



FEATURE ARTICLE

7.1 How are Indigenous Australians faring?

Introduction

Outcomes for Indigenous Australians have improved in a number of key areas. The proportion of Indigenous youth aged 20 to 24 who have completed Year 12, or an equivalent qualification, has increased significantly from 45% in 2008 to 59% in 2012–13. There has been a significant decline in Indigenous mortality rates between 1998 and 2013, and the gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in life expectancy and child mortality have narrowed. The proportion of Indigenous low birthweight babies has decreased, as has the proportion of Indigenous adults who are daily smokers. The rate of home ownership by Indigenous adults has increased and the proportion of Indigenous Australians who live in overcrowded households has decreased (SCRGSP 2014b).

Despite these improvements, significant gaps remain between average outcomes for Indigenous and other Australians. Indigenous Australians on average continue to have lower levels of education and employment, lower levels of household income and wealth, higher levels of disability, poorer general health, and are more likely to live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (AHMAC 2015; AIHW 2014a, 2014b, 2015a; Biddle & Yap 2010; SCRGSP 2014b).

Given such differences, like other disadvantaged Australians, Indigenous Australians can be expected to have a higher uptake of most welfare services, including income support and other government payments through the social security system.

The multiple factors behind Indigenous disadvantage, and the complex interrelationships between them, point to the difficulties faced in assessing the extent to which their generally greater needs for welfare services are being met. Simple comparisons that show higher usage rates by Indigenous people of income support payments or other welfare services compared with non-Indigenous people may not indicate that differences in actual needs have been fully met. A holistic view is required because sometimes the keys to tackling Indigenous disadvantage in a specific sector may lie more in improved access to and provision of other interrelated services.

This article focuses on the use by Indigenous Australians of income support and other welfare services. It is not meant to be a general overview of Indigenous disadvantage and strengths across a range of available measures of welfare, nor a detailed account of the gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians that occur in many of these measures.

This article, however, starts with a brief review of selected socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous Australians to provide an informed context for understanding their greater reliance on and use of welfare services. A brief overview of the Indigenous population is also provided. The main sections discuss Indigenous people's reliance on and use of the following welfare services:

- social security related payments
- child protection services
- employment assistance services
- housing and homelessness services
- disability support services
- aged care services.



FEATURE ARTICLE

Indigenous peoples' use of other welfare services, and health services, are reviewed in other AIHW publications. See *The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples* (AIHW 2015a) and *Australia's health 2014* (AIHW 2014b). The annual *Report on government services: Indigenous compendium* (such as SCRGSP 2014a) also provides detailed information on the use of selected welfare and other government services by Indigenous people.

Overview of Indigenous outcomes and trends

Indigenous disadvantage can have both immediate socioeconomic determinants, such as low levels of education and employment and poorer health, as well as deeper underlying causes (SCRGSP 2014b). Among the latter causes, several analysts refer to the 'intergenerational trauma' resulting from the cumulative effects of colonisation, loss of land, loss of language and culture, the erosion of cultural and spiritual identity, the forced removal of children, and racism and discrimination (Atkinson 2002; Bryant 2009; HREOC 1997).

Comparisons of the gaps between the average Indigenous and non-Indigenous person often hide the extent of the large differences in outcomes within the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population. Some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians experience little or no disadvantage. Outcomes for Indigenous Australians can vary markedly by geography, age and sex, and other socioeconomic factors. Geographic remoteness plays a particularly important role. For most indicators that can be disaggregated by remoteness, outcomes for Indigenous people living in *Very remote* and *Remote* areas are substantially worse than for those who live in *Major cities* and *Inner and Outer regional* areas (SCRGSP 2014b). Members of the 'Stolen Generations' and their families are also, in general, a more-disadvantaged sub-group within the Indigenous population (ABS 2010; HREOC 1997).

Early childhood development and education

Indigenous disadvantage has an early onset, with many Indigenous children falling behind even on very early childhood development outcomes. This is usually associated with the generally lower socioeconomic status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families.

Indigenous children are more than twice as likely as non-Indigenous children to be assessed as developmentally vulnerable by the time they enter their first year of formal full-time schooling at ages 5 or 6. In the 2012 Australian Early Development Census, around 21% of all non-Indigenous children were categorised as developmentally vulnerable in one or more of the five domains assessed. For Indigenous children, the equivalent proportions were 43% nationally and 56% among children who lived in *Very remote* and *Remote* areas. Some progress has been made, however, in reducing the gap in early childhood development outcomes—the proportion of Indigenous children assessed as vulnerable decreased from 47% in 2009 to 43% in 2012, and this was a larger fall than for non-Indigenous children over this period (Department of Education 2013).

The gaps in development and learning outcomes for Indigenous children continue through their schooling years and become wider, partly through an additional source of disadvantage—lower levels of school attendance by Indigenous children. National and international research indicates that regular school attendance is important to achieving core learning skills such as literacy and numeracy (Hancock et al. 2013)—but school attendance for Indigenous students tends to decrease sharply as they enter higher school years.



FEATURE ARTICLE

For instance, in New South Wales government schools, the gap in average school attendance rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in 2013 was only 4 percentage points in Year 3, corresponding to attendance rates of 91% and 95%, respectively (SCRGSP 2015). In Year 10 this gap was 14 percentage points (with attendance rates of 75% and 89%, respectively). In jurisdictions with a higher share of Indigenous students living in remote areas, the school attendance rate is even lower. In the Northern Territory, the 2013 attendance rate for Indigenous students in government schools in Year 10 was only 56%, which was substantially lower than the 87% Year 10 attendance rates for Northern Territory non-Indigenous students (SCRGSP 2015). It was also lower than the Year 10 attendance rates for Indigenous students in other jurisdictions such as New South Wales, as noted above. School attendance rates for Indigenous students have not improved since 2008 (CRC 2014). In May 2014, the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) agreed to a new target to close the gap in school attendance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous children within 5 years (COAG 2014).

No overall progress has been made on the earlier COAG target to halve the gap in reading, writing and numeracy for Indigenous students within a decade (by 2018). From 2008 to 2014, the proportion of Indigenous students who had achieved at or above the national minimum standard for reading and numeracy did not change significantly for any Year level tested (ACARA 2014). This proportion is much lower in geographically remote areas. For instance in the 2014 National Assessment—Literacy and Numeracy results for Indigenous students, in *Metropolitan* areas the proportion who were at or above the national minimum standard was as high as 86% in both Year 3 numeracy and Year 7 reading. In *Very remote* areas, this proportion was 45% in Year 3 numeracy and 35% in Year 7 reading (ACARA 2014).

While school learning outcomes have not increased significantly for Indigenous students in recent years, there have been significant improvements in the Year 12 completion rate and in the rate of successful transitions from school into further study, training or employment. These improvements are encouraging since there is compelling evidence that completing Year 12 and successfully making that initial transition from school into further education or employment are important factors in reducing long-term disadvantage (SCRGSP 2014b).

In 2012–13, 59% of Indigenous 20–24 year olds had completed Year 12 or equivalent, an increase from 45% in 2008. There has also been a small increase in the equivalent rates for non-Indigenous students (from 85% to 87%), resulting in a reduction in the gap from 40 percentage points to 28 percentage points over this period.

Transitions from schooling

There has been significant progress in transitions of Indigenous young people into further education or employment, even though the gaps in outcomes compared with non-Indigenous young people remain large. Between 2002 and 2012–13, the proportion of Indigenous 17–24 year olds who were participating in post-school education or training and/or were employed increased from 32% to 40%. The equivalent non-Indigenous rate remained around 75%, leading to a narrowing of the gap.

The number of Indigenous students in higher education increased from 9,329 in 2007 to 13,723 in 2013, a rise of around 47%, which was higher than the 30% growth in total domestic student enrolment (Department of Education 2014). Most of the Indigenous students in higher education were enrolled in university degree courses (91% in 2013), while the rest were enrolled in non-university higher education courses. In 2013, Indigenous students in higher education accounted for 1.4% of all higher education enrolments.



