2.5%	1	0.7%	4	3.1%	2.9%	1.7%
65 and over	13	5.2%	8	4.0%	3	2.2%	1	0.8%	4.8%	3.5%
No age reported	7	2.8%	5	2.5%	7	5.2%	8	6.2%		
Totals	248	100%	200	100%	134	100%	130	100%	100%	100%

Duration of stay

As expected, the majority of residents stated that they had stayed in the dwelling for more than three months in all four surveys. There were a few cases where residents stated they had stayed in the house between six weeks and three months (surveys 1, 2, 4). The majority of these were visitors who became residents or residents who were away for the previous survey.

Table 14: Numbers of residents and visitors, surveys 1–4 by duration of stay

Residents	1 night to 2 weeks	2–6 weeks	6 weeks to 3 months	More than 3 months
Survey 1	2	0	8	244
Survey 2	1	4	10	234
Survey 3	0	6	1	218
Survey 4	4	2	14	240
Visitors				
Survey 1	80	9	11	6
Survey 2	55	24	0	21
Survey 3	29	8	3	10
Survey 4	20	14	19	18

Visitors tended to stay shorter periods: in surveys 1–3 the majority of visitors reported they stayed for one night to two weeks. In surveys 3 and 4 an increasing number of visitors were reported as staying for more than six weeks: in survey 4 it was 37, or 52% of the visitors. Of these 37 visitors, 20 were recorded for the first time in survey 4.

It is important to note that the status of residents or visitors was defined by the house boss, which may not be based solely on length of stay. So people may have been staying in the house for extensive periods of time but are still considered visitors. There were 32 people (4.5%) whose status was changed from visitor to resident in subsequent surveys.

Where did people stay last?

The purpose of this question was to identify the previous place of residency. In many cases this was answered by the house boss; however, not all people responded to this question as they often did not have that information. The response rate varied from 90% (survey 1) to 97% (survey 3), but the impact on the results would be small.

The majority of people (73%) identified Alice Springs as the place where they last stayed. This varied from 168 people (50.6%) in survey 1 to 246 people (73.9%) in survey 4. In most cases the response was either ‘here’, meaning the same house where they were interviewed or another location in Alice Springs.

Remote communities as a group were the second most common response that people gave. The proportion of people who had previously stayed in a remote community fluctuated from 28% in survey 1 to 16% in survey 3.

As an individual location, the second most common response (after Alice Springs) was town camps. This suggests a high level of mobility between town camps and public housing, and this is to be expected with family relationships between people living in town camps and public housing. Anecdotally it was stated that this is often the result of people seeking security in the public housing by moving away from problems in the town camps. There was a decline between the surveys in the number and proportion of people who stated that town camps were the place they last stayed: 41 people (12.3%) in survey 1 to 11 people (3.3%) in survey 4.

Table 15: Summary of residents and visitors by place they last stayed, surveys 1–4

Place stated as last stayed	Total	%	
Alice Springs: includes hostels, hospital, public housing	833	65%	Total Alice Springs
Town camps	101	8%	73%
Outstations and communities close to Alice Springs: includes Amoonguna	13	1%	
Eastern Arrernte: Santa Teresa, Titjikala, Finke	51	4%	
Warlpiri region:	11	1%	
Western Arrernte: Ntaria, Wallace Rockhole, Jay Creek, Areyonga	40	3%	
Anmatjerre: Ti Tree, Laramba	29	2%	Total remote community
Anangu Pitjantatjara lands: Mutitjulu, Impanpa	25	2%	20%
Harts Range	16	1%	
Warramungu: Tennant Creek, Ali Curung	17	1%	
Utopia, Ampilatwatja, Lake Nash	26	2%	
Other remote region (Kaytetye 17)	26	2%	
State only listed (SA 12, WA 3, Qld 14)	29	2%	Miscellaneous
Top End	16	1%	
Other	49	4%	7%
Total	**1282**		

The third most common responses were Eastern and Western Arrernte communities, mainly Ntaria (Hermannsburg) to the west and Ltyente Apurte (Santa Teresa) to the south-east of Alice Springs. There were small numbers of people who last stayed at Yuendumu or in the Warlpiri region, or from the Luritja region. There were occasions of an influx of people: Harts Range (survey 1), Utopia (survey 2), Anangu Pitjantjatjara (survey 2) and Kaytetye (survey 3).

The majority of visitors had a remote community identified as the place they last stayed. In survey 1, 68 (64%) visitors who identified their previous place of stay as outside of Alice Springs were visitors from remote communities, and 36% of visitors identified other places in Alice Springs, either a town camp or another address in town, as their previous place of stay.

In survey 2 there were 46 (47%) visitors and 18 residents with a location outside of Alice Springs identified as the previous place stayed. In survey 3, 32 (62%) visitors and 27 residents, and in survey 4, 33 (45%) visitors and 34 residents identified their previous place of stay as a location outside of Alice Springs. Survey 4 was the first time more residents than visitors identified the last place they stayed as outside of Alice Springs.

Where are people from?

This question aimed to identify people's place of affiliation: the area, region or community they came from originally. The majority of respondents (43%) were from Alice Springs. This varied from 121 people (37%) in survey 2 to 150 people (45%) in survey 4.

Table 16: Numbers of residents and visitors by the place where they are from

Place stated as from	**Total**	**%**	
Alice Springs: includes hostels, hospital, public housing	538	42%	Total Alice Springs 43%
Town camps	7	1%	
Outstations and communities close to Alice Springs (Amoonguna 20, Hamilton Downs 36)	56	4%	Total remote community 45%
Eastern Arrernte: Santa Teresa, Titjikala, Finke	91	7%	
Warlpiri region:	74	6%	
Western Arrernte: Ntaria, Wallace Rockhole, Jay Creek, Areyonga	91	7%	
Anmatjerre: Ti Tree, Laramba, Aileron	67	5%	
Anangu Pitjantatjara lands: Mutitjulu, Impanpa	54	4%	
Harts Range, Alcoota, Bonya Region	31	2%	
Warramungu: Tennant Creek, Ali Curung	27	2%	
Utopia, Ampilatwatja, Lake Nash	48	4%	
Other remote region (Kaytetye 29, Pintupi 5)	38	3%	
State only listed (SA 41, Qld 23, NSW 9, WA 2)	84	7%	Miscellaneous 12%
Top End	51	4%	
Other	21	2%	
Total	**1278**		

The second most common places of affiliation reported were the Eastern and Western Arrernte regions. The Eastern Arrernte region had a total of 22 people in survey 1: 21 from Santa Teresa, of which 15 were residents of Alice Springs. In the second survey there were 14 people from Santa Teresa and 13 from Titjikala, of whom most were visitors. In survey 4, the 5 people from Finke and 3 from Titjikala were all visitors.

Ntaria in the Western Arrernte region was reported as their home by the third largest number of people (24) in one survey (survey 2). The majority of these people were visitors (14). Seven of the visitors recorded were present for two surveys.

The largest number of people from a region reported in any one survey were from the Warlpiri region in survey 1: 30 people or 9% of respondents (16 from Willowra and 12 from Yuendumu). The majority were residents (17), and 13 were visitors.

In surveys 1, 3 and 4 there were large numbers of people reported from the Anmatjere region: 18, 19 and 17 respectively. The number dropped to 13 in survey 2. The majority were from Ti Tree and only 7 were visitors. Eight of the residents who stated they were from Ti Tree were surveyed in three of the four surveys.

