Fitzroy Valley Alcohol Restriction Report

An evaluation of the effects of alcohol restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing relating to measurable health and social outcomes, community perceptions and alcohol related behaviours after a 12 month period.

A report by

The University of Notre Dame Australia

to

The Drug and Alcohol Office

Western Australia

July 2009





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Authors:

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List of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistic
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects
DAO	Drug and Alcohol Office
ED	Emergency Department
FASD	Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder
FFF	Fitzroy Futures Forum
KALACC	Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre
NHMRC	National Health and Medical Research Council
RBT	Random Breath Test
SUC	Sobering-Up Centre
UNDA	University of Notre Dame Australia
WΔCHS	Western Australian Country Health Service

List of Terms

Bad Beer:	Light strength beer with an alcohol content less than 2.7%.
Big Pay:	The larger fortnightly Centrelink and CDEP pay cycle.
Big Time Out of Towner's:	The term used by take-away liquor outlets in Broome to describe Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley individuals who purchase large amounts of alcohol, usually in excess of \$ 1,500, on a regular basis.
Charging Up:	Drinking specifically to become drunk; to reach the feeling of being drunk very quickly.
Dry Season:	For many Indigenous groups across the Kimberley there can be between four and six separate seasons tied to changes in climate and other environmental, cultural and spiritual markers of change. Western knowledge identifies two seasons, the Wet Season and the Dry Season. The Dry Season occurs between March/April and October/November each year and is characterised by a lack of rainfall and generally cooler weather.
Feral Fridays:	A Derby term used to describe a regular gathering of largely intoxicated Fitzroy people around the Road House at Colac BP awaiting service before the roadhouse opens early on Friday mornings after Thursday pay day.
Gate Drinking:	The practice of drinking outside the boundaries of gazetted Aboriginal Communities within the Aboriginal Lands Trust Estate, usually at the gate, or nearby in the bush.
Good Beer:	Full strength beer with an alcohol content of 5.0%.
Green Cans:	Cans of full-strength Victoria Bitter.
Grog Runners:	People who engage in sly grogging in an organised manner.
Humbug:	The act of harassing an individual for money, cigarettes, a lift, food and generally making a nuisance of oneself.
Lazy Sly Grogging:	The practice of selling a can, or up to a carton of beer, to an individual at an inflated price after having been humbugged or pressured to supply that person or others with alcohol.
Kartiya:	A Non-Indigenous person.

Law:	Aboriginal Cultural Law that is managed and maintained by Elders through ritual practice tied to Country. Law is respected as central to Aboriginal culture and identity for the majority of Kimberley Aboriginal people.
Law Time:	A period of between two and four months of the year when Elders conduct ceremony, ritual practice and rejuvenation of Country in collaboration with other language groups and Law Bosses. It is a time when some young people are put through the Law, beginning their responsibilities as adults to their community, culture and Country.
Old People:	Used interchangeably for older Aboriginal people and for Elders within Aboriginal Communities.
Rabbit Run:	Fitzroy residents travelling to other towns to purchase full- strength take-away alcohol and return to Fitzroy Crossing.
Red Cans:	Full-strength Emu Export cans.
Sleazy Saturdays:	A Derby term for the many alcohol affected Fitzroy people that gather at the Road House at Colac BP in Derby awaiting service before it opens on Saturdays after Thursday pay day.
Sly Grog:	Alcohol that is purchased from licensed take-away outlets and then sold on to other people at inflated prices without a liquor license.
Sly Grogging:	Conducting an organised sly grog operation.
Small Pay:	Intermittent weekly CDEP payments and other welfare payments outside of the main pay week.
Young People:	Teenagers and some younger people in their early to late twenties who are considered by Elders to be in need of guidance. People who may have been through the Law, but have not been given heavy responsibilities as yet.
Wet Season:	For many Indigenous groups across the Kimberley there can be between four and six separate seasons tied to changes in climate and other environmental, cultural and spiritual markers of change. The Wet Season occurs between October/ November and March/ April and October/November each year and is

characterised by a steady 'Build-up' of hot-humid weather that is broken by monsoonal tropical rains between January and March.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On 27 September 2007, the Director of Liquor Licensing released his decision on restricting the sale of packaged liquor in Fitzroy Crossing. It was his finding that as of 2 October 2007; the following restriction would be in place for six months:

The sale of packaged liquor, exceeding a concentration of ethanol in liquor of 2.7 per cent at 20 degrees Celsius, is prohibited to any person, other than a lodger (as defined in Section 3 of the Act).

On 19 May 2008, the Director of Liquor Licensing extended the restriction indefinitely with an annual review to test its ongoing effectiveness.

Unless otherwise stated, the following findings relate to the twelve month period following the imposition of the restriction, October 2007 to September 2008.

MAIN FINDINGS

Twelve months after the implementation of the restriction the quantitative and qualitative data reveals continuing health and social benefits of the restriction for the residents of Fitzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley communities.

Almost all respondents interviewed for this report now accept the need for some form of liquor restriction and no individuals wish to see a return to the previous difficulties faced by Fitzroy Crossing and its surrounding communities.

Most respondents support the current restriction remaining in place, with fewer people supporting a continuation of alcohol restriction in some form which would be negotiated with the community

There is a general mood in the community that government agencies should hold a forum and consult more widely with community members following the two year mark of the implementation of the alcohol restriction in October, 2009.

A minority of people perceive their rights as modest and responsible drinkers are being denied for the sake of a few. Most respondents within this group suggest targeted changes to the restriction in the form of trials to see if activities such as travelling to other towns can be addressed out of a genuine concern for potential road accidents. Many old people fear the consequences, should their young people die in someone else's country.

The benefits of the current liquor restrictions in the Fitzroy Valley are:

- · reduced severity of domestic violence;
- reduced severity of wounding from general public violence,
- reduced street drinking;
- a quieter town;
- less litter;
- families purchasing more food and clothing;
- families being more aware of their health and being proactive in regard to their children's health;
- reduced humbug and anti-social behaviour;
- reduced stress for service providers;

- increased effectiveness of services already active in the valley;
- generally better care of children and increased recreational activities; and
- a reduction in the amount of alcohol being consumed by Fitzroy and Fitzroy Valley residents.

The liquor restriction has not stopped domestic violence occurring, or alcohol abuse, neglect of children and other anti-social and criminal behaviour associated with alcohol and other drugs. However, there is good evidence the severity and number of these incidences has reduced significantly. There are negative impacts of the restriction to be taken into consideration, including:

- increased mobility to obtain alcohol in Derby and Broome;
- increased prevalence of people leaving children in the care of grandparents to drink at the Inn or the Lodge and also to travel to other towns to obtain alcohol;
- increased pressure on heavily dependant drinkers and their families who are paying substantially more for alcohol;
- ongoing divisions within the town about the restrictions, but this is reducing
- a general sense that there has not been the expected follow through of targeted government services to deal with the problems of alcohol dependence; and
- an impact on some local businesses who have seen a downturn in business based on people choosing to shop in other towns (partly) related to obtaining full-strength alcohol.

Some heavy drinkers are centred in Fitzroy Crossing, and others have scattered and move throughout communities in the Fitzroy Valley. They report to be spending more on the same volume of alcohol that they purchased before the restriction. There has not been an appreciable increase in support services to help these individuals to change their anti-social and self destructive behaviour.

Although the findings in this report relate to Fitzroy Valley residents, within the broader population there are some groups of people who consider the impacts of the restriction to have been detrimental. Dependant drinkers for example, consider they have been negatively impacted. Many of these people are welfare dependent, do not have vehicles and struggle to manage their budgets and other aspects of their lives. Without targeted support programs and community negotiated responses, these individuals will continue to experience hardship and to share that hardship with other members of their community in the form of anti-social behaviour, self-harm, and in many cases, internalised (personal and family) and externalised (wider community) violence. However, this group represents a minority and targeted policies and programs to deal with their addiction will have greater benefit for the wider community.

POLICE

Road Traffic

The ratio of random breath tests to drink driving charge has improved from 6.1:1 for the 12 months pre-restriction to 20:5:1 for the 12 month period post-restriction.

There has been no appreciable increase in accidents or drink-driving charges.

Police note that more Fitzroy Valley residents are seeking to obtain their drivers license and are settling overdue fines.

Many older Fitzroy residents fear young people are driving to other towns (Derby in particular) to obtain alcohol. However, these concerns are not supported by the quantitative data. There have been more RBT's conducted, less drink driving charges and less alcohol related crashes.

Domestic and Community Violence

Police reported a 23% increase in reported domestic violence for the 12 months post-restriction, but a decrease in the level of severity of resulting harm. Police attribute increased reporting of domestic violence to witnesses being less intoxicated and more able to make complaints and follow through as credible witnesses in court. This explanation is supported by hospital data that shows a decrease in the number of presentations and the level of severity of injury for people being admitted to hospital or attending emergency department relative to pre-restriction injury data.

The Women's refuge recorded a 25% decrease in the number of women seeking support. Many clients presented with reduced trauma and alcoholism and an ability to take greater responsibility for themselves and their families.

General Police Tasking

There has been a 28% reduction in the average number of monthly alcohol-related tasks attended by police in the Fitzroy Valley Sub-district. The scope of police work has changed from being 'responsive' before the restriction to being 'proactive' post the restriction. They have been able to increase patrols to surrounding communities and become more engaged in community partnerships and in supporting communities in addressing their own issues.

The relationship between police and licensees has become more collaborative, which has resulted in more responsible drinking reported on hotel premises. Licensees have collaborated with police in a constructive problem solving approach to deal with anti-social behaviour and alcohol related incidents.

HEALTH SERVICES

The majority of respondents recorded positive health benefits due to the restriction, which included reduced stress levels due to dealing with fewer drunks and increased business. However, some business owners said the restrictions had affected their health by increasing their stress levels due to uncertainty.

There has been a reduction in suicides.

Fitzroy Crossing Hospital

Staff reported a 36% reduction in the average number of alcohol related ED presentations and a substantial decrease in unconscious persons brought to the hospital for treatment. There has been a reduction in:

- o ambulance call-outs,
- violence and abuse toward staff on call-outs to communities,
- cases of attempted self harm,
- o after-hours presentations,
- o presentations of people harmed by domestic violence, and,
- o overall trauma due to alcohol abuse.

Clients were generally more aware of their health and more compliant with follow-up treatment than before the restriction.

Fitzroy Valley Community Health

Community Health staff report that there are fewer alcohol affected teenagers, birth weights in babies have increased and nurses are witnessing healthier newborns. Some children continue to suffer failure to thrive but the numbers of such cases have decreased. Mothers and fathers are more involved with their children when they come into clinics, which was previously rare.

Nindilingarri Cultural Health Service

In the twelve months since the introduction of the restriction Nindilingarri Cultural Health Service clients are presenting more regularly for access to their services. Overall there has been an increased awareness of alcohol services with more clients self-referring.

Staff members have noticed positive benefits to their client's health since the imposition of the restriction with some clients ceasing or controlling their alcohol consumption.

West Kimberley Hospitals

Senior medical officers at hospitals in Broome, Derby and Halls Creek report a slight increase in demand for emergency services from Fitzroy residents, increasing from an average of 10.75 presentations per month pre-restriction to 14.75 post-restriction.

SOBERING UP CENTRES

Staff at Halls Creek, Derby and Broome Sobering-Up Centres indicated that there has been minimal impact on their services from Fitzroy residents.

LICENSED VENUES

Since the restriction there has been a significant increase in local residents patronising the two liquor outlets in Fitzroy Crossing. Confining drinking to the licensed premises has provided the opportunity for a more controlled drinking setting, less public drunkenness and associated antisocial behaviour.

Management and staff at the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge have reported significant difficulties in managing the transition from a culture of public drinking to the controlled environment of drinking on premise. A range of on premises strategies have been introduced by the hotel management to reduce drunkenness and associated problems, including the engagement of security. Both venues have experienced increased violence towards staff, theft, and violent antisocial behaviour.

COMMERCIAL SERVICES

More people are choosing to shop for food and other essential items on a fortnightly basis in Derby and Broome. Many respondents acknowledged that they were choosing to complete their fortnightly shopping at Derby or Broome as opposed to Fitzroy Crossing. Most noted that the initial reason for travelling to Derby, in particular, was to legally obtain full-strength take-away alcohol that could be consumed in their homes. However, most also stated that, while this was the initial reason, the financial benefits and the increased choice of, and quality of produce, was now their principle reason for travelling to other towns to shop.

Woolworths in Derby reported an approximate 10% increase in sales post the restriction tied to the increase in Fitzroy residents choosing to travel to Derby to shop. There have been reports of some people travelling regularly on the 'rabbit run' to Derby to obtain alcohol only. Alcohol venues in

¹ Fitzroy residents travelling to other towns to purchase full-strength take-away alcohol and return to Fitzroy Crossing.

Derby and Broome report people buying as much alcohol and cigarettes as possible until all funds are expended from the key-cards being used to purchase alcohol.²

This change in consumer behaviour has caused uncertainty, if not a down-turn in profits, for some stores selling commodities and other sundry items and transport services in Fitzroy Crossing.

COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

There are a number of Fitzroy Valley residents who have relocated to Broome, Derby and Halls Creek, but their numbers are minimal. Some people who relocated have moved back to their home communities or to towns where they originated because the easy access to alcohol, which had originally brought them to Fitzroy Crossing, no longer existed.

Respondents report that the majority of Fitzroy resident mobility is related to movement within and between communities for meetings, funerals, transferring children to school, attending cultural rituals, fishing and hunting.

While Fitzroy Valley residents exhibited a high degree of mobility prior to the restriction, all respondents agreed that the restriction has resulted in an increase in daytrip or short stay movement. This was initially attributed to people accessing full-strength take-away from surrounding communities, but more recently respondents believe that it related to changes in consumer behaviour.

IMPACT STATEMENT

All respondents noted that, prior to the instigation of the restriction of take-away full-strength alcohol in the town of Fitzroy Crossing on October 2 2007, the community was besieged by problems associated with intoxication, including negative impacts on safety, health, education, cultural strength and economic potential (potential employment, productivity and investment). Fitzroy Crossing was over represented, nationally, in regard to incidents of attempted self-harm and actual suicide.

In the twelve months since the restriction was instigated there have been significant benefits to the people of Fitzroy Crossing and related communities throughout the Fitzroy Valley in the form of reduced intoxication, increased safety, positive health gains, increased cultural activities and increased engagement with training and community development. Significant gaps in support services that are needed to enable the social reconstruction of the Fitzroy Valley continue to hinder the community. There continues to be a state of under-investment in the people of the Fitzroy Valley. This gap requires the resourcing of community based organisations operating at the coal face of community development, cultural health, mental health (counselling), education, community safety (Policing) and training, to build on the window of opportunity that the restriction has created.

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² Note: some people have been reported to give their key cards and pin numbers to individuals travelling to Derby to purchase alcohol.

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

On 27 September 2007, the Director of Liquor Licensing released his decision regarding the sale of take-away alcohol in Fitzroy Crossing. It was his finding that as of 2 October 2007 the following restriction would be imposed for six months:

The sale of packaged liquor, exceeding a concentration of ethanol in liquor of 2.7 per cent at 20°C, is prohibited to any person, other than a lodger (as defined in section 3 of the Act).

On the 19 May 2008, following a review of the impact of the restrictions over a 6 month period, the Director of Liquor Licensing extended the restriction indefinitely with an annual review to test its ongoing effectiveness.

The Drug and Alcohol Office (DAO) contracted the University of Notre Dame Australia (UNDA), through the Nulungu Centre for Indigenous Studies (NCIS), to undertake an evaluation of the impact of the restriction. The aim of the evaluation is to analyse the perceptions, views and opinions of people and organisations in Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities, in relation to the effects of alcohol use, both prior to, and since the introduction of the liquor restriction.

Previous Evaluations in this Series

UNDA completed two previous evaluations at 3 months and 6 months as part of the ongoing two year evaluation process. The DAO completed a 12 month statistical report which was released for public comment in March 2009. Both the evaluations and the 12 month statistical report are able to be accesses via the internet at www.dao.health.wa.gov.au

- Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restriction: October to December 2007 Interim Report, Drug and Alcohol Office, February 2008. (This report contained statistical information regarding the impact the restriction had on a variety of services within the Fitzroy Valley three months after implementation).
- 2. Fitzroy Valley Liquor Restriction Report: An evaluation of the effects of a six month restriction on take-away alcohol relating to measurable health and social benefits and community perceptions and behaviors, University of Notre Dame, May 2008. (This report contained statistical and anecdotal information regarding the impact of the restriction in the Fitzroy Valley six months after its implementation).
- Fitzroy Valley Liquor Restriction: October 2007 to September 2008 Twelve Month Report, Drug and Alcohol Office, March 2009. . (This report contained statistical information regarding the impact the restriction had on a variety of services within the Fitzroy Valley twelve months after implementation).

The Twelve Month Evaluation

This twelve month report brings together two strands of information;

- 1. Quantitative data (statistical data) collected and analysed by DAO, and,
- Qualitative data (based on one-to-one interviews) collected and analysed by Notre Dame University Australia.

As with the six month evaluation, the twelve month evaluation presents all of the data in a format that allows for comparison and, or, contrast of the quantitative data and the qualitative 'views' of the people.

Quantitative and Qualitative Data Time-periods

The quantitative data collection covers the period October 2007 to September 2008. The qualitative data collection covers the period of October 2007 to March 2009.

The difference in time periods between quantitative and qualitative data is due to the lengthy process necessary in obtaining qualitative data through face-to-face interviews.

1.2 The Reference Group

This project was led and advised by a University of Notre Dame Australia reference group. The research project officer reported regularly to the Chief Investigator and the project reference group.

Members:

- Associate Professor Lyn Henderson-Yates, Deputy Vice Chancellor of Broome Campus, Assistant Dean of The School Arts and Sciences and Director, Centre for Indigenous Studies (Broome Campus); and Chief Investigator of this project.
- Professor Helen Parker, Executive Dean College of Health Sciences (Fremantle Campus).
- Mrs Fiona Farirngdon, Senior Lecturer, Assistant Dean and Acting Associate Dean of Health Sciences (Fremantle Campus).

1.3 Ethics

Ethical clearance was obtained from the Western Australian Aboriginal Health Information and Ethics Committee (WAAHIEC) and The University of Notre Dame Australia Human Research Ethics Committee.

1.4 Background

The town of Fitzroy Crossing is located in the Fitzroy Valley in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. Fitzroy Crossing is on the traditional lands of the Bunuba language group. There are 44 smaller Aboriginal communities in the Fitzroy Valley, which are the traditional lands of four main language groups, Bunuba, Gooniyandi, Walmajarri and Wangkajunkja.

Fitzroy Crossing began at the point where early Europeans crossed the Fitzroy River around the beginning of the 1900's. This crossing point was shown on early maps but it wasn't until 1975 that it was gazetted as a town (Kimberley Development Commission, March, 2008).

Fitzroy Crossing is built alongside the banks of the Fitzroy River in the Kimberley and is 2686km north of Perth. The closest towns to Fitzroy Crossing are Derby 258km, Halls Creek 263km and Broome is 480km away.

The Fitzroy Valley has a current population of approximately 3500 people of whom the majority are Aboriginal (Nindilingiarri Cultural Health Services, March, 2008). There are approximately 1521 people who live in town of Fitzroy Crossing.

According to the ABS (2006), approximately 60% of the town population is Indigenous with the non-Indigenous population making up approximately 32%. The remaining 8% represents 'Indigenous status not stated'. Within the total town population, the age bracket of 15-44 represents approximately 50% of the total town population and 19% for the 45-64 age bracket. Those individuals over the age of 65 years represent approximately 6.5% of the town population.

The Indigenous population of the surrounding communities is calculated at approximately 88% of the total population, non-Indigenous approximately 11% with the remaining 1% representing 'Indigenous status not stated'. Within these communities, the age bracket of 15-44 represents approximately 49% of the total remote communities and 14% the 45-64 age bracket. Those individuals over the age of 65 years represent approximately 3.5%.

Fitzroy Crossing has a number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous private businesses. Various government and non-government organisations service the town and communities, including, police, health, child protection and education. In addition, there are a number of remote community schools and several non-government local organisations providing cultural and social welfare services. The town and communities also have an Aboriginal controlled radio station. There is a high representation of Aboriginal people employed by many of the above organisations, but unemployment remains high, with large numbers of adults and youth relying on the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) to provide meaningful employment and financial support.

Similar to other Kimberley towns, the consumption of alcohol is at a significantly higher level when compared with other towns in Western Australia. In addition, there is a high incidence of suicide, particularly amongst Indigenous youth, although this has reduced since the imposition of the restriction of take-away alcohol.

The town was the focus of a coronial enquiry into deaths related to suicide conducted by the State Coroner, Alistair Hope in 2008³. Many of these suicides were considered to be associated with chronic and high alcohol use as well as cannabis use (Department of Racing, Gaming and Liquor, March, 2008). Fitzroy Crossing has also been the focus of a community/ government partnership under the Fitzroy Futures Forum. This forum operates in collaboration with State government agencies to coordinate services and engage community groups on issues of community development, governance and social reconstruction within the Fitzroy Valley.

In 2008, work was completed on the refurbishment of the Fitzroy Crossing Hospital and in February 2009 the newly built Fitzroy Valley District High School was opened to students. This additional infrastructure has been noted by respondents where relevant in regard to understanding changed behaviours within the town and access to services generally.

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³ State Coroner of Western Australia (2008). *Inquest into deaths and record of investigation into death*, Ref No: 37/07 Coroner's Court of Western Australia.

2. Methodology

2.1 Overview

This chapter describes the process adopted in the gathering of qualitative and quantitative data to evaluate the impact of the restriction on the sale of take-away alcohol in Fitzroy Crossing.

2.2 Local Indigenous Research Assistant

A local Indigenous research assistant was employed to assist the principal researcher when talking to adults whose first language was not English. The research assistant collected interviews on a part-time basis and arranged an elders meeting under which a number of key Fitzroy Crossing elders were interviewed in Kriol. Their responses were translated by the research assistant and are utilised in the qualitative review. The research assistant also completed a number of key interviews with other individuals, business people and service delivery agency representatives.

2.3 Data Collection Processes

Quantitative data was provided to DAO by a number of businesses and agencies. The data relates specifically to the twelve month period of October 2007 to September 2008. The final report was completed in March 2009.

Qualitative data was collected through interviewing representative service providers, businesses and individuals in the towns of Fitzroy Crossing, Derby, Broome and Halls Creek. Each interview took between 1 hour and 2 hours (or up to three hours) depending on the availability of the individual and the length and detail of their responses. This information was then cross referenced with other surveys to assess changes in views, behaviours, patterns and impacts associated with the liquor restriction.

Qualitative data focused on recording the perceptions, views and opinions of organisations and individuals in regard to alcohol use in Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities. These responses were collected by individual interviews, focus groups, and an elders' meeting (attended by eleven elders) in Fitzroy Crossing at Mangkaja Arts Agency on 9 April 2009. Information was also gathered through notes taken at a Fitzroy Futures Forum public community meeting on 12 February 2009 at Karrayili Adult Education Centre. Over sixty Fitzroy Crossing residents and agency representatives attended this meeting in which the open public forum resulted in spontaneous public discussion about the alcohol restriction. As with all material gathered for this report, no individuals are named and material is utilised in a manner that reveals patterns of behaviour, cohorts of respondents and shifts in community perspectives. Some specific commercial businesses, such as Trunda Supermarket, the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge are named in accordance with the provision of quantitative data provided for this evaluation.

In the majority of cases it was possible to do face-to-face interviews with respondents. However, due to various constraints other individuals, community representatives and government officers were interviewed by telephone. Within Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities a cross section of Indigenous and non-Indigenous government and non-government departments, private businesses and individual residents were approached for interviewing. Respondents were offered

the option of having their interview recorded to assist the data collection process, and their right to decline this offer. Only two respondents chose to record their interviews.

In general, interviews were hand written and these notes were read back to respondents for their approval, editing or deletion. Some respondents made minor changes to the text that was read back to them. Most respondents made no changes to the notes that were read back to them. A small number of people requested that information provided during the interview be deleted, which was done. Once respondents were in agreement about the notes of interviews, they were asked to sign a release form to enable the material to be utilised for this evaluation. (Appendix 1)

The collection of qualitative data from the surrounding towns of Derby, Halls Creek and Broome involved identifying service providers from government and non-government organisations. Initial contact was made by telephone and follow up meetings and interviews were arranged. Most interviews in Derby, Broome and Halls Creek were conducted on a face-to-face basis with a few exceptions where they were conducted by telephone.

No young people under the age of eighteen were interviewed for this report. This is a requirement of the rules under which ethical clearance was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of Notre Dame University within principles of the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC).

2.4 Questionnaires

Three qualitative questionnaires were used for the twelve month evaluation. (Appendix 2)

- The Service Providers Questionnaire was designed to elicit information from both
 government and non-government organisations. It asked the respondent to provide
 information relating to how their perception of the effects of alcohol use, before and after
 the liquor restriction, affected their professional role and the role of their organisation. In
 addition, the questionnaire allowed service providers to respond to questions as private
 residents.
- The Businesses Questionnaire was designed to ascertain the impact of the alcohol
 restriction on business income as well as allowing individuals within businesses to
 comment on personal ramifications of the alcohol restriction. Business owners were the
 first point of contact and staff were only interviewed as part of the businesses survey if
 approved by business owners and, or managers.
- The *Individuals Questionnaire* was designed to elicit information from private residents in Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities.

The Businesses Questionnaire asked the same questions as the Service Provider Questionnaire but focused on the impact of the restriction on business income and activities. The Individual Questionnaire asked the same questions as the Service Provider Questionnaire, but excluded any professional or organisational perceptions.

2.5 Additional Questions

The twelve month evaluation of the alcohol restriction and its impact in the Fitzroy Valley utilised additional questions to the original surveys that were completed for the six month review. These additional questions are discussed in Part Two of the evaluation.

The aims of the additional questions were to examine:

- a) the impact on individuals in regard to their;
 - livelihood
 - personal health
 - lifestyle
 - recreation
 - access to services
- b) whether respondents supported the restriction remaining in place and if so/ not, the reason for their response;
- c) whether the restriction had impacted on businesses in Fitzroy Crossing; and
- d) what respondents believed the next steps should be.

Beyond these additional questions the twelve month evaluation utilised the same methodology as the six month evaluation. The twelve month evaluation also included a greater range of respondent quotes so as to allow the voices of those affected by the restriction to be acknowledged within the review process.

2.6 Respondents

A total of 170 respondents were interviewed in Fitzroy Crossing, Fitzroy Valley communities, Broome, Derby and Halls Creek. Of these, 120 respondents were from Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities. These respondents were asked to express their views and opinions about the use of alcohol by individuals residing within Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities.

Table 1: Respondent Profile – Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley Communities

Category	Number	Percent
Indigenous Service Providers	25	21
non-Indigenous Service Providers	29	24
Indigenous Individuals	34	28
non-Indigenous Individuals	12	10
Business persons – Indigenous	0	0
Business persons – non-Indigenous	20	17
TOTAL	120	100

Table 2: Age Distribution of respondents Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities

Age groups	Females	Males	Total
18-24	2	0	2
25-44	25	13	38
45-64	24	39	63
65 and over	13	4	17
No age given	0	0	0
TOTAL	64	56	120

Table 3: Respondent Profiles Broome, Derby and Halls Creek

Category	Number	Percent
Indigenous Service Providers	15	30
non-Indigenous Service Providers	20	40
Business persons –Indigenous	0	0
Business persons – non-Indigenous	15	30
TOTAL	50	100

2.7 Analysing Data

Information gained through the qualitative interviews is treated in the strictest of confidence and has been utilised to observe, discuss and analyse changed views, behavioural patterns and impacts of the alcohol restriction for the twelve month period.

Overall, information gathered through collated statistics and interviews outlines significant concerns, key issues, and future challenges for Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities. The conclusion is based on the findings arising from analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data. The DAO did not seek recommendations as an outcome of this evaluation.

Findings are presented in two parts.

Part A presents both qualitative and quantitative data findings as discreet themes that allow the quantitative data to support or contrast the qualitative data.

Part B presents the findings of the qualitative data in the form of summarised question responses. This section also contains a range of quotes from respondents so as to enable the voices of the participants to inform the evaluation. These are opinions are do not necessarily reflect evidence or effective practice. These quotes are also provided so as to enable readers to understand the range of views held by Fitzroy Valley residents with regard to the impacts of the restriction.

3. Findings Part A – Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of Key Issues and Themes

Introduction

This section provides a summary of the qualitative data under specific themes, followed by related quantitative data. The qualitative data is presented in the form of thematic essays based on the results of the qualitative interviews.

3.1 Road Traffic and Random Breath Testing

Qualitative Finding

Since the restriction police have complete a greater number of traffic control and highway patrol duties and has resulted in their ability to conduct more random breath tests than prior to the restriction. Fitzroy Crossing Police observed a flow-on affect of increased applications for driving licenses by Fitzroy Valley residents, decreased drink driving charges and a general increase in road safety due to increased vehicle checks.

Many individual respondents within Fitzroy Crossing expressed concern about the increased likelihood of motor vehicle accidents due to Fitzroy residents travelling to obtain alcohol from other towns, primarily Derby. There are numerous incidents and observations from respondents in which they have witnessed people drinking on the side of the road, drinking at community gates and driving back from Derby while intoxicated. Regardless, the statistical data provided by the Police, in addition to the reported increased random breath tests, indicates that this alleged behaviour has not led to a dramatic increase in accidents or traffic offences. Compared to the equivalent period before the introduction of the restriction, the incident of road crashes has decreased significantly.

Quantitative Findings

Since the introduction of the restriction, police have increased the level of random breath testing in the community but have seen a decrease in the number of people being charged with drink driving.

When comparing the period of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) with the period of October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction) the following was identified.

- There was a 172% increase in the number of RBTs conducted post restriction (3445) when compared to pre-restriction (1262).
- There was a 12.5% decrease in the number of drink driving charges resulting from RBTs when comparing pre-restriction (192) to post-restriction (186).
- The ratio of RBTs to drink driving charges for the 12 month period pre-restriction was 6.1:1. This improved to 20.5:1 for the 12 month period post-restriction.

Prior to the introduction of the liquor restriction, drink driving charges represented 15% of total number of random breath tests conducted between 1 October 2006 and 3 October 2007. In a three month period commencing 3 October 2007, drink driving charges represented 4.4% of the total number of random breath tests conducted.

1200 Restriction in place 1000 ■ Drink Driving 800 Number Charges RBT's 600 400 200 O Oct 06 Jan 07 Apr 07 Jul 07 Oct 07 Jan 08 Apr 08 Jul 08 - Mar - Jun - Sep - Dec - Mar - Jun 06 07 07 07 80 80 07

Graph 1: Comparisons of random breath tests and drink driving charges for the period of October 2006 to September 2008 for Fitzroy Crossing.

3.2 Domestic Violence and Public Violence

Qualitative Findings

Reporting of alcohol related domestic violence to police has increased since the imposition of the restriction on take-away alcohol. Fitzroy Crossing Hospital Emergency Department presentations for alcohol related domestic violence have reduced. There has been no significant increase in Emergency Department presentation from Fitzroy Crossing residents for alcohol related domestic violence at regional hospitals in Derby, Broome or Halls Creek. Fitzroy Crossing residents noted that domestic violence is still prevalent in their community. Domestic violence is reported to be less overt, less common and less public than before the restrictions.

Decreased Public and General Domestic Violence

(Majority of respondents – largely service providers)

Prior to the imposition of the restriction many respondents stated that domestic violence and general community violence was so common and public that it was considered by many to be normal behaviour. All respondents expressed opinions regarding the impact of the restriction on alcohol related domestic violence. Service providers stated that since the restriction the town of Fitzroy was quieter and that public anti-social behaviour, humbug and related public domestic violence had decreased. Businesses and individual respondents agreed that there had been a decrease in overt violence, but reported perceived hidden domestic violence and increased incidents of humbug and harassment of old people in their homes. Violence was described as 'slowing down' since the restriction, but no respondents expected that this problem would be resolved by the restriction alone.

Fitzroy Crossing Police observed an increase in reported cases of domestic violence, but noted a decrease in call-outs to deal with alcohol related domestic violence. Police stated that the increase in reporting resulted from victims of and witnesses to domestic violence presenting to Police to report incidents after the fact. It is argued that because victims and witnesses are less intoxicated when incidents occur they are able to utilise the justice system as a means to deal with these issues. Police also note that while the charge-list and reported assaults have not reduced, the severity of assaults has dramatically reduced in the twelve months since the imposition of the

restriction. This view is supported by hospital staff who noted a dramatic decrease in patients presenting with serious wounding since the imposition of the restriction.

Service providers at the front line of dealing with alcohol related domestic violence report a significant decrease in the need for reactive acute responses. Overall case-work and resultant workloads have not reduced, however the type of work now required allows for a more considered and proactive approach to the underlying chronic issues related to long term alcohol use. Reduced drunkenness is considered to have enabled some victims of domestic violence to make positive changes to their lives, including better daily care of themselves, their children and their general health. Service providers who are required to visit local and remote communities report a dramatic decrease in domestic and associated violence, reduced incidents of personal attacks and a general ability to be able to carry out their work unhindered by potential violent acts.

The women's refuge reports 25% fewer women seeking support and far fewer women presenting with traumatic injuries. Many of their clients are now no longer drinking and are able to be more responsible for themselves and their families. Home service programs are more successful because people are more engaged, keen to clean up their homes and keen to consider skills development and obtaining work. Service providers note that the longer the restriction continues the more self-supporting clients have become, as opposed to prior to the restrictions when there was a general sense of helplessness in the community. Many Indigenous respondents noted that people are no longer staying up late at night drinking and fighting, breaking things and staggering around town drunk. It was noted that some people do appear drunk in public, but this is much reduced since the imposition of the restriction. There are some occasions when alcohol is available in the town, either through people legally purchasing take-away alcohol in other towns and bringing it to Fitzroy Crossing for personal consumption, or through access to sly grog, but that these occasions are relatively rare and violence and anti-social behaviour, much reduced.