FEATURE ARTICLE

Participation rates for Indigenous young people in Vocational Education and Training (VET) have historically been higher than for non-Indigenous young people. In 2011, the participation rate in VET for Indigenous Australians aged 18–24 was about 30%, compared with less than 20% for non-Indigenous Australians; but Indigenous VET students are far more likely to gain a Certificate-level qualification than a (higher level) Diploma qualification (Karmel et al. 2014).

The increase in educational attainment of younger cohorts of Indigenous people can also be seen by comparing the highest educational attainment of Indigenous people in different age groups. In 2012–13 the proportion of Indigenous adults whose highest educational attainment was below Year 10 was only 13% for those who were aged 20–24, compared with a high of 52% for those aged 55 and over (AIHW 2015a).

These improvements in educational attainment by the younger generation of Indigenous Australians are also reflected in the average educational attainment of the larger Indigenous population. Between 2001 and 2011, the proportion of Indigenous adults aged 20 or above who had a non-school qualification of Certificate III level or higher increased from 17% to 29% (SCRGSP 2014b). When combined with Year 12 completion, in 2012–13 nearly 1 in 2 Indigenous adults aged 20 and over (46%) had completed Year 12 or a Certificate III or above, and 6% had attained a Bachelor degree or higher (ABS 2014c). Indigenous educational attainment, however, still lags behind the non-Indigenous population. After adjusting for differences in the age structure of the two populations, the non-Indigenous rate for Year 12 or Certificate III level of attainment was 1.6 times the Indigenous rate, while for Bachelor degree or above it was 4.3 times the Indigenous rate (ABS 2014c).

Employment

Since education is one of the principal factors determining employment status, the differences in average educational attainment between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are reflected in gaps in employment rates for people of working age. (This article uses a traditional definition of working age, referring to people aged 15–64.) The employment rate for Indigenous 15–64 year olds increased from 37.6% in 1994 to 53.8% in 2008, but then declined to 47.5% in 2012–13 (SCRGSP 2014b). The decline was driven in part by the reduced scale of the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) program. The comparable employment rate for non-Indigenous people aged 15–64 was 75% in 2008 and 75.6% in 2012 (Australian Government 2015). These show that the gap in employment rate between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people has widened in the most recent period (to 28 percentage points), compared with 2008 (gap of 21 percentage points) (Australian Government 2015). (Note that estimates of the employment gap for a specific period can vary if different sources are used to derive the comparable non-Indigenous employment rate.)

Some care, however, is required in comparing Indigenous employment rates over time and in assessing progress on the Closing the Gap employment target because of the policy changes related to CDEP (Australian Government 2015). CDEP has been an important Australian Government initiative designed to create local employment opportunities for Indigenous Australians who would otherwise be unemployed in their communities with limited labour market and economic development opportunities (see Box 7.1.2). CDEP participants have usually been classified as employed and so the scaling down of CDEP operations will affect Indigenous employment rates, particularly in remote areas. An estimated 60% of the decline in the overall Indigenous employment rate between 2008 and 2012–13 can be attributed to the decline in CDEP participants in this period (Australian Government 2015).



FEATURE ARTICLE

Indigenous employment rates are clearly affected by remoteness of location. In 2012–13, 50% of Indigenous working age people living in *Major cities* were employed; but the proportion was 42% in *Very remote* areas (SCRGSP 2014b, Table 4A.6.2). Two of the main reasons for the low Indigenous employment rate in *Very remote* and *Remote* areas are the general limited availability of mainstream (non-CDEP) jobs, as well as the more recent reductions in the scale of CDEP even in *Very remote* and *Remote* areas (which are the only locations CDEP currently operates in). In 2004–05, of the total number of Indigenous 18–64 year olds who were employed in *Very remote* areas, 68% participated in CDEP; but by 2012–13, this proportion had fallen to 28% (SCRGSP 2014b, Table 4A.6.4).

The employment gaps are clearly related to the educational attainment gaps. For Indigenous and non-Indigenous people of working age with the same high levels of education, the gaps are small or non-existent. In fact, Indigenous women who have a postgraduate degree have a slightly higher employment rate (84%) in the 2011 Census than the employment rate (81%) of non-Indigenous women with a postgraduate degree (Karmel et al. 2014).

The Indigenous population

Accurate estimates of the size and composition of the Indigenous population are required to properly assess the extent and adequacy of welfare services used by Indigenous people. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) provides detailed estimates of the Indigenous population. These are based on estimates of the resident population (ERP), which in turn are based on counts of people for whom Census forms were filled in on Census night, adjusted for an estimated undercount (ABS 2013c). For years other than the Census year, projections of the Indigenous population are made by age and sex and by place of usual residence (ABS 2014a). These Census-year estimates and projections of the Indigenous population adjust for a range of factors, including the changing propensity of individuals to self-identify as being of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander origin from one Census year to another. For this latter reason the ABS also provides limited 'backcast estimates' of the Indigenous population for earlier periods that are consistent with changes in the propensity of individuals to self-identify, as detected in a later Census year (ABS 2014a).

The ABS has attributed some of the large increase in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses to an increased propensity to self-identify. The increased propensity to identify as Indigenous was not uniformly observed—it was higher in non-remote areas and also higher among children compared with adults (ABS 2013a). It is unclear to what extent the increase in self-identification in the 2011 Census is captured in other data collections that measure the use of specific welfare services by Indigenous Australians. Care must be taken in comparing rates of Indigenous participation in, or use of, various welfare services, especially if any possible changes in self-identification are not taken into account.

The ABS has estimated that in June 2014 the resident Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population was 713,600 or 3% of the total population (ABS 2014a). Almost 60% of the total estimated Indigenous population in 2014 lived in either New South Wales (31%) or Queensland (28%).

Indigenous people account for about 30% of the Northern Territory population, a much larger share than in any other jurisdiction. The Northern Territory Indigenous population of approximately 72,300 represents about 10% of the estimated national Indigenous population.



FEATURE ARTICLE

In 2014, about 21% of the Indigenous population (or around 146,800 people) lived in *Remote* and *Very remote* locations. The largest share of around 44% (or 316,800 people) lived in *Inner* and *Outer regional* areas and 35% (250,000 people) lived in *Major cities* (ABS 2014a).

As a proportion of the total population by remoteness areas, the Indigenous population is a little less than 2% of the total population of *Major cities*, around 5% of the population of *Inner* and *Outer regional* areas, and around 28% of the population in *Remote* and *Very remote* areas (ABS 2014a, 2014b).

The Indigenous population is relatively young but is also gradually ageing. In the population estimates for June 2014, just over one-third (34%) were aged under 15 compared with 19% of the non-Indigenous population; and the proportion of Indigenous people aged 65 and above was only 3.8% compared with 15% for non-Indigenous people (ABS 2013b, 2014a). The share of Indigenous people aged 65 and above, however, has increased from 2.9% in 2001 (ABS 2014a). The gradual ageing of the Indigenous population has implications for the delivery of welfare services in future.

Further details on the Indigenous population are available in *The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples* (AIHW 2015a), and Indigenous population and health issues are also discussed extensively in *Australia's health 2014* (AIHW 2014b).

Income support benefits and related cash payments

For disadvantaged Australians, or those in need, having access to public assistance in the form of income support payments is a key factor in ensuring their social and economic wellbeing. Reliance on income support is a clear indication that people would otherwise be experiencing income poverty, since all income support payments through Centrelink (see Glossary) are means-tested. While income poverty alone does not establish the full extent of disadvantage experienced by an individual or group of people (McLachlan et al. 2013), it is an important dimension to consider for Indigenous Australians. Even after accessing the income support benefits that they are eligible for, in 2012–13 the median real equivalised gross weekly income for Indigenous households was \$465, which was just over one-half of the median for non-Indigenous households (\$869) (SCRGSP 2014b). (See 'equivalised household income' in the Glossary for more information.)