In survey 2, 19 people identified the Utopia region as the place they are from. Most were visitors, and six of them were residents. Other survey counts were 12 (survey 3), 9 (survey 4) and 8 (survey 1).

Harts Range, Kaytetye, Tennant Creek and Pitjantjatjara (SA) were other regions that people listed; however, the numbers were smaller and included mainly visitors, and often the large numbers of people were present in one or two surveys only. In survey 4 there were 18 people from the Pitjantjatjara lands in South Australia. Most of them were visitors. Only six were residents, and most of the residents and visitors were recorded only in this survey.

There was a very small number of people who identified the town camps of Alice Springs as the place they are from.

Case studies

This section provides illustrations from the survey data of the population flow in public housing dwellings in Alice Springs. The dwellings were selected from different suburbs and each case study has some unique features to illustrate some of the complex aspects of mobility.

Case study 1: A house with two core residents: a middle-aged male and female who were present in all four surveys. In survey 1 they had five visitors. In survey 2 there were no visitors, but an additional child was recorded as a resident. In survey 3 there were the same three people from survey 2 as well as five visitors (not the same visitors recorded in survey 1) plus another resident boy, for a total of nine people. In survey 4 the household consisted of all the people who were recorded in the previous surveys, a total of fourteen people. The people identified themselves as being from a community north of Alice Springs.

Case study 2: A house with two core residents: an older male and a female. In survey 1 there were four residents and two visitors. These two visitors were not recorded in subsequent surveys. In survey 2 there were three residents and eight visitors. In survey 3 there were four residents, one of whom was recorded only in this survey, and no visitors. In survey 4 there were five residents (three previously recorded as visitors) and six visitors (one recorded for the first time). The total number of people recorded in this house was sixteen, of which four were recorded only in one survey (3 visitors and 1 resident). Most of the people identified themselves as being from a community west of Alice Springs.

Case study 3: This dwelling was visited three times in both surveys 1 and 2 and once in survey 4, but no one was home. In survey 3 there were seven residents and five visitors recorded. This house is an illustration of the strong links to the bush and the number of times residents with access to a vehicle would visit relatives in a remote community.

Case study 4: There was a change in residency during the surveys. In survey 1 there were four residents and no visitors recorded. Between surveys 1 and 2 new people occupied the house, and in survey 2 there were seven residents and one visitor recorded. In survey 3 there were four residents, one recorded for the first time. In survey 4 there was no one home. The people from survey 1 identified themselves as local to Alice Springs; the people from the subsequent surveys identified themselves as being from a community north of Alice Springs.

Case study 5: This illustrates a large numbers of visitors in one household. The household residents comprised a couple and two children. In survey 1 there were four residents and three visitors. In survey 2 there were four residents and two visitors, one of whom was recorded in survey 1. In survey 3 there were six residents and four visitors: two of the residents and all the visitors were being recorded for the first time in this survey. In survey 4 there were five residents and five visitors, of which four were recorded for the first time. This household had thirteen visitors during the four surveys: two were over 30 years of age and the rest were under 30, including seven children.

Case study 6: This is an example of a house with no visitors and some mobility among residents. In survey 1 there were four residents: two were young children. In survey 2 there was only one resident. In survey 3 the same four residents as in survey 1 were present. In survey 4 there were five residents. This people in this household identified as being from Alice Springs.

Case study 7: This illustrates the changing nature of visitors and residents. In survey 1 there were eighteen people in the house, fourteen of whom were visitors. In survey 2 there were six people in the house; two were visitors, and five of the six people were recorded in survey 1, three of them as visitors. In survey 3 there was one resident and four visitors, two of whom were recorded in survey 1 and not recorded in survey 2. In survey 4 there were three residents and seven visitors. Of the residents, only one was recorded in three of the four surveys. The rest were recorded in two of the surveys. This household had local residents and visitors from three different communities.

Case study 8: This illustrates fluctuations in visitor numbers. In survey 2 there were seven residents and nine visitors. In survey 3 there were the seven residents from survey 2 and no visitors. In the other two surveys (1 and 4) there was no one home. People in this household identified themselves as being from communities to the south and west of Alice Springs.

Case study 9: This was a young couple with children, with visitors in two surveys. In survey 1 there were eight residents and one visitor. In survey 2 there were eight residents and five visitors. In survey 3 there were nine residents (one new resident), and in survey 4 there were 8 residents. The people in this household stated they are from Alice Springs.

Case study 10: This is a household of mobile residents. In survey 1 there were seven residents and three visitors. In survey 2 there were six residents (two of them were new residents; one was a visitor in the previous survey). In survey 3 there were seven residents: four were present in survey 1 and two were present in all three subsequent surveys. One was present only in survey 2. In survey 4 there were nine residents present. In surveys 3 and 4 there were no visitors recorded. Out of nine residents, only two were present in all four surveys. Six were present in two surveys, and two were present in two surveys. This people in this household stated they were from Alice Springs.

In conclusion, the case studies illustrated the complex nature of occupancy in public housing. The definitions of visitors appear to be accurately depicted by the house boss. The case studies provide examples of mobility and large variations in the nature of occupancy between different households. There was variation from one survey to another in who the occupiers were of public housing dwellings.

What did people think about visitors?

Two questions related to what people thought about visitors: the first asked about the positive aspects, and the second about the negative aspects of having visitors. The question was structured with both positive and negative components, as the researchers thought a general question would not elicit a balanced view.

The positive aspects of visitors

The interviews indicate that Aboriginal people consider visiting family members as an obligation and part of the reciprocity arrangement embedded in Aboriginal culture. There was a sense that a clear distinction was made between the welcomed visitors – close family members and people who do not cause humbug – and those people who cause humbug, are trouble makers and who bring bad publicity to Aboriginal people.

More often respondents stated, when they were answering question 2 (about the negative aspects of visitors), that they had nothing bad to say about visitors, compared with people who started to be critical of visitors in response to question one (about the positive aspects of visitors). The most common positive responses about visitors were that they are good company, they are a source of news from the family out bush, and they provide support for the family, as follows:

> *We enjoy having visitors; will be having visitors tonight for a week. They come to tell us that family are sick.*
>
> *Visitors are good company. I [am] having grandchildren and family that come to visit. They give family support ... Family catching up with news from bush, catch up with family, see if they are OK, good communication.*

A nostalgic reminiscing of the good old days was also expressed:

> *I love having visitors around. I like to sit down, have a cup of tea and share stories about the good old days.*

[We] talk good times, mateship; we sit down and talk about the old days, ringer days, good company.

Several people identified the merits of visitors as part of family obligations – to look after each other. This was illustrated by talking about exchange of food, especially treating people to bush tucker, but also doing shopping, helping with the obligations of paying bills and supporting the town-based family financially. There were also cases that people came to town to look after sick, old or fragile relatives:

They bring bush medicine, bush tucker, like kangaroo. They help out with rent, food, household goods.

Family only visit, strangers not welcome. Family bring money for food, fuel, rent, shopping and are good company.

Because she is an old lady, she said her family come into town to look after her. They do her shopping and help with other needs.

Visitors come for one, two days when I am sick, they are good company, they bring money and news from my family. When family in hospital they come and stay.