Increased Hidden Domestic Violence

(Minority of respondents – largely individuals)

Some respondents argue that the increase in domestic violence reporting is due to an overall increase in domestic violence since the imposition of the restriction. These respondents believe that reporting is on the increase, but so too has violence increased in communities, except that it is now less obvious. This view holds that individuals who are engaged in heavy drinking now seek to hide this behaviour, hence the quieter streets and general townscape. It is argued that, because alcohol is harder to obtain people are engaging in binge drinking so as to avoid being humbugged by other drinkers who may seek to obtain alcohol from those who are holding it. It is then believed that this binge drinking is aided by other pressures such as:

- the increased cost of alcohol over the bar at the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge;
- the increased presence of Police in the town and on the roads;
- problems associated with withdrawal from alcohol;
- increased movement of people between towns (primarily to Derby and Broome) to obtain alcohol, resulting in increased stress, pressure on financial resources and increased scrutiny by government agencies;
- general uncertainty and a sense of removal of rights leading to increased stress and violence:
- men seeking to drink a greater share of meagre resources (because the cost of alcohol
 over the bar and the high cost of sly grog) that women hope to spend on food, clothing
 and shelter, leading to fights; and

• the new drinking culture which requires heavy drinkers (who do not have easy access to vehicles to legally travel to other towns to purchase affordable alcohol), to drink at the Crossing Inn or the Fitzroy River Lodge, and the resultant problems of jealousy between couples and associated increased violence that did not occur when people drank at home before the restrictions.

Quantitative Findings

The manner in which police record alcohol-related domestic violence has changed since the implementation of the alcohol restriction in Fitzroy Crossing. The new process was applied to data used in the previous interim report to obtain comparable results for the period of 12 months immediately prior to the implementation of the restriction and 12 months post. When comparing the period of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) with October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction):

- There was a 23% increase in reported domestic violence incidents post-restriction (87 incidents pre-restriction and 114 post-restriction).
- There was a 20% increase in reported alcohol related domestic violence incidents post-restrictions (74 incidents pre-restriction and 93 incidents post-restriction).

Graph 2: Reported alcohol related domestic violence and all reported domestic violence incidents for the Fitzroy Valley for October 2006 to September 2008.



The period of October 2006 to December 2006 pre-restriction was the only period where domestic violence and alcohol-related domestic violence reports were lower than the comparable period post-restriction. For all other periods covered in this report there was an increase in reported cases.

- For the period of January 2008 to March 2008 there were 3 more alcohol-related domestic violence reports compared to the same period in 2007.
- For the period of April 2008 to June 2008 there were 6 more alcohol-related domestic violence reports compared to the same period in 2007.
- For the period of July 2008 to September 2008 there were 18 more alcohol-related domestic violence reports compared to the same period in 2007.

3.3 General Police Activity

Qualitative Findings

Due to the reduction in call-outs for alcohol related incidents and domestic violence in Fitzroy Crossing, Police have been able to redirect resources to the boarder Fitzroy Valley. This has included increasing patrols to outlaying communities including more overnight stays in communities. Stress has generally decreased due to the reduction in severe violent incidents and policing has been made more effective due to increased involvement of community members who have been more forthcoming with information about illegal activities since the imposition of the restriction.

Police are now able to spend more time on call-outs, rather than respond to numerous emergencies within a limited time. The scope of work has changed from being 'responsive' before the restriction to being 'proactive' post the restriction. This was described as being able to provide an integrated response whereby police can spend more time assessing and dealing with a situation as opposed to an immediate response action.

The relationship with licensees has become more collaborative since the imposition of the restriction which has resulted in more responsible drinking on hotel premises. Licensees have collaborated with police in a constructive problem solving approach to anti-social behaviour and alcohol related incidents. As well as a general increase in community contact and community policing, police have been able to attend community meetings and events as well as improve communication between the police service and the community.

There are regular 'spikes' in reported incidents related to alcohol consumption in Fitzroy Crossing. These 'spikes' in activity occur when there is an increase in payments, such as the financial incentive payments before Christmas of December 2008, and on regular pay weeks for Centrelink and CDEP. Sly grogging has dramatically reduced since the arrest of a core perpetrator in late 2008, however, people regularly travel to Derby to shop for food and take-away alcohol and there is a concurrent increase in reported alcohol related incidents on these nights, or around specific events, such as 'band nights.' This activity, however, is significantly less destructive than before the restriction was imposed over twelve months ago.

Before the imposition of the restriction it was common for detainees to be drunk. However, post the restriction it is 'very rare' to have a drunk detainee in the lock-up. Police also note that with a decrease in serious violence associated with alcohol abuse, they are able to be more effective through being discretionary in solving disputes and potentially violent situations, rather than being corrective through the imposition of penalties alone. Police are also able to follow through on complaints, finding it easier to locate witnesses and complainants are not as intoxicated as before the restrictions and provide more credible and useful witness statements. Overall the restriction has broken the revolving door of offences tied to alcohol abuse.

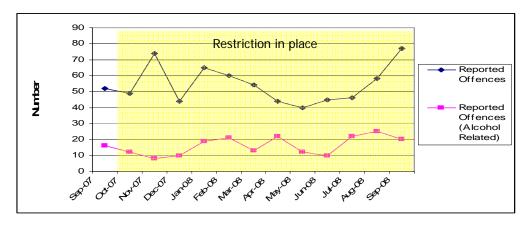
Quantitative Findings

Reported Offences

Since the implementation of the restriction in October 2007 to September 2008 there have been a total of 708 reported offences in the Fitzroy Crossing Police Sub-district, of which 30% (210) were alcohol-related.

There does not appear to be any direct link between the levels of alcohol-related offences and total offences. For example, the month of November 2007 recorded one of the highest levels of reported offences (74) yet had the lowest level of alcohol-related offences (8).

Graph 3: Number of reported alcohol related offences and total reported offences for the Fitzroy Police Sub-district for September 2007 to September 2008.



General Tasking

Any instance where police are called to attend to a situation by a member of the public or respond to a situation identified whilst on patrol is recorded as a task.

There has been an overall decline in the total number of tasks and alcohol-related tasks attended by police in the Fitzroy Valley Sub-district when comparing the period of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) with the period of October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction).

During the 12-month period immediately pre-restriction there was a total of 1,596 tasks attended or which 854 were alcohol-related. These figures reduced to 1,297 tasks attended of which 622 were alcohol-related for the 12-month period post-restriction. There was a slight decrease in the percentage of alcohol-related tasks that made up the total tasks attended for the period post restriction (53% of total tasks were alcohol related pre-restriction and 47% of total tasks were alcohol-related post restriction).

Graph 4: Total tasks attended and alcohol related tasks attended for the Fitzroy Valley Sub-district for the period of October 2006 to September 2008.



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When comparing the period of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) with the period of October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction):

- There was an 18% reduction in the average number of tasks attended per month (133 tasks attended per month pre-restriction and 108 tasks attended per month post-restriction).
- There was a 28% reduction in the average number of alcohol-related tasks attended per month (71 alcohol-related tasks attended per month pre-restriction and 51 alcohol related tasks attended per month post-restriction).

3.4 Fitzroy Crossing Hospital

Qualitative Findings

Fitzroy Crossing Hospital report a significant reduction in the number of presentations directly related to alcohol induced general violence and domestic violence. There are less call outs, less violence and aggressive behaviour towards staff and far fewer after-hours presentations. It is easier to attract and retain hospital staff. Hospital staff state that they feel significantly less stressed and are able to complete their work with greater satisfaction. Clients are more aware of their health and staff members state that they are more able to work collaboratively with patients to ensure appropriate follow-up care. The restriction has been beneficial to the general health of the population.

Prior to the imposition of the liquor restriction the greater proportion of hospital workloads were associated with Emergency Department presentations for alcohol related violence. Many of these presentations involved cases of serious wounding and trauma. Before the restriction, the on-call staff members were almost completely occupied with treating patients in the Emergency Department for alcohol related injuries. This meant that other patients in the hospital who were admitted for maternity, other illnesses and treatment of other chronic conditions were not able to be given extra attention.

Before the restriction it was common to treat between 30 and 40 alcohol related injuries per night, and staff members were treating serious wounding trauma regularly which required a large amount of sutures. After the imposition of the restriction staff found that they were not getting enough practice in completing sutures commenting that they had to 'fight to complete sutures.' Before the restriction, staff recorded a very high level of job dissatisfaction and frustration at not being able to work more effectively with clients to benefit general community health. Alcohol abuse was described as being chronic, chaotic and violent.

Since the imposition of the restriction there has been a significant reduction in patients presenting with alcohol related injuries, down from the stated maximum of 40 per night to perhaps a few alcohol related cases per night, and sometimes none. Staff report much greater job satisfaction through increased safety, both in the hospital and when on call-outs to communities. Staff workloads have reduced in the acute treatment of alcohol related injuries enabling staff to extend their skills into community health and preventative health care. Patients are less intoxicated, or have stopped drinking all together. Hospital staff are more able to work collaboratively with individuals in treating their general health, or in dealing with chronic conditions, such as diabetes and heart disease, that were being exasperated by continued alcohol abuse. When people who may be intoxicated do present with injuries, they are far less chaotic in their behaviour than prior to the restriction due to reduced states of intoxication. It is rare to have a patient admitted in an alcohol induced unconscious state post the restriction.

Due to improved conditions it is far easier to attract and retain staff and there has been a steady increase in full-time contracted positions at the Fitzroy Crossing Hospital. Some staff members may also have been attracted by completion of renovations to the hospital during the past twelve months, however the five staff interviewed for this evaluation stated the restriction as the key reason for remaining in Fitzroy Crossing. Certain staff, who had left Fitzroy Crossing due to the impacts of chronic alcohol abuse, decided to return to Fitzroy Crossing to work because of the restriction. A number of staff indicated that if the restriction was lifted they would most likely not remain in Fitzroy Crossing because it would undoubtedly lead to a return to the chaotic conditions that existed pre-restriction. Staff also noted that they felt safer at work, in the community and were able to get a good sleep at night, which was not possible before the restriction.

Hospital staff noted that there were regular 'spikes' in people reporting with alcohol related injuries. These spikes occurred on fortnightly pay weeks when people engaged in a 'rabbit run,' travelling to Derby, Broome or Halls Creek to obtain full-strength take-away alcohol legally and to return to Fitzroy Crossing. The result of this practice is that a number of individuals engage in binge drinking and present with alcohol related injuries. Also, there are spike in admission on 'band nights', around special events or when there is sly-grog brought into Fitzroy Crossing. The introduction of the Commonwealth Stimulus Package before Christmas 2008 resulted in one such 'spike.' Staff note, however, that even during these 'spikes' in activity, the situation is not as busy or as chaotic as it was before the restriction.

Overall, there has been a 50% reduction in trauma on pay-days and the intervening period is no longer marked with constant presentations for alcohol related injuries. The number of people requiring 'half-ways' ambulance transport to Derby, or the need for the Royal Flying Doctor Service, have decreased by approximately 40%. There is still anti-social behaviour resulting in violence and injury, but this behaviour has reduced from the period before the restriction. There has also been an increase in referrals to the Drug and Alcohol Counsellor and some drinkers have been provided with voluntary rehabilitation and detoxification.

Quantitative Findings

WA Country Health Service provided emergency department data for the Fitzroy Crossing Hospital from January 2008 to September 2008 in monthly blocks. This information adds to the previous information provided for the *Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restrictions: October to December 2007 Interim Report.*

Graph 5: Alcohol related ED presentations (MCD 20 & 21) for Fitzroy Crossing Residents at the Fitzroy Crossing Hospital for the period of October 2006 to September 2008.



The average number of presentations made by Fitzroy Crossing residents to the Emergency Department for alcohol-related incidents for the 12 month period post-restriction is lower than the 12 month period pre-restriction. When comparing the two periods there was a decline in presentations for each month with the exception of July (25 presentations in 2007 and 26 in 2008). The lowest level of presentation for the reportable period is October 2007 (20 presentations) and highest is December 2006 (74 presentations). The greatest difference in presentations was for the month of December (74 presentations pre-restriction and 45 presentations post-restriction).

When comparing the period of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) with October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction):

 There was a 36% reduction in the average number of alcohol related Emergency Department presentations (50.33 presentations a month pre-restriction and 32 presentations a month post-restriction).

It is possible to notice a seasonal trend developing. In the *Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restriction: October to December 2007 Interim Report* hospital staff commented that their busiest period is during the Wet Season as people come into town from the surrounding communities. There was an increase in presentations from October 2006 to March 2007 and October 2007 to March 2008. However, in the period post-restriction the increase started from a much lower base and peaked at a much lower high.

When isolating the busiest periods for the hospital, October to March, there was a 42% reduction in the number of alcohol related presentations post-restriction (376 presentations pre-restriction and 216 post-restriction).

3.5 Nindilingarri Cultural Health Service

Qualitative Findings

In the twelve months since the introduction of the restriction Nindilingarri Cultural Health Service clients are presenting more regularly to access community services. There have been forty requests for support for alcohol rehabilitation and detoxification. The sole Drug and Alcohol Counsellor based with Nindilingarri is currently working with eighteen clients in the Fitzroy Valley. Overall there has been an increased awareness of alcohol services with more clients self referring.

There has also been a reduction in suicides.

Nindilingarri Cultural Health Service is an Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation that provides health services and community services to the people of the Fitzroy Valley. Based in Fitzroy Crossing, Nindilingarri began in 1995 in response to Indigenous community consultation and calls for a holistic and culturally appropriate health service.

Nindilingarri health services include a Health Promotion Team and an Environmental Health Team. The Community Services Division includes;

- Guwardi Ngadu Frail Aged Hostel,
- Home and Community Care Services, and,
- Alcohol, Drug and Mental Health Services.

Nindilingarri works in partnership with the WA Country Health Service of which the Fitzroy Valley Health Service is a part. WA Country Health Service also maintain community health clinics throughout the Fitzroy Valley. Nindilingarri Alcohol, Drug and Mental Health Services are a relatively recent initiative of inter-agency collaboration.

Before the restriction there were no alcohol, drug and mental health counsellors based in the community. Kimberley Mental Health and Kimberley Community Drug Service Team, both parts of the WA Country Health Service, provided a visiting service from Broome and Derby. However, even with counsellors now based in Fitzroy Crossing, the increased desire by people of Fitzroy and outlying communities affected by alcohol to discuss their issues, has resulted in these counsellors quickly reaching capacity. Men have become more engaged and are seeking greater support since the restriction.

There is an overall increase in the use of Nindilingarri programs in the twelve months since the introduction of the restriction. Staff members have noticed positive benefits to their clients' health since the imposition of the restriction with some clients choosing to quit alcohol and others reducing their consumption. Clients are more likely to approach Nindilingarri to participate in programs in the twelve months since the introduction of the restriction and staff members report a generally positive and optimistic attitude in which clients are planning for their future in ways not previously noted. Specifically, it was stated by Cultural Health staff that there is a need for an increase in drug and alcohol counselling services as well as mental health services, mental health workers and social workers.

3.6 Community and Allied Health Service

Qualitative Findings

Generally, people are more interested in their health, appear well presented and are interacting as families when hunting, fishing and becoming more active on their country.

The WA Country Health Service provides a range of services via clinical practices throughout the Fitzroy Valley including:

- chronic and population health;
- child health:
- · midwifery and antenatal services;
- sexual health;
- school health, gerontology;

- · Aboriginal health (workers); and
- the Healthy for Life maternal child health program.

These services are provided via health clinics in regional and remote communities throughout the Fitzroy Valley. For the twelve month period since the introduction of the restriction Community Health staff report:

- less alcohol related injuries;
- · less domestic violence;
- less severe injuries in any form;
- communities are easier to enter and to find people in need of treatment;
- it is easier to deal with men than before the restriction;
- there are fewer drunk teenagers;
- birth weights in babies have gone up and they are seeing healthier newborns;
- there are still children who report with failure to thrive, but the numbers have decreased;
 and
- mothers and fathers are more involved with their children when they come into clinics, which was previously rare.

3.7 West Kimberley Regional Health Services

Qualitative Findings

Fitzroy residents are engaging with medical services in other towns. However, senior medical staff in the West Kimberley Health District reported no significant negative impact on health services. It was observed that there were periodic increases in presentations to Emergency Departments for alcohol related injuries by a very small number of Fitzroy residents. Taking into account the notable decrease in Emergency Department presentations for alcohol related injuries at Fitzroy Crossing Hospital, figures for regional presentations overall decreased considerably since the imposition of the restriction. This is considered by health professionals to be directly attributed to the restriction and to be a very positive health benefit for the Kimberley community.

For the Fitzroy Valley it was noted that the restriction had a direct bearing on the ability to do more than simply retain staff. The restriction enabled Fitzroy Valley Health Services to create a more positive working environment, which in turn facilitated better service delivery to the people of the Fitzroy Valley, and to be able plan for the future with greater certainty. It was considered to be far better to be working within this positive environment in which it was possible to be more effective, than to be working in an environment characterised by frustration, in which the situation was described as simply trying to hold the service together.

It was stated that the restriction had allowed health services in the Fitzroy Valley to address chronic issues associated with the traumatic environments that existed prior to the restriction. Health service staff noted that they are now able to address chronic long-standing health problems as the population is less affected by alcohol and associated anti-social behaviour. This was described as a shift from an acute response to a long-term response.

It was noted that detoxification is essentially taking place on a regular basis in Fitzroy Crossing due to the drinking patterns of many heavy drinkers. As such, detoxification was considered a step toward rehabilitation, but not the core focus of West Kimberley Health Services. It was also noted by West Kimberley Health Services that community calls for increased drug and alcohol

counsellors may be overstated as the impacts of the changes taking place in the Fitzroy Valley need more time to play out. The main issue is understood to be the need to change people's behaviours, and in this regard it is believed that opportunities tied to training, education and employment will have a greater long-term affect for these individuals seeking counselling.

The restriction was considered to have affected West Kimberley Health Services through creating greater certainty to plan for the future through:

- retaining staff;
- · focused service delivery; and
- coordination and cooperation with other health and government services.

The restriction is considered to have enabled better planning toward a more sophisticated array of health interventions that can be taken up by the population and directly contribute to a community health gain.

Quantitative Findings

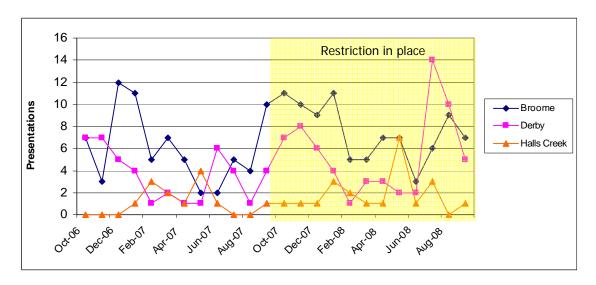
WA Country Health Service (WACHS) provided Emergency Department admissions data for Fitzroy Crossing residents attending Broome, Derby and Halls Creek Regional Hospitals for the period of January 2008 to September 2008. This information adds to the previous information provided for the *Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restrictions: October to December 2007 Interim Report.*

Since the introduction of the liquor restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing there has been an increase in the number of Fitzroy residents reporting to emergency departments in surrounding towns for alcohol-related issues.

- For the 12 month period of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) the monthly average number of presentations in surrounding hospitals by Fitzroy residents were 10.75 presentations. This increased to 14.75 monthly presentations for the period of October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction).
- For the 12 month period pre-restriction Halls Creek Emergency Department averaged 1.1 presentations per month and 1.8 presentations per month post-restriction. Derby Emergency Department averaged 3.5 presentation per month pre-restriction and 5.4 presentations post-restriction. Broome Emergency Department averaged 6.1 presentations per month pre-restriction and 7.5 presentations post-restriction).

The net result for all emergency department alcohol-related presentations for Fitzroy Crossing residents (including presentations to the Fitzroy Crossing Emergency Department) is a 23% reduction when comparing the period of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction 733 presentations) with October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction 562 presentations).

Graph 6: Alcohol-related presentations (MCD 20 & 21) for Fitzroy residents in the ED of Broome, Derby and Halls Creek Hospitals for the period of October 2006 to September 2008.



3.8 School Engagement and Child Wellbeing

Qualitative Findings

There have been a number of important changes to the Fitzroy Valley District High School in the twelve months post the imposition of the restriction. These have included the shift to new premises and the enlarging of the school region to include the Fitzroy Valley. Enrolments and attendance has increased in line with the 4% to 14% rise reported in the six month evaluation. However, caution has been expressed by educators in directly attributing changes in enrolment and attendance patterns to the restriction alone.

Fitzroy Valley District High School continues to experience relatively poor enrolment and attendance rates compared with the state average. Prior to the imposition of the restriction children were reported to be experiencing trauma, poor health and poor supervision. Access to full-strength take-way alcohol created a culture of at-home, camp, gate and on-country drinking. In almost all instances alcohol associated anti-social behaviour and violence was witnessed by, or experienced by children of the Fitzroy Valley. This behaviour, associated with access to take-away alcohol, was also triggered by deeper problems of poverty, lack of opportunity, general disenfranchisement and community dysfunction. Many respondents stated this situation resulted from decades of poor investment in regional service delivery, non-recognition and support for Indigenous cultural institutions and the nature of Fitzroy Crossing's foundation as a largely refugee population, post the introduction of equal wages on surrounding cattle stations, and the subsequent welfare dependency that took hold in the Fitzroy Valley.

Prior to the restriction children were unable to sleep at night due to the almost constant late-night parties and associated noise from fighting and other anti-social behaviour. Many children would congregate at the Tourist Bureau or light small fires and congregate in small gatherings in the scrub on the edge of Kurnangki and Brooking Channel. Alcohol affected parents within generally alcohol affected households were unable to provide a safe and healthy environment for children. School attendance was not supported and enforced by many parents and those children that did

attend school were disadvantaged by poor sleep, poor nutrition, poor supervision and a general lack of boundaries or responsibility. This created a cumulative effect of trauma in many children resulting in poor attention, behavioural difficulties, learning difficulties and other anti-social behaviour at school.

Since the imposition of the restriction all respondents note that the town is quieter and that children and families in general are able to sleep at night. The occasional late night party is not considered to be as impacting as the constant all-night drinking binges prior to the restriction. Many respondents note that children seem better cared for, cleaner, well fed and are engaged in a wider range of activities with their families. Many respondents have stated that parents are spending more of their income on their children and their families generally and the resultant benefit to children.

Some respondents believe that the imposition of the restriction has not impacted on the problem of children gathering at the Tourist Bureau late at night. These same respondents often comment that children are continuing to be abandoned by parents who drink all day at the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy Lodge, or who travel periodically to Broome, Derby and Halls Creek for access to full-strength take-away alcohol. Such respondents believe that, if the restriction was lifted, these parents would be present to care for their children. This will be discussed further in considering the impact of the restriction on child supervision and mobility. It is a consideration in examining the impact of the restriction on education.

Educators note that enrolments in Fitzroy Valley District School have increased, but this can not only be attributed to the restriction. Respondents note that there is never a single cause for fluctuations in attendance records and there are many other factors affecting enrolments that need to be considered. These include; the completion of the new school, increased focus on education through the Fitzroy Futures Forum, planned investment in new facilities for Fitzroy Valley students and changes to government programs, such as the imposition of income management through the Department of Child Protection.

Since the imposition of the restriction educators report that children do come to school more often, but the social issues that stop Fitzroy children from learning are still there. Some children are attending five days instead of three days (prior to the restriction), but as far as the effect on children's behaviour, there has been no real change. Teachers and parents are liaising more about students and it is possible to find parents at home because they have less access to take-away alcohol and are not drinking at home as often. In some households drinking has decreased from four days per week to two. On Fridays on a fortnightly basis there are a number of people who are travelling to Derby for alcohol, but they're also travelling for food. Sometimes parents are taking their children with them on these trips, which leads to a regular drop in school attendance.

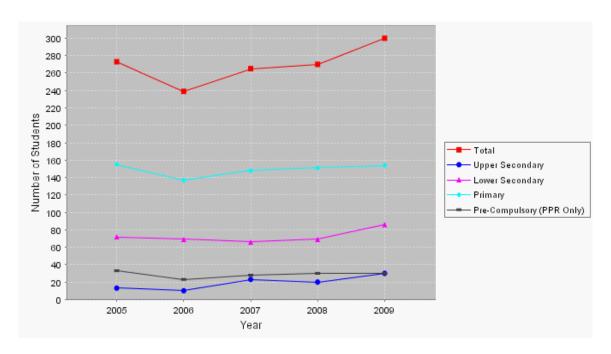
There has been a reduction in the number of emergency lunches provided to students, but these figures fluctuate generally and cannot be directly attributed to the restriction. It does appear that parents are looking after their children more and paying for their children's lunches. Children have generally presented more restful than before the restriction because the town is definitely quieter. However, respondents note that the impact of the restriction on day-to-day business has not been significant and this is because trauma experienced by Fitzroy Valley students is life-long. This trauma may have been reduced because of the alcohol restriction, but it is believed that the damage from poor housing, overcrowding, chronic health issues and continuing violence is going to take longer to resolve and will require concentrated resources.

Respondents also caution that one-off statistics from the school are unreliable in terms of providing an accurate picture of the impacts of the restriction on Fitzroy children. To truly understand the impacts it would be necessary to complete a review of the restriction for a generation because, it is believed, it is not going to be turned around in any less time.

Quantitative Findings

Statistics for school enrolments for the twelve months prior to the imposition in October 2007 (second semester) and twelve months post the restriction to October 2008 (second semester) reveal an overall increase of 2.6% for primary School students and an overall increase of 5.9% for secondary students.

Graph 7. Fitzroy Valley District High School (4149) Student Numbers – Trends – Semester One⁴



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⁴ Fitzroy Valley District High School (4149) Student Numbers - Trends http://www2.eddept.wa.edu.au/schoolprofile/navigation Accessed 23/03/09.

Graph 8. Fitzroy Valley District High School (4149) Student Numbers – Trends – Semester Two⁵

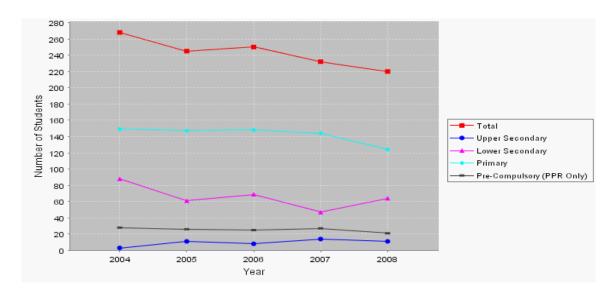


Table 4. Fitzroy Valley District High School (4149) Student Numbers (Series) – Current⁶

Pre-Compulsory	Total		KIN		PPR
Full Time	30				30
Part Time	23	(10)	23	(10)	
Total	53	(10)	23	(10)	30

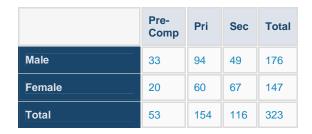
Primary	Total	Y01	Y02	Y03	Y04	Y05	Y06	Y07
Full Time	154	25	25	26	20	25	22	11

Secondary	Total	Y08	Y09	Y10	Y11	Y12	USE
Full Time	116	32	39	15	21	9	
Part Time							
Total	116	32	39	15	21	9	

⁵ Fitzroy Valley District High School (4149) Student Numbers - Trends http://www2.eddept.wa.edu.au/schoolprofile/navigation Accessed 23/03/09

⁶ Fitzroy Valley District High School (4149) Student Numbers - Current http://www2.eddept.wa.edu.au/schoolprofile/navigation Accessed 23/03/09.

School	Total	
Full Time	300	
Part Time	23	(10)
Total	323	(10)



	Pre- Comp	Pri	Sec	Total
Aboriginal	46	145	111	302
Non-Aboriginal	7	9	5	21
Total	53	154	116	323

Primary school attendance rates have increased by 2.6% from 65.2% (2007) to 67.8% (2008). The state average attendance rate was 93.1% (2007) and 92.6% (2008). Secondary school attendance rates have increased by 5.9% from 56.3% (2007) to 62.2% (2008). The state average attendance rate was 88.4% (2007) and 87.6 (2008).

These statistics also reveal a continuing trend of higher school attendance rates in first semester, followed by a significant reduction in school attendance rates for second semester leading up to the Wet Season. This trend is observed in all student cohorts except lower secondary students for whom enrolments increased in second semester. This is most likely due to the fact that, lower secondary students at Fitzroy Valley District High School account for the largest cohort of students with any resultant shifts in population or enrolments having less impact on overall rates of enrolment.

3.9 Fitzroy Crossing Licensed Premises

Qualitative Findings

There are two licensed liquor premises in Fitzroy Crossing, the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge. The Crossing Inn is the only outlet from which take-away alcohol is able to be purchased by the general public and this has been restricted, in essence, to the sale of light-strength beer since October 2007. Both venues also provide accommodation and paying guests are legally able to purchase mid and full-strength alcohol to drink in their rooms.

The introduction of the restriction has resulted in more people drinking at the public bars at the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge and therefore, there has been a reduction in public drunkenness and antisocial behaviour outside the licensed venues. As most consumption now occurs on the licensed premises, being a small and contained location, police are better able to work with the licensees to create safer drinking environments.

The increase in patrons, many of whom have only ever drank either at home or in a uncontrolled public space, has impacted on the licensed venues, requiring the employment of security to manage the increase in 'difficult' patrons. Managing the required shift from a chaotic culture of street drinking, public drunkenness and associated anti-social behaviour, to a culture of drinking in

a responsible manner at licensed premises has required a concerted collaborative effort by Police and managers of licensed premises.

The licensed premises have experienced increased violence towards staff, theft, and violent antisocial behaviour. The licensed premises have responded by creating additional restrictions to the imposed restriction so as to manage (and educate) patrons to ensure responsible drinking is adhered to.

Prior to the restriction

Prior to the restriction the bulk of alcohol consumed in Fitzroy Crossing (86.24%) was through the purchase of take-away alcohol from the Crossing Inn. This resulted in the majority of drinking taking place away from licensed premises. It also created a public and domestic drinking culture leading to increased street drinking, increased public drinking in communities and associated public anti-social behaviour.

Prior to the restriction respondents report Fitzroy Crossing to have been a town in the grip of high levels of alcohol abuse. There were excessively high incidents of alcohol related violence and a drinking culture that revolved around almost constant consumption of take-away alcohol which was almost solely purchased from the take-away outlet at the Crossing Inn.

Alcohol would be consumed in greater amounts with associated anti-social behaviour on fortnightly welfare and CDEP pay weeks. Fortnightly Centrelink payment weeks were considered 'big pay' weeks, with some CDEP workers receiving 'small pays' in intermittent weeks. A pattern of alcohol consumption, mobility to obtain alcohol and resultant street and public drinking formed around these regular income streams. Incidents of domestic violence, serious wounding and general community dysfunction accompanied these drinking cycles.

Drinkers would generally drink for much of the night on Thursdays, Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays with drinking tapering off on Mondays, Tuesday's and Wednesdays until the next influx of income. Drinkers would generally drink all night, playing loud music across communities and the whole town, engaging in violent and noisy brawls and generally disturbing the peace. People from outlying communities and other non-Fitzroy Valley towns and communities would make their way to Fitzroy Crossing to access take-away alcohol, increasing overcrowding in communities. Some people from other communities would stay for short periods of one to three days, where as others engaged in a pattern of living with extended relatives for as long as possible, consuming alcohol regularly and in large quantities and then returning to their own communities some weeks, or even months later.

The town of Fitzroy Crossing was considered to be unsafe compared with other Kimberley towns and was often littered with rubbish and cans from public drinking during the heavy drinking nights. Public drunkenness during the day was very common. Old people complained of constantly being humbugged by drunks and of not being able to get to sleep at night. They also complained of having increased stress and having to take care of a greater number of grandchildren because many alcohol affected parents were incapable of taking care of their children, even though they were living in the same house. The drinking culture that developed largely revolved around particular houses and was strongly associated with gambling, however people also spoke of almost always taking alcohol with them on fishing and hunting trips, as well as having favourite drinking spots, or 'drinking trees' around town that they identified with. The old Fitzroy Crossing bridge was a favourite drinking place and there could be anywhere between 30 and 100 people

spaced along the river in small family groups and drinking groups with children swimming in the river, largely unsupervised.

An average day at the Crossing Inn would begin by opening the doors at 10 am. There would be 50 to 100 people lined up waiting to come in and begin drinking. At 12 pm the take-away window would open and the majority of people would purchase take-away alcohol and disperse to their homes, to drinkers' camps around town, to the river, or to Billabong Park before it was closed. Perhaps 30 people would stay at the Inn and continue to drink on or around the premises at Billabong Park, which was created as a way to manage and contain public drinking. Voluntary restriction imposed by the licensees of the Crossing Inn resulted in Billabong Park closing as a public drinking venue before the imposition of the mandated restriction.

Prior to the current restriction, the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge instigated a number of self-imposed liquor restrictions to manage heavy drinking. The previous restrictions were considered to be quite rigorous when compared with restrictions in place in other parts of WA. Prior to the restriction, respondents noted that the Director of Liquor Licensing was actually praising the restrictions put in place by the Fitzroy Inn and the Lodge and hoping to implement them in other parts of the WA.

Previous restrictions included, late opening, choosing to remove cask-wine, bottled wine, fortified wine and spirits from sale. Mid-strength beer was promoted as a means of reducing people's dependency. There was also a restriction on the number of cartons that people could buy to take-away, with an overall limit of five cartons per car, or one carton per individual. In this way people were being scaled down from wine, which has 12-15% alcohol content to 5 % alcohol content. The mid-strength alcohol content of 3.5% was introduced as a means of reducing people's alcohol intake. However, the level of intoxication and associated problems remained high.

Since the restriction

In seeking to deal with the initial influx of heavy drinkers upon their premises, both the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge have imposed further restrictions on the sale of full and mid-strength alcohol.

These restrictions have been trialled between the two venues with the following final voluntary restrictions being imposed for the past six months. The Crossing in now opens two hours later than before the restriction, at 12 pm. Both venues serve full-strength beer from 12 pm to 3 pm. Light or mid-strength beer is then served from 3 pm to 5 pm. No spirits are sold before 5 pm. Generally, from 5 pm to close (which, post the restriction is generally 8.45 to 9 pm at night) either full or mid-strength beer is available, depending on the behaviour of clients. The 3 pm to 5 pm self imposed restrictions are designed to slow-down drinkers for a few hours to give them a breather. Prior to this self imposed restriction (and after the imposed restriction) the Crossing Inn closed from 3 pm to 5 pm in an attempt to achieve this slow-down. However, it was found that drinkers would simply go to the Fitzroy Lodge, or they would wait until the Inn reopened and would be aggressive toward staff. Remaining open, but on mid or light-strength beer enabled patrons to learn to pace their drinking to some degree.