There are two commonly used measures of welfare dependence (see Box 7.1.1): *Estimates of the proportion of working age people whose main source of income is government pensions and allowances*; and *Number of people who receive Centrelink income support social security payments*. These measures are sourced from ABS survey data and Centrelink administrative data, respectively.

The discussion in this section is limited to these two measures. Other aspects of Indigenous people's reliance on income support, including estimates of total government expenditure made on social security payments and other related welfare services, are covered in *The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples* (AIHW 2015a).



FEATURE ARTICLE

Box 7.1.1: Two common measures of welfare dependence

- **Estimates of the proportion of working age people whose main source of income is government pensions and allowances** (and CDEP payments, where applicable for eligible Indigenous participants).

The main data sources for the Indigenous population are the ABS Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey, and the ABS National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey—the most recent data available are for 2012–13.

- **Number of people who receive Centrelink income support benefits identified by Indigenous status.**

This is sourced from Centrelink administrative data and can be expressed as a ratio of the total Indigenous population, or as a ratio of total persons in a specific age group, such as those of working age (15–64 years). The latter is a more useful measure of welfare dependence as it excludes age pensioners.

Both measures have advantages and shortcomings and these can lead to them showing different trends.

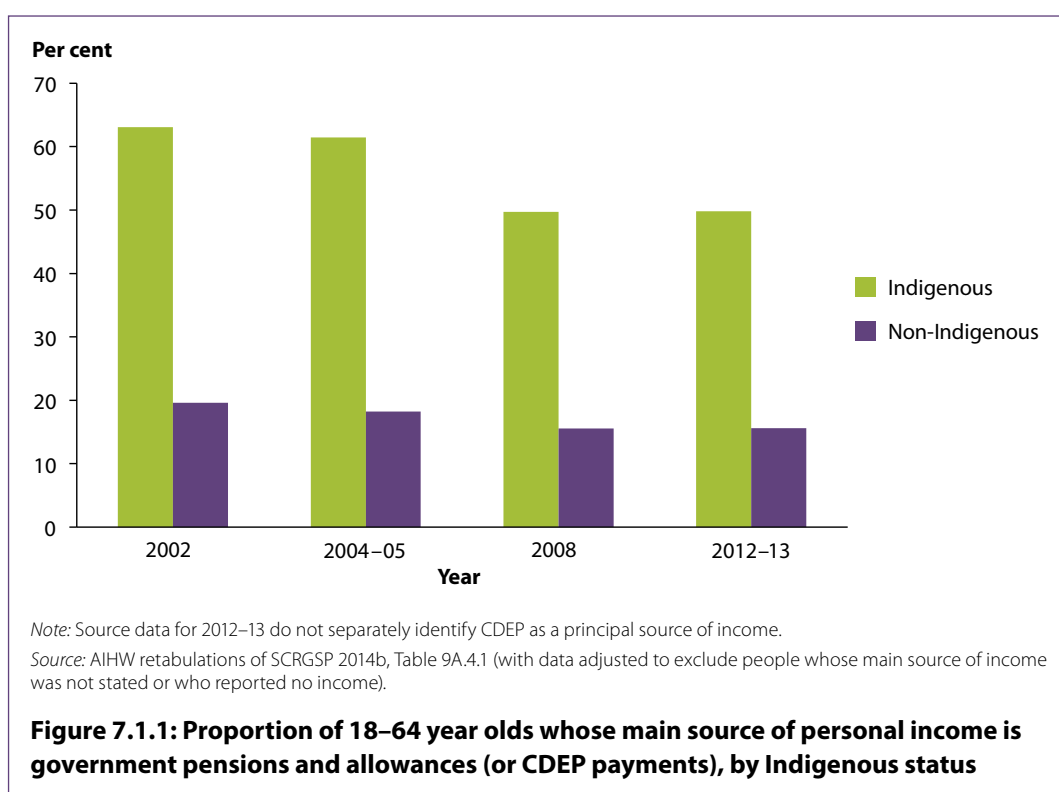
- The first (survey-based) measure captures the intensity of welfare dependence. It only counts individuals whose *main source* of income is government payments. These survey measures are affected by conventional sampling variability and changes in the proportion of individuals who do not provide a response to the relevant question at different survey periods. One advantage is that the Indigenous rates are computed using data from persons clearly identified as Indigenous in the relevant ABS surveys.
- The Centrelink administrative data, on the other hand, give a full count of all people on specific welfare payments. However, the Indigenous identification, which is voluntary, may be incomplete in Centrelink records. Individuals whose Indigenous status is not known are usually included in the counts for non-Indigenous people. These counts of benefit recipients do not usually indicate the intensity of welfare dependence because they are of people receiving *any* level of payment—that is, no distinction is made between those who receive the full rate of a Centrelink payment (and do not have any other income source) and those who receive a minimal amount of the payment (and rely mainly on private income sources).

Comparative ABS survey data on sources of personal income are available for both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations for four time periods (2002, 2004–05, 2008 and 2012–13) for people aged 18–64 (Figure 7.1.1). In 2012–13, about one-half (49.8%) of Indigenous Australians aged 18–64 who reported a principal source of personal cash income said that government payments were that principal source. This was more than 3 times the rate for non-Indigenous people (16%).



FEATURE ARTICLE

The proportion of Indigenous people aged 18–64 who report government payments as their principal source of income has always been substantially higher than for non-Indigenous people, reflecting lower employment rates and earnings, and more limited access to other sources of private income. This proportion, however, has fallen for Indigenous people, from 63% in 2002 to around 50% in 2012–13. For non-Indigenous people the proportion has also fallen, from around 20% in 2002 to 16% in 2012–13. The fall in the proportion of Indigenous 18–64 year olds who are dependent on government payments has coincided with an increase in the proportion who report employee income as their main source of income. The latter proportion rose from 32% in 2002 to 41% in 2012–13 (SCRGSP 2014b).