A lot of sorry business – family provides transport to bush and in town. They help with money and tucker, washing machine, transport to and forward from bush.

People also described visitors as helping to look after small children, or older children looking after small children. There was emphasis on family-positive interaction when people are together:

Kids happy looking after each other, having fun together; [it] makes us happy.

Visitors are good for kids.

[Visitors give] a bit of help with baby, I don't have a lot of company, I live alone.

Other people also mentioned cleaning as one of the positive attributes of visitors; however, more complained about the mess visitors leave behind and during their stay in the house:

Good to have family visiting, they help with food, cleaning and anything that needs to be done around the house.

They [the visitors] come and give me extra money help clean up my house.

Some people expressed the need to have rules at the house: as long as visitors play by the rules they are welcomed. Others felt that visitors being welcome is conditional on them contributing to the household. Much of the discussion about rules was in response to the questions about the negative aspects of visitors or when issues of drinking were raised by people:

[If visitors] help out with some way [they] are good. I like having visitors as long as they pull their weight.

We got rules: no grog, no mess. Break the rules – out! Go to the river, go back home.

Extended family knows I have rules. I put my foot down so people won't walk over me in my house. People [visitors] know they can drink in my house but only 2 cans limit. But I never supply visitors. Visitors know they can get a meal [no grog].

The issue of drinking and the problems it can cause were raised by many people. Some people highlighted that drinkers are not welcome in their house. Some discussed it as part of the positive aspect of visiting, to highlight that they have control and that those who misbehave are not welcomed:

No drunken people, [they] can't stay here, only good people who don't drink and are Christians.

It's alright [to have visitors] if it is only for one night. They bring their own money and food. They drink and camp somewhere else. They show respect for my house.

When visitors come in they don't drink in the house, they are sensible.

There were also very enthusiastic people who loved having visitors for the party time:

We have parties; they come from the bush with kangaroo, sometimes bullock meat. It's good to see my family when they come.

Good to see family; we have a party when they come. It is social gathering, catch up like we did last week.

We like to have a party when they come, we catch up on news from the family and have a jolly good time.

Only one person told us that it is good to see the back of the visitors when they leave:

Good thing if they [the visitors] leave, I'd like to be on my own, too old to put up with their business, been with me for a long time. I would like to run my own life. I don't mind having them for a day and then go home.

As part of the survey methodology the researchers were encouraged to try to interview men and women separately to ascertain the different views of family members towards visitors. This was rarely able to be done, but the following example shows different responses by the man and woman in one dwelling:

Man: I am sick and tired of visitors – [they] should stay in hotels.

Woman: Good to see the family, we go hunting. They come for football, go to sleep, make no trouble and go back to the community.

There were also cases in which responses from a house changed:

Survey 2: Visitors come to town on Fridays (pay days), give money to us. Sisters come to visit and stay for a week. Sometimes they help with shopping.

Survey 3: Jo [not real name] gets a lot of visitors and they just are menacing him all the time.

The negative aspects of visitors

The most common criticism of visitors related to drinking alcohol and the consequences (noise and fighting) of people being drunk. Some people stated they did not like visitors to drink in or around the house, to ensure that there were no problems that would threaten their tenancy. Others complained that when people drink they have no money for food or to go back to the community, and as a result they over stay. The most common complaints were 'grog and drunks' and 'noise and fighting'; others responded softly, saying one word only: 'alcohol' or 'drunks'.

There were also many houses (45 out of 114 dwellings) in which people stated very clearly they had nothing bad to say about visitors. In seven houses this was stated in two or more surveys.[5] In a few dwellings (14 of 114) the responses changed and comments on the negatives aspects of visitors were made in subsequent surveys.

In 32 out of the 114 dwellings surveyed, alcohol was mentioned as a negative aspect of visitors. In some cases this was not in the house surveyed but in relation to a neighbouring dwelling. In other cases it was only a general comment about alcohol or drinking. But there were many houses in which the comments were directed at their own visitors:

5 Dwellings that were surveyed only once and where people commented that they had nothing bad to say about visitors were excluded.

Only when family is drunk, when looking for money, looking for food; most family not bad.

[With visitors there is] too much humbug, cleaning up the mess and when family drinking too much and then fighting.

[Visitors] get drunk, they smash windows, and I have to pay for it, too much noise.

[I] don't like it when people are coming between 1 and 3 am in the morning, drunks.

In other responses people were concerned about the combination of violence, drinking and noise, for example:

Sometimes noise, when they drinking heavily and start fighting. Too much mess they leave behind and I have to clean up after them.

When you are sick or tired, lying down in bed, they drink quietly then they get really noisy and I don't like that. Cheeky mob.

People [are] fighting, arguing and bringing grog around, lots of humbug for smoke.

There were also comments that people drink and neglect their children and the burden of looking after the children falls on the family who is hosting the visitors:

[I don't like it] if drunk people get angry, sometime leaving kids here and go drinking, very stressful.

[I feel] anger [when visitors] leave kids in town while go off drinking.

Residents also raised noise as a major concern about the impact of visitors. In most cases noise was mentioned together with drinking. It was clear that some people felt that the conduct of visitors was not accepted in town. It was not always clear whether the concern was related to the impact noise has on the resident or the consequences that noise may have as a result of neighbours calling police:

[I] don't like visitors; sometime they make trouble, like fighting, lots of noise. Neighbours call the police.

[It] can be stressful with all that noise they make.

Violence, either between visitors or caused by visitors as a consequence of drinking, was raised by many residents. Some people complained about damage to property, others feared for children, and some talked about fighting in general:

People [are] fighting in the street. He is worried for his kids when he is at work.

Sometimes visitors from town have domestics, but we call night patrol and they help keep the noise down.

People [are] fighting, arguing and bringing grog around, lots of humbug for smoke.

[There is] damage to property and domestic violence between family members. [Visitors cause] too much noise.

Domestic violence between family members, too much noise, damage to property, humbug for money and food, more drinking and complaints from neighbours.

There were many residents who complained about the budgetary impact of constant visits: people said they run out of food or find it difficult to pay bills after visitors stay in their houses:

[Visiting] family take food, this can be very stressful on us.

Visitors tended to over stay, which caused a variety of problems for the residents. Over staying had financial ramifications stretching the household budget beyond its limits, and sometimes caused rifts between the residents and visitors:

> *Stay longer that you want them to stay, affect budget. Have to feed them and there is noise, too much noise.*
>
> *[Visitors are] over staying, take food and money.*
>
> *When people come and [they] don't know when to leave.*

The mess that visitors leave behind was the next most common issue – people seemed fed up with cleaning up after the visitors. When the mess was mentioned, there were also a string of other complaints:

> *Cleaning up after their mess is bad about them visitors.*
>
> *Visitors make lots of mess, TV complaints, take away too much food.*
>
> *[I am] having to feed them, there is mess around and noise, no privacy, it drains the budget.*
>
> *They leave mess, things get broken, there is a lot of noise, they use the phone and car too much and there is no food.*
>
> *Sometimes noise, when they drinking heavily and start fighting. Too much mess they leave behind and I have to clean up after them.*

There were a small number of people who complained about overcrowding. There was concern that residents of public housing get the overflow of visitors to town camps, where the overcrowding is more apparent:

> *House [gets] overcrowded, financial troubles and tension.*
>
> *Town campers have small houses, overcrowded. They [visitors] come here, it's good to have family visiting, but they have to go home to their place.*

Few people stated that they have found a solution to humbug from visitors:

> *They [the visitors are] making too much noise, making mess, sometimes come in and argue. I have to ring police or night patrol to get rid of them. If a motor car comes from that community we will send the trouble makers home.*

The surveys uncovered changing opinions about visitors as follows:

> *Survey 1: No grog signs, no bad things about visitors.*
>
> *Survey 2: When visitors are drunk they fight, making noise. I can't sleep at night, they damage the house.*
>
> *Survey 2: Family come and don't give money but eat all our food.*
>
> *Survey 3: No problems with visitors.*
>
> *Survey 4: Drunks make noise and looking for tucker and blankets.*

There were also several examples of people creating their own rules to try to overcome the drinking phenomenon in their dwelling. One woman told us:

> *My nickname is 'two can'. People know this house has a two-can limit.*

Why do visitors come to town?