If clients misbehave or threaten bar-staff, they may find themselves banned from the premises for anywhere from one day to three months. A list was kept behind the bar with the names of individuals who had been banned written for all to see. After a period of time the ban may be lifted and that patron allowed back to use the services of the bar responsibly. If a crowd of individuals became unruly at one of the venues during a period in which full-strength alcohol was being served, the manager informed staff and patrons that only mid-strength or light-strength beer was

available for the remainder of the evening. If a crowd was particularly difficult to manage and had perhaps threatened bar staff, the manager would close the premises early, sometimes as early as 6 pm. Initially, drinkers involved in these situations sought to get around these imposed restrictions by moving from (in most cases) the Crossing Inn to the Lodge. This practice was overcome through collaboration between the two venues to ensure uniformity of management of anti-social behaviour.

The Crossing Inn has also created a member's bar separate to the public bar. Entry for public members requires a refundable fee of \$ 100. This service was created for guests of the Inn, workers and town's people who may not choose to drink in their rooms and may not wish to drink in the public bar because of the general incidents of being humbugged or asked for alcohol or money.

As was the case before the restriction, the Crossing Inn continues to restrict sales of alcohol around certain events as a means of managing public drunkenness and anti-social behaviour. These events include funerals, football and other sporting carnivals and during the annual rodeo. The Crossing Inn has also trialled the sale of food at certain times to coincide with an influx of bonuses or pays when patrons seek to increase their drinking. Restaurant trade at the Crossing Inn has remained constant.

Crossing Inn staff are trained to be vigilant in refusing to serve intoxicated patrons. They are trained to adopt zero tolerance of anti-social behaviour. People generally restrain themselves when warned, but there have been incidents in the past twelve months where Crossing Inn staff have been physically attacked and continue to suffer verbal abuse from angry patrons. If staff observe that a patron is nearing a point of intoxication they will refuse service. Likewise, if they observe a relatively sober individual is feeding drinks to another individual who is not presenting at the bar, staff will collaborate with security to manage the removal of these patrons.

During the twelve months since the imposition of the restriction there has been at least six assaults on security and bar staff involving biting, punching and spitting. Very violent intentions and behaviour are still prevalent, even with these measures being implemented.

Since the imposition of these self imposed restrictions twelve months ago there has been a gradual change in people's behaviour leading to a reduction in violence and anti-social behaviour. The Crossing Inn has worked collaboratively with the Police, who patrol the premises regularly to manage this transition to responsible drinking. The difficulty in the beginning was that many heavy drinkers in Fitzroy Crossing had no comprehension of responsible drinking. Many heavy drinkers have since learned to manage their drinking behaviour inside licensed venues.

The behaviour of patrons post the restriction has affected motel trade as people who once stayed at the Crossing Inn have decided not to because of the increased humbug at the bar. Hotel guests and tourists have indicated they feel intimidated by the presence of a large number of alcohol affected patrons, many of whom may approach them for money or alcohol.

Overall there is increased stress for bar staff due to the unpredictable nature of many of the heavy drinkers who attend the Crossing Inn. Staff may be vigilant in serving only sober patrons, however people may have obtained alcohol elsewhere and can behave erratically when refused service. The general sense from bar staff is that drinkers are tolerating the restriction but that it is costing them a great deal of money and this is causing increased stress on families and individual drinkers.

As stated, prior to the restriction the 86.24% of alcohol that was consumed in Fitzroy Crossing was purchased in the form of relatively cheap take-away cartons of beer at a cost of approximately \$1.40 per can. Drinkers are currently purchasing light-beer, but in dramatically reduced amounts due to preference for full-strength beer. The greatest increase in the purchase of alcohol has been in over the bar sales of full and mid-strength beer as well as ready-to-drink mixers. Most drinkers at the Inn are purchasing full-strength and mid-strength beer which costs between \$5.50 and \$6.00 per can. This represents an increase of \$4.60 per full-strength can of beer, or an increase of approximately 420%.

Respondents noted that, prior to the restriction an average drinker in Fitzroy Crossing may have drank 12 cans of take-away full-strength beer per day. Many drinkers who have been unable to change their drinking habits still drink this amount, but it costs them \$72 per twelve cans, or approximately \$130 per carton, opposed to \$50 per carton before the restriction. For many people the Crossing Inn is the only place they choose to meet. If they have no money, they still go to the Crossing Inn.

Prior to the restrictions the Crossing Inn would provide entertainment in the form of bands, but choose to no longer provide entertainment because of the kinds of patrons who stay at the bar and drink all-day. The Crossing Inn used to attract a varied base of customers, but it is believed many customers who may have drank at the Inn responsibly and enjoyed entertainment are choosing to stay away due to the increase in humbug from heavy drinkers. Respondents believe that the two licensed liquor venues have become the 'pressure point' for heavy drinkers, problem drinkers and associated anti-social behaviour and this has overwhelmed any other activities that they attempt to create to attract other clients because of the resources, such as security, to manage serious drinkers. The Crossing Inn employs 3 to 5 people per night on security at \$25 to \$28 per hour which has a definite impact on the business. It is also very difficult to attract security staff. The Lodge spends approximately \$10,000 per month on security while the Crossing Inn spends approximately \$20,000 per month on security. This is a total of approximately \$30,000 per month, or \$360,000 per annum on security.

At the beginning of the restriction there were regular warnings from Police that infringements would be served if any intoxicated individuals were sold alcohol. Fitzroy Crossing licensed venues are managing a majority of serious drinkers within their client base, disproportionate to other hotels in Western Australia, and work to ensure they comply with liquor licensing regulations. Because drinkers seem unable to control their own drinking the licensed venues have had to play the role of educator as well as vendor.

It has been difficult to attract and retain staff because of these changed conditions. The working environment can be very stressful and it is certainly more stressful than before the restrictions. When interviewing staff they are informed of the special circumstances that exist in Fitzroy Crossing. Some staff have accepted a position, then investigated Fitzroy Crossing and upon seeing how the town is reported in the media, have declined to take up positions.

Quantitative Findings

Since the implementation of the current restriction, the licensee of the Crossing Inn is required to collect and provide a detailed breakdown of alcohol sales. This is not the case for the time prior to the restriction or for the Fitzroy River Lodge. The information provided by the Crossing Inn for the period prior to the restriction and by the Fitzroy River Lodge is based on sales figures kept by the licensee and stock orders of the different alcohol types.

The Crossing Inn provided sales data for the period of January 2008 to September 2008 in the form of litres of alcoholic beverage sold by type (beer, wine and spirits). The Fitzroy River Lodge provided information for the same period in the form of litres of alcohol beverage sold by type (beer, wine and spirits). This information adds to the previous information provided by the licensed venues for the *Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restrictions: October to December 2007 Interim Report.*

In order to show the amounts of pure alcohol (as opposed to the total amount of the beverage) being sold from the venues, the figures provided were converted into pure alcohol amounts using the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) standards.

Table 5: Alcohol by Volume for Beverage Type

Alcohol Type	% Alcohol Volume	Alcohol Type	% Alcohol Volume
Full strength beer	5%	Wine	12.5%
Mid strength beer	3.5%	Spirits	40%
Light strength beer	2.7%	RTDs 7	5%

For example:

Total volume of full strength beer sold = 5,000 litres Pure alcohol sold = $5,000 \times 5\% = 250$ litre of pure alcohol

The Crossing Inn

As expected, there has been a significant decrease in the amount of takeaway alcohol sold through the Crossing Inn. When comparing the period of July 2007 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) with July 2008 to September 2008 (post-restriction) there has been a 91% reduction in the amount of pure takeaway alcohol sold.

⁷ RTDs – Ready to Drink premixed alcoholic beverages.

Table 6: Crossing Inn takeaway liquor sales data (pure alcohol) for the period of July 2007 to September 2008.

Crossing Inn Takeaway Liquor Sales Data – Pure Alcohol							
	3 month period prior to restriction	Restriction in place	Restriction in place	Restriction in place	Restriction in place		
	Jul 07 – Sep 07	Oct 07 – Dec 07	Jan 08 – Mar 08	Apr 08 – Jun 08	Jul 08 – Sep 08		
Full Strength Beer	6685 L	59.65 L	15.9 L	25 L	35.9 L		
Mid Strength Beer	642 L	28.74 L	16.8 L	19 L	10.64 L		
Light Beer	55 L	864.61 L	720.1 L	936.7 L	678.4 L		
Spirits	1044 L	12.80 L	4.4 L	4 L	3.6 L		
RTDs	111 L	1.45 L	5.1 L	2.25 L	4.25 L		
Wine	4 L	0 L	0 L	0 L	0 L		
TOTAL	8541 L	949.25 L	762.3 L	986.95 L	732.79 L		

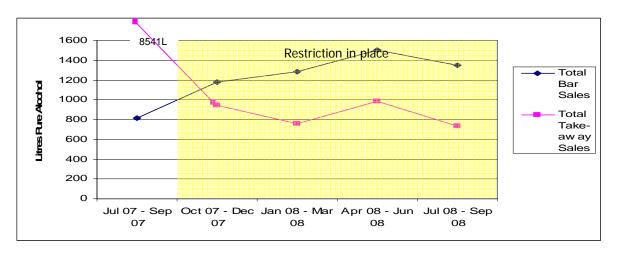
Table 7: Crossing Inn consumption on premises sales data (pure alcohol) for the period of July 2007 to September 2008.

	3 month period	n on Premises S	Restriction in place	Restriction in place	Restriction in place
	prior to restriction	restriction in place	restriction in place	restriction in place	restriction in place
	Jul 07 – Sep 07	Oct 07 – Dec 07	Jan 08 – Mar 08	Apr 08 – Jun 08	Jul 08 – Sep 08
Full Strength Beer	653 L	867.3 L	902 L	1082 L	968.9 L
Mid Strength Beer	65 L	167.9 L	209.3 L	240.7 L	240.3 L
Light Beer	6 L	2.7 L	2 L	10.3 L	2.8 L
Spirits	22 L	14.8 L	8.8 L	9.6 L	11.6 L
RTDs	56 L	116.8 L	154.8 L	132.5 L	96.3 L
Wine	17 L	10.6 L	5.5 L	24.7 L	27.7 L
TOTAL	819 L	1180.1 L	1282.4 L	1499.8 L	1347.6 L

On premises alcohol sales have continued to increase since the introduction of the restriction, peaking during the period of April 2008 to June 2008 at 1499.8L pure alcohol.

- Mid strength beer recorded a 269% increase in on-premise sales (when comparing July 2007 to September 2007 with April 2008 to June 2008). RTDs increased 176% (January 2008 to March 2008), light beer increased 71% (April 2008 to June 2008), full strength beer increased 65% (April 2008 to June 2008) and a 63% in wine sales (July 2008 to September 2008).
- Spirits were the only alcohol that showed a decrease in bar sales for the period of the report.

Graph 9: Crossing Inn total alcohol sales (pure alcohol) for the period of July 2007 to September 2008.



While there has been an increase in the sale of alcohol for on-premise consumption, the decrease in the sale of takeaway alcohol has resulted in an overall decrease in the sale of alcohol from the Crossing Inn during the period of the restriction when compared to the three month period immediately prior to the introduction of the restriction.

- 9,360 litres of pure alcohol July 2007 to September 2007
- 2,129 litres of pure alcohol October 2007 to December 2007
- 2,044 litres of pure alcohol January 2008 to March 2008
- 2,845 litres of pure alcohol April 2008 to June 2008
- 2,079 litres of pure alcohol July 2008 to September 2008

The Fitzroy River Lodge

The data provided by the Fitzroy River Lodge for 2008 includes packaged liquor sales to house guests, which was not available for the *Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restrictions: October to December 2007 Interim Report.* While this information is included in this report it is not compared to any previous data.

Table 8: Fitzroy River Lodge consumption on premises sales data (pure alcohol) for the period of October to December 2006 and October 2007 to September 2008.

	Prior to restriction	Restriction in place	Restriction in place	Restriction in place	Restriction in place
	Oct 06 – Dec 06	Oct 07 – Dec 07	Jan 08 – Mar 08	Apr 08 – Jun 08	Jul 08 – Sep 08
Full Strength Beer	228 L	328 L	190.8 L	275.4 L	393.2 L
Mid Strength Beer	39.9 L	57.4 L	33.4 L	48.2 L	68.8 L
Spirits	176 L	260 L	126.5 L	132.4 L	165.3 L
Wine	100 L	143.7 L	32.4 L	214.7 L	265.2 L
TOTAL	543.9 L	789.1 L	383.1 L	670.7 L	892.5 L

The Fitzroy River Lodge is the largest accommodation provider in Fitzroy Crossing and its patronage is predominately visiting services and tourists. On premise alcohol sales are influenced by seasonal trends with the lowest recorded sales for the Fitzroy River Lodge being January to March for the reported period. Sales figures for the reported period increase at the start of the tourist season, April/May, and peak during July/August.

Table 9: Fitzroy River Lodge takeaway sales data (pure alcohol) for the period of January 2008 to September 2008.

Fitzroy Riv	er Loage Takea	way Sales Data	– Pure Alconoi		
	Prior to restriction	Restriction in place	Restriction in place	Restriction in place	Restriction in place
	Oct 06 – Dec 06	Oct 07 – Dec 07	Jan 08 – Mar 08	Apr 08 – Jun 08	Jul 08 – Sep 08
Full Strength Beer	NA	NA	81.2 L	139.4 L	88.8 L
Mid Strength Beer	NA	NA	14.2 L	24.4 L	15.5 L
Spirits	NA	NA	16.3 L	19 L	14.7 L
Wine	NA	NA	9 L	9.7 L	9.2 L
TOTAL	NA	NA	120.7 L	192.5 L	128.2 L

3.10 Commercial Services

Qualitative Findings

Families who are able to manage their budgets are spending more money on food, clothing and other essential items. Children are seen to have benefited most from this change in purchasing post the restriction. More people are choosing to shop for food and other essential items on a fortnightly basis in Derby and Broome. This change in consumer behaviour has led to a down-turn in business for Taraunda Supermarket, and has caused uncertainty, if not a down-turn in profits, for some other stores selling commodities and other sundry items in Fitzroy Crossing.

There has been some increase in purchasing of food and other items from the two roadhouses in Fitzroy Crossing.

Some Fitzroy residents travel to other towns, primarily Derby, to purchase take-away alcohol and while in Derby complete food and clothing shopping at larger discount stores such as Woolworths, which as seen a significant increase in trade. It has been noted by consumers, drinkers and businesses (outside Fitzroy Crossing) that accessing alcohol is not the sole reason people now shop outside of Fitzroy. All respondents considered Tarunda Supermarket to charge very high prices for food. It was also noted that better quality food was available outside of Fitzroy Crossing. Many respondents noted that they could get 'four bags' of shopping from supermarkets outside of Fitzroy Crossing for the same amount of money that it took to obtain 'two bags' of shopping in Fitzroy Crossing.

There are also people who travel regularly on the 'rabbit run' to Derby to obtain alcohol only. Alcohol venues in Derby and Broome report people buying as much alcohol and cigarettes as possible until all funds are expended from the key cards that are being used to purchase alcohol.⁸

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⁸ Note: some people have been reported to give their key cards and pin numbers to individuals travelling to Derby to purchase alcohol.

Tarunda Supermarket

Respondents generally note that the prices at Tarunda are too high compared to other regional shopping centres in the Kimberley. As with the six month restriction, respondents have stated that they believe that Tarunda (which is a business within the Leedal Group of businesses in Fitzroy Crossing. Leedal is also the major shareholder in the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy River Lodge,) raised their prices to account for the drop in revenue due to the decrease in sales of take-away alcohol. In respect to these concerns, pricing at Tarunda supermarket was reviewed by the Consumer Protection Authority along with many other Kimberley businesses as part of a regional review in 2008 and its pricing was found not to have risen beyond what could be expected through the Consumer Pricing Index rates.

Tarunda staff observed that many people who were regular customers prior to the restriction are now completing their shopping at other regional centres, mostly Derby and Broome. This has impacted on Tarunda causing a downturn of 15% to 18% on business figures prior to the restriction with an overall downturn across the supermarket and the caravan park of 18% to 25%. This downturn is described as being gradual, and has led to a reduction in staff from 19 people before the restriction to 9 staff members twelve months after the restriction. This reduction in jobs (mostly part-time) has reduced employment opportunities for young people in the town.

Beyond the immediate impact of the restriction in terms of sales, the wider impact of the restriction has been described by many businesses as causing 'uncertainty.' This has in turn increased stress levels and with reduced sales in some businesses, owners and staff have had to increase workloads to cope with the reduced resources and income. There is still anti-social behaviour taking place at the supermarket and young people are still on the streets at night. Although the levels of juvenile crime have reduced, without adequate supervision of young people and the provision of other diversionary activities, businesses such as Tarunda still consider it necessary to continue to employ security and to monitor their premises to protect against theft and vandalism.

Many respondents acknowledged that they were choosing to complete their fortnightly shopping at Derby or Broome as opposed to Fitzroy Crossing. Most noted that the initial reason for travelling to Derby, in particular, was to obtain full-strength take-away alcohol that could be consumed in their homes. However, most also stated that, while this was the initial reason, the financial benefits and the increased choice of, and quality of produce was now their principle reason for travelling to other towns to shop.

Woolworths in Derby reported an approximate 10% increase in sales post the restriction tied to the increase in Fitzroy residents choosing to travel to Derby to shop. While, initially, most were mainly purchasing alcohol, increasingly Fitzroy clients were predominantly purchasing food and other items. It was common for Fitzroy shoppers to bring their children and for an entire family to be participating in the weekly grocery shop.

Overall the impact of the restriction on Tarunda has been in reduced revenues tied to Fitzroy residents travelling to other towns to purchase alcohol, and while in those towns, purchasing other items. All respondents also noted that high prices at Tarunda were a disincentive to shop there. Some respondents spoke of wanting to support local business, but simply being unable to afford to shop at Tarunda. Many choose to buy essential items from Tarunda to supplement the main fortnightly shop in Derby or Broome.

Quantitative Findings

The Tarunda Supermarket provided sales data for the period of January 2008 to September 2008 by month and separated into major item categories. This information adds to the previous information provided by the licensed venues for the *Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restrictions: October to December 2007 Interim Report*, and the *Fitzroy Valley Liquor Restriction Report 2008*.

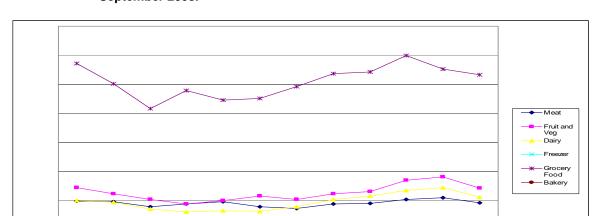
The dollar values reported in the graph below is the monthly total of meat, fruit and veg, dairy, freezer, grocery foods and bakery.

Graph 10: Tarunda Supermarket total sales figures for the period of July 2007 to September 2008



The data provided allows for comparison between the months of July 2007 and July 2008, August 2007 and August 2008 and September 2007 and September 2008.

- For the month of July there was an 8% increase in total sales post-restriction.
- For the month of August there was a 14% decrease in total sales post-restriction.
- For the month of September there was a 1% decrease in total sales post-restriction.



Graph 11: Tarunda Supermarket sales figures by department for the period of October 2007 to September 2008.

It is possible to see a seasonal trend developing in the sales data, with sales figures dropping over the November to January/February and then steadily increasing as the tourist/Dry Season starts.

Individual category sales figures follow a common pattern, with lowest sales figures recorded during December and January and the highest recorded during the peak tourist/Dry Season months July and August.

3.11 Fitzroy Crossing Resident Mobility

Qualitative Findings

All respondents commented on the perceived impacts of the restriction on the population and mobility of Fitzroy Crossing residents. These views differed greatly across a range of respondents in the community; from those who believed that, 'up to 700 people have left town,' to those who believed that, 'some people have left town, but hardly any, maybe 20.' All respondents agreed that one of the impacts of the restriction was to cause a number of local people to leave Fitzroy Crossing to obtain alcohol in Broome, Derby and Halls Creek.

The debate about mobility and population centres on exactly how many people have left town, whether they have left town permanently, or only do so for periods of time. Some respondents noted that the restriction had increased the movement of people from Fitzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley, but that this movement had always been a factor in people's lives and, as such, the impact of the restriction could only be seen as minimal. The general agreement, across a range of respondents, is a decrease in the number of people now living in Fitzroy Crossing. The unanimous acceptance that the town of Fitzroy Crossing is 'quieter' since the imposition of the restrictions is often explained solely in terms of a reduction in the number of residents, overlooking impacts of changed drinking patterns, reduced consumption, changed policing practices and changed community expectations. However, in examining the impact of alcohol restrictions on population, migration and mobility in isolation from these other influences, respondent explanations for the shifts in population and increased mobility fall into two distinct groups.

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- 1. Those who believe there is a large and permanent exodus of people to other Kimberley towns for the sole reason to obtain full-strength alcohol.
- 2. Those who believe a comparatively small number of residents have left to go to other Kimberley towns, but many have moved back to their home communities, and also participate in increased movement between Fitzroy, home communities and other towns for many different motives including access to full-strength alcohol (the rabbit run).

'A minority believe there has been a mass exodus due to the restriction'

Those who believe there has been a 'mass exodus' suggest that the restriction of the purchase of take-away alcohol has led to a large and mostly permanent transfer of residents from Fitzroy Crossing to other Kimberley towns; principally Broome, Derby and Halls Creek.

The figures reported range from 20 people to 700. The estimated population of the town of Fitzroy Crossing if approximately 1500 people. This mass exodus is seen to have caused the following impacts.

- Broome, Derby and Halls Creek are being beset with a dramatic increase of itinerant and homeless drinkers.
- Associated anti-social behaviour is having detrimental effects on these towns reflected by increased criminal and violent behaviour.
- Children of these individuals are being left behind in Fitzroy Crossing to be cared for by elderly grandparents or extended family members without due regard for support.
- Houses within Fitzroy Crossing are vacant due to this exodus.
- This reduction in population has impacted negatively on the economy of the town of Fitzroy Crossing, in particular on the liquor outlets, the supermarket, transport services and merchandise vendors.

This model is not supported by other available evidence in the form of hospital admissions, CDEP placement or housing vacancy.

'A majority believe most people travel for many reasons; not just for 'grog"

Those who believe that people travel for many reasons suggest that mobility has increased since the imposition of the restriction, but that this increased movement has not necessarily led to a massive exodus to other Kimberley towns. This model accepts that some individuals (heavy drinkers) have left Fitzroy Crossing for other Kimberley towns for extended periods, but that the number of people involved is far less than speculated by the mass exodus model, and that the number of people moving to other towns is in the vicinity of 150 to 200 people.

This model also notes that many of those who may have left Fitzroy Crossing were people who were not originally from Fitzroy Crossing, but were people who married in to the Fitzroy Crossing community, or were living in Fitzroy Crossing because of the easy access to alcohol that characterised the town before the restriction was imposed. The multiple motive model acknowledges that there has been a reduction in the number of people living in Fitzroy Crossing, but that where people have left Fitzroy Crossing, the larger proportion of those who have left Fitzroy have moved back to their original out-lying home communities, rather than to other Kimberley towns.

More importantly, the multiple motive model suggests that the increased mobility may have been catalysed by the instigation of the alcohol restriction, with people travelling to Broome and Derby to legally purchase full-strength take-away alcohol, but that this is no longer the sole reason for continuing mobility. As people have pooled resources to travel to other towns for alcohol, they

have also noticed other benefits, such as reduced food prices, better quality food, better access to services and cheaper and greater variety of merchandise. In essence, increased mobility is a consequence of community members becoming better informed consumers who have responded to the higher cost of living in Fitzroy Crossing by choosing to purchase from competing commercial operators.

This movement is seen as being regular, constant and characterised by:

- between 150 and 200 people moving permanently to other towns to access full-strength take-away alcohol;
- a greater permanent movement of residents from Fitzroy Crossing back to their home remote communities;
- a decrease in pressures created by over-populated housing in Fitzroy Crossing;
- greater movement of Fitzroy residents and the pooling of resources to travel between towns and communities to legally purchase full-strength take-way alcohol to bring back to Fitzroy Crossing for personal consumption;
- the additional incentive of obtaining cheaper food, merchandise and services in other towns; and
- an increase in vehicle purchases to enable this movement to access other services.

This model is supported by the lack of evidence of increased hospital admissions of Fitzroy residents in other towns, continuing participation of Fitzroy residents in local CDEP programs and anecdotal evidence of Indigenous community members in Fitzroy Crossing.

Other Factors Affecting Movement

Some community members have expressed concerns that this increased mobility has increased the potential for road crashes. However, Police indicate no increase in road crashes tied to alcohol for the twelve months since the restrictions. Similarly, there has been a decrease in the rate of alcohol-affected drivers being detected despite an increase in random breath testing.

As of March 2009, the Department of Child Protection (DPC) is able to income manage welfare recipients who present within their case-load. It is envisaged that a number of community members who have relocated from Fitzroy Crossing to other towns in the Kimberley to access full-strength take-away alcohol, and have left children in the care of grandparents and other relatives, will have associated child payments removed from their welfare allocation. It is thought that should this happen, it will cause a return of these individuals to Fitzroy Crossing. It has been noted that some grandparents may not seek to have these payments re-allocated as they do not wish some of these problem drinkers to return and the resultant anti-social behaviour and disruption to their children's lives.

It was also noted that many Kimberley residents with an alcohol dependency travel regularly to access alcohol, to periodically access shelter with relatives (until asked to leave) and to access rehabilitation and detoxification services. In this regard the restrictions have catalysed increased movement of such residents, but are not the sole reason why community members relocate to other towns.

Bus Ticket Purchases

The Fitzroy Crossing Tourist Bureau reports no significant increase in movement for the twelve months post the restriction. The six month evaluation examined the purchase of bus tickets through the Tourist Bureau at Fitzroy Crossing as a means of measuring movements of Fitzroy residents post the restriction. The six month review revealed no significant variation in the

purchase of greyhound bus tickets on previous years that could be attributed to the imposition of the restriction.

The release of the two Federal Government Stimulus Packages in December 2008 and March 2009 led to a noticeable increase in Fitzroy residents travelling to other towns, principally Broome, but also Derby, Halls Creek and Port Hedland. These people largely travelled as families and were clearly doing so due to the opportunity provided by the stimulus package, with no similar spikes in ticket purchases observed to be due to the imposition of the restriction.

The Rabbit Run

Most respondents noted the increase in movement of Fitzroy residents to Derby and other towns on a fortnightly, and sometimes, weekly basis, to purchase full-strength take-away alcohol. As previously discussed, this practice is known in Fitzroy Crossing as the 'rabbit run.' Many respondents engaged in this practice, travelling regularly on Thursday afternoon, or Friday, principally to Derby. The exact numbers of people who travel regularly is unclear. However, it is responsible for an overall 10% increase in revenue at Woolworths in Derby. This practice has also increased general business at the Colac Roadhouse in Derby where many Fitzroy residents purchase fuel and food for their return journey.

Reviewing a range of responses from respondents reveals the following practice and impacts of the rabbit run.

- People who are aware of family members travelling to Derby and Broome on pay week give them money (or key cards) and orders, largely for take-away full-strength alcohol.
 This tends to be close and immediate family members.
- Some people will pool resources, chucking in money to cover fuel and travel as a group to Derby and Broome to purchase their alcohol and their stores.
- People who are unable to travel to Broome or Derby and are unable to get a relative to
 purchase alcohol for them will watch to see which cars are leaving town on pay day. They
 will then wait for that car to return, expecting it to have alcohol, or they will visit the house
 of the driver some time later to request alcohol (and some people are engaged in lazy sly
 grogging, selling on extra cans to these people at inflated prices).

The majority of Fitzroy residents who travel to Derby and Broome do so within the same day. They leave early, sometimes taking children out of school for the trip. Once they have made their purchases they return to Fitzroy Crossing on the same day, usually a Friday. Businesses at Derby have noted that these Fitzroy residents do not impact in any way on other town services, other than to increase revenue through the sale of alcohol, food and other items and increased traffic on the roads.

A minority of Fitzroy and Fitzroy Valley residents travel for the sole reason to purchase full-strength take-away alcohol. These residents tend to stay in Derby for longer periods, usually one, but perhaps two nights. They engage in drinking as soon as they are able, either at houses of family or friends in the 'back blocks' of Derby, or at various small drinking camp spots, such as Jealousy Creek on the marsh or toward the Derby Jetty. These drinkers have impacted on Derby in terms of increased violence and anti-social behaviour, increased public drunken behaviour, increased litter and increased crime. Derby Police note that the increase is observable on pay-weeks, that there is definitely an increase in Fitzroy residents being warned, arrested, or locked up for public drinking. This increase is directly impacting on Police work loads. However, Police state that they are absorbing the increased work load and consider the impact to be worthwhile because of the long-term benefits of reduced drinking for the majority of Fitzroy residents. The increase in Fitzroy

residence in Derby has not translated to a significant increase in attendances at the Derby Sobering-Up Centre.

The increase in revenue at the Colac Roadhouse in Derby is in the vicinity of 20%. However, there has also been an increase in the incidents of fuel theft with Fitzroy residents largely being responsible. These people travel from Fitzroy, spend all their money on alcohol and then have no funds to pay for fuel for the return journey, and so have taken to attempting to steal fuel.

For those Fitzroy residents who stay overnight, they will often congregate at the Colac roadhouse in the morning before it opens. These mornings have been referred to as 'feral Fridays' and 'sleazy Saturdays' where, for the first two hours of operation, alcohol affected Fitzroy residents swamp the roadhouse, then quickly leave town for Fitzroy Crossing. Lemonade, to go with chardonnay, is a favourite purchase. More staff have been employed to cope with the increase in patrons as well as the increase in anti-social behaviour. People have attempted to break into the roadhouse and incidents of damage to vehicles and other property has occurred.

Halls Creek businesses report minimal impact of Fitzroy Crossing residents in terms of increased trade, purchasing of alcohol or impacts on drug and alcohol services.

Remote Communities

There were conflicting views from a number of respondents who engage with remote communities through service delivery. Some service delivery organisations noted a difficulty in accessing community members, which they attributed to the alcohol restriction and associated movement of people to other towns. Some service delivery organisations recorded the opposite, stating that it was easier to access clients because they were more sober and many were remaining in their communities as opposed to staying in Fitzroy Crossing for extended periods as was the case before the restriction.

Leaders in remote communities recorded no direct impact of the alcohol restriction on their community populations. Many noted an increase in people returning for greater periods of time. Those that did return were considered to be more useful members of the community than before the restriction was imposed because they were now sober enough to present for work on CDEP which resulted in communities being cleaner and more work being done by residents. Some leaders of communities between Fitzroy and Derby noted an increase in humbugging from people who run out of fuel between the two towns and visit the community asking for food and fuel. Others have noted that their young people now regularly travel to Fitzroy Crossing on Tuesdays and stay in Fitzroy until after pay-day, returning on weekends after spending the week in town drinking at the pub.

Gate Drinking

All communities noted that 'gate drinking' had not been greatly affected by the imposition of the restriction.

Gate drinking was still prevalent outside communities to the same extent it had been before the restriction. Those people who had previously travelled to Fitzroy Crossing to obtain alcohol, then returned to areas outside the community gate to drink continued to do so by purchasing alcohol from Derby, Broome or Halls Creek. Some respondents noticed an increase in litter by the side of the road indicating drinking camps, but this was common before the restriction.

General Mobility Findings

Overall the restriction has increased mobility of Fitzroy residents. Fitzroy residents have always engaged in movement between towns and communities. Some Fitzroy residents, perhaps 150 to 200 at most, have relocated to other towns, principally Broome and Derby, with some relocating to Halls Creek. Some of these people had initial stronger ties to these towns, but with the imposition of the restriction, chose to leave Fitzroy Crossing. However, of this group of heavy drinkers who have moved to other towns, many have not completely severed all ties with Fitzroy Crossing and periodically return for family, cultural and financial reasons. As noted previously, the largest impact on mobility of Fitzroy residents has been in the form of the 'rabbit run' between Fitzroy Crossing, Derby and Broome. Such movement was common before the restriction, but was not as organised or as regular as is now the case.

3.12 Sobering Up Centres

Qualitative Findings

No significant impact has been made by Fitzroy residents on other towns Sobering-Up Centres. The Derby Sobering-Up Centre and Numbad Patrol reported no obvious impact on their service. It was noted that Fitzroy residents had always come to Derby, and that this was particularly the case during the Wet Season, when Fitzroy residents stay with extended family members. The Numbad Patrol in Derby picks up between 50 and 60 people per night with up to 200 people receiving support on heavy nights. The sobering up shelter houses between 22 and 23 people per night. The Derby Men's Centre, which operates a day-centre for men in need of basic services receives approximately 14 to 20 people per day, mostly regulars, services approximately 300 individual people for the entire year. When the restriction first came into being there were a 'big mob' of Fitzroy residents who came through Derby (between 30 and 40), but this very quickly dissipated as people moved on to Broome or back to Fitzroy or their communities. There has not been a flood of people from Fitzroy Crossing.

Halls Creek's Jungarni Jutiya Alcohol Centre noted no impact from Fitzroy residents on their service. It was also noted that it did not appear that Fitzroy Crossing people were relocating to Halls Creek. A number of families were observed to have returned to Halls Creek as they were Halls Creek families that had shifted to Fitzroy Crossing or were married in to Fitzroy Crossing residents.

The Broome Sobering-Up Centre reported no significant increase or decrease in Fitzroy Crossing residents presenting to use their services in the twelve months since the imposition of the restriction.

Quantitative Findings

Sobering-Up Centres (SUC) in the Kimberley towns of Broome, Derby and Halls Creek provided admission data for the period of January 2008 to September 2008 by monthly totals. This information adds to the previous information provided for the *Fitzroy Crossing Liquor Restrictions:* October to December 2007 Interim Report. The Fitzroy Crossing SUC ceased operating as a SUC in early March 2007.

Graph 12: Sobering-Up Centre Admissions for Broome, Derby and Halls Creek for the period of October 2006 to September 2008.