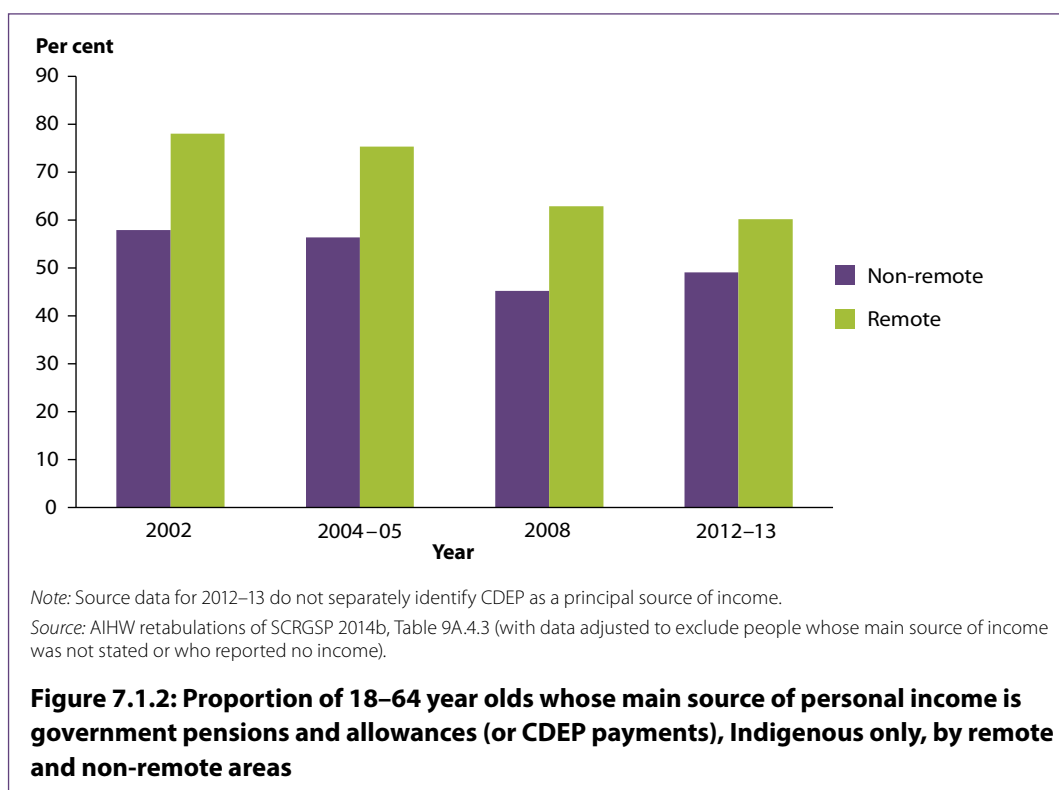


The overall fall in the proportion of Indigenous people reliant on government payments shown in Figure 7.1.1 is due mainly to a large fall in remote areas. Reliance on government benefits is higher in remote areas, but between 2002 and 2012–13 it fell rapidly in these areas, from 77% to 60% (Figure 7.1.2). In non-remote locations there was a modest fall between 2002 and 2008, followed by a rise between 2008 (45%) and 2012–13 (49%). The pattern seen in Figure 7.1.2 is not just driven by the decreases in CDEP participants in remote areas, but is also affected by increases in non-CDEP employment observed for working age Indigenous people in the most recent Census estimates for 2011 (Gray et al. 2013).



FEATURE ARTICLE

The overall rate of Indigenous employment, which includes participation in CDEP, has decreased nationally and in both remote and non-remote locations between 2008 and 2012–13. In remote locations all of the decrease in Indigenous employment was due to the reduction in CDEP jobs because non-CDEP employment increased in remote areas between 2008 and 2012–13 (Australian Government 2015). It appears that in remote areas the increase in non-CDEP employment was sufficient to create a small decrease in the proportion of Indigenous working age people whose main source of income is government payments (even when the overall level of employment fell). In non-remote areas (and at the national level) the non-CDEP employment rate fell between 2008 and 2012–13 (Australian Government 2015). Again, this decrease is the likely source of the increase in the proportion of Indigenous working age persons whose main source of income is government payments in non-remote areas, as seen in Figure 7.1.2.



Centrelink administrative data (counts of recipients of various Centrelink income support payments by Indigenous status) are compiled and reported by the Australian Government Department of Social Services (DSS). Indigenous identification is voluntary in the Centrelink records system, and so the reported Indigenous counts may not be complete.

There is also no generally accepted standard definition of which Centrelink payments constitute an income support payment. The list of payments classified as income support in this article includes ABSTUDY (living allowance), and Parenting Payment and Carer Payment, but excludes Carer Allowance and ABSTUDY (non-living allowance). This definition ensures that an individual can only be in receipt of one income support payment at a given time, but may receive additional allowances and supplementary non-income support payments.



FEATURE ARTICLE

At the end of the June quarter of 2014, approximately 208,900 Indigenous people (45% of the estimated Indigenous population aged 15 and over) received some form of Centrelink income support payment. In the same period, the total number of Australians who received any form of Centrelink income support payment was approximately 5 million (or about 26% of the total Australian population aged 15 and over).

The main types of Centrelink payments received by Indigenous people, and the rate with respect to the total Indigenous population in the relevant age groups, are shown in Table 7.1.1 (more details are in Table S7.1.1). Newstart Allowance, Disability Support Pension and Parenting Payment were the most common income support payments, in that order. In June 2014, one-quarter of the Indigenous working age population (15–64) were in receipt of either the Newstart Allowance for unemployed persons (14%) or the Disability Support Pension (11%). The 15,550 Indigenous age pensioners accounted for 57% of the estimated Indigenous population aged 65 and above in 2014. This is a lower rate of uptake of the Age Pension than in the non-Indigenous population, which is about 70% of those aged 65 and above.

Age pensioners (including recipients of the Age Service Pension from the Department of Veterans' Affairs) comprise the largest sub-group (2.4 million individuals) among all non-Indigenous income support recipients. The next most common payments are the Disability Support Pension (783,000) and Newstart Allowance (644,000). (See Table S7.1.1 for more details by specific Centrelink payments for Indigenous and non-Indigenous recipients.)

Table 7.1.1: Main Centrelink income support payments received by Indigenous Australians, June quarter 2014

Income support payment	Number	Per cent of reference population	Reference Indigenous population (June 2014)	
Newstart Allowance	62,100	14	441,300	(aged 15–64)
Disability Support Pension	47,700	11	441,300	(aged 15–64)
Parenting Payment	41,700	9	441,300	(aged 15–64)
Youth Allowance (other)	17,800	14	130,300	(aged 16–24)
Carer Payment	11,800	3	441,300	(aged 15–64)
ABSTUDY (living allowance)	8,700	2	441,300	(aged 15–64)
Age Pension	15,550	57	27,100	(aged 65+)
Total on Centrelink income support (all payments)	208,900	45	468,400	(aged 15+)

Note: The reference Indigenous population ignores some age restrictions on eligibility for specific payments; for example, Newstart recipients have to be 22 years or older.

Sources: DSS 2014a; Table S7.1.1 for counts of Indigenous people on specific Centrelink benefits and ABS 2014a for reference population.

The greater reliance of Indigenous people on various income support payments can also be illustrated by examining the share of Indigenous recipients in the total count of income support recipients by various payment types (Figure 7.1.3). Overall, Indigenous recipients accounted for about 4% of all income support recipients in June 2014, which is higher than the estimated 2.5% Indigenous share of the total population aged 15 and over. If the Age Pension is excluded, then Indigenous people account for a much higher share (7.5%) of all other income support recipients.

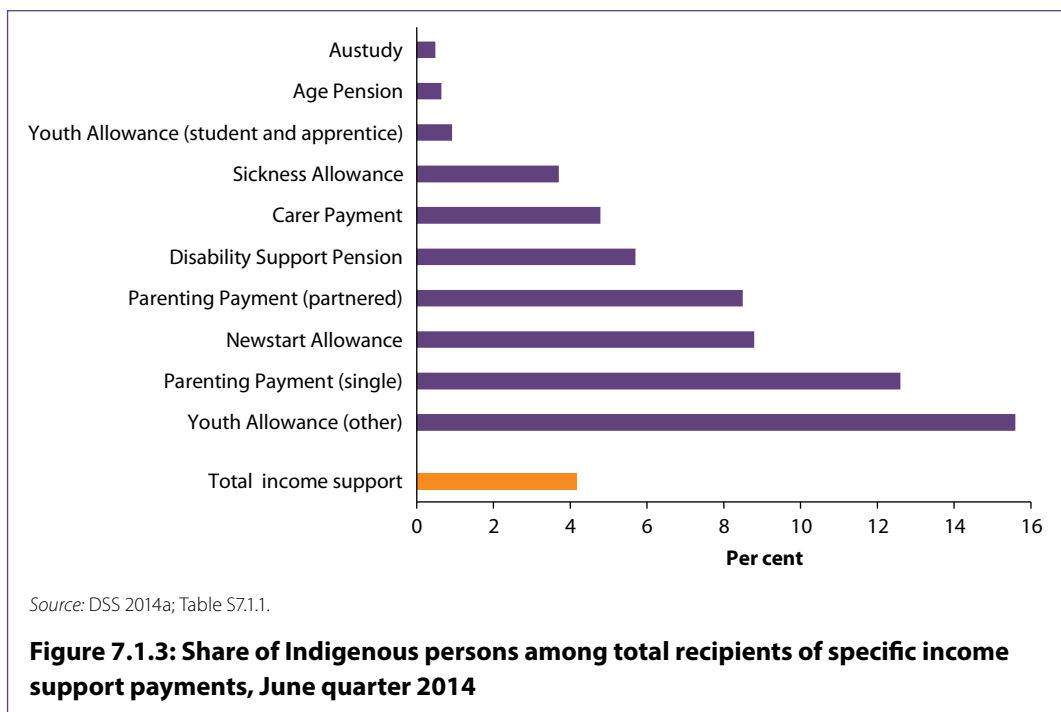


FEATURE ARTICLE

Figure 7.1.3 shows that the average 4% Indigenous share is the result of widely varying shares of Indigenous recipients among all recipients of specific Centrelink income support payments. The Indigenous share is also affected by differences in the age profiles of the eligible Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, with the former being relatively younger. Nevertheless, the payments with more disproportionate representation of Indigenous Australians highlight the specific Indigenous sub-groups that experience relatively greater disadvantage than the comparable non-Indigenous sub-groups, and so are more reliant on the social security system.