The vast majority of visitors, or the house bosses, indicated that the visitors came to town to visit family members. Common responses were ‘to help with the kids’ or ‘to visit grandchildren and grandparents’. There were also cases in which individuals specifically indicated performing family obligations such as helping out with shopping or helping a sick member of the family as the main reason for their visit:

> *Came for family visit, can’t live without seeing my mother and help.*
>
> *I come into town to visit family when football is on. I come every week and drink with my family and friends.*
>
> *[Visitor] is visiting new baby born [grandchild].*
>
> *She is an old lady; we came to keep her company while her daughter is in Adelaide.*
>
> *The second most common reason was socialising, which included sporting events and the show.*
>
> *I come into town to visit family when football is on. Stay the weekend and go back bush.*
>
> *We came for the Alice Spring Show and going back on Monday.*
>
> *We had visitors come in for football carnival and they came to see if they can come and camp in my house. I said yes and I let them stay in my yard. Where else they gonna camp, no other family in town?*

Shopping was the next most common reason:

> *Come in town for shopping as it is cheaper in town than out bush.*
>
> *Visit family and shopping while in town.*

A large number of people came to town for medical reasons. They were either being treated or waiting for treatment, such as women waiting to give birth. Visitors also helped family members who were sick and needed looking after:

> *I came here to look after Dorothy [not real name]. She is a renal patient, I have been coming here for one, nearly two years now. We go visiting family out bush and sometimes go west visiting that family there.*
>
> *We came because Jan [not real name] and grandson are sick, need looking after. They need care and health care.*
>
> *She is on dialysis and lives in Alice but come and stay with us for company.*
>
> *She stays with me because her family don’t look after her properly. Doctors know where to bring her medicine.*
>
> *This mob came to town to help mum, she is sick. This lady needs access to a phone, she will have a baby soon and needs to be by the hospital.*
>
> *[Visitor] came for health reason, started dialysis and waiting for his own house now.*

A small number of the visitors were in town for business reasons, either looking for work (mainly interstate visitors) and waiting for accommodation, or in transition between accommodation or for study:

> *[She] comes to town to do interpreting; she is asked to come to town by Aboriginal Interpreting Service when she is needed.*
>
> *[They] came for family visit and do paintings, sell them in town.*
>
> *[This one] came to town for medical reason. One for study at Batchelor. One for follow up of appointments.*

In some cases people came to get away from humbug in their community:

> *[Visitor] still in town, lives at Common Place [not real name] but comes to Paul [not real name] to do paintings, and get away from the humbug in town camps.*
>
> *We came to get away from family [who is] making noise out bush, [we are] little bit bored out there.*

There were also a few people who acknowledged that they came to town for drinking since they live in a dry community. They stated they came in for a few days, to have a few drinks and then go back.

> *[We came for] family visit and drinking alcohol.*
>
> *People came for shopping, sport and alcohol.*

Discussion

The following discussion has been drawn together from information collected during the survey and from a two-day workshop held with the Tangentyere researchers in December 2006. The objective of the workshop was to put some context around the survey results.

Duration of occupancy

The survey data indicated that large numbers of tenants had occupied public housing for long periods. In January 2004, 68% of public housing dwellings had been occupied for more than 1.5 years by the same occupants, and 50% had been occupied by the same occupants for more than 3.5 years. This stability in occupancy indicated in the survey data may be the result of the following factors:

- People have been living in town for a number of generations: it was suggested that many of the longer tenants were families who had previously been employed by the railways or were people who had moved inter-state.
- Families are seeking stability for their children so they can get schooling.
- There is more employment and better employment opportunities in town.
- There is better security for family in town.
- The cost of living in Alice Springs is lower compared with remote communities, including access to cheaper food, lower transport costs (fuel, vehicle maintenance, etc) and easier access to services.
- There is support for family members receiving treatment at the hospital, such as dialysis.
- There is a better standard of living in town, such as better housing with air-conditioning and reliable power and water supplies.
- There is better access to services such as education, health, social services and Centrelink.
- People may want to get away from sorry business out bush.

Sex

The survey data showed a larger number of women (compared with men) aged 25–50 years, many with children, resident in public housing (Figure 2a). Public housing may have an important social function in providing a refuge for women, a place where they feel secure and able to bring up their children in a safe environment. It may also be a result of women being more likely to take the initiative in taking up public housing tenancy. It was also discussed that males are more likely to be in jail in this age group.

In aggregate, women dominated the survey counts of both residents and visitors. Figure 2a shows there are significant differences between the numbers of male and female residents in the age groups from 25–59 years of age. However, when the resident and visitor data are combined (Figure 2b) the

difference between males and females reduces considerably except in the age groups 30–34 and 50–54, where it seems more than it was for residents only. One explanation raised in the discussion for the low numbers of males, particularly residents, is either that they moved on early in the day or were counted as visitors because the house bosses (especially young women) did not want to disclose that men were living permanently in the house for fear of losing benefits or their house. Another reason suggested was that male visitors are more likely to move around more, and do not stay in one house for long periods. It might be that the nature of their visits is a day visit only, and they are less likely to stay the nights in town.