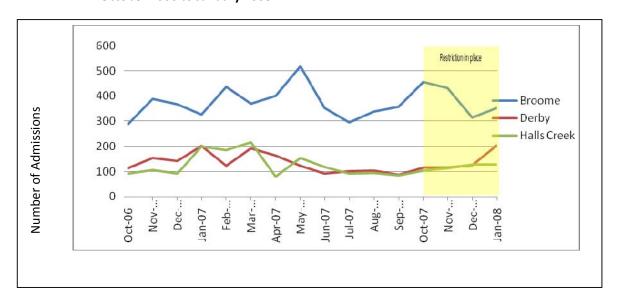
There has not been a discernable increase or decrease in sobering-up centre presentations for the towns of Broome, Derby and Halls Creek when comparing the periods of October 2006 to September 2007 (pre-restriction) with October 2007 to September 2008 (post-restriction). When comparing these periods:

- Broome SUC recorded 6% less presentations;
- · Derby SUC recorded 7% more presentations; and
- Halls Creek recorded 0.3% less presentations.

The information provided does not identify the place of residence for people using the service. However, managers from each of the SUC reported that they had not seen a notable decrease or increase in Fitzroy Crossing residents using the services since the implementation of the restrictions.

- The SUC admissions for Derby and Halls Creek increased slightly each month for the period of October 2007 to December 2007, while figures for Broome SUC decreased over the same time period. Between December 2007 and January 2008 both Broome and Derby have shown substantial increases.
- Derby and Halls Creek SUC have reported no significant increase in the number of Fitzroy Crossing residents presenting at their shelter, whilst Broome SUC have reported 16% of their total December 2007 to January 2007 intakes are attributed to Fitzroy Crossing residents.

Graph 13: Sobering-Up Centre Admissions for Broome, Derby and Halls Creek for the period of October 2006 to January 2008.



4. Findings Part B – Qualitative Data Analysis and Findings for Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley communities and Broome, Derby and Halls Creek, in relation to the effects of alcohol use before and after the introduction of the restriction.

4.1 Introduction

The six month evaluation utilised two questionnaires:

- Individuals: and
- Service Providers and Businesses.

Three separate questionnaires were utilised to obtain qualitative data for the twelve month review:

- Individuals;
- Service Providers; and
- Businesses.

The reason for separating the questionnaires for service providers and businesses was to ask further specific questions relating to the potential impact of the restriction on businesses, including considerations of financial and other impacts. The twelve month review also asked a further three questions that were not posed in the six month review. These new questions were posed in response to community feedback and focussed on potential impacts of the restriction on individuals and businesses.

4.2 Service Provider Questionnaire Analysis

4.2.1 Service Provider Question One: Please describe the role that your organisation provides to the people of Fitzroy Crossing, and/ or Fitzroy Valley.

A total of 50 service providers across 18 service provider agencies were interviewed in Fitzroy Crossing. Services provided by these agencies include:

- pre-primary, primary and secondary education to children of the Fitzroy Valley;
- law enforcement and community policing;
- the delivery of emergency services, patient and out-patient health care;
- · the delivery of community health education programs;
- the delivery of community clinic based health care;
- the delivery of cultural health programs focusing on spiritual health, nutrition, sexually transmitted diseases, and child and adolescent health care;
- · mental health services;
- · drug and alcohol counselling;
- youth support programs;
- · sport and recreation programs;

- housing provision and maintenance;
- · remote community assistance;
- · corporate community management services;
- CDEP management and development;
- cultural maintenance and advocacy for Cultural Bosses;
- · women's support services and refuge;
- · legal advice and support;
- looking after old people;
- family support and child safety advocacy;
- · money management and employment services; and
- adult education and community education outreach services.

Of these 18 organisations, 6 organisations were engaged in the delivery of alcohol related programs ranging from:

- alcohol assessments and referral processes toward detoxification (detox) and rehabilitation;
- · alcohol and other drug education programs; and
- alcohol education programs; to
- enforcement of laws related to alcohol consumption.

4.2.2 Question Two: Are you aware of the current restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing in relation to take-away alcohol sales? If so, what are they?

All respondents reported that they were aware of the restriction.

Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction all 50 respondents accurately described the terms of the restriction. Over 80% of respondents referred to people only being able to purchase light-strength beer as take-away alcohol. Approximately 10% of respondents were able to quote the restriction as being the inability to purchase take-away alcohol beverages with an excess of 2.7% alcohol content. One respondent noted the additional qualification of the restriction being for 2.7% alcohol at 20 degrees Celsius.

Knowledge of the terms and conditions of the restriction has remained high amongst service providers.

4.2.3.1 Question Three: In what way has the sale and purchase of alcohol been restricted in Fitzroy Crossing at the present time?

This question was asked in addition to question two so as to ascertain whether people were aware that the sale of alcohol (including over the bar sales) was being restricted beyond the restriction applied by the Liquor Licensing Authority on take-away alcohol.

Service providers were generally more aware of other restrictions that had been imposed by the managers of the two licensed liquor outlets in Fitzroy Crossing. This was partly due to personal experience, but mostly due to word of mouth and impact on clients.

Responses varied from those who accepted the restriction was indefinite, to those who believed there would be a time in the future when the restriction would change. Responses included:

no idea of any other restrictions on obtaining alcohol in Fitzroy Crossing;

- management imposed bans on individuals who exhibit anti-social behaviour at the licensed venues;
- individuals restricting (reducing) their own alcohol intake through being more aware of the impacts of alcohol;
- the licensed venues voluntarily restricting alcohol by opening at 12 pm and serving;
 - full-strength beer from 12 pm to 3 pm,
 - mid-strength beer (or full-strength beer) from 3 pm to 5 pm,
 - full-strength alcohol from 5 pm to closing (usually 8 pm 9 pm),
 - restricting alcohol sales to mid or light strength, or closing the venues all together at various times such as during funerals, cultural and sporting festivals, or during floods when patrons may come to harm attempting to cross flood ways.
- police being more vigilant in stopping cars with large quantities of alcohol and confiscating alcohol while they enquire whether it was for the purpose of sly grog sale; and
- police regularly visiting the licensed venues and patrolling the streets, which has reduced drink driving and public drinking.

4.2.4 Question Four: When did the restriction commence and when will it finish?

When did it commence?

Twelve months after the restriction, service provider respondents estimated the restriction to have begun:

- March 2007 (approximately 2 years ago) [3 respondents];
- June 2007 (approximately 18 months earlier) [4 respondents];
- October 2007 (approximately 12 months earlier) [42 respondents]; and
- Early 2008 (approximately 10 months earlier) [1 respondent].

Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction majority of respondents (84%) were aware of the commencement date, a reduction from the six month review in which almost all respondents (95%) were aware of the commencement date.

When will it end?

Twelve months after the imposition of the restriction most service providers considered the restriction to be imposed indefinitely. People responded in a manner that indicated both their knowledge, but also in some cases, their preference, in regard to when the restriction should, could, or would be lifted. Such responses also represented individual desires about when the restriction would be lifted, or whether it should simply remain indefinite:

- 'I think it is here to stay until the final review is done as to whether 'it will get lifted again,'
- 'it is ongoing. It is open ended,'
- 'Indefinitely,' [most respondents],
- 'two years to March 2010,'
- 'depends on the Liquor Licensing mob,'
- 'I believe it will stay in place,'
- 'It will be reviewed annually, but it is in place permanently,'
- 'in 50 years time, or never. We've all seen the loss of grog. It is a lived experience,' and
- 'the Director of Liquor Licensing has said that he has a statutory responsibility and will act irrespective of politicians decisions.'

4.2.5 Question Four: How did you find out about the restriction?

Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction most service providers stated that they found out about the restriction through being involved in community meetings and also through the media. Responses included:

- 'through the Women's Resource Centre,'
- 'through the media,'
- 'through word of mouth,'
- 'working with the community and being part of the community. It began from the Women's resource meeting at Mingalkala in Gooniyand Country,'
- 'through email from colleagues,'
- 'at interview for a job, and it was what swayed my choice to take the job,'
- "through family,"
- 'the authorities negotiated with community organisations to create the action, and
- 'everyone was discussing it.'

Most respondents spoke of finding out through word of mouth and then having the details of the restriction formally acknowledged through the media.

4.2.6 Question Five: Do you know who imposed the restriction?

Many of the respondents correctly identified the Liquor Licensing Authority as the body responsible for imposing the restriction. Some respondents identified the Director of Liquor Licensing, personally, as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Some respondents identified the Women's Resource Centre, or individual staff from the Women's Resource Centre and their supporters, as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Many respondents stated that the restriction was 'initiated' by the Women's Bush Meeting, or the Women's Resource Centre, but was 'imposed' by the Liquor Licensing Authority.

Responses included:

- 'It was proposed by the Women's Resource Centre to the Liquor Licensing Board who imposed the restriction,'
- 'It was instigated by elder Aboriginal women who requested the restriction.'
- 'the liquor Licensing mob imposed them, but we heard about it at the Marniwarntingkura Women's Meeting because there was concern about kids getting left at home, parents drinking, suicide, domestic violence, and failure to thrive. And also, the communities, to stop overcrowding in Fitzroy.
- 'the Women's Group and other leading community members,' and
- 'it started from Marninwarntingkura Women's Bush Meeting in Gooniyand Country. It was the old people who really stood up to put a stop to grog. Old people didn't get sleep and children at night were running around. This is how it started.'

Twelve months after the imposition of the restriction, Eighty percent (80%) of respondents identified the office or the position of the Director of Liquor Licensing as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Approximately Twenty Percent (20%) identified the Women's Resource Centre or Fitzroy Elder women as being responsible.

Six months after the imposition of the restriction, Ninety One percent (91%) of respondents could identify either the office and/or the position of the Director of Liquor Licensing as the authority imposing the restriction.

- 4.2.7 Question Seven: Has the restriction of liquor (alcohol) purchasing in Fitzroy Crossing had any impact on the service that your organisation provides? If you have selected 'yes',
 - (a) In what way(s) have your services been impacted?
 - (b) What effect has this had on the ability of your organisation to provide its specific services to its designated population and clients?
 - (c) Have you any other comments you wish to make?

The following analysis is a summary of information provided by specific service providers. This information has also been drawn on to complete specific analysis of particular issues surrounding health, policing, education and other services in Part A.

Of the fifty service provider respondents interviewed:

- Forty (80%) answered 'yes,'
- Seven (14%) answered 'no.'
- Two (4%) answered 'yes and no,' and
- One (2%) answered 'unable to say.'

Of the Eighty Percent of respondents who found the restriction had an impact on the services that they provided, the impacts ranged from:

- 'being able to spend more time dealing with clients rather than dealing with alcohol
 affected clients who take a great deal of effort but who's problems are not always able to
 be solved due to their inability to communicate or act responsibly,'
- 'the reduction of general and domestic violence enabling service providers to gain traction on key issues such as health, substance abuse, mental health and treatment for chronic conditions,'
- 'a shift in service provision from being responsive to being proactive,'
- 'being able provide a more integrated response through being able to work more effectively with other agencies in dealing with linked issues,'
- 'clients being more direct in seeking help and, or advocacy because they are not intoxicated and have lower levels of stress,'
- 'increased job satisfaction through seeing definite results of work with the community instead of feeling that you are unable to help your clients because,
- reduced general workloads,'
- 'greater self-responsible behaviour amongst clients,'
- 'clients are more aware of what is happening around them and are more likely to turn up for interviews as well as to follow through with actions,
- 'it is easier to attract and retain staff,'
- 'the Law Season has been very successful due to the restriction of alcohol,'
- 'alcohol affected people were once a common reality in the workplace and in public and this is no longer the case,'
- · 'there is greater attendance of clients using services,'
- 'it has made our work much easier.'

- 'changes in kids home life has brought general benefits to the community,' and
- 'it has caused some parents to leave their children with grandparents, which has caused other difficulties as service providers seek to engage elders.'

Of the 14% of respondents who found the restriction had no impact on the services that they provided, comments included:

- 'the same issues that impact on children, such as overcrowding, poor nutrition, poor sleeping patterns, lack of supervision, and other long-term behavioural issues associated with past trauma are still there and will not be immediately affected by the restriction,' and
- 'people will get hold of grog no matter what and we will still have to deal with the same issues.'

Of the 4% of respondents who answered 'yes' and 'no' as to whether the restriction had an impact on the services that they provided, comments included:

- 'Day-to-day business has not been affected because the trauma experienced by many clients is life-long. This trauma may be reduced because of the restriction, but the trauma remains to be dealt with,' and
- 'things have settled down, but the core problems that were at the heart of the matter are still there.'

4.2.8 Question Eight: How has the restriction affected you as a community member in relation to:

- livelihood
- personal health
- lifestyle
- recreation
- access to services

This five part question was not asked at the six month evaluation. It is an additional question that was included in the twelve month review. All respondents across the three respondent groups were asked to answer this question.

The following responses were made by service providers in regard to the impact of the restriction over twelve months on;

Livelihood

Most service providers believed that the restriction had not impacted on their livelihood. Many respondents spoke of the restriction not having an impact on their own livelihood, but qualified this statement with comments about general impacts on the lives of community members. A representative sample of responses to impacts on livelihood is provided below and include:

- 'none'.
- 'we had staff who would drink and not present for work, but since the restrictions they are able to turn up.'
- 'there are cases of people who have decided to give up grog, or drastically reduce their drinking after the restrictions,'
- 'I don't have the same stress of family and others calling us out late at night for emergencies and help,'
- 'Kurnangki no longer rocks and rolls until all hours, or even sunrise, and the quiet; no swearing, no loud music and it is positive because it has reduced stress,'

- 'there is a lot less humbug than there used to be in Fitzroy Crossing.'
- 'some of the mob have stopped drinking all together, or are only drunk once in a while in town.'
- 'because people are healthier we have less stress in our workplace,'
- 'more people are looking for more meaningful work, but there are not enough resources in this area to give people meaningful occupation and work,'
- 'our organisations advocacy work in relation to alcohol management (restriction) has increased dramatically with no extra resources being provided by government,'
- 'because of the restriction, our funding agencies have come to see the essential role we
 play in dealing with core problems in the valley, so we do not have extra resources, but
 we have the confidence of our funding bodies,'
- 'no real impact as I don't care if they have it or not, but for other people it should have had
 more thought into it. They should have eased into it instead of going straight out and
 banning the lot,'
- 'it has saved a lot of money because there is more money for food and other things at the house,' and
- 'my husband drinks, so we have to travel to Derby more often so it is more costly and it has increased the cost of maintenance on the car.'

Personal Health

For service providers the largest impact on personal health was found to be reduced stress levels. This reduction in stress was directly linked to the imposition of the restriction. Key factors in reducing stress were:

- reduced levels of anti-social behaviour and general dysfunction of clients,
- reduced workloads due to fewer difficult and alcohol affected clients, and
- the general reduction in noise and public disturbance in the town due to reduced alcohol abuse.

Some service providers noted an impact on personal health in the form of reduced personal intake of alcohol, but this was a very small group.

A representative sample of responses to impacts on personal health is provided below and includes:

- 'none,'
- 'very little; I am not a heavy drinker,'
- 'no effect. I drink what I have before the restrictions. I purchase alcohol from Derby,'
- 'yes, I don't drink as much because it is simply not there so I don't bother,'
- 'it has reduced my stress levels to some degree,'
- 'no real change. It is healthier for the community though. But, those big-time drinkers are still at the pub drinking every day,'
- 'we have reduced stress. The staff were incredibly stressed and many would leave due to burn-out or drink themselves as a consequence,'
- 'we have more sleep at night,'
- 'safety has increased and we don't feel as threatened,'
- · 'personally, no, but generally people appear more interested in their health,'
- 'people have started to think about their situation and deal with their trauma. This all leads to better physical health,' and

• 'now, I feel so much better than prior to the restriction. It's given us hope. I feel like we're getting somewhere; that we're able to keep having a go. If we can keep the restriction in place, give it time, we might just be able to lift ourselves out of the hole we were in.

Life Style

Service providers often spoke of changes to life styles of clients, rather than their own personal life style. Life style is a fairly general term that was utilised to overlap with other potential personal impacts of the restriction. Predominantly, service providers saw the changes in life style since the imposition of the restriction as positive, leading to reduced ant-social behaviour, increased safety and greater engagement between families. These views ranged from:

- 'none,'
- 'none, I would still travel out of town if alcohol (take-away) was available in Fitzroy Crossing as I always have,'
- 'people are walking around the town more and going fishing more. There are more people getting out of their houses and CDEP is working better,'
- 'I feel more comfortable walking around town because there appears to be fewer drunk people,'
- 'family members are looking after their kids more. They're taking their kids out fishing more and they're drinking less, maybe once a fortnight. They're able to drink on a Friday or Saturday, sober up Sunday and be ready for work,'
- 'people have more money and are able to purchase their own cars. Food is on the increase. People's hygiene is better. People are spending more time hunting and fishing and not just sitting around drinking,'
- 'it has allowed more time with family because of less antisocial behaviour. The 'seriousness' of the workload has been decreased,'
- 'people are drinking in their immediate family groups, rather than in big parties, but other people have started checking from house to house to see if people have grog,'
- 'overall, people are buying more tucker and not caught in grog only. Before, people just drank and thought no one cared about them, but for some the ban made people see what they could do for themselves and they're taking the opportunity to change their lives,'
- 'some children are taking to the streets at night and there is anti-social behaviour, but nowhere near as many as previously,'
- 'it has slowed people down. They're turning up to look for work,'
- 'before, when grog was around, I would join in parties and socialise, but now I have more time to focus on doing other things,' and,
- 'it is easier to sleep. People are not staying up screaming, fighting, breaking things and other anti-social behaviour.'

Recreation

Service providers spoke of changes to recreation generally and recreation of clients. As many associated life style with recreation, they felt that this question had already been answered and stated, 'same as the last question.' The majority of service providers noted the increase in fishing, hunting and family activities in the town and that sporting events were more effective under the restriction. A number of Indigenous respondents noted the increase in the number of Kartiya people walking the streets and exercising early in the morning. The change in atmosphere at the Crossing Inn was noted by a number of respondents as a reason not to participate in this recreation venue. Such observations on the impact of the restriction on recreation included:

- 'none,'
- 'there is no recreation,'

- 'the atmosphere at the Inn has changed and it is no longer attractive as a social venue,'
- 'the increase in drinking at the Lodge and the Inn has made them less enjoyable places to visit. This will change when people learn how to enjoy the environment,'
- 'people with cars are travelling more,'
- · 'people are going fishing more,'
- · "band nights have become more enjoyable,"
- 'last year's football involved more players who were sober and because of the cost of going to the pub people are choosing to go hunting and fishing instead,'
- 'the ban has made football competitions completely dry and now elders monitor the competition with red T-shirts. The issue of 'no drinking' has reached through to young people through sport,'
- 'friends are coming over to visit sober and there is less pressure to drink recreationally,'
- 'people are going out bush more, hunting and fishing and getting away and being with the kids a lot more,'
- 'a basket ball tournament was started up which people have joined into and more activities such as this are needed,'
- 'some people have used the opportunity of a quieter town to increase walking in walking groups and other exercise,'
- 'we've seen more Kartiya on the street walking who never used to because they were afraid or something,'
- 'more people are walking down the river. We used to see drunks by the side of the road, but now we see people heading down the river fishing or visiting family,'
- 'when I had grog, I might stay at home and drink it, but now I go visit my mob more. And that is a change, because your mob aren't drinking so you can visit more easily,'
- 'this year's Garnduwa Festival went really well because of the alcohol restrictions and police checking the cars,' and
- 'young fellas are getting together with younger kids around football now.'

Access to Services

Service providers, as with individuals and businesses, noted no direct impact in the ability to access services, either government, non-government or commercial services in Fitzroy Crossing.

General observations on the impact on access to services included:

- 'No,'
- 'None'
- 'it is too expensive to buy healthy food in Fitzroy Crossing,'
- 'there are not big mobs of drunk people around the super market, but otherwise, no real change.'
- 'it has made it easier to make an appointment at the hospital because they're not busy stitching people up,'
- 'we now have a drug and alcohol counsellor. We need male counsellors as well as access to services for a men's shed.'
- 'we have an OH & S person visiting once a month and other visiting service providers, but these need to be increased,'
- 'with the restrictions having started the needed changes to drinking patterns, it is now necessary to have back up services so people can deal with the core issues that lead them to drink,'

- 'some services are available. There has been no increase in services. The restructuring
 of Nindilingarri drug and alcohol service has been beneficial along with the education and
 early intervention campaigns, but there has been no real increase in access to services,'
- 'the pub is more restricted and controlled. The ban has caused them to take the issue very seriously, including security, drinking management and serving of customers,
- 'the community are complying with these imposed restrictions, but there has been no increase in service and investment for our people,'
- 'there have been a lot of promises, but the government hasn't done anything about organisations in town to run new programs. We had a big media focus and we've done the hard yards and led the way with follow up and support' and
- 'there has been an increase in people presenting for food assistance vouchers. We're already over our budget for the year. We need to put in a submission about prices here so our budget can cover the extra. Prices are a major issue for our clients. Unlike others who can travel for food, our clients have to pay higher prices, so they buy poor food because that is all they can afford; coke, chips and pies.'

4.2.9 Question Nine: Did you support the restriction when first imposed 'Yes' or 'No'? If so/ not, what was the reason?

Of the fifty service provider respondents interviewed across eighteen service provider agencies:

- Forty Two (84%) answered 'yes,'
- Six (12%) answered 'no.'
- One (2%) answered 'yes and no,' and
- One (2%) answered 'unable to comment.'

Of the Eighty Four (84%) of respondents who supported the imposition of the restriction in October 2007, most cited the impact of alcohol on the town in the form domestic violence, hopelessness and general dysfunction as the reason for supporting the imposition of the restriction. The majority of services providers (84%) who supported the restriction did so because they saw a chaotic environment created by anti-social behaviour associated with alcohol consumption.

The minority of service providers (12%) who did not support the restriction when first imposed, largely did so because they felt there was a lack of consultation and because they did not perceive that the restriction on its own was sufficient to properly deal with the problem of alcohol addiction.

Yes

Of the Eighty Four (84%) of service providers who supported the restriction the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

- 'the main reason was how it affected my family and the amount of alcohol they drank and the affect it was having on our people and the violence and abuse in my own personal life.'
- 'the affect of Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) on our grand children and family members.'
- 'The core reason was to change people's behaviours so as to return the town to some sense of safety,'
- 'because the town needed it. It is sad that it had to be imposed, but the evidence has been overwhelmingly beneficial,'
- · 'for the well-being of the community,'
- 'anything that could alleviate the violence was a good idea. It impacted on my decision to come here because the restriction was in place,'

- 'alcohol was killing generations and our culture. We saw the impact it was having on young people. We saw the devastation of what it did at work and what it did to our families,'
- 'the community was killing itself through the consumption of alcohol,'
- 'because I know the damage grog has done to my family and my community and I believe we had to do something,'
- 'you would hear arguments and people would say, 'you only get like this when you're drunk,' and it was clear grog was at the heart of violence toward old people, women and children.'
- 'because it was non-discriminatory. It is not only aimed at Indigenous communities. It is for all the community to benefit from,'
- 'we can see now that this should have been done 10 or 20 years ago. Our old people
 were crying out for our organisations and they made a stand. I support these
 organisations and our old people, but now I want to see government offer us real support,'
- 'for the children to have opportunities,'
- 'we never believed stopping alcohol would stop domestic violence or sexual assault, but it
 would remove the pressure caused by grog and provide a window of opportunity to deal
 with the core issues,'
- `because alcohol is clearly related to all the issues we deal with; neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse. People do things when drunk they wouldn't when sober,'
- 'this was a community in crisis and I began working here to make positive changes for the community and I supported the restrictions as a means of helping change the situation,' and
- 'so Fitzroy could be an ordinary 'normal' town where people had opportunities.'

No

Of the Twelve (12%) of service providers who opposed the restriction the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

- 'It was an imposition on personal choice,'
- 'it seemed as if the entire town was being punished for the behaviour of a few,'
- 'didn't want the trouble; wanted to go with the flow,'
- 'there was nothing in place to accommodate the heavy drinkers,' and
- 'before the restrictions they should have put services such as counselling, mediation and rehabilitation because you just can't stop a drug without support in place.'

4.2.10 Question Ten: Do you support the restriction remaining in place; 'Yes' or 'No'? If so/ not, what was the reason?

Of the fifty service provider respondents interviewed across eighteen service provider agencies:

- Forty Four (88%) answered 'yes,'
- Four (8%) answered 'no.'
- One (2%) answered 'yes and no,' and
- One (2%) answered 'unable to comment.'

Of the Eighty Eight (88%) of respondents who supported restriction remaining in place, most believed that the restriction had not been in place long enough to have an impact. This group believed that the restriction had bought positive benefits in the form of reduced violence, reduced domestic violence, better relationships between families and generally better public health.

The minority of service providers (8%) who did not support the restriction remaining in place believed that the restriction itself was not working without follow up support in the form of increased services and counselling. This group also held a general belief that those core drinkers who were supposed to be the target of the restrictions had not benefited by the imposition of the restriction.

Yes

Of the Eighty Eight (88%) of service providers who supported the restriction remaining in place, the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

- 'so that the community can heal itself and put in place proper programs so we can address these problems and rebuild our community,'
- 'it provides a window of opportunity for other services to move in and address core issues behind substance abuse,'
- 'the benefits are clear,'
- 'purely because it has provided protection for community members; violence has decreased.'
- 'it has strengthened family relationships,'
- 'it decreases domestic violence as well as alcohol related deaths,'
- 'we are on the ground and we can see the difference in community; we see communities taking a greater sense of pride,'
- 'the improvements to the hospital and the community at large are obvious and clearly beneficial.'
- 'it has enabled a break in the cycle of children witnessing drinking and alcohol abuse and this will help to provide alternative role models,'
- 'some young people see this as boring, but once explained to them they see it, but the real issue is that they need more services and opportunity,'
- 'if the full-strength take-away was to come back it would it would be like a bomb hitting Fitzroy. People need more time to deal with their changing behaviour and to learn from the restrictions.'
- 'aggression, domestic violence and other self abuse is the main reason,'
- 'change is slow. There have been significant changes in the last 14 months, but they need to remain in place to reveal the impact as it ripples through the community. It needs to be in place, maybe not forever, but for a long time, maybe 10-15 years or a generation at least so as to understand its impacts,'
- 'because we have to make our future generations have a future,' and
- 'there are figures of 38-40 % of all children in Fitzroy Crossing being affected by Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) not necessarily having FASD, but being affected by those that do. FASD was not a targeted problem, but now that it has been identified it must be addressed.'

No

Of the Eight (8%) of service providers who opposed the restriction continuing, the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

- 'I think they have tarred everyone with the same brush. They said the restrictions were to help the children, but they've not put services in place for counselling and rehabilitation to deal with the problem,'
- 'it is an imposition on people's freedom. Also, people need to be given a chance to be responsible. Put the responsibility in their hands so they can learn to drink responsibly. These people have been treated like little kids their whole lives. They need to have

- responsibility for their own drinking and this means working with them to change their behaviour.'
- 'I want to be able to have a drink at home after work. People have left town to go to other towns with alcohol, and we would rather they stayed in Fitzroy Crossing,' and
- 'because people are travelling and this will cause accidents.'

Questions eleven to fifteen ask respondents to comment on the effects of the restriction from their professional point of view from before the restriction began to twelve months after the restriction. These questions ask respondents to examine the impacts of the restriction as individual professionals on;

- their individual professional service,
- their organisation,
- · the town of Fitzroy Crossing,
- communities, and,
- to people (children and adults).

The following analysis provides a brief over view of responses to each question, followed by a representative sample of comments by respondents where relevant.

- 4.2.11 Question Eleven: From your professional viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation and its service provision before the restriction and after the restriction;
 - to you as an individual professional.

By this point of the survey many service providers felt that they had already adequately answered this question when considering general impacts on services and clients and many simply responded by stating, 'as previously answered.' A large number of respondents spoke of increased job satisfaction due to the ability to deal more effectively with sober clients.

The majority of service providers also spoke of:

- the restriction affecting their workloads, increasing the numbers of people presenting to receive support in a proactive manner, rather than in emergency situations;
- no great change as such post the restriction as the problems they are seeking to help clients deal with are long-term and associated with trauma and cycles of abuse and poverty; and
- the restriction had made their work more effective.
- 4.2.12 Question Twelve: From your professional viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation and its service provision before the restriction and after the restriction;
 - to your organisation.

Most respondents recorded little impact of the restriction on their organisations, citing increased workloads and greater effectiveness, as previously discussed, but seeing no increase in resources or changes to the workplace that could be related directly to the restriction. Both the Fitzroy Valley District High School and Fitzroy Hospital underwent significant improvements in facilities,

resources and staffing during the twelve months since the imposition of the restriction, however these changes were in process for some years.

Hospital staff reported that the key impact that could be directly attributed to the restriction was the ability to attract and retain staff. Community health and cultural health workers noted a greater awareness of the wider impacts of alcohol within their parent organisations and funding agencies which had been the case before the restriction, however, health benefits of the restriction have enabled a greater focus on the health needs of the Fitzroy Valley.

Employment services also noted an increase in awareness of the needs of Fitzroy Valley clients within their organisation and an increase in clients seeking employment. However, this increase in interest was also attributed to Alistair Hope's Inquest into Twenty Two Alcohol Related Deaths in the Kimberley in 2007, and the work of the Fitzroy Futures Forum for a number of years.

4.2.13 Question Thirteen: From your professional viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of the Fitzroy Valley before the restriction and after the restriction;

to the town.

Many respondents commented on the impact of the town as professional service providers. It is also important to note that all service providers interviewed are also members of the community, and as such there was some fluidity between responses as service providers and individuals.

As with other respondent groups, they focused on the reduction in public drunkenness, public and domestic violence and increased use of services by clients who are no longer (or who are less), drunk. All respondents noted that, 'the town is quieter,' whether they supported the imposition of the restriction or not.

Respondent's views are recorded here, as noted, so as to pay respect to the often passionate responses to this question. The range of responses included:

- 'this is now a good bloody town. The town is quieter, but there is a also energy here now, a positive energy again,"
- 'the town is a safer place to live,'
- 'old people are more relaxed,'
- · 'there is less violence,'
- 'suicides are drastically reduced,'
- 'there is less noise, less fighting, less roaming children and more families doing things together,'
- 'there are more Aboriginal people working in town than I have ever seen before,'
- 'it was hard for people to work because it was hard for people to sleep, but they're much healthier now,'
- 'when grog does come in it changes people's attitudes, but it is much better than it was,'
- 'overall people have adapted to the changes and have gone to the bars to drink,'
- 'there are fewer people in town, but they come back regularly,'
- 'we've noticed a lot of young fella's getting work in town,'
- 'some people have left town, but nowhere near as many as you hear people talking about.'
- we still have overcrowding in our communities in Fitzroy and in out laying communities,'

- 'gambling appears to have increased due to people having more money and their being better odds,'
- 'now the alcohol haze is starting to lift we're seeing the ramifications of all of these problems caused by alcohol; our rivers are clean, the rubbish and the litter is not as bad as it was and people are not street drinking.'
- "there are better relations in the town, even though the restrictions have caused divisions,"
- 'businesses complain people are going to other towns and spending money, but that is not true as most of our people don't have cars and so they might go to another town sometimes but not all the time.'
- 'there is less humbug, but this could be due to people leaving town,'
- 'the town's spirit has lifted. The success of recent Law is a clear example. Law and Culture has always been strong in the Fitzroy Valley, but there is a noticeable improvement.'
- 'women are generally proud of what they've done. Men are more engaged now, but they need support.'
- 'crime has been reduced since the ban.'
- 'it is only over school holidays that kids are causing trouble because there is nothing happening in town,'
- 'this is home. We want it to be all it can be,'
- 'the town has been able to have respite so as to rebuild and begin to make positive changes in the community,' and
- 'the town was in a constant state of grief and the restrictions enabled people to begin to deal with that grief rather than be consumed by it.'

4.2.14 Question Fourteen: From your professional viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of the Fitzroy Valley before the restriction and after the restriction;

• to communities.

In considering this question, the majority of service provider respondents noted an improvement in communities within Fitzroy Town and the Fitzroy Valley. The greatest positive impacts were seen to have taken place with the town with less direct impact on remote and regional communities. Some respondents noted that it was more difficult to access people because of their increased mobility. These were services that are tied to housing, infrastructure and welfare. However, all health services noted the opposite, stating that it was in fact easier to access people to deal with their health because they were involved in their communities. Employment and CDEP coordinators in communities noted the benefit of the restriction in increased attendance and effectiveness of CDEP workers.

Respondent comments included:

- · 'no real change,'
- 'a lot of people have moved back to their communities. Junjuwa is not as over populated because people who were from elsewhere have gone home and they're having to restructure their whole community,'
- 'some communities have reported an increase in gate drinking, and others, such as Bayulu, have decreased gate drinking. The same amount of drinking appears to be happening at gates and around remote communities, but it is shifting around,'

- 'Wangkatjunka is now dealing with these issues as is Noonkanbah and Bayulu, through the bi-laws. There are problems at Joy Springs (8 mile) and Bayulu can act up, but there are no great dramas compared to before,'
- 'some communities were concerned about increased movement and potential accidents, but it has not been as people thought it would be,'
- 'the general feel is that people now go back to communities more regularly because there is no grog in town. So they head back on CDEP instead of staying in town,'
- 'we've seen normal movement of people taking holidays, but we've not seen a drop in CDEP participants in our communities and we have a 'no work no pay' rule. Only Centrelink people could have moved to other towns as we'd see the shift.'
- 'now that people are having a breathing space from alcohol they're presenting more regularly for specialist appointments,'
- 'people are travelling more, but are regularly coming back to their communities and there
 is more planning ahead about trips with people presenting to obtain medication ahead of
 time,'
- 'some have moved away from Fitzroy, but they will come back. For those who have moved, there are other reasons too, like access to other services, seeing family or visiting people in prison,'
- 'transport is still a big issue because people have no way of getting around, so they can become stranded in places and have to wait,'
- 'for the first six months of the restriction, Wangkatjunka was the focus of an interagency working group due to crisis in that community and they've made leaps forward. They then put in a Section 175 Restriction, which is essentially a total ban on alcohol, however in September of 2008, over the school holidays, all the teachers houses were trashed, very determinedly. Teachers were offended and community leaders were disheartened. This illustrates that the bans are useful, but not an answer in themself,'
- 'there is a lot of black market alcohol going in to communities ripping people off,' and
- 'communities have become more open to engaging with services. People are happy to receive visitors to deal with services. There is a generally more optimistic attitude.
 People are planning for their future in ways they previously did not.'