The two payments with the largest Indigenous share, Youth Allowance (other), with a 15.6% share, and Parenting Payment (single), with a 12.6% share, reinforce the relatively higher levels of unemployment among young Indigenous people, as well as the higher incidence of sole parenthood in Indigenous families. The higher representation of Indigenous people among those in receipt of the Disability Support Pension is a reflection of higher levels of disability in the Indigenous population. The ABS has estimated that, after adjusting for differences in age structures, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were 1.7 times as likely as non-Indigenous people to be living with a disability (ABS 2012).

There is a much lower share of Indigenous people in receipt of the Age Pension, reflecting the low proportion of Indigenous people in the older (65 and over) population. Note also that the comparatively low shares of recipients of Austudy and Youth Allowance (student and apprentice) are explained by the availability of ABSTUDY, which is an alternate Indigenous-specific payment for students.

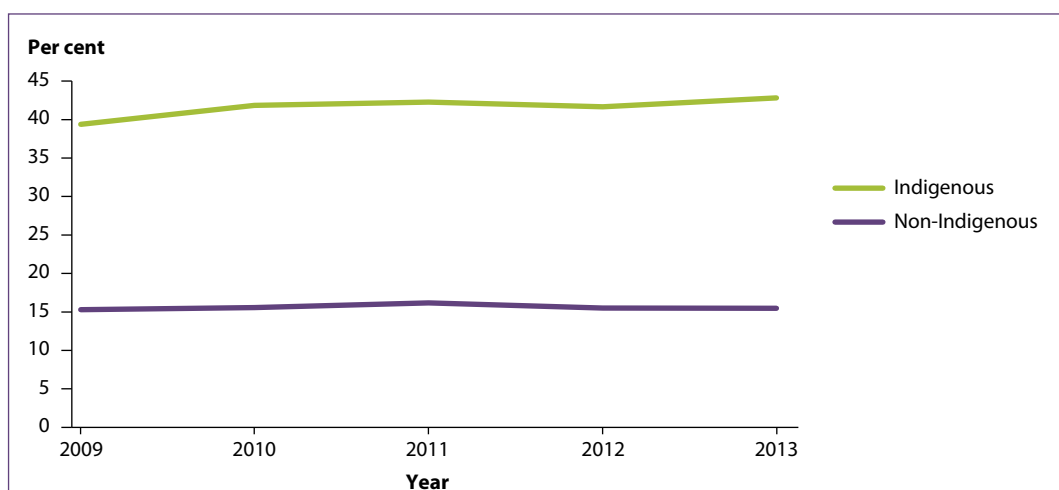




FEATURE ARTICLE

A welfare dependence measure focused only on the working age population by Indigenous status is available as a time series from 2003 to 2013 (SCRGSP 2014b); but consistent comparisons can only be made from July 2009 onwards due to changes in the treatment of participants in the CDEP program. Prior to July 2009, CDEP participants were paid 'wages' and were not classified as income support recipients. Due to CDEP policy changes that came into effect from July 2009, all new participants in CDEP were classified as income support recipients and paid a Centrelink benefit, such as Newstart or Parenting Payment instead of CDEP wages, while continuing CDEP participants remained on wages (see Box 7.1.2). This change created a jump in the number of Indigenous income support recipients in 2009 compared with 2008.

Figure 7.1.4 shows the trend in the proportions of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous working-age populations in receipt of Centrelink income support payments between 2009 and 2013. There has been a modest increase in the estimated proportion of Indigenous working-age people in receipt of income support, from 39% in 2009 to 43% in 2013. The rate of Indigenous welfare reliance in 2013 using this measure remains almost 3 times as high as the non-Indigenous rate, which has remained steady at around 15% of the working-age population from 2009 to 2013.



Source: AIHW tabulations of SCRGSP 2014b, Table 9A.4.10.

Figure 7.1.4: Proportion of the working-age population (15–64) on Centrelink income support payments, by Indigenous status, 2009 to 2013

The higher rate of welfare reliance by Indigenous working-age people is a reflection of their overall levels of relative educational and employment disadvantage, and earlier onset of chronic diseases and disability. That is why Indigenous over-representation is seen clearly among disability support pensioners and even more clearly among recipients of unemployment-related benefits such as Newstart and Youth Allowance (other).



FEATURE ARTICLE

Box 7.1.2: Community Development Employment Projects

The aim of the CDEP program, introduced in 1977, was to create local employment opportunities in remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities where job prospects were otherwise limited. The program was later extended to all areas. At its peak, CDEP had around 35,000 participants in 2002–03.

The key feature of CDEP is that it converts notional equivalents of the unemployment benefit entitlements of Indigenous people into grants given to Indigenous community organisations registered under CDEP. These organisations then provide part-time employment for Indigenous people who are paid a 'wage' in lieu of the unemployment benefits they forgo. In essence, Indigenous people who would otherwise be entitled to unemployment related welfare payments convert their benefits into approximately equivalent wages for part-time work. CDEP participation has been described as having elements of both employment and unemployment.

Beginning in 2007, however, CDEP was progressively withdrawn from non-remote areas and the number of participants in remote areas was reduced. Additional major changes occurred from 1 July 2009 with new entrants into CDEP receiving unemployment benefits directly from Centrelink instead of wages from organisations registered under CDEP. From 1 July 2013, the remaining CDEP schemes in remote areas were rolled into the Australian Government's Remote Jobs and Communities Program.

CDEP participants who received wages have usually been counted as employed individuals in estimates of Indigenous employment from the Census and other ABS surveys. However, new CDEP participants engaged from 1 July 2009 and receiving Centrelink income support payments instead of CDEP wages are not normally considered to be employed (unless they have another form of paid employment outside CDEP). Participants who have continued to be active in CDEP from before 1 July 2009 continue to receive CDEP wages and will not appear in Centrelink income support administrative records. The number of these 'grandfathered' wages recipients has fallen significantly since July 2009, as has the total number of people on any form of CDEP.

The Australian Government has committed to extend the CDEP wages branding until 30 June 2017. Participants who currently receive wages will continue to receive them until then, as long as they remain eligible for participating in CDEP.

It is important to consider changes in the coverage and classification of CDEP when analysing time series data on labour force status, employment and income support reliance for working age Indigenous people. The same person participating in CDEP may be classified as employed and not in receipt of income support in one time period, and as unemployed and on income support in another.

Sources: Australian Government 2013; Gray et al. 2011; Hunter and Gray 2012; SCRGSP 2014b.



FEATURE ARTICLE

Other Centrelink benefits

Family payments are another important component of Australia's social security system, and provide additional means-tested support to families and individuals with dependent children. The Family Tax Benefit (FTB), which is a two-part payment (Part A and B), is the main Centrelink payment that helps with the cost of raising children.

In the June quarter of 2014, Centrelink administrative records show a total of 83,000 Indigenous-identified recipients of FTB Part A, and 78,500 Indigenous-identified recipients of FTB Part B. These counts represent 5.3% and 5.8% of the total number of recipients of FTB A and B, respectively.

It is difficult to assess whether Indigenous people are over- or under-represented in recipients of FTB because published data on the number of FTB recipients do not directly count the number of eligible children involved. As a rough benchmark, the Indigenous share of the total population of children aged 0 to 15 in 2014 is estimated at 5.5%, which is close to the proportions of Indigenous people among all recipients of FTB Part A and B noted above.