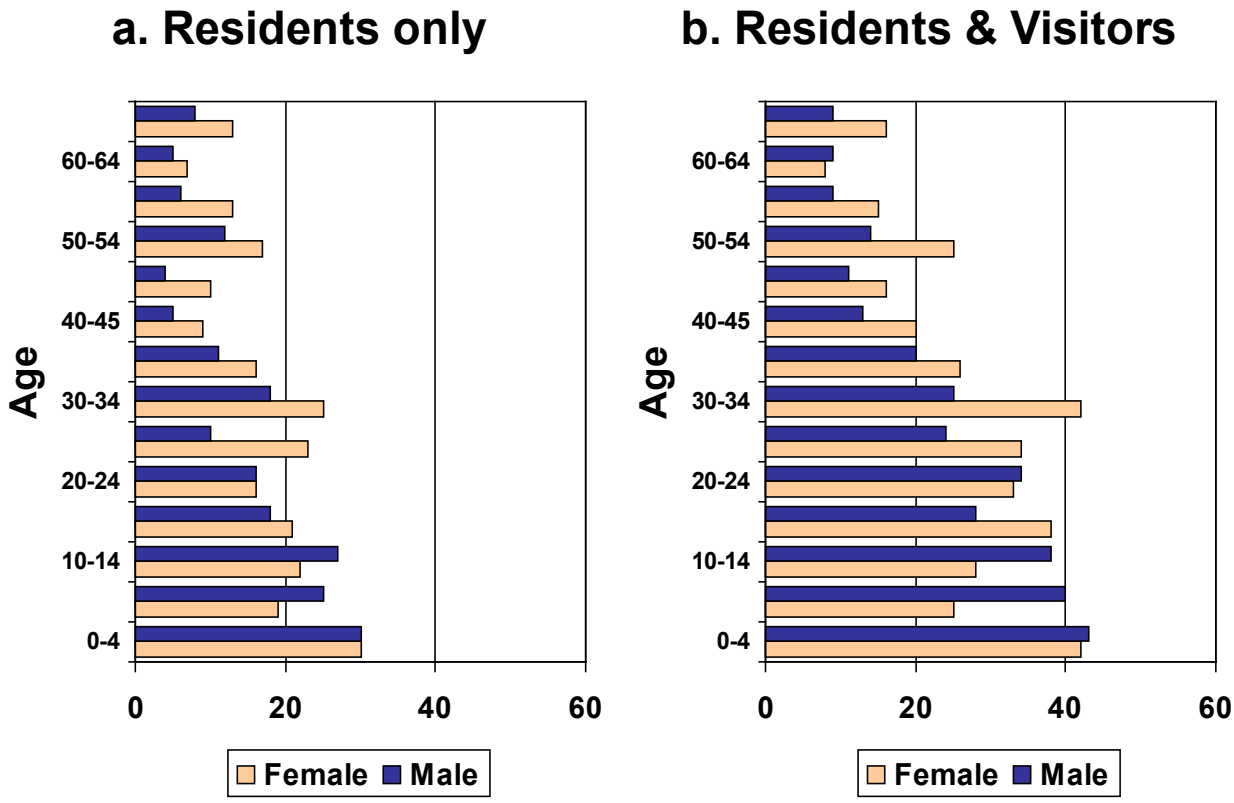

Figure 2: Age and sex structure for residents only, and from residents and visitors combined

Visitors

The majority of the visitors (85%) were counted in only one survey. Most stayed a short period of time and went back to where they came from, which indicates that visitors should not be considered as possible migrants into town. However, there were cases where visitors stayed for periods longer than six weeks, especially in surveys 2 and 4. There were also cases of visitors changing their status from visitor to resident.

There were a range of views about visitors. The majority of people gave positive responses to the question about the impact of visitors: they are good company, they visit family, they help with expenses and social welfare tasks such as looking after sick people or children. Socialising was a big part of visits and in some cases people acknowledged that visitors drink as part of their visit. There were no major complaints about visitors; generally people viewed these visits positively. An observation made in the workshops was that there was a feeling that people in public housing were often lonely (compared with the town camps) and therefore more likely to welcome visitors.

Negative responses about visitors generally related to them drinking alcohol, leaving a mess and the financial pressure they may place on a limited family budget. Visitors who are drinkers tended to be loud, cause humbug and be violent or cause damage to property. There were a few houses where the attitude to drinkers was negative in each of the surveys and by the third survey there was a fairly reasonable understanding where the drinker trouble spots were. In some cases there was a conscious effort to deal with the issue of drinkers, but in other cases residents acknowledged they were unable to deal with problem drinking.

There was acknowledgment of the financial burden of having visitors. Residents noted that some over stayed and did not pay for food, fuel or electricity. These are common problems of people who have very limited financial resources and limited skills to allocate expenditure within their budget. Large amounts of the family budget are used on fuel to get into town and on repairs and purchases of vehicles. The limited budget of people from bush communities is spent on things not available in their own communities, such as grog, toys for children, clothing and vehicles.

Visits tend to coincide with pay days in the communities were people came from. In some cases there was a positive impact where family members contribute to the food and electricity expenses. But sometimes there was a negative effect, where visitors spent their money in the first few days and then over stayed as they had no money for fuel to get back to their community.

Discussion at the December 2006 workshop indicated that there had been a change in visitor behaviour over the past two years, with the length of stay for visitors in town increasing. A number of reasons were suggested which included:

- difficulty getting back to their home communities
- being on the waiting list for a public housing dwelling
- liking the town lifestyle, as they felt safer because they were more likely to have to abide by the rules in the public housing
- more access to services.

Overcrowding

The study found few cases of long-term overcrowding in the public housing surveyed. The level of overcrowding may have been underestimated in this study because there is a disincentive for people to report that there are more people than permitted in the lease. The potential for overcrowding is generally as a result of an influx of visitors, not as a result of too many residents in one dwelling and is usually for the duration of the visitors being in town.

Language group access to public housing

The survey found that there were small numbers of people who identified Yuendumu, or the Warlpiri or Luritja region as the place they last stayed. When the researchers discussed these findings it was suggested that Warlpiri people have less access to public housing and tend to gravitate towards the town camps where they have relatives. In three of the town camps the principle language group is Warlpiri, and in six other camps Warlpiri is one of the other language groups spoken in the camp. This may relate more to visitors, as a large number of people said they were from the Warlpiri region.

Population mobility and public housing

The study indicated a moderate proportion of mobility in Aboriginal residents and visitors in public housing. Of the survey population 37.1% were visitors and 62.9% were residents. This compares with 27% and 73% respectively of the surveyed population in the town camps (Foster et al. 2005).

A number of the dwellings could not be surveyed, as residents were absent during one or more of the survey visits. The principal reasons that dwellings were not surveyed are set out in Table 2, the most common being that there was no one home when the survey team called. Although three attempts were made for each dwelling, the data are a reasonable indication that the residents were away.

An average of 144 residents were present in only one or two of the surveys. To estimate the mobile population, an assumption is made that a proportion[6] (50) of these 144 residents were absent because they were visiting a surrounding community. That number can be added to the number of visitors (264) to give an estimate of 314 or 44% of the total survey population that is mobile (see Table 17 for details).

Table 17: Estimate of mobility in public housing surveyed in Alice Springs

Total in all surveys		**Estimates of mobility**	**Basis 35% of 144 = 50 mobile residents**
Residents	448	Stable residents – mobile residents	398
Visitors	264	Visitors + mobile residents	314
Total	**712**		**712**
Residents	63%	Stable residents	56%
Visitors	37%	Visitors + mobile residents	44%

It should be noted that this does not affect the overall resident and visitor population, which together contribute to the service population levels in Alice Springs.

Mobility comparisons with town camp populations

The proportion of visitors among the public housing dwellings surveyed (37.3%) was larger than the proportion of visitors in town camps dwellings surveyed (27.1%). This may be a function of a different sample of houses being visited in each survey that in the public housing survey, however the resident population did not fluctuate much between the surveys.[7]

Table 18: Comparisons between public housing and town camp survey data

	Survey 1	**Survey 2**	**Survey 3**	**Survey 4**	**Total**
Alice Springs public housing residents	254	258	246	275	448
Alice Springs public housing visitors	106	103	52	74	264
Percentage of visitors	29.4%	28.5%	17.4%	21.2%	37.1%
Town camp residents	710	961	934	1099	1610
Town camp visitors	194	239	177	227	597
Percentage of visitors	21.5%	19.9%	15.9%	17.1%	27.1%

Note: In the town camp survey data there were 115 people who changed their residency status and were included once in the total calculation under their first residency status. In the public housing surveys all people surveyed were assigned a residency status.