4.2.15 Question Fifteen: From your professional viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of the Fitzroy Valley before the restriction and after the restriction;

• to people (adults and children).

Respondent answers were able to be divided into two distinct groups; children and old people.

Children

Service providers found that the majority of children and young people were considered to have benefited directly from the restriction through increased supervision of parents, general better care and nutrition and decreased anti-social behaviour. Respondents noted that there was a dramatic reduction in babies and small children presenting with 'failure to thrive' and that parents were bringing their children into health clinics more regularly being more attentive. This change in parenting was considered to be evident in greater proportion of parents, however, this was not considered to be the case for heavy drinking parents.

Some respondents noted that for parents who are heavy drinkers the restriction had not been beneficial to their children. Unable to access full-strength take-away alcohol, this group of parents were observed to spend all their time drinking at the Crossing Inn and The Fitzroy River Lodge.

Because of the increased price of purchasing alcohol over the counter, they were spending all of their welfare payments at the bar which also caused greater stress in the home. The children were being left with grandparents or aunties for much of the time, increasing pressure on extended family members. Grandparents were approaching services for help, but were reluctant to instigate income management of the parents' welfare payments due to the potential impact of the anger of the parents when their money was curtailed.

It was noted that children still congregated around the Tourist Bureau at night, but the numbers had significantly decreased from the period before the restriction and there was less anti-social behaviour. It was also noted that the age group of children seen congregating outside the Tourist Bureau at night was older than before the restriction, and that these were largely teenagers.

Comments regarding the impact on children included:

- 'there has been a reduction in arguments and younger people are now searching out employment,'
- 'it is still the case that kids do not respect their elders and it seems as if these kids have developed an insular language all their own which makes it hard to communicate with them,'
- 'younger people continue to be disrespectful. They're used to getting something for nothing and so they expect it,'
- 'many young people have grown up with an alcohol related culture and continue with this same approach. There seems to be no education on this issue,'
- 'drinkers used to drop kids with grandparents and go drinking. It still occurs, but not as much as before the restrictions,'
- 'there is more support and greater trust in families. Before the ban, children would band together and move around families till they found somewhere safe to be. Children are now not threatening to harm themselves as often,'
- 'there is increased stress for old people getting stuck with the kids and we can't force people out of town to come back and take care of their kids. A lot of old people don't understand their rights to cut off 'kid money' from absent parents. When told they can get that done, they don't always do it because it causes trouble in the family. Parents may react by coming back and taking their kids to places where they're vulnerable and grandparents don't want this, so they don't act. They then need support to feed all these kids,' and
- 'everything is still the same. The kids that I mind are crying for their mother. Before the
 restrictions their mother would be around town, drinking at the gate or nearby and would
 be around for the kids, now they're gone at the pub or other towns.'

Old People (the elderly)

All respondents noted the positive benefits to old people of the restriction. Old people themselves have spoke glowingly of the restriction because it has enabled them to have a good night's sleep, they have less humbug from younger people and there is much less violence in communities. A number of people noted that old people were worried about the increase in traffic for grog with the 'rabbit run.' A minority of respondents stated that it was worse for old people after the restriction because they had to care for a greater number of children of parents who spent all their time at the pub or travel to other towns to get grog. Overall, most respondents believed that the restrictions were beneficial to elders.

Respondent comments included:

- 'old people are happy. They're not getting assaulted as often or humbugged by young people,'
- 'there has been a reduction in 'granny dumps' where families would bring in an old person
 and say, 'there is something wrong with them,' and once they were checked out and it
 was clear there was nothing wrong, we'd have to care for them for a while until the family
 could be found to take them home. It at least gave old people some sleep and some
 food.'
- 'old people are reluctant to be critical and speak up,'
- 'old people are much happier than they used to be. The ban has improved their relationship to young people because young people are not drinking all the time like they used to.'
- 'we're noticing more people buying food on pay day rather than getting money off old people and going down and buying grog,'
- 'old people who used to drink are not drinking now, or drinking less and they like that light-beer because it puts them to sleep,'

4.2.16 Question sixteen: In what way can you see the restriction has generally changed the community; positively or negatively?

Respondents generally acknowledged that there were a mixture of positive benefits and negative impacts of the restriction for themselves, their service and other groups in Fitzroy Crossing. Respondents therefore tended to break their responses into two groups, positive and negative.

Positive

Positive responses focused on reduced domestic violence, reduced anti-social behaviour. Increased effectiveness of services and the willingness of clients to engage more directly was regarded as a very positive benefit. Overall the positive benefits noticed by service providers were the effects on children being increased parental supervision, increased spending on food and clothing and a generally better health gain.

Positive respondent comments included:

- 'none,'
- 'It has made our community (Fitzroy) a better place to live in. It has started to make the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people talk and making dialogue,'
- 'it is causing people to think about solutions for Fitzroy as a whole town or whole community.'
- 'it is definitely quieter,'
- 'there is less violence, less noise and more people working,'
- 'people are getting used to the change. They're a great mob here in Fitzroy and people know it is for the benefit of the community,'
- 'licensed premises have had to be more aware of their responsibilities. There have always been laws in place regarding serving alcohol, but people are now more aware of their role and are more accountable,'
- 'more people are going to Law now; young people are starting to become more involved in culture now. Before they didn't really care,'
- 'old people are happier, they are mixing with family more,'

- 'we have cleaner people, a cleaner town and no street drunks, there are less parties and less noise.'
- 'there is less humbug and people are turning up for work,'
- 'some people have found the light beer is better for them and their health,'
- 'until people were forced to stop, there was no way they were going to look at themselves,'
- 'the ban has been 100% positive. We support it 100%,' and
- 'kids are having more money spent on them.'

Negative

Negative responses included the increased divisions within the town and the continuing lack of appropriate activities for young people. Many services noted the increase in people travelling to other towns for full-strength alcohol and considered that a negative impact of the restriction could be that governments believe that the problems of the valley have been solved when they have not.

Negative respondent comments included:

- 'none,'
- 'it has, really divided the community with a clear line between those who support the ban and those who are against the ban. It seems a shame they can't move ahead and come up with solutions together,'
- 'binge drinking is still an issue and it could even be that the restriction has encouraged this for some people,'
- 'the animosity toward people who supported the restriction who have had to put up with threats and bad behaviour from those who were against the restriction, but it is changing slowly,'
- 'people are moving away,'
- · 'violence is still continuing,'
- 'people are going to the pub to sit down and have full-strength beer while grandparents are at home minding the kids,'
- 'some of the families where they were leaving kids to be raised by grandparents were at least in the same town, but having moved to other towns they've left their kids to be raised by grandparents who have used up their pension,'
- · 'money is going out of the town,' and
- 'they (the government) never considered the extra resources, such as an increase in Drug and Alcohol workers before this was imposed. There should have been more in place to cope with the impacts of these outcomes.'

4.2.17 Question seventeen: Are there any other comments you would like to make (what do you believe the next steps should be)?

All respondents provided detailed and considered responses to this question. When asked if there were any further comments, people tended to feel that they had already said all there was to say. When asked what the next steps should be, all respondents had definite, considered views as to what needed to be done to deal with issues of alcohol addiction and the resultant impacts in Fitzroy Crossing. All respondents provided these views with regard to the alcohol restriction and resultant impacts over the previous twelve months. All respondents felt that there needed to be more services made available by government agencies to deal with problems of alcohol abuse and core associated problems of lack of self-esteem, lack of educational and employment opportunities and lack of facilities.

Respondent answers were able to be divided into four distinct themes:

- 'Maintaining the restriction', until enough time had passed for people to cope with changes and providing extra resources,
- 'Altering the restriction' to allow for one or two days in which full-strength takeaway alcohol
 was able to be purchased in Fitzroy Crossing, and providing extra resources,
- 'Removing the restriction,' and providing extra resources, under the belief that it had not
 achieved its aims and the town was suffering for the sake of the behaviour or a few who
 needed targeted support, rather than a blanket ban that affected everyone, and
- 'Critical Comments on the complexity of the issue.'

Maintaining the Restriction

The majority of respondents wished for the restrictions to continue, but all called for increased government support for targeted services. The most common recommendation was to increase the number of drug and alcohol counsellors, for there to be male drug and alcohol counsellors, as well as the current single female drug and alcohol counsellor working in Fitzroy Crossing. Services for men, including the implementation of the 'men's shed' as well as safe houses and hostels for children were key issues.

Comments from these respondents included:

- 'All of us have to get on board and deal with these problems, like with the FASD children, we need to have strategies and things in place; training programs, family support and respite,'
- 'alcohol has had so much impact on our community including kinship structures and support networks. There are only a few family members who are providing that kind of support and we need help,'
- 'government agencies have to come good on their promises and assurances. They need
 to recognise they have let the community of Fitzroy Crossing down. They must live up to
 the promises they have made. It is difficult to have credibility and respect of the
 community without action,'
- 'it should be illegal for full-strength take-away across the entire region,'
- 'there needs to be a focus on services for men because most of the drinkers are men,'
- 'we want to work with our young girls to make them aware of the affects of alcohol on their lives,
- 'there needs to be more infrastructure to support follow-up on the issues relating to alcohol.'
- 'there was some consideration that a small amount of take-away full-strength alcohol
 could be re-instated as an incentive for workers, but after seeing the positive benefits for
 the community, ideally, the restrictions need to stay in place,'
- 'I think the restriction should remain in place and there needs to be more alcohol rehab
 services for the Fitzroy Valley and a hostel for kids. This rehab centre needs to be out of
 town so people are away from the problems in Fitzroy. We need more face-to-face
 counsellors, male and female, as we only have one woman and there are cultural issues
 to be considered,' and
- 'there is a need to continue the work in dealing with alcohol addiction in Fitzroy Crossing.
 Follow on is essential to ensure people support the restrictions and take up new
 opportunities provided. Specifically, there needs to be an increase in drug and alcohol
 counselling services, mental health services and social workers. Core issues of increased
 training and education need to be addressed.'

Altering the Restriction

A minority of service providers recommended the altering of the restriction. Those that recommended an alteration sought to have at most one day per week when either full or midstrength take-away alcohol was available to be purchased in Fitzroy Crossing. The reasoning behind this view was that it would stop people from leaving Fitzroy Crossing, it would enable people who were addicted to alcohol to manage their alcohol through tapering off, and it would reduce accidents on the road and impacts on people's meagre budgets through having to travel to other towns.

Respondent views included:

- 'the restrictions have worked and while hard to start with, people have adjusted. Ideally if they allowed restricted times where people can buy mid-strength take-away alcohol that would work.'
- 'people would prefer, instead of cutting it off, straight away, allow buying full-strength on an off-pay week so problem drinkers learn to manage their money around grog and responsible drinkers get to buy local alcohol without having to spend money on a tank of petrol,'
- 'not a full ban, but limited take-away in the off-pay-week. Different people get different pay on different weeks, but this can be worked around,'
- 'the restriction should be modified and have mid-strength take-away alcohol one day per week before pay-day as an example to combat grog running and enable people who are core drinkers to stay in town and taper off,'
- 'they need another general meeting, a town meeting, or to do a survey in a way community have some form of voting, and then this is brought into a larger meeting that everyone's views have contributed to,'
- 'we have not heard from the kids and this needs to happen. You could ask teachers to have kids do an assignment on the impact of grog for them,' and
- 'the men's group needs to go ahead because there needs to be a place for men to discuss these issues, as well as a safe centre for children.'

Removing the Restriction

A very minor number of service provider staff recommended the removal of restrictions. Those that did tended to be younger and held the view that people will drink anyway, so why make it difficult, and also that their own rights had been impinged upon for the sake of a few problem drinkers. Their views included:

- 'the next step should be they can bring the alcohol back in town. People should be able to stay at home and drink instead of going down the pub and having to find a baby sitter,'
- 'bring take-away back. We're making Derby rich. Fitzroy money is going there,' and
- 'Fitzroy Valley Early Employment, Education and Training has now stopped because the Crossing Inn used to fund that tutoring after school.'

Critical Comments on the Complexity of the Issue

All respondents made comments of a general nature about the impacts of the restriction and the future of Fitzroy Crossing and its people. The majority of respondents supported the continuation of the restriction under the belief that enough time had not yet passed to allow people to change their behaviour, which was considered the key issue affecting continued alcohol abuse in Fitzroy Crossing. Many people spoke of the need for increased government services including drug and alcohol counselling.

Divisions within the town and the need to provide avenues for collaboration on this issue, as a town and community issue were highlighted, along with the need to create opportunities for different groups to come together and discuss this issue. The need to develop men's services was very high on the agenda, as well as the need to support Law and culture activities on country. Respondent recommendations and observations included:

- 'there are a multitude of factors beyond the issue of alcohol that affect the current generation of young people. Issues of health, history, western versus Indigenous values, are all factors in determining what is happening to this generation,'
- 'there is a realisation that this is an Indigenous town and therefore, while some have seen this as an indigenous issue only, it is a town issue and requires a community responsibility,'
- 'in a few years, without other support and initiatives, the people will return to how they were because people will find a way,'
- 'education for young adults and kids about alcohol and drugs is essential,'
- 'there needs to be a considered focus on what will be done when and if the restrictions have been lifted. Without changes in behaviour, I suspect, it will just go back to where it was,'
- 'they also have to consider what is happening in other towns so there is a sharing of the issues faced by Fitzroy that are prevalent in other communities,'
- 'the key issue is to provide adequate services for the people who need them,'
- 'service providers, government and non-government, should listen to communities who
 are saying what they need to rebuild in the township and all of the surrounding
 communities. There is not enough support for the Fitzroy Valley to do this on their own.
 They will one day be able to deal with these issues as a region, but the impacts need to
 have outside investment to get to a level where people can cope themselves,'
- 'the men's shed needs to be moving so we can give people something to replace the grog to show them things are changing. The restrictions were a catalyst, but we need to move on these ideas to pick up and give people things to live for,'
- 'there needs to be resources to maintain Law and culture as this is the basis of keeping Aboriginal families and communities together in Fitzroy Crossing,'
- there should be a service on weekends that collects children and families and allows them to go out on country for cultural activities,⁹
- 'government needs to actually listen to local people and respond to the consultation process, and
- 'alcohol excluded Aboriginal engagement in a viable economy and vibrant social and cultural activities. The restriction has helped to return people to a state of normality.
 We've had drinking in our lives for the last 42 years. We need 42 years to overcome the effect of alcohol on our community.'

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⁹ This service already exists. It is provided by the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre, but is drastically under-funded.

4.3 Businesses Qualitative Questionnaire Analysis

4.3.1 Businesses Question One: Please describe your business.

A total of 20 business people across 15 businesses were interviewed in Fitzroy Crossing. Services provided by these businesses include:

- licensed alcohol sales:
- accommodation services;
- general supermarket services;
- mixed retail sales;
- transport services;
- fuel and convenience products services;
- freight and storage services;
- clothing and foot ware retail services;
- automotive services; and
- building and repair services.

Only two businesses were directly affected by the alcohol restriction as licensed premises. All other businesses were interviewed regarding any actual or perceived impact of the restriction on their business, and also their views as townspeople on the affect on the town and themselves personally.

4.3.2 Question Two: Are you aware of the current restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing in relation to take-away alcohol sales? If so, what are they?

All respondents reported that they were aware of the restriction. Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction, 100% of respondents accurately described the terms of the restriction. The six month review found that 95% of business and service provider respondents accurately identified the terms of the restriction. Knowledge of the terms and conditions of the restriction has remained high amongst service providers.

Many business persons wished to make personal statements about the restriction, in addition to stating their awareness of the terms of the restriction. Such comments included that the restriction are:

- 'demeaning,'
- 'harsh,'
- 'fucked,'
- 'it's not stopping the people drinking, it's just costing them twice as much,'
- 'the locals that want beer are driving to Derby and Broome loading up with grog and eventually it is going to kill a car load of them,' and
- 'I can't get the alcohol that I enjoy to drink and neither can my partner get the alcohol that she prefers. It is not available in the town.'

4.3.3 Question Three: In what way has the sale and purchase of alcohol been restricted in Fitzroy Crossing at the present time?

This question was asked in addition to question two so as to ascertain whether people were aware that the sale of alcohol (including over the bar sales) was being restricted beyond the restriction applied by the Liquor Licensing Authority on take-away alcohol.

Business people were aware of other restriction that had been imposed by the managers of the two licensed liquor outlets in Fitzroy Crossing. This was partly due to personal experience, but mostly due to word of mouth amongst the business community. Business people were generally less well informed about the restrictions that had been voluntarily imposed by the two licensed venues in collaboration with the police. Some business people made statements that were completely incorrect in this regard.

Responses included:

- 'you can sit at the bar and drink whatever you like, but when it comes to taking alcohol away you can only get less than 2.7% alcohol,'
- 'at carnivals and events sales are restricted to mid-strength,'
- 'tourists can only buy alcohol to take away if they're staying at the Lodge or the Inn,'
- 'previously, it was not possible to buy full-strength before 5 pm to 6 pm. There were
 restrictions on casks and a vehicle requirement on purchases. There were also
 restrictions during carnivals to mid-strength beer. Now it is possible to buy whatever you
 want at the pub anytime as long as it is at the pub. There is no cooperation,'
- 'they've also restricted drinking hours. You've also got to pay \$ 50 for a carton of low-strength alcohol which is absolute bloody robbery (24 cans per carton),'
- 'if you want to drink, you gotta' catch taxis, but taxis don't run all the time; they don't run at night or on Sundays,'
- 'the Aboriginal community only wanted mid-strength before this ban was put in place, but instead the Sergeant.....has overseen the restriction of everything but light beer,' and
- 'the bar is now open 2 hours later at 12 pm and closes an hour earlier at 8.45 to 9 pm. Take-away alcohol is (sold) as per the restriction. Only mid-strength is sold every day from 3 pm to 5 pm and there are no spirits before 5 pm. The mid-strength rule can also be imposed after 5 pm to 6 pm, or even to the end of trade.'

4.3.4 Question Four: When did the restriction commence and when will it finish?

Business respondents were generally well informed regarding the commencement of the restriction (70%), but significantly less well informed than service providers (84%).

When did it commence?

Twelve months after the restriction, businesses respondents estimated the restriction to have begun:

- March 2007 (approximately 2 years ago) [1 respondent],
- June 2007 (approximately 18 months earlier) [2 respondents],
- September 2007 (approximately 13 months earlier) [1 respondent]
- October 2007 (approximately 12 months earlier) [14 respondents],
- early 2008 (approximately 10 months earlier) [1 respondent], and
- July 2008 (approximately 5 months earlier) [1 respondent].

Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction majority of respondents (70%) were aware of the commencement date, a reduction from the six month review in which almost all respondents (95%) were aware of the commencement date.

When will it end?

Twelve months after the imposition of the restriction most business persons considered the restriction to be imposed indefinitely. People responded in a manner that indicated both their knowledge, but also in some cases, their preference, in regard to when the restriction should, could, or would be lifted. Such responses included:

- 'it is an indefinite ban,'
- 'God knows,'
- 'it was supposed to finish on the 13st of March 2009; however it is now indefinite,'
- 'I believe it will currently end in October 2009, but am hoping it will continue,'
- 'I believe there will always be serious restrictions, but the hope is that there will be a negotiated shift to restrictions and management that enables people to be enticed back to town.'
- 'there is no sense of consultation, monitoring and evaluation from the DAO and liquor licensing,'
- 'until there is a real focus on the core issues. As such, the focus is on the symptoms, not the cause.'
- 'it will end when the do-gooders shut their mouth and stop talking about things they know nothing about,'
- 'I believe it will be lifted some time. The core issues are not focussed on when the ban is the focus,' and
- 'something is going to happen (something serious) because Aboriginal people won't take it for good because they have rights. The grog hasn't stopped because of sly grogging and people have also started bringing more drugs into town.'

4.3.5 Question Five: How did you find out about the restriction?

Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction most business people stated that they found out about the restriction through word of mouth and the media. Overall, business people felt that they were not adequately consulted about the imposition of the restriction, however others were not greatly concerned, and one respondent felt they were adequately consulted. Responses included:

- 'we were advised by the Director of Liquor Licensing,'
- · 'media,'
- · 'word of mouth,'
- 'there was a public meeting and (the women) discussed it as an idea,'
- 'we were consulted by the Women's Resource Centre. We gave them feedback, then found out by the press and questionnaires around town,'
- 'radio informed us the women were imposing this ban, and then through town meetings,'
- 'there was no official approach. There was just a sense of being told that it would happen,'
- 'at present I am trying to get a number of people to back me to get a constitutional lawyer to take out a constitutional challenge against the restrictions. How can they pick one or two towns? They're just using us as the thin end of the wedge,' and

'there was no consultation. I found out through a telephone call from a relative interstate
who had heard about the restrictions. This lack of consultation was what made the
businesses bitter, and the lack of consultation showed disrespect for local businesses,'

4.3.6 Question Six: Do you know who imposed the restriction?

Most of the respondents correctly identified the Liquor Licensing Authority as the body responsible for imposing the restriction. Some respondents identified the Director of Liquor Licensing, personally, as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Some respondents identified the Women's Resource Centre, or individual staff from the Women's Resource Centre and their supporters, as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Many respondents stated that the restriction was initiated by the Women's Resource Centre, but was 'imposed' by the Liquor Licensing Authority.

Responses included:

- 'the Director of Liquor Licensing.....and the Women's Resource Centre,'
- 'most of the ban was not thought through. Needed to have social services ready to deal with the issues,' and
- 'the women's group were the key drivers of the ban.'

Twelve months after the imposition of the restriction, Eighty percent (100%) of respondents identified the office or the position of the Director of Liquor Licensing as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Approximately (80%) also identified the Women's Resource Centre or Fitzroy Elder women as being responsible for initiating the restriction.

Six months after the imposition of the restriction, Ninety One percent (91%) of respondents could identify either the office and/or the position of the Director of Liquor Licensing as the authority imposing the restriction.

4.3.7 Question Seven: How has the restriction affected you as a community member in relation to:

- livelihood
- personal health
- lifestyle
- recreation
- access to services

This five part question was not asked at the six month evaluation. It is an additional question that was included in the twelve month review. All respondents across the three respondent groups were asked to answer this question.

The following responses were made by business people in regard to the impact of the restriction over twelve months on.

Livelihood

There was a diversity of responses in regard to the impact on livelihood for business persons. Question eleven of this evaluation asked businesses whether the restriction had impacted on their business generally, and question eleven asked whether there was any specific impact on businesses financially. These questions were designed to allow for overlapping perspectives on

impacts on businesses other than financial considerations and the comments within this section reflect a more general response to this question.

Some respondents stated that the restriction had had a direct impact on their business with a loss of income of between 15 to 25%. The majority of businesses stated that the restriction had no significant impact on their business at all, while a small number of businesses noted that their business had increased since the imposition of the restriction. This was particularly so for food and take-away outlets in Fitzroy Crossing. Most respondents noted the increase in Fitzroy residents who periodically left town on pay day to go to Halls Creek, Derby and Broome to buy alcohol and who were also completing their shopping in these towns, which took money out of Fitzroy Crossing.

Responses included:

- 'no change,'
- "not really,"
- 'it doesn't affect us,'
- 'we chose to come here because of the restrictions to begin our business. We chose to leave a town without restrictions to come here because alcohol was restricted,'
- 'we have lost about 35% of our business because there are no people left in town to feed. There are not as many builders in town as they can't get their grog,'
- 'Friday, Saturday and Sunday people leave to Derby or Halls Creek for three days. They spend their wages in these towns. Halls Creek Shell has reported increased income and the same for Rusty's in Derby. People are stable from Monday to Thursday,'
- 'business has improved. Heavy drinkers have left town and those remaining have more
 disposable income to spend on food and other services. Prior to the ban, domestic
 violence inside and outside the shop was a major issue. Since the ban it has reduced
 remarkably, but you can always tell when stray grog is in town, not necessarily sly grog;
 also legal grog from elsewhere. People's attitudes change remarkably. They become
 aggressive, loud and belligerent,'
- 'there has been a greater volatility of sales patterns since the ban. This, with the economic crisis makes it more difficult to assess the impact. However, there is evidence of large numbers of Aboriginal people leaving town and taking business to other towns. People are travelling for grog, or partly for grog, and choosing to spend income in other businesses in other towns. Personally, there is a shift in the character of the town. There is a greater uncertainty at the heart. People are uncertain about the town's future,'
- 'for non-Indigenous business owners and community members there is an issue of
 wanting to discuss the issue in greater depth, but being aware that any questioning will be
 seen as against Indigenous interests, which is not the case,'
- 'the real issue is the need to engage local Indigenous people in problem solving rather than imposing solutions from above,'
- 'business is down 15-18% prior to the ban. Business owners have had to increase workloads to cope with reduced income and resources. This affects business confidence,'
- 'we were considering investing in a business in the town, but this issue has caused uncertainty in people's minds which affects potential investment. We are in a wait and see position.'

Personal Health

For businesses the largest impact on personal health was found to be increased stress levels. Many businesses responded that there was no impact on their personal health at all. Some businesses responded that the restriction had a positive impact on their health due to the reduction

in anti-social behaviour and domestic violence surrounding their businesses. The reported increase in stress by some businesses was directly linked to the imposition of the restriction. Respondent responses included:

- 'no changes,'
- 'there has been a dramatic increase in emotional stress,'
- 'it is a safer place to work. There are fewer alcohol related violent attacks,'
- 'as a business manager it has reduced stress due to the alleviation of violence in the
 workplace and the work safety of employees. What has not improved is the ability to
 retain staff on a regular basis, which shows that the reason people don't turn up to work is
 not just because of alcohol issues. The issue is tied to women being humbugged by
 family, a lack of incentive to increase wealth and a lack of direction for future possibilities,'
- 'it has increased stress levels. It has also caused an increase in work levels attempting to create a united approach and to have input on these issues,'
- 'a very important issue is the way Fitzroy is perceived and how the media report on the
 town with little awareness of the underlying causes. There is a break between media
 perception and community reality. When in town you see what is really happening and it
 reveals the ban has caused other impacts that are not being addressed,'
- 'the general sense is drinkers are tolerating the restrictions, but it costs them way too much money and this causes stress,'
- aggravated behaviour in the workplace has increased as people have transferred to other drugs and this has led to workplace related personal attacks (which have been referred to the Police). There is an increase in violence of a core group of drinkers whose substance abuse of not being seriously addressed by the ban,'
- 'it is knocking me about a bit,' and
- 'my health is better. There is less stress. I get more sleep. When the alcohol was on I was running people to hospital, always people knocking on the door looking for help, but now that's all gone, now we have peace.'

Life Style

Business people generally noted a restriction on social activities due to the changed culture of drinking at the Lodge and the Crossing Inn. Some business people found no change in their lifestyle at all. The changed habit associated with purchasing take-away alcohol from out of town was seen as an issue for some people. Overall there was no great change in life-style.

Responses included:

- · 'no change,'
- 'not really. I travel to Derby once a fortnight. It means you need to plan a bit more,'
- · 'no change. I'm a workaholic,'
- 'you can't go to the pub and buy a drink and take it home,'
- 'I don't attend the pub anymore as the culture is one of heavy drinkers as opposed to social drinkers. There is an atmosphere that people don't want to go to the hotels anymore,'
- 'yes, I am a social drinker, but now it requires me to only drink at the hotel, but this causes pressure due to watching drinks and increased reliance on cabs. It is also becoming a different social scene where it is crowded and not always as enjoyable as visiting and sharing a drink at dinner with friends. It has restricted social life,' and
- 'I have to travel more often to get grog, and I also buy all my stores from Coles or Woolies at the detriment of the local supermarket.'

Recreation

Business people generally noted that their recreation was curtailed because it was generally associated with drinking at the Inn and the Lodge, and they didn't wish to drink there because of the number of heavy drinkers and anti-social behaviour. Some business people felt that there was no impact on their recreation because recreation was non-existent in Fitzroy Crossing anyway, or they were so busy working that they rarely had time for recreation of any kind.

Observations on the impact of the restriction on recreation included:

- 'none,'
- 'there is no recreation,'
- 'there was no recreation to begin with. This is actually the issue. There are no recreational activities in Fitzroy Crossing and there need to be so that people are occupied and engaged in appropriate social activities,'
- 'socially, it is as if alcohol is the focus, but at the rodeo full-strength was stopped and it
 made the social event less successful. Same with community events; it's impacted that
 way. It has impacted negatively on the social aspect of the town,'
- 'I'm a workaholic, what recreation?'
- 'last year's rodeo was a disaster due to lack of alcohol,'
- Ganduwa benefited by not having alcohol. It was a better comp and better run,'
- 'alcohol was associated with recreation activities and relaxation with friends, but now people who did not abuse the use of alcohol are also being penalised,' and
- 'I used to go down the pub, but I don't go down since the restrictions came in. It's too expensive and you can't get what you want to drink. I've been down for the bushfires appeal, but that's the only time I've been down since the restriction.'

Access to Services

Businesses, as with individuals and service providers, noted no direct impact in the ability to access services, either government, non-government or commercial services in Fitzroy Crossing. Some did note that it was harder to attract other businesses such as tradespeople to complete specific work for them.

General observations on the impact on access to services included:

- 'no,'
- 'not really,'
- 'it is harder to get trades people in town,'
- 'Fitzroy already has few services,'
- 'nothing has changed. The ban should have been a catalyst to get extra services. The
 aim was to ban alcohol, then open the town up to increased service. But, there has been
 no future investment and needed government foresight, but also community planning,'
- 'it has made it more difficult to retain staff for services,'
- 'there was an expectation there would be focussed services but these have not been provided. The new school, hospital and other services were provided anyway, but what new services are going to be provided to deal with the real problems,
- 'Police are better, they're socialising more. They're communicating better now, with respect. It is easier to get treated at the Hospital and there's no humbug,'
- 'I reckon that ambulance has a full tank all the time because it's never used,' and
- 'there are still services that this town lacks so the government needs to look at us as a town and see that we need to have better services.'

4.3.8 Question Eight: Did you support the restriction when first imposed 'Yes' or 'No'? If so/ not, what was the reason?

Of the 20 business people interviewed from 15 separate businesses in Fitzroy Crossing:

- Three (15%) answered 'yes,'
- Fifteen (75%) answered 'no.'
- None (0%) answered 'yes and no,' and
- Two (10%) answered 'unable to comment.'

Business people who were opposed to the restriction cited their reasons for opposing the restriction as being because it was an imposition on their rights, it was punishing the entire town for the behaviour of a few, it was not the most effective means of dealing with this problem, and, there were already restrictions in place that were slowly working.

Business people who supported the imposition of a restriction did so because they saw that something had to be done, that there was too much damage being done to young people and to reduce or stop anti-social behaviour. Business people who felt unable to comment were largely uncertain about the effectiveness of the restriction.

Yes

Of the Three (15%) business people who initially supported the imposition of the restriction, the reasons given for this support included:

- 'we are one of the businesses in town that see the after affects of alcohol,. We witness hungry children and violence. There needed to be an intervention of some kind to break the cycle of addiction, violence and anti-social behaviour,'
- 'we were sick of burying our friends and our family and babies being affected by alcohol,'
- 'because whenever there were parties and drinking, there were fights,'
- 'because we want our kids to sleep for school,' and
- · 'people don't really know how bad it was.'

No

Of the Fifteen (75%) of business people who initially opposed the imposition of the restriction, the reasons given include:

- 'it takes away our basic rights. You can't impose a ban like this unless you address the infrastructure,'
- 'it was too draconian. It was an imposition on our rights,'
- 'it affected our ability to obtain workers and it affected the majority of the townspeople to suffer because of the behaviour of a few.'
- 'because it was clear that it would cause problems for the community and it would affect businesses. It did affect businesses at first, but income levels have stabilised since the impact of the first six months,'
- 'we don't believe in prohibition. It does not solve an issue to manage people. Also, people have rights and this is a 'town' of many communities. This issue focused on one group's problem and it did so badly as it does not allow people to have power over their own responsibility,'
- 'it has not solved the problem of addiction and why people have become addicted,'
- 'there are no programs in place or training facilities available.'

- 'there were already restrictions in Fitzroy and so there was not a need to impose such a
 restriction. The restrictions (previous to the restriction on take-away alcohol) were taking
 a slow, cumulative approach,'
- 'the ban removes responsibility and the real issue of dealing with a main group of 30 odd people who were the main problem,'
- The ban has caused sly grogging to become a major industry in Fitzroy Crossing. The pub used to get 14 pallets of alcohol per week. In Derby, five outlets got 2-3 pallets of alcohol a week. Now, there're probably the same in sly grogging today in Fitzroy. You can fit 32 two litre casks of wine in a suitcase (as told by a sly grogger).
- 'because I'm not a kindergarten pupil and I don't believe that the whole community should be punished for the few who can't control themselves,' and
- 'because we can't get what I am accustom to drinking and what I have a right to drink. I
 don't want someone telling me what I can and can't drink. This is a breach of civil
 liberties.'

4.3.9 Question Nine: Do you support the restriction remaining in place; 'Yes' or 'No'? If so/ not, what was the reason?

Of the 20 business people interviewed from 15 separate businesses in Fitzroy Crossing:

- Three (15%) answered 'yes,'
- Sixteen (80%) answered 'no.'
- One (5%) answered 'yes and no,' and
- None (0%) answered 'unable to comment.'

Business people who continue to oppose to the restriction cited that it was in need of adjustment and that this adjustment should be in the form of a day or two when full-strength take-away alcohol was available. The continuing sense of there not being an increase in government services was a major reason for people choosing to oppose the restrictions remaining in place believing that if government had not acted thus far, they were unlikely to act at all.

Business people who supported the restriction remaining in place cited the need for more time for future generations to benefit from changes behaviour. This group also cited increased safety and more effective community policing as benefits of the restriction that needed to be supported.

Yes

Of the Three (15%) business people who support the continuation of the restriction, the reasons given for this support include:

- 'the ban needs to stay because without the influence of alcohol there is a chance to save
 the third and fourth generations growing up at present, but only if there is also thoughtful
 planning for their future and targeted services. I am sceptical as the necessary
 improvement in services has not been provided to date,'
- 'we're safer on the road now because people aren't as drunk as much and get behind the wheel,'
- 'police can do other community policing which makes for a safer community, and
- 'people are not afraid to get out and exercise more because they're not worried about being humbugged by drunks.'