Other welfare services

The previous section focused on one, albeit major, aspect of welfare services—cash payments for income support, and related Centrelink payments such as FTB. This section summarises rates at which Indigenous people accessed several other types of community support and welfare services designed to assist people that face specific challenges in their day-to-day lives—such as the unemployed, the aged, the homeless, people with disability, and children at risk. Such services to Indigenous people are provided through a combination of Indigenous-specific (targeted) services, and mainstream services (available to all Australians).

Child protection

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children continue to be significantly over-represented, compared with non-Indigenous children, in all components of the child protection system: investigations and substantiations of child abuse or neglect, subjects of care and protection orders and being placed in out-of-home care. The reasons for this are complex, and are influenced by past policies such as forced removals, the effects of lower socioeconomic status and differences in child-rearing practices, and intergenerational trauma (HREOC 1997).

In 2013–14, a total of 39,716 individual Indigenous children received child protection services. This corresponds to a rate of 137 per 1,000 Indigenous children, which is 7 times the rate for non-Indigenous children, which is 19 per 1,000 (AIHW 2015b).

In the same year, direct government expenditure for Indigenous child protection and related support services was estimated to be \$1,201 million, an increase of 22% from the \$980 million total expenditure incurred in 2010–11. On a per person basis, 2012–13 expenditure on Indigenous child protection was \$1,720 per Indigenous person compared with \$92 per non-Indigenous person spent on non-Indigenous child protection (SCRGSP 2014c).



FEATURE ARTICLE

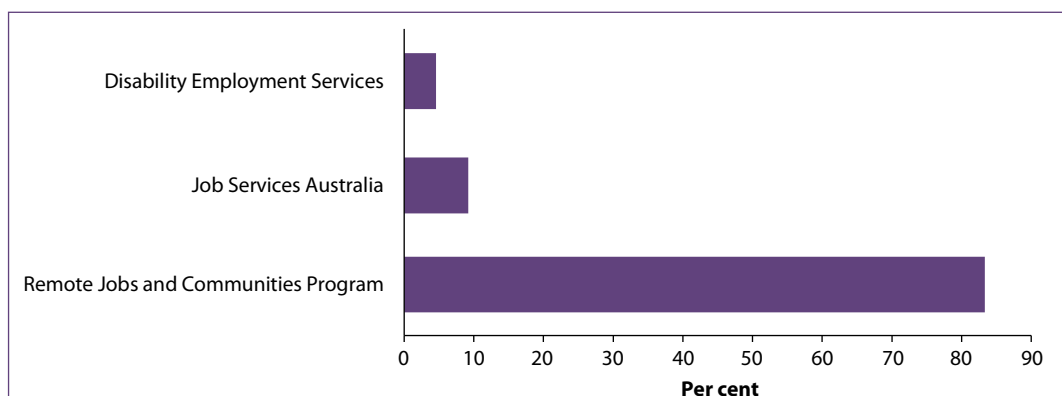
Employment services

The lower rate of employment of Indigenous people of working age is reflected in higher participation in the employment services arrangements designed to help unemployed people find work.

Employment services in Australia are generally provided through three key programs:

- the Remote Jobs and Communities Program (RJCP), which began from 1 July 2013 and operates only in remote Australia
- the mainstream Job Services Australia (JSA), which operates in urban and regional areas and services both Indigenous and non-Indigenous unemployed Australians
- Disability Employment Services (DES), which assists people with a disability, injury or health condition to secure work.

Indigenous Australians are over-represented in all three of the above services (Figure 7.1.5). In December 2013, Indigenous participation was highest in RJCP, accounting for approximately 83% of its total case load (30,000 Indigenous job seekers from a case load of around 36,000 people). JSA served a larger number of nearly 70,000 Indigenous job seekers (9% of the total case load of 760,000 job seekers). DES had the smallest share of Indigenous clients at around 5% of the total case load (7,000 Indigenous people out of 153,000).



Source: Department of Employment unpublished data, cited in the Forrest Review 2014.

Figure 7.1.5: Proportion of Indigenous participants in the total case load, key employment services programs, December 2013

In addition, Indigenous job seekers also had access to the former Indigenous Employment Program (IEP). This program has ceased to operate independently from 30 June 2014, having been merged into the program streams of the newly created Indigenous Advancement Strategy. The IEP included a wide range of activities tailored towards job seekers, employers and communities. The employment-related services included Indigenous cadetships, traineeships, apprenticeships and wage subsidies paid to employers for retaining Indigenous workers.

Administrative data on the case load of the IEP are not available, but the IEP has been noted to have better employment outcomes for its participants because many of its activities were tailored to the specific demands of the employers (Forrest Review 2014).



FEATURE ARTICLE

The higher proportion of Indigenous job seekers in the case load of general employment services such as JSA and RJCP contrasts with the relatively lower employment outcomes achieved by Indigenous job seekers through these programs. Indigenous job seekers also achieve lower JSA education and training outcomes than non-Indigenous job seekers.

For all job seekers who participated in JSA over the 12 months to June 2013, 43% were employed 3 months after participation, with 15% being employed full-time. But for Indigenous JSA participants, only 27% were employed 3 months after, with 10% being employed full-time (Department of Employment 2015). Part of the reason for this discrepancy is that a higher proportion of Indigenous job seekers are in the more disadvantaged categories (JSA Streams 3 and 4) of job readiness. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous JSA participants in Streams 3 and 4 have lower employment outcomes compared with their counterparts in JSA Streams 1 or 2, who are assessed either as job-ready or having only moderate barriers to employment. However, employment outcomes for Indigenous job seekers are lower than for non-Indigenous job seekers across all four JSA streams (Department of Employment 2015).

Employment outcomes were substantially higher for the (Indigenous-only) participants in the IEP, where more than two-thirds have an employment outcome after 3 months (Forrest Review 2014). One should note, however, that the job seekers targeted by the IEP were likely to have more favourable employability characteristics than the average Indigenous job seeker in JSA.

In 2012–13, direct government expenditure on employment services for Indigenous job seekers was estimated to be \$1.02 billion. Per person this is \$1,460 per Indigenous Australian compared with \$443 for a non-Indigenous person, a rate ratio of 3.3. Expenditure on Indigenous-specific employment services, such as the IEP, accounted for most (54%) of this expenditure (SCRGSP 2014c).

The Australian Government's new Indigenous Advancement Strategy began on 1 July 2014 and replaced more than 150 programs and activities with five broad-based programs. The Jobs, Land and Economy Programme, which subsumed the former IEP, provides support to connect working-age Indigenous Australians with real and sustainable jobs, foster Indigenous business and assist Indigenous people to generate economic and social benefits from economic assets, including Indigenous-owned land (Australian Government 2014).

Housing and homelessness services

Housing options available to Indigenous Australians are more limited than for other Australians due to a range of factors. These include relatively low incomes and lower rates of home ownership, lower levels of financial literacy, and, for some Indigenous people, living on community-titled land where individual home ownership is generally not available (AIHW 2014c). The lower rates of home ownership and the absence of affordable and appropriate housing can also place Indigenous Australians at a greater risk of homelessness. Hence Indigenous Australians are more likely to require housing assistance and specialist homelessness services than non-Indigenous Australians.

In the recent years, however, there have been increases in Indigenous home ownership and decreases in the proportion of Indigenous Australians living in overcrowded conditions (SCRGSP 2014b). The rate of homelessness among Indigenous Australians, based on the ABS definition (see 'homeless people' in the Glossary), fell between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses (AIHW 2014d).



FEATURE ARTICLE

Housing assistance can be provided through Indigenous-specific housing programs—such as state owned and managed Indigenous housing (SOMIH) and Indigenous community housing—as well as mainstream programs of public and community housing. Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA) is available to all private renters on low incomes. Information on the use of major national housing assistance programs by Indigenous people is summarised below. (See AIHW 2014c for information about other housing assistance programs.)

At 30 June 2013, around 67,700 Indigenous households were receiving assistance through a range of social housing programs. Overall, an estimated 43% to 46% of all Indigenous households received support from at least one of the major housing assistance programs in 2013, compared with 18% of other households (AIHW 2014c).