The visitors in public housing generally stayed shorter periods of time than visitors in town camps. The exception was survey 4, where a large proportion of visitors had been staying for over six weeks in the public housing survey. The principal reason for the shorter length of stay is that people are more closely scrutinised, disciplined and surveyed in public housing, rendering them and their host more vulnerable to eviction.

In the town camp data there were 115 (5%) people who changed their residency status, the majority (92) from resident to visitor. In the public housing data there were 32 (4.5%) of people who changed their residency, and all were from visitor to resident.

6 Where the reasons for the dwelling not being surveyed were 'out bush' and 'not at home' (see table 2), which equates to an average of 35%.

7 In the town camps the same houses were surveyed, with the exception of survey 1 where two town camps were not surveyed due to sorry business.

The majority of visitors in both town camps (75%) and public housing (93%) were noted in only one of the surveys. This suggests that the majority were short-term visitors. However, there was also a relatively large proportion of visitors in town camps that had been staying for over three months in a house.

There was a degree of circular mobility between town camps and public housing. For instance, in survey 1 there were 41 people who had previously stayed at a town camp. This is unlikely to describe the true levels of circular mobility, especially among the town camp population, because people are less likely to identify themselves as public housing dwellers when they say that they are from Alice Springs.

In the town camp survey there was one camp that consistently had a very high proportion of visitors: Karnte camp, with a visitor proportion ranging from 24% to 46%. In public housing there was one suburb which had a consistently low proportion of visitors: Sadadeen, with a visitor proportion ranging from 6% to 21%.

In the public housing the age distribution of the residents was broadly similar to that of the Aboriginal population in Alice Springs. The percentage of under 15 year olds in the public housing resident population was 27%, which is slightly lower than 2006 census data for Alice Springs of 34% and higher than the average of 21% in the town camps for all surveys.[8] In the first survey of public housing there were 63 (23.9%) visitors aged 15 years and under compared with 16.5% and 23% for the town camps surveys 3 and 4.

The majority of the town camp population in survey 1 was in the age group 20–39 years. Among the town camp residents this age group consisted of 282 people, or 40% of the resident population, and among the visitors it was 104 people, or 54% of the visitor population. In the public housing there were 135 residents in the 20–39 year age group, or 30.1% of the resident population, and 103 visitors, or 24% of the visitor population.

The demand for public housing

The waiting list for public housing has been increasing, particularly for 1-bedroom pensioner units and 3-bedroom houses, as the following table and figure indicate. In addition, there is a growing demand for public housing under the priority housing scheme.

Table 19: Public housing wait times in Alice Springs by housing type, 1995–2007

Wait times by months	Jul-95	Jul-96	Jul-97	Jun-98	Jun-99	Jun-00	Jun-01	Jun-02	Jun-03	Jun-04	Jun-05	Jun-06	Jun-07
1 bedroom (pensioner)	11	13	20	13	14	12	12	12	22	38	40	44	40
1 bedroom (non-pensioner)	15	15	30	29	19	6	13	22	27	25	31	22	11
2 bedroom	3	4	3	4	4	6	9	11	16	26	29	18	7
3 bedroom	18	20	16	18	13	16	25	28	36	37	37	27	29
4 bedroom	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

8 Survey 1: 18%, survey 2: 23%, survey 3: 22% and survey 4: 23%.

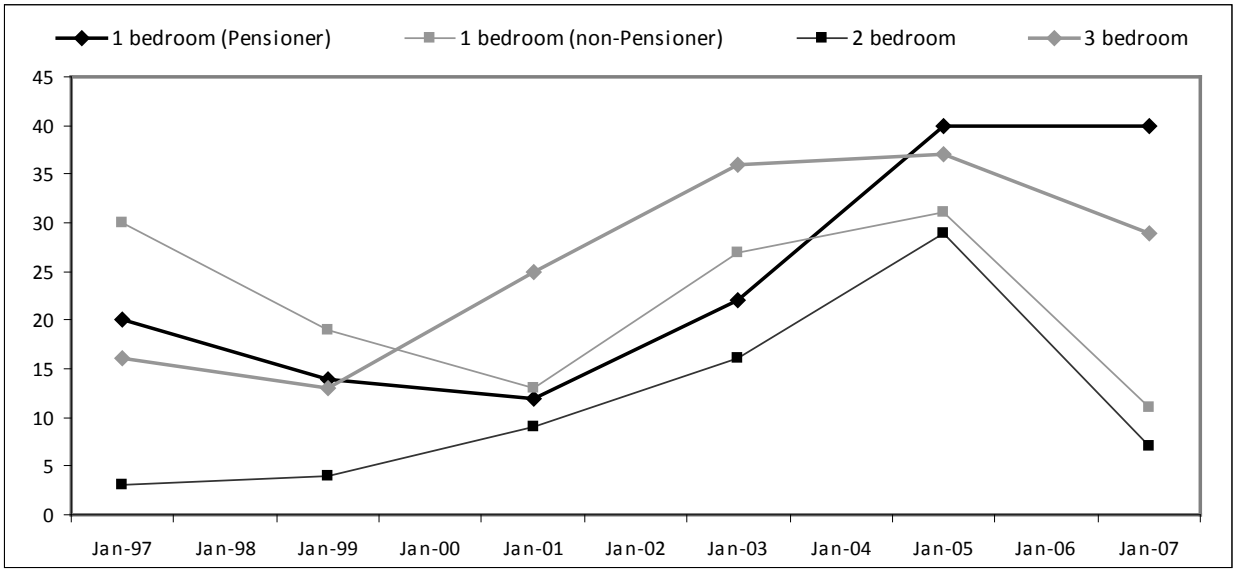

Figure 3: Public housing wait times in Alice Springs by housing type, 1995–2007

The waiting list may also be an underestimation of true demand. Reasons for this include that people drop off the waiting list when they move houses in town camps or shared accommodation and are no longer contactable by the department. As an example, a homeless man in the Todd River said he had been on the waiting list for over two years and had not heard from the department, probably as he had lived in 5–7 different locations, including two town camps and four different locations along the Todd River, and had spent three months in South Australia. There is a need to develop a reliable method of keeping track of people on the waiting list. One suggestion from the workshop was that more use could be made of housing officers in communities, as many people in remote communities who are on the waiting list drop off due to communication difficulties as well.

In addition, people give up contacting the department because the environment is not friendly for Aboriginal people. In the discussion, the idea was raised of a one-stop shop where Aboriginal people would feel welcome and are dealt with in both 'language' and English.

The demand on public housing is growing due to:

- demographic reasons: the Aboriginal population is growing much faster than the non-Aboriginal population in the Northern Territory and central Australia (see Taylor et al. 2007)
- access to health services: an increasing number of Aboriginal people require ongoing medical treatment
- economic reasons: a lack of employment for people in remote communities is causing some relocation to urban centres. There are anecdotal suggestions of a presence of an 'urban drift' from remote communities and that this drift is growing.

The priority housing scheme provides public housing accommodation for people with special needs: medical, mental health, family crisis and domestic violence. In 2003–2004 there were 91 public housing tenancies provided under this scheme, out of a total of 118 available tenancies. Seventy-nine (87%) of these dwellings were allocated to Aboriginal people, most of whom were either renal patients or people with other medical conditions who require frequent use of the hospital. During 2003–2004 there were 64 approved priority housing applicants who did not receive housing due to lack of availability (Mitchell et al. 2005).