No

Of the Sixteen (80%) business people who oppose the continuation of the restriction, the reasons given include:

- 'it takes away our basic rights,'
- 'it needs adjustment. We should be able to provide some mid-strength alcohol,'
- 'while there have been some benefits for the last twelve months, we've (businesses) been campaigning for the opportunity once or twice a week to go down and buy full-strength take-away alcohol to be able to drink at home after work, because not everyone wants to drink at a bar.'
- 'because the impact has been detrimental. Because it caused people to leave town, children to be removed, increased stress and violence and families breaking up. There were problems that needed to be resolved, but the ban was not the solution. It did not address issues of lack of education, responsible decision making and awareness of impacts on the community of anti-social behaviour,'
- 'I am a believer in freedom and if I want to come home and have a few beers after work in a free country I should be able to do it.'
- 'all it has done is move the problem to somewhere else, and in a lifetime of reading and watching the issue, I've never seen anywhere where prohibition has worked,'
- 'it is harming others who are not part of the group of problem drinkers,'
- There is no investment in changing people's behaviour and responsibility' no investment in services for those with addiction,'
- 'it has to be implemented across the entire region, or not at all,'
- 'it is difficult to attract staff and workers to town because of the restrictions and the reputation,'
- 'in the last eighteen months the government had an opportunity to respond and create opportunities, but they have not invested in services or truly responded to the real issues,'
- 'it does not address education of people drinking,' and
- 'I do not support the current restrictions, but I would support some form of restrictions in a different form.'

Questions 10 – 15 (Businesses)

Questions ten to fifteen ask respondents to comment on the effects of the restriction from their professional point of view from before the restriction began to twelve months after the restriction. These questions ask respondents to examine the impacts of the restriction as individual professionals on

- their individual professional/ business service,
- their organisation/ business,
- the town of Fitzroy Crossing,
- · communities, and
- to people (children and adults).

Question eleven asks businesses to assess the impact of the restrictions, financially, on their businesses, if any impact has been observed.

The following analysis provides a brief over view of responses to each question, followed by a representative sample of comments by respondents where relevant.

- 4.3.10 Question Ten: From your professional/ business viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation/ business and its service provision before the restriction and after the restriction:
 - to you as an individual professional.

By this point of the survey many businesses felt that they had already adequately answered this question when considering general impacts on businesses and many simply responded by stating, 'as previously answered.' Those who supported the restriction spoke of increased safety in the workplace and reduced anti-social behaviour. Those who were opposed to the restriction cited the downturn in trade, the increased stress associated with uncertainty and negative perceptions of the town by the media as impacts on their personal professional business activities.

The majority of service providers also spoke of the restriction:

- · 'creating a downturn in trade,'
- 'it is harder to get blokes to go out to communities for any length of time. We may like to have a beer after work, quietly, but this is harder,'
- 'stress is the key issue. People feel so drained. The media portrayal of Fitzroy Crossing
 has made people feel their town is only negative and only being seen as negative. It has
 pushed people to live in terrible living conditions in Broome, Halls Creek and Derby,'
- 'safety of employees was a major issue. Since the ban this has been reduced remarkably,'
- 'we chose to come here because of the restrictions,'
- 'there is increased uncertainty,'
- 'the restriction affecting their workloads, increasing the numbers of people presenting to receive support in a proactive manner, rather than in emergency situations,' and
- 'no great change as such after the restriction as the problems they are seeking to help clients deal with are long-term and associated with trauma and cycles of abuse and poverty, and the restriction had made their work more effective.'
- 4.3.11 Question Eleven: From your professional/ business viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation/ business and its service provision before the restriction and after the restriction;
 - · to your organisation/ business.

Overall businesses did not respond in detail to this question. This was in part due to a perception that this was a subject covered in previous questions, but also because businesses were generally reluctant to discuss any impacts that could be perceived as creating a weakness in businesses.

Responses included:

- · 'no change,'
- 'no real effect.'
- it has created a downturn in trade,'
- 'business has improved because people have more disposable income,'
- 'it has become more stressful.'
- · 'it has made it harder to attract staff,' and
- · 'no, it has not affected my bottom line.'

4.3.12 Question Twelve: From your professional/ business viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of the Fitzroy Valley before the restriction and after the restriction;

to the town.

All respondents commented on the impact of the town as business people. It is also important to note that all business people interviewed are also members of the community, and as such there was some fluidity between responses as businesses and individuals. This question yielded responses from across the spectrum of interviewees.

Business respondents observed different impacts on the town from service providers. Where the majority of service providers spoke of positive benefits of the restriction, the majority of business respondents saw mainly negative impacts. These impacts included; increased divisions within the town, continuing street drunkenness and delinquent behaviour, and generally questioned the majority of towns' people who commented on less drunkenness, less delinquent behaviour and better relationships between young people and old people.

Respondent's views are recorded here as noted so as to pay respect to the often passionate responses to this question. The range of responses included:

- 'before the ban the towns' people worked together a lot more as well as associated with each other. Since the ban divisions have been created. There has been a notable increase in greed, between adults as well as children; eg, people do not share as much. The town is divided between supporters and detractors. Sly grogging has increased substantially. Because some sly groggers are from out of town they are also bringing drugs into town. More and more juveniles are drinking,'
- 'the town is much quieter. Not as many drunks. The supermarket seems quieter than it used to be, particularly when there was money around,'
- 'there is less public drunkenness. It is there, but less of it. Rubbish and garbage has
 decreased a little bit. It has left the old people minding kids for weeks on end, but that has
 always been happening for years,'
- 'the town is quieter in terms of adults, but the children are still on the streets at night and have been for some months.'
- 'there is a decrease in domestic violence in town, but it is happening elsewhere,'
- 'many Aboriginal people are happy with the town. Non-Indigenous people are starting to feel angst, businesses particularly, due to uncertainty created,'
- 'it is quieter, but it is because there is not as many people here. People have not stopped drinking, but have shifted their behaviour to other towns,'
- 'we would prefer and would have preferred to have worked with the authorities on a more consultative process rather than a ban from above; as a 'town' community,'
- 'town is quieter, but this is largely due to movement of people. Kids are still playing out late at night. The perception is the children are not acting up, but they are and the ban has made the authorities complacent,'
- 'it has divided the town between families, organisations and some businesses over this issue.'
- 'there are intra-community conflicts between people who are focused on Leedal and its interests. This is a long-term issue but the restriction has heightened tensions,' and
- 'all of the drunks have moved to other towns. It's not had any effect what so ever, except to take money away from the local community.'

4.3.13 Question Thirteen: From your professional/ business viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of the Fitzroy Valley before the restriction and after the restriction;

• to communities.

Business people commented on dealing with clients daily and having a perspective on people's lives that others in the town did not. In regard to impacts on communities, many business respondent views were at odds with people who actually lived in these communities. The business community is located in the light industrial area of Fitzroy Crossing and this is also where many business people live. Some businesses would have little to do with Indigenous communities outside of business interactions. However, as towns' people with a long association with Fitzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley, some business people have long-standing relationships and regular interactions with Indigenous town and remote communities. The following comments are business people's perceptions of impacts on communities, as well as personal experience

Respondent comments included

- 'no real change. There are some divisions,'
- · 'no comment. Not aware of any changes,'
- 'much quieter, such as Kurnangki, on a more regular basis, less partying and drinking,'
- 'the ban has destroyed some communities, especially communities that were dry, but since the ban some members are now taking their alcohol back to their community so they don't have to share. Also, they are bringing drugs into the communities,'
- 'the outlying community people that used to go to Fitzroy now go in to Derby or Broome because they can get grog as well as food and clothing and this impacts on Fitzroy,'
- 'we see more gate drinking and drinking on the roadsides evidenced by the rubbish on the roads and outside the communities. There also seems to be more movement of adults.'
- 'the movement of people has split up families. People have become displaced. Most out of town communities are drinking but taking back roads and selling it,'
- 'Yiyli people have moved to Halls Creek,'
- 'it appears that Fitzroy people have moved to Broome to have access to 'good beer.' This is also the case for Derby. There is much greater movement between towns,'
- 'It's made a lot of communities a bit better, not greatly better. The main offenders have moved to where the alcohol is,' and
- 'now people feel they want to stay in one place in the community and some want to give
 up the grog all together. Before, all some of these young people used to do was drink, but
 now people are getting out, staying on communities because there're things to do. People
 are saving their money, staying out on communities and saving their money, maybe
 coming in every second pay week.'

4.3.14 Question Fourteen: From your professional/business viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of the Fitzroy Valley before the restriction and after the restriction;

• to people (adults and children)

Respondent answers were able to be divided into two distinct groups; children and old people.

Children

Business people were generally more critical of the affect of the restriction on children. The majority of business people could see only negative impacts of the restriction on children, largely

due to their parents choosing to travel to obtain alcohol. The restriction was judged to be a failure because it had not addressed the main problem, being that of parental responsibility. Most respondents blamed the restriction for causing people to travel more regularly and to leave children with grandparents more often, and questioned other views that the town was safer and quieter.

Comments regarding the impact on children included:

- 'kids are still on the street. There are no more on the street. It depends on what is happening in the town and what community people are coming in,'
- 'really, there has been no change,'
- 'since the ban there are more children wandering the streets at all hours especially after 1-2 am. Break-ins have increased. There are girls as young as 10-12 prostituting themselves for drinks and drugs,'
- 'a lot of children have been left with frail or sick grandmothers whilst their parents have gone to nearby towns to drink. Families have been split,'
- 'younger children are now being cared for by aunties and uncles. Also, they are more
 vulnerable to removal due to parents going to other towns or going to the pub to get fullstrength alcohol,'
- "the ban has not taught people responsibility to drink appropriately or to be responsible to their children,"
- 'Monday to Thursday there seems to be parental supervision, but on weekends when parents go to Derby etc...kids are still completing acts of vandalism,' and
- 'there are still issues about parental responsibility in the town that the ban has not changed, even though the perception is it has. So the real issue is to focus on this and be honest that the ban has not changed this anti-social behaviour or the ability to take responsibility.'

Old People (the elderly)

Business people mostly commented that old people were facing increased stress due to parents of grand-children spending all their time at the Inn drinking, or travelling to other towns to obtain alcohol.

Respondent comments included:

- 'old people have added pressure because parents are leaving their children with them while they go off to other towns to drink,' and
- 'old people are wearing the brunt of these restrictions but they don't speak out.

4.3.15 Question fifteen: In what way can you see the restriction has generally changed the community; positively or negatively?

As with other respondents, business people generally acknowledged that there were a mixture of positive benefits and negative impacts of the restriction for themselves, their business and other groups in Fitzroy Crossing. Respondents therefore tended to break their responses into two groups, positive and negative.

Positive

Business people noted that the town was quieter, but questioned whether this was an accurate reflection of what was happening behind the scenes. Even though some positive benefits were noted, they were often accompanied by critical comments about a lack of follow-up government services.

Positive respondent comments included:

- 'none.'
- 'the town has guietened down a bit,'
- 'they say that crime has reduced but we see no reduction in need for repairs to buildings and other vandalism.'
- 'overall it has been positive, but it is not a solution to the issue of alcoholism tied to a lack of opportunities and direction,'
- 'businesses may complain of going broke, but this could also be people realising the value of their dollar and using other services regionally,' and
- 'the good thing is it has made alcohol harder to access, but it has not stopped drinkers from accessing alcohol,'

Negative

Business people largely saw negative impacts of the restriction. These negative impacts were tied to increased divisions, the ineffectiveness of the restriction, lack of consultation, lack of government services and continued acts of violence tied to alcohol abuse.

Negative respondent comments included:

- 'it is harder to attract people to the town,'
- 'it has taken away the freedom to purchase a legal product of your choice,'
- 'there are some divisions, such as business people who perceive that the restriction has impacted on their business being vocal and being in opposition to others, such as organisations, who supported the restriction,'
- 'there has been no infrastructure and services implemented to cope with the effects of the ban. If the ban remains, people will leave and Fitzroy will be a ghost town,'
- 'it has become the preoccupation and it has diverted attention from important issues in town,'
- 'it has become a 'for and against' issue, rather than being something people feel the opportunity to really consider all the issues and resolve,'
- 'only KALACC, Nindilingarri and the Women's Resource Centre were consulted on this; a lack of consultation,' and
- 'it has caused division. If the two divisions in the town could get together the whole situation would be solved by targeted agreements aimed at dealing with the issues that are not being dealt with by the ban alone.'

4.3.16 Question sixteen: Are there any other comments you would like to make (what do you believe the next steps should be)?

All respondents provided detailed and considered responses to this question. When asked if there were any further comments, people tended to feel that they had already said all there was to say. When asked what the next steps should be, all respondents had definite, considered views as to what needed to be done to deal with issues of alcohol addiction and the resultant impacts in Fitzroy Crossing. All respondents provided these views with regard to the alcohol restriction and resultant impacts over the previous twelve months. All respondents felt that there needed to be more services made available by government agencies to deal with problems of alcohol abuse and associated problems of lack of self-esteem, lack of educational and employment opportunities and lack of facilities.

No business people called for a complete removal of the restriction.

Business respondent answers were able to be divided into three distinct themes;

- 'Maintaining the restriction', until enough time had passed for people to cope with changes and providing extra resources,
- 'Altering the restriction' to allow for one or two days in which full-strength takeaway alcohol
 was able to be purchased in Fitzroy Crossing, and providing extra resources and support,
 rather than a blanket ban that affected everyone, and
- 'Critical Comments on the complexity of the issue.'

Maintaining the Restriction

A minority of respondents wished for the restrictions to continue, but all called for increased government support for targeted services.

Comments from business respondents included:

- 'it is a far better town to be in,'
- 'at the end of the day, the government has imposed the restrictions, not the town, and this is an issue wider than the town. The costs affect the state,'
- 'this year at Law Time, we had a lot or young people there. We wouldn't have had that is the ban wasn't in place,'
- 'the next step is the restrictions need to be created right throughout the Kimberley and the Pilbara because they have the same problems,' and
- 'it is important to see that the impact of deaths and life expectancy, FASD kids, will be
 happening for many years yet, so when this does happen people have to see that even
 with the ban in place this will happen and not see that it is because the ban is not
 working.'

Altering the Restriction

A majority of business people recommended the altering of the restriction. Those that recommended an alteration sought to have at most one day per week when either full or midstrength take-away alcohol was available to be purchased in Fitzroy Crossing. The reasoning behind this view was that it would stop people from leaving Fitzroy Crossing, it would enable people who were addicted to alcohol to manage their alcohol through tapering off, and it would reduce accidents on the road and impacts on people's meagre budgets through having to travel to other towns.

Respondent views included:

- 'it would be good if the right medium could be found between restrictions and people's options to purchase alcohol as and when required,'
- 'I would like to see mid-strength available full-time and conditions of access to full-strength takeaways,'
- 'I would like to see services cater for drug addiction and alcoholism as well as education so people are empowered,' and
- 'the availability to access alcohol is not the core issue because people can get hold of grog. It is just harder. There needs to be some easing back of the restrictions, such as the availability to purchase limited full-strength alcohol a couple of days a week, or a couple of hours each day. There can be limitations on amounts sold, but some give and take needs to happen.'

Critical Comments on the Complexity of the Issue

All respondents made comments of a general nature about the impacts of the restriction and the future of Fitzroy Crossing and its people. The majority of respondents supported altering the

restriction to allow access to full-strength alcohol a few days a week. Many people spoke of the need for increased government services including drug and alcohol counselling.

Divisions within the town and the need to provide avenues for collaboration on this issue, as a town and community issue were highlighted, along with the need to create opportunities for different groups to come together and discuss this issue.

Respondent recommendations and observations included

- 'a lot of people ask, 'why pick on Fitzroy,? These restrictions should be everywhere,'
- 'if bans and restrictions are going to be imposed on towns community infrastructure must be set up before imposition ie; drug and alcohol counselling and community policing,'
- 'people are given a house but not provided with support or education to use the infrastructure,'
- 'CDEP is not functioning and so there needs to be a level of activity measured to be eligible for payments to learn the value of opportunities,'
- 'there is a need to go back to creating a sense of self worth and purpose in people,'
- 'there needs to be investment in rehab centres with qualified staff and an education program,'
- 'the focus needs to be on young people and diversionary activities such as a skate park and sporting facilities,'
- 'I cannot understand the government punishing 2000 people for the behaviour of 150-200 people,' and
- 'we need to get together with the women's centre and the business centre and solve the problems. We need to deal with this as a 'town' not communities, the 'town,' in conjunction with Halls Creek.'

4.4 Individuals Questionnaire Analysis

4.4.1 Individuals Question One: How would you describe your place in Fitzroy Crossing in terms of;

- a) your community
- b) your length of stay, and,
- c) your role in the community.

A total of 40 individuals were interviewed from within the Fitzroy Valley. These people chose to identify as individuals even though many of them are members of community organisations or chairpersons of communities or involved in business. Of the 40 individuals interviewed the following breakdown was observed. All respondents were informed of the interview process and the three forms of interviews being conducted. People who identified as individuals, generally, could have chosen from all through groups, but chose this category to speak as individuals independent of their other roles.

Table 10: Individual Respondent Profiles

Category	18-24 yrs	25-44 yrs	45-64 yrs	65 and over yrs	Totals
Indigenous Male		1	6	4	11
Non- Indigenous Male		2	6	1	9
Indigenous Female		2	3	11	16
Non- Indigenous Female		3	1	0	4
Totals		8	16	16	40

a) your community

Individual respondents came from a range of communities including:

- Fitzroy Crossing;
- Jimbalakundunj;
- · Mindi Rardi;
- Kurnangki;
- Ngalingkadji;
- Bayulu;
- Joy Springs (8 mile);
- Junjuwa;
- Loan Bun;
- Darlgunya; and
- Djugerrari.

b) your length of stay

Most respondents (15) answered that they had lived in Fitzroy Crossing all their life. Most of these were people in their forties and fifties. A total of eight (8) people identified living elsewhere in the Fitzroy Valley or elsewhere generally, and having lived in Fitzroy Crossing for between one and ten years. Six individuals indicated they had lived in Fitzroy Crossing for between ten and twenty years. Ten individuals, mostly Aboriginal elders from other parts of the Fitzroy Valley who had lived in Fitzroy Crossing most of their lives stated they had been in Fitzroy for twenty to thirty years. One individual identified as having lived in Fitzroy Crossing for thirty seven (37) years.

Table 11. Length of Stay of Individual Respondents.

1-10 years	8
10 – 20 years	6
20 – 30 years	10
30 – 40 years	1
All My Life	15

c) your role in the community

Individual roles varied within these communities with people identifying themselves as:

- · 'chairperson of the community,'
- · 'elders,'
- 'I am on the fringes,'
- · 'married in to the community,'
- 'cultural boss,'
- 'I am a community person and represent a lot of my people in Law, Culture and community,'
- · 'I am a community worker and educator,'
- 'I am a local Gooniyand person,'
- 'I work with children and young people,'
- 'I come from Junjuwa,'
- 'I am a worker. I have strong relationships with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in town,'
- 'a member of the community (Fitzroy) for 37 years,'
- 'I am connected to Fitzroy through my work,'
- 'I am part of the wider Fitzroy community,'
- 'I am an advocate for change and I represent my community,'
- 'we're all family and live together. I have been advising the community for a long time,'
- 'I am a Bunuba Traditional Owner. This is our country. This has always been our country,'
- 'I am a Fitzroy resident with children growing up here,'
- 'I am a person who mixes socially across many groups,'
- 'I am a rate payer and home owner,' and
- · 'I'm part of the business community.'

4.4.2 Question Two: Are you aware of the current restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing in relation to take-away alcohol sales? If so, what are they?

All respondents reported that they were aware of the restriction. Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction, all forty (40) respondents accurately described the terms of the restriction. Over fifty percent (50%) of respondents referred to people only being able to purchase light-strength beer as take-away alcohol. Approximately ten percent (10%) of respondents were

able to quote the restriction as being unable to purchase take-away alcohol beverages with an excess of 2.7% alcohol content. Three respondents spoke of the restriction as being 'not right.'

The six month review found that 95% of all respondents accurately identified the terms of the restriction. Knowledge of the terms and conditions of the restriction has remained high amongst individuals.

4.4.3 Question Three: In what way has the sale and purchase of alcohol been restricted in Fitzroy Crossing at the present time?

This question was asked in addition to question two so as to ascertain whether people were aware that the sale of alcohol (including over the bar sales) was being restricted beyond the restriction applied by the Liquor Licensing Authority on take-away alcohol.

Individuals were well aware of the further restrictions being applied by the licensed venues and were generally able to state the times in which particular strengths of alcohol were available. People were also able to identify restrictions being monitored and patrolled by the Police and that individuals staying at the Crossing Inn and the Fitzroy Lodge were able to take alcohol back to their rooms to drink.

Responses included:

- 'they only have light beer at the bar and heavy beer to take-away,'
- 'not allowed to buyim good beer. People forget Aboriginal Law and Culture,'
- 'stopping grog from going out to the community,'
- · 'expensive, not right, stopping choice,' and
- 'only allowed to buy 2.7 % alcohol take-away at 20 degrees Celsius.

4.4.4 Question Four: When did the restriction commence and when will it finish?

When did it commence?

Twelve months after the restriction, service provider respondents estimated the restriction to have begun:

- March 2007 (approximately 2 years ago) [14 respondents],
- June 2007 (approximately 18 months earlier) [6 respondents],
- October 2007 (approximately 12 months earlier) [12 respondents], and
- early 2008 (approximately 10 months earlier) [8 respondent].

Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction less than half the respondents of respondents (35%) were aware of the commencement date, a reduction from the six month review in which almost all respondents (95%) were aware of the commencement date. A total of fourteen respondents, mostly older people, believed the restriction had been in place for two years. Individuals were not as well as informed as other respondent groups.

When will it end?

Twelve months after the imposition of the restriction most individuals considered the restriction to be imposed indefinitely. People responded in a manner that indicated both their knowledge, but also in some cases, their preference, in regard to when the restriction should, could, or would be

lifted. Old people, in particular, were unaware of the end date of the restriction. Responses included:

- 'it just keeps being extended,'
- 'I don't know when it finishes,'
- 'never,'
- 'I believe it has another year to run,'
- 'hopefully never,' (6 respondents)
- "I reckon it will stay,"
- 'they said one time; three months, then another time; one year, then on and on and....'
- · 'no idea,'
- · 'indefinite,' and
- · 'the decision rests with the DAO.'

4.4.5 Question Five: How did you find out about the restriction?

Twelve months after the beginning of the restriction most individuals stated that they found out about the restriction through being involved in community meetings and also through the media. Responses included:

- 'them Kartiya bin tell us,'
- 'it was all over town. It was wildfire,'
- · 'I was at the women's bush meeting,'
- 'from other people driving past our community to buy grog in Derby,'
- 'I found out myself. I went to the pub and seen they are selling light beer,'
- · 'word of mouth and talk around town,'
- 'people talking in town complaining about the restrictions,'
- 'people were angry, they didn't like it and felt they didn't have their say,'
- · 'through the women's resource centre,'
- 'normal channels. Our company was informed,' and
- · 'at a meeting with the Liquor licensing mob.'

Most respondents spoke of finding out through word of mouth and then having the details of the restriction formally acknowledged through the media.

4.4.6 Question six: Do you know who imposed the restriction?

Many of the respondents correctly identified the Liquor Licensing Authority as the body responsible for imposing the restriction. Some respondent identified the Director of Liquor Licensing, personally, as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Some respondents identified the Women's Resource Centre, or individual staff from the Women's Resource Centre and their supporters, as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Many respondents stated that the restriction was 'initiated' by the Women's Bush Meeting, or the Women's Resource Centre, but was 'imposed' by the Liquor Licensing Authority.

Responses included:

- 'the Liquor Licensing Board,'
- 'we don't know who. All the women, Aye?'
- 'all the women's. Marninwantikura mob. They don putim in themselves. They should've gone through us elders first,'
- 'liquor mob,'

- "the women's group, KALACC and other people like the Police,"
- 'the Licensing Commission, but it was politically motivated. The State Government acted so as to be seen to do something,' and
- 'Liquor Licensing.'

Twelve months after the imposition of the restriction, Eighty percent (50%) of individual respondents identified the office or the position of the Director of Liquor Licensing as being responsible for imposing the restriction. Approximately Twenty Percent (50%) of individuals identified the Women's Resource Centre or Fitzroy Elder women as being responsible.

Six months after the imposition of the restriction, Ninety One percent (91%) of respondents could identify either the office and/or the position of the Director of Liquor Licensing as the authority imposing the restriction.

4.4.7 Question seven: How has the restriction affected you as a community member in relation to:

- livelihood
- · personal health
- lifestyle
- recreation
- access to services

This five part question was not asked at the six month evaluation. It is an additional question that was included in the twelve month review. All respondents across the three respondent groups were asked to answer this question.

The following responses were made by individuals in regard to the impact of the restriction over twelve months.

Livelihood

Most respondents believed that the restriction had not impacted on their livelihood. Many respondents spoke of the restriction not having an impact on their own livelihood, but then qualified this statement with comments about general impacts on the lives of themselves and community members. A representative sample of responses to impacts on livelihood is provided below and include:

- 'none',
- 'no real change,'
- 'no affect at all,'
- 'I go to Derby and Halls Creek a lot and buy grog,'
- 'people humbug for food and money,'
- 'the prices in the supermarket have gone up a little,'
- 'for some people, they have more money now, they're looking after their kids. People are going hunting more,' and
- 'it's harder now because the price has gone up. It is \$ 50 for one carton of 24 cans of light beer, or we might get a relative who is going to Derby to buy a block of 'green' 10 (30 cans) for \$ 50. That will last all day or weekend, depends on how many people. We mainly share with our close family. We can't afford to drink at the Lodge and the Inn, so we

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¹⁰ Victoria Bitter

manage on light beers and take-aways from other towns. We also drink chardonnay casks now which costs \$ 17 for 2 litres and is cheaper.'

Personal Health

For individuals the largest impact on personal health was found to be increased or decreased stress levels. The increase in stress for old people was directly linked to the imposition of the restriction and some parents leaving their children with grandparents to be cared for while they drank at the pub or other towns. For most people, including grandparents, key factors decreasing stress were the ability to get a good sleep at night and reduced domestic violence. The majority stated there was no real change in personal health and some respondents linked this to no real change in anti-social behaviour, regardless of the restriction.

A representative sample of responses to impacts on personal health for individuals is provided below and includes:

- 'none.'
- 'I get stressed out and worried because family dumping kids with us. Too much humbug we got to get up every time to check on kids. Too old to look after kids,'
- 'we get stressed and worry for our son when he travels to other towns to purchase alcohol.'
- 'I don't drink as much as I used to. I'm going bush more, fishing and stuff. We're able to get more sleep. Before the ban you could hear music playing everywhere. Sometimes people act up a bit, but not as bad as it was before,'
- 'since the ban it is easier to go to work. We feel a bit healthier; we're not as sick as much. We'd like to know why they banned that mid-strength beer because we could drink and still work, feel healthy. Export made us really sick,'
- 'I am personally drinking more because when we go to town we need to stock up and we always have alcohol in the house and there are more opportunities to drink,'
- 'no change. Our community is still struggling with violence that is normalised and condoned by the authorities because they are clearly not dealing with the issues affecting our people,'
- 'it is more better now for sleeping,'
- 'work was so stressful because of the impacts of alcohol in the town, but now there is less stress in working with CDEP workers. Likewise with family, there were dramatically increased pressures due to the impact of alcohol consumption, but now, not having to deal with people who are constantly drunk, as opposed to occasionally drunk, reduced these pressures,' and
- · 'there is less humbug which means less stress.'

Life Style

Individual respondents were very forthcoming in regard to changes in life-style since the restriction. Responses varied from drinkers who noted the positive benefits of the restriction on their health and lifestyle, to drinkers who felt impinged upon by the restrictions. Many older people noted the changes for their families in regard to less humbug and better care of children, while people living in communities noted less violence, less litter and less general humbug. Changed drinking patterns were noted by all respondents, as was continuing, if diminished domestic and general violence. Many people spoke of increasing their visits to country for hunting, fishing and culture as a result of the restriction. Individual respondent responses to changes in lifestyle ranged across the following spectrum:

• 'none,'

- 'when I do make trips to Derby or Halls Creek, people humbug me to buy their grog,'
- 'people humbug us for food and fuel when they pass through to Derby,'
- 'just having a more quiet environment to live in,'
- 'we are quieter about drinking and tend not to let people know when we're leaving town so as not to have people ask us to buy grog. Everyone is very alert to any movement. On pay day you see people sitting at the roadhouse waiting, asking where you're going and ready with the money for orders. Some people are also sending their key-card in,'
- 'there is an influx of itinerant people. They come into Fitzroy for a week or two, dry out and then they're off to Broome or Derby for a month or two, then back,'
- 'going hunting now since the ban. Not so many people going to hospital now from getting hit and that. More people getting involved in Law and Culture now. Now young ones aren't drinking there's more drugs coming into town, more gunja. There is stealing too, like breaking into the Lodge to get grog. We always had gunja, but it is more now,'
- 'at certain times the restrictions have curbed our ability to enjoy ourselves and have a good time,'
- 'it has because I don't drink as much. I used to party all night and into the next day and go to bed at lunch time and sleep all day to the next day, but now I can have some cans at the pub and sleep at night and wake up the next morning ready for work,'
- 'I can go visit with my extended family, have a few cans and it is pleasant,'
- 'we're going fishing and hunting more because we're healthier. Also, on weekends I can work around the house,'
- 'seeing people drinking and abusing themselves all the time was stressful and depressing.
 Since the restrictions this has reduced. The behaviour is still evident around the Crossing Inn, but less than before the restrictions,'
- 'I can walk to the shops without an humbug; people looking for change. I can walk the streets without people pulling me over,'
- 'my family are much easier to communicate with, getting them back to community, getting the kids into school and that makes me happier, less stressed,'
- 'our community has become more fragmented. In the past we worked to improve our communities but now we have been made to feel like we're ticking boxes for government officers,'
- 'I have more time for my family. I have great respect for my children and my grand children...Some of them, the young ones with kids, have gotten better at caring for their kids now and it helps that kids have a good sleep,'
- 'my extended family are able to be communicated with more coherently. Some of my
 family were strongly affected by alcohol and other drugs and since the restrictions we
 have been able to have better relations as they are dealing with their addiction more
 capably,' and
- 'we are no longer dealing with litter and refuse left behind by drinkers as well as the stress that came from humbug from drinkers in our leisure spots near our community.'

Recreation

Most individuals recorded an increase in fishing and hunting activities since the restriction. These activities took place before the restriction, however people noted an increase in these activities and greater involvement of family groups. It was also noted that alcohol was no longer used while hunting and fishing for most people. A sizeable number of individuals recorded no change in their recreational activities, while others spoke of the lack of recreational activities generally, being a major problem for Fitzroy Crossing. Recreational activities for young people were considered to be minimal and in need of development. Some drinkers spoke of reducing their recreational drinking

in part because of the difficulty of obtaining take-away alcohol, but also because they did not like the changed atmosphere at the Lodge and the Inn.

Observations on the impact of the restriction on recreation included:

- 'no affect. We still go fishing and hunting a lot,'
- · 'no real change,'
- 'there is hardly anything happening in Fitzroy for young people. Only Yiriman and KALACC, maybe Garnduwa. We need more recreational things for kids now. Like that Men's Shed, that's just sitting there and we need to see that moving for our mob,'
- 'the lack of recreational activities stirs people up. The Lodge closes because there are too
 many Aboriginal people, but for Aboriginal people who want to have a quiet meal and a
 drink, there are no options,'
- 'I don't go to parties anymore. Sometimes there's a party when people come from out of town with grog, but most times I stay home,'
- 'my family have always gone fishing, but now we see more people fishing down the river,'
- 'Rodeo was boring because not many people turned up, but also because people like to have a few cans while watching the show and they couldn't, and more boring than before, without a few drinks,'
- 'we go fishing and hunting still, that is all there is,'
- 'I no longer go out for a drink in Fitzroy. The people who drink at the Inn and the Lodge are the serious drinkers and I do not enjoy watching people get drunk,'
- 'I used to go fishing and hunting a lot but now I get slack because I am weak and tired from people humbugging me when they come back drunk from the pub,'
- 'we go fishing after work, take my grandson with me and events at the Rec Centre. We can sit with family without drunks. We can sit with our elders without drunks interfering. That made me feel happy when I seen that happen,'
- 'there's people who might not (never) have gone hunting have started to since the ban,'
 and
- 'when involved in group activities, someone would always have alcohol because it was easy to access. Now days you don't see the same prevalence of alcohol. Same with people going fishing, they don't have grog with them like they used to. Also, there are fewer drunks at football and band nights in town. There might be litter or drinkers, but nowhere near like it used to be.'

Access to Services

Individuals, as with service providers and businesses, noted no direct impact in the ability to access services, either government, non-government or commercial services in Fitzroy Crossing. The ability to allow the Ambulance to attend community call-outs was a major change. Some people noted the changes to Centrelink and DCP policies that enabled income management and the introduction of the Basics Card. Others noted the increase in prices at the supermarket being an impact on accessing commercial services. Overall, individuals noted no real change.

General observations on the impact on access to services included:

- 'No,'
- 'None'
- 'possibly easier to see a Doctor at the Hospital,'
- 'they are changing now through Centrelink. Any of the payments, you have a card now.
 You can only buy food and clothes, no alcohol or smokes. I think this is turning back the
 clock. I think they should give these people help with more education to know how to
 spend their money,'

- "the high prices at the supermarket are a real issue. People can't budget easily and so their CDEP money doesn't go very far at all and that makes life harder,"
- 'before the ban, ambulances and other services didn't get access to the community because of drunks interfering, but now we can get ambulances and other services to the community.'
- 'it is as limited as it always was. The restrictions have not solved problems of access to services, but in some ways, now that we can not use CDEP top-up for our community building process, it is worse,' and
- 'the services are working better, so I don't hear the same stories of kids being taken away from mothers or Centrelink having to be hard on people.'