There were also 54,900 Indigenous income units (single persons, couples or family units) in receipt of CRA at 14 June 2013 (AIHW 2014c).

Between 2009 and 2013, the number of Indigenous households living in social housing and the number of Indigenous CRA recipients both rose at a higher rate than numbers of other recipients. Indigenous CRA recipients increased by 48% compared with 21% for other recipients (AIHW 2014c).

Specialist homelessness support services

Governments across Australia fund non-government organisations to deliver a range of services to support people who are experiencing homelessness or who are at risk of becoming homeless. Services can include temporary accommodation and support services such as domestic violence counselling, employment assistance and life skills development. These services also often specialise in providing assistance to specific population sub-groups—for example, young people, people escaping domestic violence, or those sleeping rough.

Indigenous Australians access specialist homelessness services at a higher rate than non-Indigenous Australians, making up 23% of all clients in 2013–14, with an estimated 58,420 Indigenous clients (AIHW 2014e). The proportion of Indigenous clients was higher in younger age groups. Among clients of specialist homelessness services aged under 18, around 3 in 10 (31%) were Indigenous compared with 9% of all clients aged 65 and over being Indigenous. Almost one-quarter (24%) of all Indigenous clients of specialist homelessness services were children aged 0 to 9, compared with 14% for non-Indigenous clients (AIHW 2014e).

Indigenous women accessed specialist homelessness services at a higher rate than Indigenous men. In 2013–14, almost two-thirds of Indigenous clients (62%) were female, compared with 57% of non-Indigenous clients (AIHW 2014e). (See Chapter 7 'The diversity of Australia's homeless population' for additional details on Indigenous clients of specialist homelessness services.)

In 2012–13, direct government expenditure on housing and homelessness assistance for Indigenous people, including payments made for home purchase assistance and rental assistance, was \$1,193 million. On a per person basis, expenditure on housing and homelessness services was \$1,708 per Indigenous Australian, compared with \$310 per non-Indigenous Australian—that is, \$5.51 for every \$1.00 spent per non-Indigenous person (SCRGs, 2014c). There was relatively low growth in total expenditure on Indigenous housing and homelessness assistance in 2012–13 compared with 2010–11 (3.3% growth in nominal terms and just 0.3% after adjusting for inflation).



FEATURE ARTICLE

Home ownership and living in overcrowded homes

While Indigenous Australians continue to rely on public assistance for housing- and homelessness-related welfare services, there has been progress in increasing the rate of Indigenous home ownership and in reducing overcrowded living conditions in Indigenous households. The proportion of Indigenous adults living in a home owned or being purchased by a member of their household increased from 22% in 1994 to 27% in 2002, and to 30% in 2012–13 (SCRGSP 2014b).

The proportion of Indigenous Australians living in overcrowded households decreased from 27% in 2004–05 to 23% in 2012–13, including a decrease in overcrowding in *Very remote* areas, where overcrowding is more prevalent. In *Very remote* areas the incidence of overcrowding decreased from 63% to 53% over this same period (SCRGSP 2014b).

The proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults who reported that overcrowded housing was a stressor for them halved from 21% in 2002 to 10% in 2012–13. Less cramped living conditions have been linked to positive health, education and family outcomes for Indigenous Australians (SCRGSP 2014b).

Disability support services

In 2013–14, 18,021 Indigenous Australians used disability support services (AIHW 2015c). Indigenous Australians accounted for 5.8% of all disability support service users; this was an increase from 4.8% in 2008–09.

Three in 10 Indigenous service users (30%) had intellectual disability as their primary reason for activity limitation, followed by physical and psychiatric disabilities (both 18%) (AIHW 2015c).

Most Indigenous service users (84%) were aged less than 50. This was a higher proportion than among non-Indigenous service users (73%), reflecting the younger ages at which Indigenous people require disability services compared with the broader Australian population (AIHW 2015c).

In 2012–13, direct government expenditure on welfare services for Indigenous people with disability was estimated to be \$475 million or \$680 per Indigenous person. This includes expenditure on formal disability support services as well as other support for Indigenous people with disability. Mainstream (rather than Indigenous-specific) services accounted for the vast majority (88%) of this expenditure (SCRGSP 2014c).

Aged care services

The lower life expectancy for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people means that a smaller percentage live to old age; but this does not imply that their needs for aged care services are substantially reduced. Generally, chronic health conditions associated with ageing affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people at younger ages than non-Indigenous Australians. This is a reflection of their overall poorer health. As such, planning for some aged care services is based on the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population aged 50 years or older (Department of Social Services 2014b).

The Australian aged care system provides a range of services in both community and residential settings. In addition, there are flexible aged care services, such as the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Flexible Aged Care program, that meet the needs of recipients in other ways than through mainstream community and residential aged care.

In 2012–13, total direct government expenditure on community support and welfare services for the Indigenous aged—including aged care services as well as other support targeted at older people—was an estimated \$354 million, or \$507 per Indigenous person (SCRGSP 2014c).



FEATURE ARTICLE

Residential aged care

There were 1,299 residents in permanent aged care at 30 June 2013 who identified as being Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander—constituting 0.8% of all permanent residents.

Overall, the age profile of Indigenous residents was substantially younger than for non-Indigenous residents. The male–female differential was similar across Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents, with more males in younger age groups and more females in older age groups (AIHW 2014f).

Community aged care packages

During 2012–13, the Australian Government provided three main types of home care packages—Community Aged Care Packages (CACPs), Extended Aged Care at Home (EACH) packages and Extended Aged Care at Home Dementia (EACHD) packages. At 30 June 2013, a total of 2,035 Indigenous people were receiving one of the above packages (AIHW 2014f). These individually tailored packages of care assist people with complex care needs who would like to remain at home, are able to do so with assistance, and would otherwise be eligible to receive care within a residential aged care facility.

At 30 June 2013, 4% of CACP recipients (1,798 individuals), 2% of EACH recipients (183) and 1% of EACHD recipients (54) identified as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander. All of these ratios are higher than the approximate 1% share of Indigenous people in the population aged 50 and over (AIHW 2014f).

Indigenous Australians used CACPs at a higher rate than their non-Indigenous counterparts in all age groups, with particularly large differentials in younger age groups.

Other programs

Many older Australians also receive home support through the Commonwealth Home and Community Care (HACC) program. HACC is a basic home help program funded by the Australian Government for services to older people who are mostly able to live and cope on their own, and do not yet need higher levels of care at home. (HACC became the main part of the Commonwealth Home Support Programme from July 2015.)

In 2013–14, 500,615 individual clients aged 65 years and over (or 50 years and over for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people) received assistance through the Commonwealth HACC program; and the percentage of Commonwealth HACC recipients identifying as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander was 3.3% (DSS 2014b).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people also have access to services funded through the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Flexible Aged Care Program. The aim of this program is to provide culturally appropriate care close to the homes and communities of older Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. At 30 June 2014, there were 30 aged care services funded through this program to deliver 739 aged care places (DSS 2014b).



FEATURE ARTICLE

What is missing from the picture?

The general disproportionate representation of Indigenous people in the case loads of specific welfare services is only one dimension of Indigenous wellbeing. Disproportionate representation may not in itself indicate that the expected higher needs of Indigenous people have been met.

The wellbeing of Indigenous Australians has many interrelated dimensions, including the importance given to traditional culture and languages, and attachment to country. These aspects have not been covered in this article. Another missing dimension is an evaluation of the effectiveness of service provision in meeting Indigenous peoples' specific needs, and leading to desired outcomes or transitions.

Such assessments of the effectiveness or even the adequacy of a service accessed by Indigenous people are generally not possible with most available data collections. One small exception is with employment services data, which also report on transitions to employment. There is a clear indication that despite the higher proportionate rates of participation in employment services, such as in the activities of JSA, Indigenous participants have a much lower success rate in finding a new job and in keeping that job.