The increased demand of priority public housing moves other people down the waiting list. The average length of the waiting list is an inappropriate measure of the time it takes a person or family to obtain their house. We heard many comments about people who had been waiting for public housing for a number of years and were still waiting.

There were also instances where an applicant's circumstances changed over the time they were on the waiting list and they may have needed a larger or smaller property when their name came up. However, they took the property on offer to prevent further waiting, which may lead to a poorer allocation of the housing stock.

The supply of public housing

The following figure and summary table show the supply of public housing in Alice Springs from 1996 to 2007. There was a decline in total housing stock of 48% from 1726 dwellings in 1996 to 903 in 2007. There was a greater decline in the 3-bedroom houses, resulting in 53% decline in the total number of bedrooms.

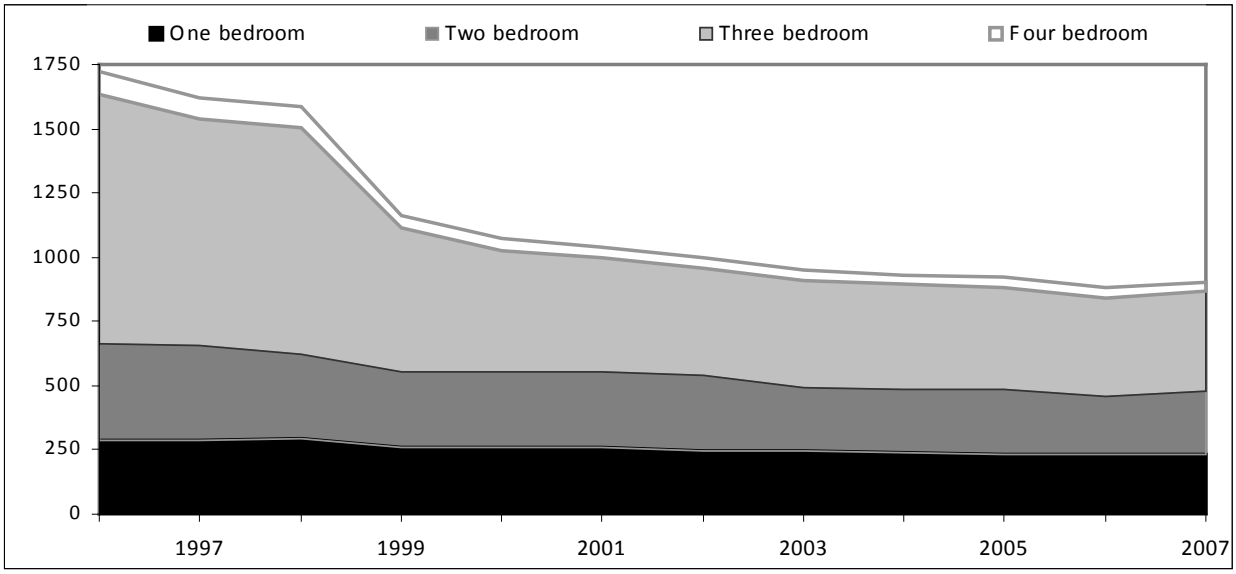

Figure 4: Public housing stock in Alice Springs by type of dwelling, 1996–2007

Table 20: Public housing stock in Alice Springs by type of dwelling, 1996–2007

Type of dwelling	1996	2007	Change
One bedroom	284	234	-18%
Two bedroom	380	247	-35%
Three bedroom	971	384	-60%
Four bedroom	91	38	-58%
Total	1726	903	-48%
Number of bedrooms	4321	2032	-53%

Source: NTG pers. comm.

The decrease in supply of public housing does not correspond to the increase in population, particularly of Aboriginal people in central Australia and Alice Springs. There is Aboriginal population growth and an age profile in central Australia that is contrary to the situation of population ageing in Australia coupled with population decline in many parts of rural Australia. Population projection indicates a growth of 27% in the Aboriginal population of central Australia and 12% in the non-Aboriginal population (Mitchell et al. 2005). More recent projections for population change in arid zones from 2006 to 2021 indicate a growth rate in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations of 19% and a decline in the non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population of 7.7% (Taylor et al. 2007).

Policy implications

A recent analysis of Aboriginal access to mainstream public and community housing indicated that the proportion of Aboriginal households in Australia (excluding NSW) has increased from 3.4% of households in 2001 to 5.2% in 2004 (Flatau & Cooper 2005). This trend is likely to continue, and in the NT, and Alice Springs in particular, the demand for public housing by Aboriginal people is growing rapidly. The predicted population growth for central Australia in the age groups of 25–39 years, and the increased pressure on priority housing are currently and will continue to result in growth in the demand for public housing.

A number of suggestions were made during the December 2006 workshop regarding the type and size of accommodation that might be suitable for Aboriginal people in Alice Springs. These included:

- houses that had 8–9 bedrooms, which would allow extended family groups to be accommodated when supporting patients undergoing dialysis
- addressing the needs of renal patients by developing clusters of 2-bedroom units with trained caretakers to accommodate renal patients in much the same way as seniors' accommodation is supplied.
- longer-term hostel accommodation and recognition of the needs of younger adults with the provision of singles accommodation, which may include men's only and women's only accommodation.
- a demand-driven model which matches people's needs, as Aboriginal people may have different accommodation needs from non-Aboriginal people.

The question of home ownership was discussed at the December workshop, and a high proportion of people present indicated they would like to own a house rather than rent. The group recognised that Aboriginal people were currently able to pay rents, so it would be desirable for any purchase program to use the structures already in place. However, there was a concern that if the houses sold were taken from existing public housing stock, this would reduce the public housing stock available to Aboriginal people. As noted earlier, there is a shortage of public housing for Aboriginal people in Alice Springs. There was also concern that as the majority of potential purchasers were on low incomes, they would struggle to accumulate a deposit and would then suffer when major unexpected expenditures associated with repairs and maintenance occurred.

The slow growth in employment opportunities for Aboriginal people means that Aboriginal people have limited opportunities to purchase houses and units without public assistance. In addition, housing affordability has decreased as house prices in Alice Springs have risen. For example, the median house price in Alice Springs rose to $236 500 in the 2004 September quarter, an increase of 18.8% from the September quarter of 2003 (REIA 2005).

One option to help reduce the shortfall in public housing in Alice Springs is to offer a purchase scheme for new housing based on a shared equity, similar to that instituted in Western Australia for younger first-time buyers.[9] Funds raised through this scheme can then be used to purchase public housing in Alice Springs.

An observation regarding house purchase was that existing sales offices were largely inaccessible to Aboriginal people and moves to increase private ownership or participation in the private rental market could be helped by developing an Aboriginal real estate agency that would provide a one-stop shop service. It would develop culturally appropriate material informing Aboriginal people about house purchase, finance and budgeting information on the costs of home ownership (loan repayments, rates, insurance, repairs and maintenance, service costs, etc).

A key finding is that there is a need to understand patterns of mobility of people from communities and Alice Springs in order to develop service delivery models that account for these levels of mobility. Such information would also be useful in developing a regional transport system that matches these needs and ensures people are not left stranded in town.