4.4.8 Question eight: Did you support the restriction when first imposed 'Yes' or 'No'? If so/ not, what was the reason?

Of the forty individual respondents interviewed:

- Twenty Three (58%) answered 'yes,'
- Thirteen (32%) answered 'no,' and
- Four (10%) answered 'unable to comment,' or 'uncertain.'

Of the twenty three (58%) respondents who supported the imposition of the restriction in October 2007, most cited the impact of alcohol on the town in the form domestic violence, hopelessness and general dysfunction as the reason for supporting the imposition of the restriction.

Of the thirteen (32%) who did not support the restriction when first imposed, largely did so because they felt there was a lack of consultation and because they did not perceive that the restriction on its own was sufficient to properly deal with the problem of alcohol addiction.

Yes

Of the twenty three (58%) individuals who supported the restriction the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

- 'I was fighting for a long time to stop that alcohol coming in to our communities. I support
 the ban, but not how it happened all of a sudden. People didn't realise how it would be
 upon them, and there was nothing else in place for these people to help cope with having
 the grog taken away,'
- 'I think it's good because you have a good rest,'
- 'I agree with this ban because the younger ones are getting mad with alcohol,'
- 'because there seemed to be a lot of alcohol abuse in the community,'
- 'because of the total abuse of alcohol in the community. It was just rampant. Because Fitzroy has lost its place as the number one drink driving spot in the state. It was in the top ten for years and you knew when you were on the road your life was at risk,'
- 'the main reason was the affect of alcohol on my family as well as the affect on the kids in the town. I had to get away to get support and to get my kids away from the grog. The restrictions made the town safer to return to live in,'
- 'because it was out of control,'
- 'I believe it was good that the women took a step forward and initiated the restrictions,'
- 'to stop drunkenness and make people's lives better. I work with all the old people in the
 desert and they really wanted to see this ban in place to stop young people drinking.
 They used to get humbugged, had lack of sleep and they found it really hard. That is why
 I supported it,'

- 'the old people see it as a sickness and so they like the fact that someone has imposed this ban because it helps young people to cope with the sickness,'
- 'the health of our people. There were too many family dying. Only funerals we're having now is for the old people. Not drunks passing away, no suicides and that,'
- 'we had too much sorry business in town and community and too many people ending up in Hospital because of alcohol; and FASD and mother's family using the money the wrong way. Instead of buying food and clothes for the kids they spent it on alcohol and drugs,'
- 'because young kids. People go down the pub and no one supervising young kids. In Kurnangki, kids would be mixing with the big people who were drunk all the time. People were sick, having accidents, no one was going to work. It was hard to keep our community cleaner. Now, you can't see no can around our community. Now, people are doing their CDEP work and they're looking for other work too,'
- 'I always believed that we had to restrict take-away alcohol in Fitzroy Crossing because of the impact of importing large quantities of alcohol into our communities. A very important reason was the death of my niece from suicide; as well as the death of one of my closest friends at the age of 47 due to alcohol addiction.'

No

Of the thirteen (32%) individuals who opposed the restriction the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

- 'because all the young people drink and they go to other towns to buy their alcohol. Sometimes they might have a car accident,'
- 'it wasn't a community consultation. Only one organisation was driving it. Then that old man from Ngalapita passed away and no one was speaking up for the community voice,'
- 'they took grog away and put nothing in its place. It was cut off all of a sudden. It was as if that was the only problem, grog, and none of the underlying issues were looked at,'
- 'they went about it the wrong way. They should have restricted it to two or three days a week,'
- 'there was a lot of meetings about it and arguments. It was divisive when it first came out. We didn't like that. It cut this town in half. It caused trouble and hurt relationships,'
- 'they should have consulted the communities in the valley about the bans. People in the whole valley should have been supportive in solving alcohol restrictions,'
- 'people are drinking heavier now than they used to. They used to drink VB and Emu Export, but now they're drinking spirits and wine, cask chardonnay,'
- 'we didn't like any light beer. We were happy with how it was. It was good to be able to
 drink at the Billabong and they had that cash for cans. People used to come in from other
 communities. Now people go to Broome and Derby,'
- 'I wanted to know what the real cause of our problems in protecting women and children
 were, and what the restrictions were going to do to treat these causes. The restrictions
 were only ever going to deal with the symptoms,'
- 'I wanted to see us really deal with the issues, including how our community development programs were being managed to change our circumstances. Alcohol addiction and drug addiction are symptoms of core issues about lack of power and opportunities.'

4.4.9 Question Nine: Do you support the restriction remaining in place; 'Yes' or 'No'? If so/ not, what was the reason?

Of the forty individual respondents interviewed:

Twenty eight (70%) answered 'yes,'

- Eight (20%) answered 'no,' and
- Four (10%) answered 'unable to comment,' or, 'uncertain,'

Yes

Of the twenty eight (70%) of respondents who supported restriction remaining in place, most noted the positive benefits to their communities of the restriction. People see improved health, less humbug, less violence and generally a sense of hope. Most importantly, people do not want to see a return of open access to full-strength alcohol. Many spoke of the reduction in suicides and other alcohol related violence and death as their reason for supporting the restriction. Many also felt that the community was not ready to cope with open access to nearby take-away alcohol and the restriction needed more time to allow for a definite change in behaviour. Some did, however, recommend keeping restrictions, but altering them to allow for a few days a week access to higher strength take-away alcohol.

Of the twenty eight (70%) individuals who supported the restriction remaining in place, the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

- 'it has slowed down violence, suicide and other problems. We still have problems in the community and I would like to see more support for something for people to do,'
- 'leave it because it's rubbish (alcohol) and not good for you. We're killing our people. I
 lost my two sons from alcohol,'
- 'yes, we do support the restriction but they should at least have full-strength alcohol for two days at least,'
- 'because as long as the alcohol problem is in front the real problem will be covered,'
- 'because I don't consider the community has learnt to drink responsibly. They still go off now when the sly grog comes in,'
- 'if you turn the full-strength take-away on again it will be back where it was. If there was any relaxing of the restrictions it should only be a day per week on mid-strength with a restriction on the amount per person,'
- 'the town is much quieter. Kids are going to school. Old people are having a rest. People are taking care of their kids. Kids got more tucker. People got more money to spend,'
- 'keep it going. The only thing I would change is to mid-strength beer and people would be happy,'
- 'don't like alcohol anymore. It's caused too much sorrow and death. We want to be free of the white man's liquor or poison,'
- 'because of the ban you see a lot of our people getting their health back. When drunk they were pale and dirty, but now their skin has colour and they have put on weight. They don't see it but we see it from the outside,'
- 'people who might want to change their minds, well, they need to be able to get free of the grog for a while. We try to tell the kids that it is hard, that we've also struggled with grog, but we had to be strong and know it gets better. You have to be strong in yourself.'

No

The minority of individuals (20%) who did not support the restriction remaining in place believed that the restriction itself was not working without follow up support in the form of increased serviced and counselling. This group also held a general belief that, those drinkers who were supposed to be the target of the restrictions, had not benefited by the imposition of the restriction. Of the Eight (20%) of individuals who opposed the restriction continuing, the following represents the range of reasons given for this choice.

• 'people are still getting grog, but they're getting a higher strength of beer and spirits than before the restriction,'

- 'people are drink driving. You see big mobs of people pulled up on the side of the road. People are even catching the Greyhound bus to other towns just to get grog,'
- 'people have a right to drink and the right to make their own choices,'
- 'we want to see some give and take, where we can drink on weekends, even midstrength. People have put up with this for twelve months but they won't put up with these high prices for too much longer. People will give up on Fitzroy and go to another town,'
- 'they do not deal with the causes. The blanket ban allows the authorities to be seen to be doing something, but it masks their inaction in really solving problems of unemployment, education and resources.'

Questions ten to thirteen ask respondents to comment on the effects of the restriction from their personal point of view from before the restriction began to twelve months after the restriction. These questions ask respondents to examine the impacts of the restriction as individuals on:

- · their individual selves,
- the town of Fitzroy Crossing,
- · communities, and
- to other people (children and adults).

The following analysis provides a brief over view of responses to each question, followed by a representative sample of comments by respondents where relevant.

4.4.10 Question Ten: From your personal viewpoint, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact before the restriction and after the restriction;

· to you as an individual.

The range of responses from individuals was understandably mixed. People tended to view the impact of the restriction in positive and negative terms in line with their support or opposition to the restrictions. Individual impacts ranged from those who saw positive benefits for themselves and their communities (less humbug, less drunkenness, less violence and a more peaceful environment), to those who felt impinged upon (that drinking had become expensive and that communities felt imposed upon. Of those who had lost family to alcohol related violence and illnesses, they made it clear that they believed the restriction was positive.

Individual responses included:

- 'it is better because the whole of the valley has gone quieter, but it hasn't stopped my family drinking,'
- 'the ban is good, it has slowed down drunken fighting and things, but it hasn't stopped them.'
- 'people always humbugging me for money and feed,'
- · 'I have to deal with less drunks,'
- 'there is less humbug, but there are stresses due to people not turning up for work because they're off hunting alcohol,'
- 'we still get humbug. Before the ban we got big humbug outside, everywhere, because people were outside drinking. Now you get it in the bar,'
- · 'I'm not drinking as much as before,'
- 'it has affected me emotionally, financially and personally. Full-strength, before the ban, caused great stress because of my partner's drinking which caused me to be depressed and especially my kids. The late nights, different people turning up to the house, different

- kids coming to stay because of problems at home and lack of food because of so many people; it was stressful,'
- 'the main impact has been financial on the cost of alcohol. Before restrictions we'd drink more, from Friday, Saturday and Sunday. We're drinking much less now because the price is up,'
- 'I have benefited by there being less damage to personal property since the restrictions,'
- 'the town is better, far quieter and there is less humbug. There has been some division, but in the scheme of things this is not an issue,'
- 'I lost my mother, father and my family from alcohol. If this had happened a long time ago our people would still be here,'
- 'the key effect has been the fragmentation of my community (Junjuwa),' and
- 'it has imposed change from above in a way that has removed us dealing with problems as a community. It makes us a group of individuals, not a community.'

4.4.11 Question Eleven: From your personal viewpoint, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact before the restriction and after the restriction; to the town.

As with other respondents, by this point of the survey many individuals felt that they had already adequately answered this question when considering general impacts on themselves and their communities and many simply responded by stating, 'as previously answered.'

As with other respondent groups, the core focus was on the reduction in public drunkenness, and public and domestic violence. All respondents noted that, 'the town is quieter,' whether they supported the imposition of the restriction or not.

Respondent's views are recorded here as noted so as to pay respect to the often passionate responses to this question. The range of responses included:

- 'slowly it has impacted. It has slowed down things a bit, like fighting,'
- 'you don't see people partying around town anymore,'
- 'before the ban everyone was just walking around drunk. Kids was running wild on the streets. There were a lot of crimes committed. Now the town looks clean,'
- 'there appears to be less regular visits from people out of town. They're not coming to town as often, usually once a fortnight,'
- 'the town is a lot cleaner in every aspect. People are a lot happier. People feel safer,'
- "we got more people working on CDEP. People are looking after the town, keeping the town tidy. You don't get kids wandering the streets at night now days. You do see them wandering the streets now and then, but not like it was before,"
- 'there is not enough community development work happening,'
- 'alcohol is now an issue that is out in the open'
- 'the town is quieter and there is less litter from beer cans,'
- 'it is more pleasant. You can go down to the shop without drunks causing humbug. Band nights are much less stressful. You still have the occasional fight or drinking by some, but nothing like it was,'
- 'there is less violence. Humbug has gone up; people hitting us up for money because they don't know how to budget their money and everything has gone up,'
- 'the town seems 'normalised.' People feel more comfortable to move around the community more,'

- 'some habitual drunks might have gone to Broome, but they have always travelled to other towns for drinking. I see people in Broome and Derby from Fitzroy, but I've seen them there before the restrictions too, so I don't believe it has been as big an impact as people think.'
- 'before the ban the town was really noisy at night. I could sit outside in my yard and hear screaming, crying, fighting and it wouldn't stop until daybreak. Now since the ban it is really quiet,'
- 'the town may seem quieter to many people, but now whenever grog hits town it is drunk
 until it's finished. We used to have periods of drinking before, but now we have drinking
 any time grog hits town. People are focused on who might be going to buy grog on a
 'rabbit run,' mostly to Derby and Broome because in Halls Creek it's harder to get hold of,'
 and
- 'social harmony of our community has increased significantly. Levels of violence and alcohol fuelled parties have decreased. The after-hours activities of young people have reduced. Many of my relatives have begun rebuilding their lives and their personal health. People have become wiser about purchases from elsewhere – budgeting and managing their alcohol. Many towns people have also given up on grog.'

4.4.12 Question Twelve: From your personal viewpoint, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact before the restriction and after the restriction; to communities.

Individual respondents were interviewed from ten separate communities in Fitzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley. People spoke of increased movement between communities and the town of Fitzroy Crossing. There were competing views as to the regularity of visitors from outlying communities to Fitzroy Crossing as well as the impact of the restriction on the ability of workers to participate in CDEEP. This is largely due to the different nature and leadership of separate communities. Leaders from the majority of Fitzroy Town communities reported positive benefits of the restriction in the form of reduced violence, reduced anti-social behaviour and general reduced drunkenness.

Respondent comments included:

- 'no change,'
- 'from my community, everyone is still in their community, but they come into town to have their drink then go home. Because of people moving between town and communities, loving their grog and loving their communities, they need to look between the alcohol and the home and how they're forgetting about their children. It is falling on us old people to care for the kids.'
- · 'not much humbug in Mindi Rardi, only before when they had good beer,'
- 'all the CDEP workers are leaving their communities and coming to town to drink at the pub and the Lodge,'
- · 'our people are staying in the community and working now,'
- 'people may be staying a little bit more in their communities and not coming in as regularly,'
- 'when that ban came in they started to put that by-law, like at Wangkatjungka, Bayulu and Noonkanbah. But you still see people who don't listen to that. There's more people staying in their communities now. Before they used to come into town all the time to drink and they'd stay here. These town communities are more quieter, but they need Mara Worra Worra to work with them to help them to be better communities,'

- 'communities have not changed because of the bans. There is nothing happening in the
 community. They are uncertain and lost. They feel there is big talk and no action.
 Communities like Kurnangki, Mindi Rardi, Loan Bun, Junjuwa and Bayulu still have major
 problems that have not been solved by the restrictions,'
- 'Fitzroy communities are more pleasant. Living in Junjuwa before the bans, Friday nights were horrible; drunks cruising around in cars, people knocking on doors, fights. Now, a Saturday night in Junjuwa is peaceful and quiet,'
- 'if one community has good beer, say there's a party at Junjuwa, well people from another community will come in humbugging for the good beer and this causes fights,'
- 'people who came into Fitzroy from communities might have moved on to other towns to get alcohol but it doesn't mean they stay for good. Also, we see people moving around to visit family or to chop more cheaply much cheaper than you can buy in Fitzroy,'
- 'people used to drink in their own communities, but now they go into where ever the grog is which can cause problems. Money talks, bullshit walks; if you're prepared to pay \$ 200 for a carton, who cares where you come from,' and
- 'it has decreased alcohol fuelled dysfunction in our community. It has made community members return to their outlying Fitzroy communities. Community stores appear to be becoming more viable. Police appear more able to be effective in policing communities. People seem more capable of engaging with the Justice System because they're able to take responsibility to report and carry through with complaints due to the ability to be part of the process.'

4.4.13 Question Thirteen: From your personal viewpoint, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact before the restriction and after the restriction; to other people (Adults and Children).

Respondent answers were able to be divided into three distinct groups; children (young people), adults and old people.

Children (young people)

Unlike service providers and business respondents (from which responses tended to be grouped into larger cohorts of a similar view) individual respondent views are significantly diverse. Individuals have all spoken of continuing anti-social behaviour and alcohol abuse, lack of respect of younger people and dependency on old people. Overall, while these factors continue, it is clear that the restriction has had an impact in reducing these activities. It has not masked these activities as these young people do not have values that would warrant hiding this behaviour. To them it is normal. However, pressured created by the restriction have caused some reduction.

Comments regarding the impact on children included:

- 'young people are aware of painting money day and they'll follow them (old people) around and boss over them for their money,'
- 'there are still kids hanging around the streets late at night, and hanging around the Tourist Bureau, maybe a little less, but not a significant change,'
- 'kids now days are far too old before their time. They have TV and see things we didn't.
 They are sexually active younger and many don't have respect for their elders the way we
 were brought up,'
- 'young people are going to where the grog is and where the parties are. They don't drink around the old people but they continue to binge drink where the grog is,'

- 'young people have changed. They drink at the pub, come back drunk, but come home and sleep instead of staying up all night. Only when they drink grog from out of town do they drink all night. They're learning to drink light beer,'
- 'for younger people, boredom is still a major issue,' and
- 'young people used to violently harass older people for money, but this is not as prevalent.'

Adults

Individual respondents uniformly focused on the issue of drinking parents leaving their children with grandparents. This is a practice that has taken place before the restriction, however, when people drank at home they appear to have taken some of the pressure from old people, simply by being around and perhaps being responsible parents when sober for a time. Otherwise, they were simply parenting children while drunk.

Comments regarding the impact on adults included:

- 'before the restriction they love their grog more than they love their kids. Even when they're babies, they're leaving them with their grandparents,'
- 'a lot more kids are being left with their grannies or other elders with parents going to the pub and spending kid money,'
- 'the parents are leaving their children with old people and going to the pub and lodge to drink,'
- 'some parents are now taking care of kids, but some are still leaving their kids with grandparents. Some parents are still spending their kids money (on grog),' and
- 'some people want to get their kids back (from DCP) for the money.'

Old People (the elderly)

All respondents spoke of continuing and, it appears, increasing pressure of old people through their children leaving children in the care of old people while searching out alcohol. Individual respondents have also noted better relationships between old people and young people with many old people whom were interviewed speaking of going hunting and fishing more as a family.

Respondent comments about old people included:

- 'old people are still being stuck with grand children while parents go off to drink or gamble
 or head to another town for grog. There may be a little less of this, but not a big change,'
- 'old people and young people get on a lot better now. There is more talking and more cultural activities taking place,'
- 'old people are much happier. Some people still take off and leave their kids with old people, but not as bad as it was,'
- 'before the ban old people couldn't sleep all night or keep their food in the fridge. We'd
 wait up for drunks till four o'clock in the morning. Now they can have a good sleep at
 night because we're not waiting for anyone to knock on my door,'
- 'old people don't worry about the restrictions. Some who do drink are happy to drink the light beer. It helps them to sleep. They have some, get noisy, get tired and sleep,' and
- 'relationships between older people and younger people have improved.'

4.4.14 Question fourteen: In what way can you see the restriction has generally changed the community; positively or negatively?

Individual respondents generally acknowledged that there were a mixture of positive benefits and negative impacts of the restriction for themselves and other groups in Fitzroy Crossing. Respondents therefore tended to break their responses into two groups, positive and negative.

Positive

As with previous respondents, positive individual responses focused on reduced domestic violence, reduced anti-social behaviour, reduced general humbug and a more positive sense of the future for Fitzroy residents. All respondents commented on the positive benefits of the town being quieter, enabling residents to have a good night's sleep and the resultant reduction in stress for townspeople. People spoke of the town becoming 'normal,' that is, similar to other regional towns where community members were able to consider a more positive future instead of being besieged by the impacts of alcohol abuse.

Positive Individual respondent comments included:

- 'none,'
- 'maybe it got rid of three quarters of the drunks,'
- 'it impacted on the town slowing down all the fighting, drunken driving and suicide, but it hasn't changed the real problem, which is in their mind and having things to do,'
- 'no more kids walking around with drunks and a bit more quiet,'
- 'there is more energy in the community,'
- 'the amount of violence has certainly reduced. You just don't see the same amount of violence at the road house and other public places,'
- 'people are being active, starting to work and change their lives,'
- 'old people are much more at peace. They don't get as much humbug. They can sleep at night,'
- 'people who were heavy drinkers can buy more things for their kids and they're learning how to spend more wisely,'
- 'we're able to do things around the house and when I go out fishing, I'm not going out with a hangover or feeling sick,'
- 'it is a better place to live; cleaner and less violence,'
- 'people are actually getting their life back. Some people don't want to drink but they drink because of peer pressure and also because there's not much happening and people drink to fill the space,' and
- 'all positive. We can see people starting to keep themselves in an appropriate place to drink and they're learning how to drink proper way. In five years, maybe, we could go back to normal.'

Negative

As with other respondents, negative responses focused on the increased pressured caused by a core group of drinkers who were continuing to leave their children with old people and were either absent at the Crossing Inn or the Lodge, or seeking alcohol in other towns. The impact of increased divisions in the town over the issue of alcohol restrictions was also seen as a major negative outcome of this particular restriction and the way it was imposed. These respondents viewed the impacts of the restriction in terms of 'hidden' behaviour such as domestic violence and grandparents unable to speak out for fear of attracting the attention of authorities, or the wrath of alcohol affected parents who may choose to take their children with them to places of increased vulnerability.

Negative respondent comments included:

- 'none,'
- 'the bad thing is that it is not having a big meeting about this thing; what is happening with the ban and what is happening for families.'
- 'people are still dying in our community because of alcohol,'
- · 'the restrictions changed Fitzroy, but not the people,'
- 'suicides and attempted suicides are still happening and this is an ongoing problem because people are not receiving support,'
- 'there is definitely more gunja being used. People are choosing other drugs instead of alcohol and there have been reports of young people sniffing spray cans and air freshener,'
- 'there is a certain percentage of the population who don't have a drinking problem and they have been brought under the same rules,'
- 'the only negative is when people go to Derby and bring back grog and that we're seeing more drugs like gunja,'
- 'it has revealed some fundamental racism in the town. These attitudes have always been here but this issue has given it a voice and it has divided the Aboriginal community,'
- 'a lot of our people are travelling out of town to get full-strength and this is a big worry. Also they're getting into harder grog like chardonnay and spirits,' and
- 'the only thing it has done is change the drinking patterns of people. It has not changed the issues that fed addiction. If anything it has driven the price of grog up.'

4.4.15 Question fifteen: Are there any other comments you would like to make (what do you believe the next steps should be)?

All respondents provided detailed and considered responses to this question. When asked if there were any further comments, people tended to feel that they had already said all there was to say. When asked what the next steps should be, all respondents had definite, considered views as to what needed to be done to deal with issues of alcohol addiction and the resultant impacts in Fitzroy Crossing. All respondents provided these views with regard to the alcohol restriction and resultant impact over the previous twelve months. All respondents felt that there needed to be more services made available by government agencies to deal with problems of alcohol abuse and core associated problems of lack of self-esteem, lack of educational and employment opportunities and lack of facilities.

Respondent answers were able to be divided into three distinct themes.

- Maintaining the restriction', until enough time had passed for people to cope with changes and providing extra resources.
- Altering the restriction' to allow for one or two days in which full-strength takeaway alcohol
 was able to be purchased in Fitzroy Crossing, and providing extra resources.
- Critical Comments on the complexity of the issue.

Maintaining the Restriction

The majority of individual respondents wished for the restriction to continue, but all called for increased government support for targeted services. The most common recommendation was to increase the number of drug and alcohol counsellors, for there to be male drug and alcohol counsellors, as well as the current single female drug and alcohol counsellor working in Fitzroy Crossing. Services for men, including the implementation of the 'men's shed' as well as safe houses and hostels for children were key issues. Comments from these individual respondents included:

- 'restrictions should stay in force indefinitely because I don't believe the problem has been cured.'
- "they should have more alcohol education for people,"
- 'they should get that men's shed up and running properly,'
- 'the Women's Resource Centre needs to work more closely with other organisations because there are still major family problems, not only tied to alcohol, that need to be dealt with,'
- 'there needs to be more of a whole group or whole of community approach to counselling on alcohol. An individual approach won't work on its own. The processes need to involve families and communities in changing behaviours, not just focusing on the individual,'
- 'we need more counselling so people can say how they feel about it and more people will make themselves come good,'
- 'we should have support in our own community to run a night patrol and the sobering up centre needs to be working properly,' and
- 'the restriction needs to stay for a minimum of 50 years and be part of the broader Fitzroy Valley Futures Plan which has to be formulated by the Fitzroy Futures Forum.'

Altering the Restriction

A minority of individual respondents recommended the altering of the restriction. Those that recommended an alteration sought to have at most one day per week when either full or midstrength take-away alcohol was available to be purchased in Fitzroy Crossing. The reasoning behind this view was that it would stop people from leaving Fitzroy Crossing, it would enable people who were addicted to alcohol to manage their alcohol through tapering off, and it would reduce accidents on the road and impacts on people's meagre budgets through having to travel to other towns. Respondent views included:

- 'next step is to get all the community people together and have a big meeting what they think about the ban, if it's good or bad and come up with other ways about how to deal with the real issues.'
- 'I reckon they should have mid-strength alcohol to take-away instead of light strength,'
- 'they should have some days where you get full-strength take-away to have a drink after work or close on a Sunday, or have other limited times,'
- 'The ban should remain, but have one or two days to have take-away full-strength as well
 as programs in place to deal with addiction to alcohol and to be able to drink properly,'
 and
- 'the restriction is a half-hearted effort. Just cutting off grog is not the solution.'

Critical Comments and next steps

All respondents made comments of a general nature about the impacts of the restriction and the future of Fitzroy Crossing and its people. The majority of respondents supported the continuation of the restriction under the belief that enough time had not yet passed to allow people to change their behaviour, which was considered the key issue affecting continued alcohol abuse in Fitzroy Crossing. Many people spoke of the need for increased government services including drug and alcohol counselling.

Divisions within the town and the need to provide avenues for collaboration on this issue, as a town and community issue were highlighted, along with the need to create opportunities for different groups to come together and discuss this issue. The need to develop men's services was very high on the agenda, as well as the need to support Law and culture activities on country. Respondent recommendations and observations included:

- 'somehow people need to stop drinking and change their ways for their kids. But they need help, men and women,'
- 'what is needed is a massive collaborative approach working with people and not just telling them what to do. It wasn't a community decision,'
- 'there needs to be a structured youth forum and centre for young people,'
- 'there needs to be much more focus on resourcing of the men's Centre (Men's Shed) to draw men in to deal with these issues,'
- "if there is going to be an impact on this thing it needs a long-term approach across governments; not just based on electoral terms,"
- "the next step is for government and decision makers to come up here for a length of time and know what it is like instead of them making decisions from Perth without understanding,"
- 'no more committees for the sake of a talk fest. Let's see actions for resources and services. Fund projects and let people be the best they can be through having opportunities,'
- 'let's replicate Yiriman wider than its current area,'
- 'we have to work on our profile (where we are at) and decide where we want to be (our own targets),' and
- 'we need to have a negotiator or moderator so as to help resolve the divisions caused by the restrictions. We have to work at the local level to create a collaborative approach.'

4.5 Summary Comparisons Between the Different Respondent Groups;

- Service Providers,
- Businesses, and,
- Individuals.

The following summaries provide a comparison of responses to survey questions that were asked of all respondents. This allows for a consideration of general viewpoints held by the three separate groups of respondents regarding key issues raised in the evaluation.

4.5.1 Summary Comparison of Respondent Awareness of Restrictions;

- The Restriction,
- Period of the Restriction, and,
- Responsible Authorities.

Knowledge of the restriction

All respondent groups were aware of the terms and conditions of the restriction. Individuals were better informed about the self-imposed restrictions implemented at the two licensed venues.

Table 12: Respondent Group Restriction Awareness Comparison

Respondent Group	Awareness of Liquor Licensing Authority Restriction	Awareness of self imposed restrictions of the licensed venues	Awareness of Restriction start and end dates
Service Providers	100% Aware of Restriction	Very Aware	Moderately Aware
Businesses	100% Aware of Restriction	Moderately Aware	Moderately Aware
Individuals	100% Aware of Restriction	Very Aware	Very Aware

4.5.2 Summary Comparison of Respondent views of Impacts on;

- Livelihood,
- Lifestyle,
- Personal Health
- Recreation,
- Access to Services.

Livelihood

Individuals mostly found the increase in the cost of alcohol to be prohibitive, while it was noted by employment services that more people were seeking work due to reduced alcohol consumption. *Businesses* and Individuals were most affected in terms of livelihood with a number of businesses experiencing a significant downturn. *Service providers* were largely unaffected.

Life Style

Service providers experienced some impact through reduced humbug, increased work satisfaction and more time for leisure. Businesses experienced some minor impacts through no longer choosing to frequent the Lodge and the Inn. Individuals experienced direct impact due to

decreased violence, generally decreased stress and less anti-social behaviour. Some individuals recorded an increase in stress through humbug by young drinkers and minding children, but were in the minority.

Personal Health

Service providers experienced a health benefit. They were directly affected by the restriction due to decreased stress levels through not dealing with as many alcohol affected clients. Business experienced a health deficit. They were generally directly affected due to increased stress levels tied to increased uncertainty. Individuals experienced a general health benefit, while some old people recorded continuing humbug by young drinkers and minding children. Most individuals experienced a health benefit in the form of less violence, less anti-social behaviour and decreased stress.

Recreation

Service Providers recorded little or no impact on their recreation. Businesses recorded some impact through choosing not to frequent the Lodge or the Inn, and in choosing to travel more often to obtain take-away alcohol. Individuals experienced direct impact through increased hunting, fishing, family activities, travelling and participating in sporting events.

Access to Services

Service Providers Experienced no impact. Businesses experienced little impact recording some difficulty in attracting staff and tradespeople. Individuals recorded some impact through using the recently installed Drug and Alcohol Counsellor and Mental Health Counsellor, with most believing few changes has occurred regarding services.

Table 13. Lifestyle Impacts Across Respondent Groups

Respondent Group	Livelihood	Personal Health	Life Style	Recreation	Access to Services
Service Providers	Little or No Impact	Direct Impact -Reduced Stress Levels Due to More Effective Work	Some Impact - Reduced Humbug and Increased Activities	Little or No Impact - Some increased Hunting and Fishing or Walking	No Impact
Businesses	Direct Impact - Minority of Businesses Impacted Between 15 - 25% Downturn	Direct Impact - Increased Stress Levels Due to Uncertainty	Some Impact - No Longer Frequenting Licensed Venues	Some Impact – No Longer Frequenting Licensed Venues	Little Impact - Some Concern re Attracting Trades- people
Individuals	Direct Impact - Increased General Prices. Increased Cost of Alcohol. Cost of Accessing Alcohol. Increase in Work Activity and Seeking Work	Direct Impact - Less Violence. More People Fishing and Hunting. Old People Experiencing Increased Humbug from Young Drinkers Leaving Children to be Minded	Direct Impact - Less Violence, Noise and Humbug Overall. More Activities on Country. Some Old People Experiencing More Humbug. More Mobility.	Direct Impact - More People Fishing and Hunting. More Family Activities. Better Participation in Garnduwa and Other Sport. More Walking.	Some Impact - Most Record No Change. Some Accessing Drug and Alcohol and Mental Health Services. Some Record Access to Hospital and Police. Most Believe No Proper Investment in Services - Government.

4.5.3 Summary Comparison of Respondent Views of Impacts on;

- the town,
- communities, and,
- other people (old people and children).

The Town

Service Providers were generally positive regarding the impact of the restriction on Fitzroy Crossing. They noted decreased violence, decreased humbug, quieter evenings, less litter, less public drunkenness and a generally more positive feel to the town and its people.

Businesses were divided about the impact of the restriction on the town. Approximately two thirds of businesses were generally negative regarding the impact of the restriction on the town. They noted increased movement of people away from town, increased humbug of old people, and a decrease in revenue due to less people using their business and choosing to shop in Derby and

Broome. One third of businesses were positive or ambivalent about the impact of the restriction on the town.

Individuals were divided about the impact of the restriction on the town. The majority of individuals were positive about the restriction. They noted reduced violence, better relations between families and better treatment of children as their reasons. A minority of individuals, mostly drinkers, were negative about the restriction. They noted some improvements, but believed many of the problems that existed before the restriction, while less obvious, were still to be dealt with.

Communities

Service Providers were very positive about the impact of the restriction on communities in Fitzroy Crossing. They noted a less direct impact on more remote and regional communities. Increased CDEP participation, better relationships between clients and service providers and less violence were observed changes resulting from the restriction.

Businesses were mostly (two thirds) very negative about the impact of the restriction on communities. They noted people moving to other towns, increased movement of people generally, that violence was still an issue and that CDEP was ineffective. Some businesses believed the impact had been positive for communities and this benefit flowed to their business in the form of less public violence.

Individuals were divided about the impact of the restriction on communities. The majority believed the restriction was positive for communities enabling people to move back to home communities and more effective CDEP. A minority believed the impact was negative due to an increase in binge drinking and the dangers of the 'rabbit run.'

Other People (children and old people)

Service providers were very positive about the affects of the restriction for children and old people. They noted increased supervision by parents, general better care and nutrition and decreased antisocial behaviour. For old people they noted the ability to get a good night sleep, less humbug and more family activities.

Businesses (two thirds) were very negative about the impact of the restriction on children and old people. They noted the increase in humbugging of old people and old people being left to care for children of drinkers who were either out of town or drinking down at the Fitzroy Inn. A minority of businesses (one third) were very positive about the impact of the restriction.

Individuals were largely positive about the impact of the restriction on children and old people. Most noted the better care of children, less violence, more food, better self care and more social activities tied to country. Some noted the number of old people being left with the care of children of parents who drank at the Crossing Inn or travelled for alcohol.

4.5.4 Summary Comparison of Respondent Views of Overall Impacts;

- Positive Outcomes, and,
- Negative Outcomes.

Service providers found the restriction to have a positive affect overall. They noted reduced domestic violence, reduced anti-social behaviour, reduced general humbug, a more positive sense of the future for Fitzroy residents and the town being quieter.

Businesses largely saw negative impacts of the restriction. These negative impacts were tied to increased divisions, the ineffectiveness of the restriction, lack of consultation, lack of government services and continued acts of violence tied to alcohol abuse.

Individuals were divided evenly about the positive and negative effects of the restriction. They noted positive impacts; the town becoming 'normal,' that is, similar to other regional towns where community members were able to consider a more positive future instead of being besieged by the impacts of alcohol abuse. They also noted negative impacts; of drinkers who were continuing to leave their children with old people and were either absent at the Crossing Inn or the Lodge, or seeking alcohol in other towns.