In addition, little is known about the extent of multiple disadvantages faced by individuals in the many parts of the welfare services system. It would be desirable to integrate the administrative data collections of the relevant sectors to determine the extent to which the same individual is concurrently accessing many different welfare services. Such additional information would be potentially helpful for improving the delivery of services based on clients' specific situations and needs, and in presenting a fuller picture of the sources and varied dimensions of Indigenous disadvantage, and the responses required from welfare services.

Where do I go for more information?

AHMAC (Australian Health Ministers' Advisory Council) 2015. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health performance framework 2014 report. Canberra: AHMAC.

AIHW (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare) 2015. The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Cat. no. IHW 147. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2014. Australia's health 2014. Cat. no. AUS 178. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW Indigenous Observatory at www.aihw.gov.au/indigenous-observatory/.

Closing the Gap Clearinghouse at www.aihw.gov.au/closingthegap/.

Forrest Review 2014. Creating parity at <https://indigenousjobsandtrainingreview.dpmc.gov.au/forrest-review>.

Australian Government 2015. Closing the Gap Prime Minister's report 2015 at www.dpmc.gov.au/pmc-indigenous-affairs/publication/closing-gap-prime-ministers-report-2015.

SCRGSP (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision) 2014. Report on government services 2014: Indigenous compendium at www.pc.gov.au/research/recurring/report-on-government-services/indigenous-compendium-2014.

SCRGSP 2014. Overcoming Indigenous disadvantage report: key indicators 2014 at www.pc.gov.au/research/recurring/overcoming-indigenous-disadvantage/key-indicators-2014.

SCRGSP 2014. 2014 Indigenous expenditure report at www.pc.gov.au/research/recurring/indigenous-expenditure-report/indigenous-expenditure-report-2014.



FEATURE ARTICLE

References

ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics) 2010. Social and emotional wellbeing: removal from natural family. In: *The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples*. ABS cat. no. 4704.0. Canberra: ABS.

ABS 2012. Profiles of disability, Australia, 2009. ABS cat. no. 4429. Canberra: ABS.

ABS 2013a. Census of population and housing: understanding the increase in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander counts, 2006–2011. ABS cat. no. 2077.0. Canberra: ABS.

ABS 2013b. Population projections, Australia, 2012 (base) to 2101. ABS cat. no. 3222.0. Canberra: ABS.

ABS 2013c. Estimates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, June 2011. ABS cat. no. 3238.0.55.001. Canberra: ABS.

ABS 2014a. Estimates and projections, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2001 to 2026. ABS cat. no. 3238.0. Canberra: ABS.

ABS 2014b. Regional population growth, Australia, 2012–13. ABS cat. no. 3218.0. Canberra: ABS.

ABS 2014c. Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health survey: updated results, 2012–13. ABS cat. no. 4727.0.55.006. Canberra: ABS.

ACARA (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority) 2014. NAPLAN achievement in reading, persuasive writing, language conventions and numeracy: national report for 2014. Sydney: ACARA.

AHMAC (Australian Health Ministers' Advisory Council) 2015. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Performance Framework 2014 report. Canberra: AHMAC.

AIHW (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare) 2014a. Determinants of wellbeing for Indigenous Australians. Cat. no. IHW 137. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2014b. Australia's health 2014. Cat. no. AUS 178. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2014c. Housing assistance for Indigenous Australians. Cat. no. IHW 131. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2014d. Homelessness among Indigenous Australians. Cat. no. IHW 133. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2014e. Specialist homelessness services 2013–14. Cat. no. HOU 276. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2014f. Residential aged care and aged care packages in the community 2012–13. Canberra: AIHW. Viewed 15 September 2014, <<http://www.aihw.gov.au/aged-care/residential-and-community-2012-13/>>.

AIHW 2015a. The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Cat. no. IHW 147. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2015b. Child protection Australia 2013–14. Child welfare series no. 61. Cat. no. CWS 52. Canberra: AIHW.

AIHW 2015c. Disability support services: services provided under the National Disability Agreement 2013–14—Appendix. Cat. no. AUS 192. Canberra: AIHW.

Atkinson J 2002. Trauma trails, recreating song lines: the trans-generational effects of trauma in Indigenous Australia. Melbourne: Spinifex Press.

Australian Government 2013. Remote Jobs and Communities Program. Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) scheme, operational guidelines 2013–17. Canberra: Australian Government.



FEATURE ARTICLE

- Australian Government 2014. Indigenous Advancement Strategy factsheet. Canberra: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Viewed 28 April 2015, <<http://www.dpmc.gov.au/indigenous-affairs/about/indigenous-advancement-strategy>>.
- Australian Government 2015. Closing the Gap Prime Minister's report 2015. Canberra: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.
- Biddle N & Yap M 2010. Demographic and socioeconomic outcomes across the Indigenous Australian life course: evidence from the 2006 Census. Canberra: ANU ePress.
- Bryant C 2009. Identifying the risks for Indigenous violent victimisation, brief 6, December. Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- COAG (Council of Australian Governments) 2014. COAG communique 2 May 2014. Viewed 14 October 2014, <<https://www.coag.gov.au/sites/default/files/COAG%20communique%202%20May%20-%20final%201300.pdf>>.
- CRC (COAG Reform Council) 2014. Indigenous reform 2012–13: Five years of performance. Report to the Council of Australian Governments, 30 April. Sydney: CRC.
- Department of Education 2013. Australian Early Development Census 2012 Summary report. Viewed 28 April 2015, <<http://www.aedc.gov.au/resources/detail/aedc-2012-summary-report>>.
- Department of Education 2014. Higher Education Statistics: 2013 student data, Appendix 2: Equity groups. Viewed 28 April 2015, <<https://education.gov.au/selected-higher-education-statistics-2013-student-data>>.
- Department of Employment 2015. Labour market assistance outcomes JSA, September 2014. Viewed 28 April 2015, <<https://employment.gov.au/labour-market-assistance-outcomes-reports>>.
- DSS (Department of Social Services) 2014a. Payments recipients by payment type by state and territory by Indigenous indicator, June 2014. Canberra: DSS. Viewed 28 April 2015, <<https://data.gov.au/dataset/dss-payment-demographic-data>>.
- DSS 2014b. 2013–14 report on the operation of the Aged Care Act 1997. Canberra: DSS.
- Forrest Review 2014. Creating parity. Viewed 28 April 2015, <<https://indigenousjobsandtrainingreview.dpmc.gov.au/forrest-review>>.
- Gray M, Hunter B & Lohar S 2011. Increasing Indigenous employment rates. Issues Paper no. 3. Produced for the Closing the Gap Clearinghouse. Canberra: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare & Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies.
- Gray M, Hunter B & Hewlett M 2013. Indigenous employment: a story of continuing growth. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research topical issue no. 2/2013. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Hancock KJ, Shepherd CCJ, Lawrence D & Zubrick SR 2013. Student attendance and educational outcomes: every day counts. Perth: Telethon Institute for Child Health Research.
- HREOC (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission) 1997. Bringing them home: report of the national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families. Canberra: HREOC.
- Hunter B & Gray M 2012. Continuity and change in the CDEP scheme. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research Working Paper 84/2012. Canberra: Australian National University.



FEATURE ARTICLE

Karmel T, Misko J, Blomberg D, Bednarz A & Atkinson G. 2014. Improving labour market outcomes through education and training. Issues paper no. 9. Produced for the Closing the Gap Clearinghouse. Canberra: AIHW & Melbourne: AIFS.

McLachlan R, Gilfillan G & Gordon J 2013. Deep and persistent disadvantage in Australia. Productivity Commission staff working paper. Canberra: Productivity Commission.

SCRGSP (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision) 2014a. Report on government services 2014: Indigenous compendium. Canberra: Productivity Commission.

SCRGSP 2014b. Overcoming Indigenous disadvantage report: key indicators 2014. Canberra: Productivity Commission.

SCRGSP 2014c. 2014 Indigenous expenditure report. Canberra: Productivity Commission.

SCRGSP 2015. Report on government services 2015. Canberra: Productivity Commission.