9 (see http://www.keystart.com.au/key/SharedEqBrochure.pdf)

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Tangentyere Council

Centre for Remote Health

Mobility Survey

Place Number……

Camp/ Street……

ID No ……...

Date……/……/…….

Day……..……

1. Who stopped here last night?
2. How old are they?
3. Are they male or female?

   Ask only if you are not sure.
4. Are they visitors?
5. How long they have been living here?
6. Where did they last stay before coming here?
7. Where are you from?
8. Where are the people who were here during the last survey but are not here now?
9. Are they coming back to stay with you again?

Name of House Boss _____ House Number _____ Camp/Street _____ ID NO _____

Consent ☐ Name of Researchers Date

Name		√ X	R/V	Age	Sex	1 N-2 Wk	2 -6 Wk	6 Wk -3 mth	More 3 mths	Last Stayed	Where from	Where are they now	Coming Back Y/N

Part 2: Resident feelings about visitors

(To be asked of house boss and partner.)

Now we'd like to ask you and your partner some questions about having visitors in your house. If we can, we'd like to talk to you separately.

Name: ……

1. Can you tell us the good things about having visitors in your house?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

☐ Bring art and sell it

☐ Bring bush tucker

☐ Bring money support for family

☐ Bring news from the bush

☐ Culture

☐ Give mum and dad a break

☐ Going hunting more often

☐ Good company

☐ More video watching

☐ Sight seeing visiting country

☐ Social gathering

☐ Other (*Specify)*

2. Can you tell us the bad things about having visitors in your house?

- [ ] Anger
- [ ] Borrowing car
- [ ] Complaints from others/neighbours
- [ ] Damage to property
- [ ] Difficulty controlling noise
- [ ] Different cultural protocols in town. People need to change the way they behave
- [ ] Disruption to normal routine
- [ ] Domestic violence between family members
- [ ] Drugs / people occupy empty houses
- [ ] Health & safety
- [ ] Kids are out of school
- [ ] Leave kids in town while they go drinking
- [ ] Money / Food / Electricity / Fuel (Cost more)
- [ ] Need blankets for them
- [ ] Others join in with drinking (more drinking around)
- [ ] Over staying
- [ ] People get themselves into trouble with police
- [ ] People too frightened to walk in the streets
- [ ] Serving the visitors
- [ ] Stressful
- [ ] Other (*specify*)

Now we would like to talk to the some of the visitors about movement.

Who is the best person among the visitors to talk to?

Give a short explanation about what we are doing
Consent (agreement) to take part in the survey.

Name of visitor …… Consent ☐ House Boss ☐

We're trying to find out why people move around.

3. Can you tell us why you are in here (in town)?
***DO NOT GIVE THEM IDEAS. Ask the question in a different way for example:* What did you come here for?**

- [ ] Alcohol
- [ ] Availability of drugs
- [ ] Better choices for health care (for me or relative)
- [ ] Buying vehicle
- [ ] Came with family member
- [ ] Court / Jail
- [ ] Cultural reasons
- [ ] Employment
- [ ] Family visits
- [ ] Government services are better in town
- [ ] Health
- [ ] High cost of living in the bush
- [ ] Holidays
- [ ] Housing
- [ ] Looking for a partner
- [ ] Other (*specify*)
- [ ] Inter family problems /fighting
- [ ] Money
- [ ] Painting
- [ ] Pick up car from garage
- [ ] Petrol sniffing
- [ ] Poor Power or Water supply
- [ ] Protection against violence
- [ ] Royalty payments
- [ ] School
- [ ] Shopping
- [ ] Social events
- [ ] Sorry Business
- [ ] Sport
- [ ] Tourist activity
- [ ] Youth come for activities/ recreation

Only ask the next question of people from out of town.

4. How did you get here?

- ☐ Own vehicle
- ☐ Friend's vehicle
- ☐ Family vehicle
- ☐ Hitchhike
- ☐ Taxi / mini bus
- ☐ Bus
- ☐ Mail plane
- ☐ Flying doctor
- ☐ Charter / Commercial plane
- ☐ Community vehicle
- ☐ Ambulance
- ☐ Other (*specify*)

5. How long are you planning to stay here?

- ☐ 1 week
- ☐ 2 weeks
- ☐ 3 weeks
- ☐ 4 weeks
- ☐ 1 – 2 months
- ☐ More than 2 months
- ☐ Don't know

6. Have you had any problems getting back home?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If no ask question 7 *If yes, ask 6a*

6a. What problems?

6b. Who would you ask for help if you have problems

_____

_____

7. How do you plan to get back to your community?

- ☐ Own vehicle
- ☐ Friend's vehicle
- ☐ Family vehicle
- ☐ Hitchhike
- ☐ Taxi / mini bus
- ☐ Bus
- ☐ Mail plane
- ☐ Flying doctor
- ☐ Charter / Commercial plane
- ☐ Community vehicle
- ☐ Ambulance
- ☐ Other (*specify*)

Appendix 2: Information sheet

Tangentyere Council & Centre for Remote Health

Mobility Survey

We are working with Tangentyere Council doing a Mobility Survey. We want to ask you about who stopped here last night, and find out about how many people are visitors. We have done 2 surveys last year – one in July (winter) and one in October. This information can be used for better planning of services in the future.

This interview will take about 20 minutes.

The Tangentyere Executive Committee and the Aboriginal Housing Information Referral Services have approved this survey.

Do you have any questions about what we are doing?

Do you have any worries about what we are doing?

This information from the survey will be PRIVATE. It will be kept locked away and no information that you give will be used by anyone but the research team.

Is there anything you want to ask about this?

It is you choice to be part of this survey. You will not be penalised if you choose not to take part.

Are you happy to take part in this survey?

You can stop taking part any time.

If you have any problems please call Raelene Williams at Tangentyere Council on 8951-4286

You can also call the Central Australian Human Research Ethics Committee on 8951-4700

Appendix 3: Letter delivered to the householders before the first survey

To the householder,

We are Indigenous researchers conducting a survey working with Tangentyere Council, along with the Centre for Remote Health. We will be conducting a survey about movement between communities and town. I am doing research work in Public Housing and also in the town camps and people living in the hills and creeks too.

The information collected will be kept PRIVATE. The information is kept locked away and no one has access to the information collected apart from the research team. It is your choice if you would like to participate in the survey. The Tangentyere Executive Research Sub Committee and the Aboriginal Housing Information Referral Service approved the study.

This is the first survey; then there will be another 3 surveys over a 12-months period.

Your participation will be valuable for this survey to be completed and so that we can provide better services to Aboriginal people in Central Australia.

If you have any queries in regards to the survey please do not hesitate to ask the researchers for any information.

DKCRC Partners

AIATSIS

Australian Government
Department of Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs

ANU
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Centre for Remote Health
A joint centre of Flinders University and Charles Darwin University

CHARLES DARWIN UNIVERSITY

CSIRO

Curtin
University of Technology

desert peoples centre

Government of South Australia
Department of Water, Land and Biodiversity Conservation

Government of Western Australia

Griffith
UNIVERSITY

JCU
JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY

MURDOCH
UNIVERSITY
PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Northern Territory Government

NEWMONT
The Gold Company

NSW DEPARTMENT OF PRIMARY INDUSTRIES

Southern Cross
UNIVERSITY

TANGENTYERE COUNCIL

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
AUSTRALIA

University of South Australia

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

University of Wollongong