5. Regional Impacts

5.1 Service Provider and Private Business interviews in the towns of Derby, Halls Creek and Broome

Key service providers and businesses were interviewed in Halls Creek, Derby and Broome to assess any impact of the imposition of the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing. Businesses were interviewed if they were involved in the sale of liquor as well as food, fuel and other sundry services likely to be used by visiting or relocating Fitzroy residents.

The following service providers and businesses were contacted for comment and interview in Halls Creek, Derby and Broome:

- Western Australian Police,
- Senior Medical Officers, Broome, Derby and Halls Creek,
- · Sobering Up Centres, Halls Creek, Derby and Broome,
- Night Patrols in Halls Creek and Derby,
- Shire Offices of Derby, Halls Creek and Broome,
- Department of Housing and Works in Derby, Halls Creek and Broome,
- Men's drop in centres and alcohol rehabilitation centres, Derby and Halls Creek,
- Licensed premises in Halls Creek, Derby and Broome as well as take-away liquor outlets
- · Centre Link, Derby
- Primary and High Schools in Halls Creek and Derby,
- Alcohol and Mental Health Services in Derby, Halls Creek and Broome,
- Roadhouses in Derby and Halls Creek,
- · Supermarkets in Derby, Halls Creek and Broome,
- CDEP Offices in Derby, Halls Creek and Broome, and
- Specific project based organisations such as 'Better Life' in Halls Creek.

5.2 Derby – Evaluation of the Impacts of the Alcohol Restriction in Fitzroy Crossing

A total of twenty interviews were completed with Derby service and business personnel in March 2009. Respondent groups included health services, drug and alcohol services, Police services, commercial services (liquor outlets, supermarkets and the road house), and local government services. The interviews aimed to determine the impact, if any, of the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing for Derby residents, services and businesses.

5.2.1 Derby Health Services

There have been negligible impacts from Fitzroy Crossing residents on Health Services in Derby. Emergency Department admissions reveal a slight, but negligible increase in Fitzroy Valley residents presenting for treatment. This increase was considered to have little or no impact on the Hospital Service in Derby.

Derby Hospital and Fitzroy Crossing Hospital service Derby-West Kimberley region jointly. Derby Hospital staff members provide regular specialist services such as physio therapy, paediatric and mental health services. The newly appointed Drug and Alcohol Counsellor and Mental Health Counsellor in Fitzroy Crossing come under the management of this regional service that is

overseen from the Derby Hospital. The restriction has enabled better coordination and collaboration across a number of health services due to the overall better health gain for the region.

The positive impacts of the restriction for Fitzroy Crossing Hospital therefore have resultant positive impacts on West Kimberley Health outcomes generally.

It was considered unnecessary to increase Drug and Alcohol Counselling Services and Mental Health Counselling Services for Fitzroy Crossing above the current sole Drug and Alcohol Counsellor and Mental Health Counsellor. The reason given for this view is that many people have now been relatively sober foir over 12 months and have addressed many of the immediate issues they have had in their lives and are now looking to address long term issues, including alcohol dependence. This has resulted in the existing services being inundated

5.2.2 Derby Police Services

The Restriction in Fitzroy Crossing is having a definite impact on Derby and the Derby Police Service. The increase in Fitzroy residents seeking alcohol through the rabbit run has led to an increase in short-term visitors who have been responsible for increased crime, general anti-social behaviour and street drinking.

Fitzroy residents travel to Derby weekly with a greater impact each fortnightly Centre-link pay schedule. This increased visiting causes:

- · overcrowding,
- increased domestic violence,
- · increased assaults.
- · increased anti-social behaviour, and
- · increased traffic offences.

These 'spikes' occur in waves of populations with some waves being represented by particular communities, such as Looma or Noonkanbah people. There is, however, a constant stream of people being arrested and detained for street drinking and other offences from the Fitzroy Crossing.

Initially, when the restriction was first imposed, there was a definite increase in longer-term visitors from Fitzroy Crossing, however, this has reduced. The Police Service has not witnessed large numbers of Fitzroy people who have relocated to Derby from Fitzroy Crossing permanently, or for long periods of time. Many people visit for a funeral and stay for a few weeks, or up to a month. Most people visit on a Thursday, or a Friday and return to Fitzroy Crossing. Older Fitzroy people tend to come for the day only. Younger Fitzroy people tend to stay for a few nights from Thursday to Saturday, returning once they have partied and generally caused disturbances throughout the town.

During the period in which the first 'stimulus package' was released in December, 2008, Derby Police reported that it was 'killing us,' with a dramatic increase in anti-social behaviour and resultant crime. However, the general increase in workloads associated with Fitzroy visitors seeking alcohol is considered to be manageable. In one week in March 2009, of the 47 people who were detained in Derby, 35 were intoxicated and approximately 20 of these people were from outside of Derby. Regardless of this increase in workloads, the restriction is supported by Derby Police because of the health and welfare of the community and the impacts of alcohol on children. The restriction is considered to be a first step. Some Fitzroy Crossing problems may have shifted

to Derby, but this is accepted as part of a long-term regional approach necessary in dealing with alcohol related harms in the Kimberley for all of its citizens.

5.2.3 Derby Commercial Services

Liquor licensees report a substantial increase in take-away alcohol purchases largely from Fitzroy residents completing the weekly and fortnightly 'rabbit run.' Initially Fitzroy Valley residents were spending the greater proportion of their income on alcohol. Some people still do, spending every cent in their (or the key-card holders) account on alcohol. Most now purchase a greater proportion of food and other items on these fortnightly and weekly trips.

Woolworths reported a levelling out of alcohol sales with fewer people buying very large quantities of alcohol only. More people were shopping as families and spending more of their income on groceries. There was a perceived general increase in revenue of 10% overall and this was attributed directly to Fitzroy Valley Residents. There was also an increase in bulk orders from communities, which is then transported on order and does not include alcohol sales.

The Colac Roadhouse reported a dramatic increase in business, largely attributed to Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley residents completing the 'rabbit run.' It was estimated that this trade had increased general revenue for fuel and food by 20% overall. It was noted that, apart from the people who travel for the day only, many of the people who stay for longer, perhaps a few nights, are still intoxicated from partying all night on the Marsh, at Jealousy Creek, or the Back Blocks, when they leave Derby for Fitzroy Crossing early in the morning on Fridays or Saturdays. There has also been an increase in break-ins, theft, violence and other ant-social behaviour. Extra staff have been employed to cope with the demand, but also with the increased anti-social behaviour.

Rusty's reported no direct increase in sales of food and other items to Fitzroy residents and noted that they had a reduction in clients since they voluntarily stopped selling two litre casks of chardonnay in August 2008. It was believed stopping the sale of two litre casks of chardonnay and the resultant reduction in drinkers hanging around the liquor outlet and supermarket caused more locals to shop at Rusty's and has increased general supermarket sales.

They noted that Fitzroy residents buy full-strength beer only, no mid-strength or light-strength. They also tend to buy large bottles of spirits. They see Fitzroy residents on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays, and therefore do not believe people are relocating permanently, but are staying periodically.

5.2.4 Derby Local Government Services

The Shire of Derby West Kimberley is based in Derby and is responsible for municipal services in Derby, Fitrzroy Crossing and the Fitzroy Valley and West Kimberley north of Broome. Staff were interviewed in Fitzroy Crossing and Derby. Responses relating to Fitzroy Crossing have been included in the assessment of service provider responses in sections three and four of this evaluation.

In regard to the impact of the restriction on alcohol in Fitzroy Crossing on the town of Derby, staff reported a perceived slight decrease in populations of communities that they dealt with in the Fitzroy Valley. This was attributed to greater movement of these residents to the towns of Derby and Broome. It was noted that a definite impact of the restriction was increased mobility, however, this population shift was also noted.

Staff observed increased recreational activities taking place in remote communities within the Shire of Derby West Kimberley within three months of the restriction being implemented. There has been a reduction in vandalism of shire property in the town of Fitzroy Crossing and fewer problems with dogs. Otherwise, there had been no real change.

In Derby Shire staff noticed more people hanging around liquor stores and more people hanging around the town generally. There was a perceived increase in itinerant visitors as well as a slight increase in the permanent population. The number of itinerant people sleeping rough around town had increased by 15 to 20 people. It was noted that this increase in itinerant people coming to Derby to obtain alcohol was impacting on local people causing tensions between local language groups with people not of this country potentially causing themselves harm and the resultant blame this will bring.

5.2.5 Derby Alcohol and other Community Support Services

The Derby Men's Centre, Derby Sobering Up Shelter and Numbad Patrol reported no significant impact on their services from Fitzroy residents. When the restriction was first implemented there was a surge of people from Fitzroy Crossing using the Derby Men's Service (20-30). These people did not stay for long and soon returned to their communities, to Fitzroy or moved to Broome. Since that initial shift, there has been almost no impact from Fitzroy residents using the men's centre.

The Numbad Night Patrol works in collaboration with the Derby Sobering Up Shelter. A big night for the Numbad Patrol may involve assisting 200 people. The Sobering Up Shelter has room for 22-23 people. The Numbad Patrol noted no real impact from Fitzroy residents. It was acknowledged that people from Fitzroy arrived on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, but they soon returned to Fitzroy Crossing. They recorded no real change. The Sobering Up Shelter noticed no shift in population of the regular people who used their service. It was estimated that, all up, perhaps 50 people from Fitzroy were periodically moving back and forth between Derby and Fitzroy Crossing.

Kimberley Mental Health and Drug Services support the Fitzroy Valley and are based in Derby. It was observed that clients were travelling regularly to Derby to obtain alcohol. When doing so, they were engaged in risky behaviour; driving without licenses, driving while drunk, engaging in domestic violence in Derby, increasing requests for help and some self-referrals and continuing suicidal tendencies.

There had been an increased workload since the restriction, but no concurrent increase in resources to deal with this. A case worker spoke of their workload increasing by 100% to cope with the increased workload of Fitzroy Crossing alone.

Kimberley Mental Health and Drug Services state the community is 'crying out' for alcohol and other drug programs and mental health programs, but these have not been developed. What is required is Indigenous specific programs.

5.2.6 Derby Impact Summary

Derby has been moderately impacted upon from the alcohol restriction in Fitzroy Crossing. This impact is largely in the form of increased crime and anti-social behaviour caused by mostly young people from Fitzroy Crossing coming to Derby regularly on short trips to drink and socialise. Derby has benefited financially from the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing with many Fitzroy residents choosing to combine accessing alcohol with purchasing groceries and other products. The Police service has been impacted on through increased workloads, but this is not considered to be overly

troublesome by Derby Police. There is negligible impact in terms of Fitzroy residents relocating permanently to Derby.

5.3 Halls Creek – Evaluation of the Impacts of the Alcohol Restriction in Fitzroy Crossing

A total of ten interviews were completed with Halls Creek service providers and businesses in April 2009. Respondent groups included health services, drug and alcohol services, Police services, commercial services (liquor outlets, supermarkets and the road houses), local government services and education services. The interviews aimed to determine the impact, if any, of the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing for Halls Creek residents.

5.3.1 Halls Creek Health Services

There has been negligible impact on Halls Creek health services by Fitzroy residents because of the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing. A very minor number of Fitzroy people presenting to the Emergency Department, but this was not considered to be a causative factor of the restriction.

5.3.2 Halls Creek Police Services

There has been little or no effect on Halls Creek Police services from Fitzroy Crossing residents resulting from the alcohol restriction.

5.3.3 Halls Creek Commercial Services

Halls Creek commercial services record little or no impact of Fitzroy residents due to the alcohol restriction in Fitzroy Crossing. It was noted that there was a slight increase in Fitzroy Valley Community residents visiting to obtain alcohol early in the life of the restriction. However, there has been no continuation of the practice. One vendor noted that they are very aware of where their clients come from because they largely cash CDEP and other community purchase orders for individuals and it would be rare to see three such cheques per month in Halls Creek.

5.3.4 Halls Creek Local Government Services

Halls Creek local government services record no impact of the liquor restriction in Fitzroy Crossing on the Town of Halls Creek. It has been noted that some Fitzroy residents have moved to Halls Creek to join other family members. Indigenous community members and organisations stated that this increase in residence was often from Halls Creek families who had moved to Fitzroy Crossing and had decided to return to Halls Creek. Drinkers at Dinner Camp and at the White Rocks drinking area said that they do not see Fitzroy residents regularly. When Fitzroy Velley residents are in town drinking, they may congregate on or near the over next to the recreation centre, but they do not stay in town for long.

5.3.5 Halls Creek Alcohol and other Community Support Services

Halls Creek alcohol, and other community service organisations report no direct impact of the alcohol restriction in Fitzroy Crossing on Halls Creek. One community service organisation manager stated that they believed there were large numbers of Fitzroy people coming to town, but this was out of step with all other service providers and the service concerned did not deal directly with a clients relating to alcohol, health or police services.

5.3.6 Halls Creek Education Services

Halls Creek District High School staff saw no impact of the alcohol restriction in Fitzroy Crossing on their service, on children or in the town generally. It was noted that alcohol was a serious problem

for Halls Creek families and children in their care, and that if Fitzroy residents had relocated in numbers they would have to enrol their children in school, and there had been no change to patterns of enrolments.

5.3.7 Halls Creek Impact Summary

There has been little or no sustained impact of the alcohol restriction in Fitzroy Crossing on the town and people of Halls Creek.

5.4 Broome – Evaluation of the Impacts of the Alcohol Restriction in Fitzroy Crossing

A total of twenty interviews were completed with Broome residents in March 2009. Respondent groups included health services, drug and alcohol services, Police services, commercial services (liquor outlets, supermarkets and the road house), and local government services. The interviews aimed to determine the impact, if any, of the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing for Broome residents.

5.4.1 Broome Health Services

There has been little or no impact of Fitzroy residents on the health services in Broome. Health services across the board, including alcohol and drug services, record a minor increase in clients.

5.4.2 Broome Police Services

There was an increase in street drinking, public drunkenness and anti-social behaviour when the restriction was first implemented. However, this has reduced in the twelve months since the restriction was implemented. It was noted that Broome, as the service centre for the Kimberley, has always attracted a large itinerant population of people, including a substantial population of itinerant persons with alcohol related problems. Most street drinking takes place in and around the town centre with various groups of people from remote communities drinking in and around the mangroves. People then congregate around Male Oval and also Town Beach. Some groups have taken to drinking on the main sportsground near the Boulevard Shopping Centre.

5.4.3 Broome Commercial Services

Fitzroy residents have not dramatically impacted on Broome commercial services. Some Fitzroy residents are purchasing large quantities of alcohol at some licensed venues and taking this alcohol back to Fitzroy Crossing. Some licensed venues report purchases by Fitzroy Residents averaging \$1,600 per fortnight.

Fitzroy residents are not considered to make up a large percentage of street drinking itinerants. There are about 50 such people on average living in and around the centre of town. They regularly await the opening of their main liquor venue and then separate into groups of 15 - 20; Balgo Mob, Fitzroy Mob; Halls Creek Mob, in and around the mangroves.

5.4.4 Broome Local Government Services

Local Government services record increased litter and general anti-social behaviour from itinerant drinkers engaging in street drinking. Fitzroy residents make up a part of this relatively small, but very visible group of individuals. The impact of Fitzroy residents on local government services in Broome is minimal.

5.4.5 Broome Alcohol and other Community Support Services

The Sobering-Up Shelter and other alcohol services record a constant, but not overwhelmingly large number of Fitzroy Valley residents using their services.

5.4.6 Broome Impact Summary

The impact of alcohol restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing on the town of Broome is minimal. Fitzroy residents regularly visit to stay with relatives, to complete their shopping and use other regional services, but to no greater degree than before the restriction. There are indeed more Fitzroy people living in Broome and some of these people have decided to move here because of the restriction. However, as their families in Fitzroy report, these people regularly return to Fitzroy Crossing to 'dry out' and also because they miss their families and their country.

5.5 West Kimberley Region Towns Summary Evaluation of the Impacts of the Alcohol Restriction in Fitzroy Crossing

There has been minimal to moderate impacts on other towns in the West and Central Kimberley because of the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing.

When the restriction was first implemented it caused immediate and noticeable shifts in population of Fitzroy Valley residents. Some Fitzroy residents moved back to their own communities. Some Fitzroy Valley community people moved in to Fitzroy Crossing. Some Fitzroy Town and Valley residents moved to Derby, Broome and Halls Creek. Many of the residents who moved to other towns were people who are dependant on to alcohol who regularly move to other communities, or from house to house within their own communities. Theirs is a transient existence in which they draw on the resources of other family members until such time as they either choose to leave or are asked to leave. They tend to move back and forth regularly.

After the initial move to towns such as Derby and Broome, they have settled into a pattern of moving regularly between their home communities in the Fitzroy Valley, the Town of Fitzroy and (largely) the towns of Broome and Derby. They may stay for a number of weeks or months, then move back to their home community to 'dry out' as many people described of their returning family members.

The greatest impact on other towns is now being felt in Derby where there is a regular presence of Fitzroy Valley residents searching for alcohol. There has also been a financial benefit for Derby with residents spending more of their income on other services besides alcohol. The majority of people who complete the 'rabbit run' drive to Derby for the day, purchase alcohol and food and return to Fitzroy Crossing. Some of these people are driving under the influence. Many are not.

The greatest impact of the restriction in Fitzroy Crossing on Derby is in the form of younger Fitzroy Valley people who stay for one or two nights in Derby. They can be seen purchasing cartons of beer and spirits and secreting away to the Marsh, Jealousy Creek, the Black Blocks and other drinking spots to charge up and have a party, with resultant anti-social behaviour. Many people from Valley Communities tend to load up a vehicle with alcohol and return to drink at gates or semi-designated drinking areas near their communities. Once they have binged on their supply, they return to their communities either still intoxicated, or sober.

6. Future Challenges/ Actions

6.1 The Service Providers and Residents of Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley Communities

Six Month Evaluation

The six month evaluation of the restriction found that it had provided some relief for the people of the Fitzroy Valley from the impacts of alcohol abuse. It was hoped that this relief would allow service providers and community members to become involved in community projects and cooperative ventures aimed at resolving underlying issues

The six month evaluation also noted that many respondents felt that the restriction was an imposed solution and that the community needed to be more engaged in any developments toward better alcohol management

Twelve Month Evaluation

Twelve months into the restriction, a majority of Fitzroy residents support the restriction remaining in place. However, an increasing number of respondents have spoken of the need for a public review process of some form that will enable transparent and robust discussion so that all views and ideas can be considered in looking at how to manage alcohol related problems.

None of the 170 respondents interviewed as part of this review support a return to no restrictions. All respondents either believe that some form of restriction is necessary, or accept that this is the general mood in the community. All respondents noted both positive and negative impacts of the restriction and stated a desire to have input into actions aimed at building on the positives and minimising the negatives.

Twelve months into the restriction, some problem drinkers have changed their behaviour to manage their personal dependency issues.

The licensed venues in Fitzroy Crossing have worked hard to educate their clients about responsible drinking, and this process is having some impact.

There are a core group of drinkers for whom the restriction has not, as yet, provided the necessary motivation to stop their alcohol use and associated behaviour. This group, it can be argued, believe that they have been punished for their alcohol dependency and associated problems and see no alternative services or support in place to aid them to shift this problem.

6.2 Community Respondent Recommended Actions

A detailed summary of respondent recommended actions for all respondents can be found for the three respondent groups in the following preceding sections:

Service Providers - Section 4.2.17,
Businesses - Section 4.3.16, and
Individuals - Section 4.4.15.

The above sections contain summaries of recommendations from separate respondent groups. This allows for a comparison of different recommendations by different groups. These summaries

also provide quotes from individuals to allow the voices of the respondents to speak for themselves.

Below is a summary of the recommendations from all participants. These are provided under common themes raised by respondents in point form. These recommendations are not placed in any order of importance and simply provide a summary of actions the community respondents recommended.

6.2.1 Respondent Recommended Actions

Services

- Employ a team of alcohol counsellors and mental health counsellors in a targeted program in the Fitzroy Valley to build on the gains made by the restriction.
- Increase rehabilitation services in the Kimberley. Wyndham and Broome do not have enough places.
- Support a Youth Forum so that young people's voices are part of this process.
- Develop the Men's Shed and men's services to deal with problems men face so as to help turn around their addiction.
- Support Law and Culture programs that are working already but don't have appropriate support.
- Provide recreation services for young people in the form of a recreation centre and after school programs.

Planning and Development

- Coordinate services, community groups and businesses behind creating job opportunities for Fitzroy Valley young people including training to be job ready.
- Put the planning process through the Fitzroy Futures Forum.
- Make a focused economic plan for the Fitzroy Valley that caters to the growing number of young people otherwise they will face the same problems.
- Create development programs that work to up-take individuals who are changing their drinking patterns aided by the restriction and by increased alcohol support services.

Community

- There needs to be a way of overcoming the divisions that have been caused in the town by the restriction. There needs to be an outside mediator brought in to negotiate better relations between groups.
- Implement a night patrol that works with a resourced sobering up shelter close to town where people live.

Education/ Children/ Families

- Implement an education campaign aimed at young women and the dangers of Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD).
- Educate young people about alcohol and antisocial behaviour.
- Create Safe Houses for children.
- Provide services to help old people who are being left to care for children.

Restrictions

• Hold a public process to enable all community members to work together in a transparent way to have input into an Alcohol Management Strategy or Plan.

- Allow for limited take-away mid-strength or full-strength alcohol in Fitzroy Crossing either one or two days per week with limitations on how much alcohol can be purchased (perhaps one carton per person).
- Apply restrictions on take-away alcohol similar to Fitzroy Crossing across the Kimberley so that sly-grog and people travelling for alcohol is stopped.

Policing

 Police need to arrest people for street drinking and enforce truancy laws so children are in school.

Research

- Complete a focused research project in the Fitzroy Valley to identify the numbers of children affected by Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD).
- Identify the future planning and education needs of Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) Children in the Fitzroy Valley and the Kimberley.

6.3 Issues for the Drug and Alcohol Office

The Drug and Alcohol Office is working closely with the Fitzroy Valley Alcohol and Other Drug Management Committee to develop alcohol and other drug prevention programs.

The Drug and Alcohol Office needs to develop wider links with community groups within the Fitzroy Valley through creating greater awareness of the work that it is already doing.

Community members remain largely unaware of the role of the Drug and Alcohol Office and an education campaign updating individuals on the work being completed would be beneficial.

Development of a Kimberley wide Alcohol Management Plan is necessary to deal with the flow on affects of alcohol restrictions on specific venues such as Fitzroy Crossing. Fitzroy Crossing has focused community attention on the benefits of creating alcohol management strategies and utilising other means of managing the behaviour of alcohol dependant individuals.

6.4 Issues for other Government Service Providers

As with the six month review there were difficulties in obtaining statistical data.

All community members stated that government are not providing enough services to deal with problems faced by community members in Fitzroy Crossing, but seem happy to enjoy the electoral support for restrictions from southern voters.

Coordination of services in the Kimberley is a long-held hope of many Indigenous and non-Indigenous community groups, community organisations and government service providers.

The experiment of the Indigenous Coordination Centres is considered by many community members to have yielded no direct benefit to date. Respondents are cynical about expecting any regional coordination in the short-term. However, on the issue of alcohol, respondents believe that this one issue can be a means by which other services are coordinated.

In March of 2009 The Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre requested formal federal and state government support for the creation of a regional plan that addressed the broader social and economic needs of the communities to support and further develop the gains already made through alcohol management strategies. The proposal requested that it be funded through an

agreement between state and federal agencies. KALACC stated, in correspondence with the Prime Minister and the Premier, that,

"whilst alcohol restrictions are important, they form just one element of an appropriate and comprehensive management plan.'11

The proposed plan includes;

- "community governance and leadership at the local and regional levels, especially through regional representative organisations, (such as KALACC) and through local Community By Laws," and,
- "a Kimberley Youth at Risk Diversionary Program and the need to invest in preventative programs which reduce risky patterns of alcohol and other drug consumption and thereby reduce the incidence of suicide and contacts with the justice system."12

This issue has been raised with the Drug and Alcohol Office through the Fitzroy Valley Alcohol and Other Drugs Management Group. This is a significant issue as it is being pursued by a peak Kimberley Indigenous organisation (KALACC) and was raised by a number of Fitzroy respondents.

All respondents agree that alcohol management has cut through a range of intractable problems that confronted any attempts to create positive community development and cultural maintenance within the Kimberley. It has done so by providing space for individuals and communities to begin to recover from entrenched cycles of substance abuse.

¹¹ KALACC Request for Support for a Kimberley Regional At-Risk Indigenous Youth Diversion Program – Supplementary Information, correspondence to the Prime Minister of Australia and the Premier of Western Australia, April 17, 2009, p 1. ¹² Ibid, p 2.

7. Conclusion

The issue of alcohol restrictions in the Fitzroy Valley continues to be a contentious one for many community members.

Twelve months after the implementation of the restriction the quantitative and qualitative data reveals continuing health and social benefits of the restriction for the residents of the Fitzroy Valley and Fitzroy Crossing.

These benefits are evident in the form of:

- reduced severity of domestic violence,
- reduced severity of wounding from general public violence,
- reduced street drinking,
- · a quieter town,
- less litter,
- families purchasing more food and clothing,
- families being more aware of their health and being proactive in regard to their children's health.
- · reduced humbug and anti-social behaviour,
- · reduced stress for service providers,
- increased effectiveness of services already active in the valley,
- · generally better care of children and increased recreational activities, and
- reduction in the amount of alcohol being consumed by Fitzroy and Fitzroy Valley residents.

It must be stressed that the restriction has not stopped incidents of domestic violence, alcohol abuse, neglect of children and other anti-social and criminal behaviour associated with alcohol and other drugs.

These findings relate to the wider population of Fitzroy Crossing and Fitzroy Valley residents. However, within this wider population there are some groups of people, and some communities, for whom the impacts of the restriction have been detrimental. In their view, dependent drinkers who do not have access to income other than welfare, do not have vehicles and are not able to manage their budgets and their lives generally, have been negatively affected.

Negative impacts from the restriction include:

- increased mobility to obtain alcohol in Derby and Broome,
- increased prevalence of people leaving children in the care of grandparents to drink at the Inn or the Lodge and also to travel to other towns to obtain alcohol,
- increased pressure on dependant drinkers and their families who are paying extra for alcohol.
- continuing, but lessening, divisions within the town,
- a general sense that the town has taken on the restriction, and yet there has not been the
 expected follow through of targeted government services to deal with the problems of
 dependency, and

 an impact on some local businesses who have seen a downturn in business of between 18% and 25% based on people choosing to shop in other towns (partly) tied to obtaining full-strength alcohol.

Almost all respondents now accept the need for some form of restriction and no individuals wish to see a return to the difficulties faced by Fitzroy Crossing and its surrounding communities.

A minority of people support continued restrictions of alcohol in some form, but wish to negotiate as a community to amend the current restriction. For some, the reasons are purely self-motivated and tied to obtaining alcohol. Other respondents within this group suggest targeted changes to the restriction in the form of trials to see if activities such as travelling to other towns can be addressed out of a genuine concern for potential road crashes, despite this problem not being evident in either crash or drink driving data. Many old people fear the consequences should their young people die in someone else's country.

IMPACT STATEMENT

All respondents noted that, prior to the instigation of the restriction of take-away full-strength alcohol in the town of Fitzroy Crossing on October 2 2007, the community was besieged by problems associated with intoxication, including negative impacts on safety, health, education, cultural strength and economic potential (potential employment, productivity and investment). Fitzroy Crossing was over represented, nationally, in regard to incidents of attempted self-harm and actual suicide.

In the twelve months since the restriction was instigated there have been significant benefits to the people of Fitzroy Crossing and related communities throughout the Fitzroy Valley in the form of reduced intoxication, increased safety, positive health gains, increased cultural activities and increased engagement with training and community development. Significant gaps in support services that are needed to enable the social reconstruction of the Fitzroy Valley continue to hinder the community. There continues to be a state of under-investment in the people of the Fitzroy Valley. This gap requires the resourcing of community based organisations operating at the coal face of community development, cultural health, mental health (counselling), education, community safety (Policing) and training, to build on the window of opportunity that the restriction has created.

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9. Appendices

Appendix 1 – Information Letter and Clearances



Nulungu Centre for Indigenous Studies

Stage Three Review of the Alcohol Restriction in Fitzroy Crossing

Information for Participants

There are a number of organisations in Fitzroy Crossing that are involved in trying to make a difference in raising awareness of alcohol problems in town and in the Valley communities. To decide whether their activities are making a difference, the Nulungu Centre for Indigenous Studies of The University of Notre Dame in Broome, led by Associate Professor Lyn Henderson-Yates, has been contracted to undertake an evaluation on behalf of the WA government's Drug and Alcohol Office and various organisations.

We are keen to talk to as many people as we can who have a view on what they see has happened over this past twelve months or a year. The organisations want to find out what is working and what is not working so they can do things better in the future.

We want to hear what you have to say. We hope that you would like to share your experience with Steve Kinnane who is completing Stage Three for the WA Drug and Alcohol Office.

Steve Kinnane will ask you a set of standard questions that everyone is being asked.

If you agree, Steve will make a tape recording of the discussions so that he can write down the views of everyone. If you do not want to be taped, Steve will take notes and check with you when these notes have been written up so that you're happy with what has been written down.

If you do not want your name mentioned, that is alright.

We want to know what has changed in town since the alcohol ban started. We want to know whether other things around town have changed, such as, fewer fights, less rubbish or fewer accidents. Do people drink in a different way now? Are things just the same? We want to discuss all these things with as many people as possible.

If you have any questions about this project please telephone Steve Kinnane on (08) 9192 0651 during business hours (8am – 5pm). This project has received clearance from the University of Notre Dame Human Research Ethics Committee.

The Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Notre Dame requires that all participants are informed that, if they have any complaint regarding the manner in which a research project is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or please contact the Executive Officer, Human Research Ethics, The University of Notre Dame on (08) 9433 0870 or fax (08) 9433 0855 or email research@nd.edu.au



Nulungu Centre for Indigenous Studies

Stage Three Review of the Alcohol Restriction in Fitzroy Crossing

Informed Consent I (name) Of (address) Hereby agree to participate in an interview for the Fitzroy Valley Alcohol Restriction Evaluation Project. I have read the Information Sheet and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree that I will participate in an interview, realising that I may withdraw at any time without prejudice. • I understand that audio recordings may be made of the interview to ensure the information is accurate. (Agree to recording: YES / NO (Please circle) I understand that all information gathered is treated as strictly confidential and will be presented as group-based information in reports to the organisations and Government. I agree that the matters raised may be published in an anonymous form. Signed: (participant): Date Signed: (Chief Investigator: Steve Kinnane - Chief Investigator, Nulungu Center for Indigenous Studies, Broome Campus, The University of Notre Dame) _____ Date _____

The Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Notre Dame requires that all participants are informed that, if they have any complaint regarding the manner in which a research project is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or please contact the Executive Officer, Human Research Ethics, The University of Notre Dame on (08) 9433 0870 or fax (08) 9433 0855 or email research@nd.edu.au

Appendix 2 - Questionnaires

Evaluation of Fitzroy Valley Alcohol and Other Drug Prevention Programs

Service Providers Qualitative Questionnaire

Name
Organisation
Position in Organisation Male Female
Age 18-24 25-44 45-64 65 years and over
Name of Interviewer
Question One - Describe the overall role of your organisation in providing alcohol prevention and/or treatment programs and your own role.
 Question Two - Are you aware of the current restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing in relation to take-away alcohol sales? If so, what are they?
Question Three - In what way has the sale and purchase of alcohol been restricted in Fitzroy at the present time?
Question Four - When did the restriction commence and when will it finish?
Question Five - How did you find out about the restriction?
Question Six - Do you know who imposed the restriction?
Question Seven - How has the restriction affected you as a community member/community worker/business owner in relation to? • livelihood, • personal health, • life style, • recreation, and, • access to services.
Question Eight – Did you support the restriction when first imposed? Yes No
If so/not, what was the reason?
Question Nine - Do you support the restriction remaining in place? Yes No
If so/not, what was the reason?

Question Ten - From your professional/business viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation/business and its service provision before and after the restriction;

TO YOU AS AN INDIVIDUAL PROFESSIONAL

Question Eleven - From your professional/business viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation/business and its service provision before and after the restriction;

TO YOUR ORGANISATION

Question Twelve - From your personal viewpoint, compare the impact on the Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

TO THE TOWN

Question Thirteen - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

TO COMMUNITIES

Question Fourteen - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

• TO PEOPLE (ADULTS AND CHILDREN)

Question Fifteen - In what way can you see the restriction has generally changed the community? (positively and negatively).

Question Sixteen - Are there any other comments you would like to make (what do you think the next steps should be)?

Evaluation of Fitzroy Valley Alcohol and Other Drug Prevention Programs

Individuals Qualitative Questionnaire

Name
Wage Earner None Wage Earner
Male Female
Age 18-24 25-44 45-64 65 and over
Date
Name of Interviewer
Question One – How would you describe your place in Fitzroy Crossing in terms of; a) your community b) your length of stay c) your role in the community
 Question Two - Are you aware of the current restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing in relation to take-away alcohol sales? If so, what are they?
Question Three - In what way has the sale and purchase of alcohol been restricted in Fitzroy at the present time?
Question Four - When did the restriction commence and when will it finish?
Question Five - How did you find out about the restriction?
Question Six - Do you know who imposed the restriction?
Question Seven - How has the restriction affected you as a community member/business owner in relation to? • livelihood, • personal health, • life style, • recreation, and, • access to services.
Question Eight – Did you support the restriction when first imposed? Yes No
If so/not, what was the reason?
Question Nine - Do you support the restriction remaining in place? Yes No

If so/not, what was the reason?

Question Ten - From your personal viewpoint, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact before/ after the restriction;

TO YOU AS AN INDIVIDUAL

Question Eleven - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

TO THE TOWN

Question Twelve - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

• TO COMMUNITIES

Question Thirteen - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

• TO OTHER PEOPLE (ADULTS AND CHILDREN)

Question Fourteen - In what way can you see the restriction has generally changed the community? (positively and negatively).

Question Fifteen - Are there any other comments you would like to make (what do you think the next steps should be)?

Evaluation of Fitzroy Valley Alcohol and Other Drug Prevention Programs

Businesses Qualitative Questionnaire

Name
Organisation/ Business
Position in Organisation/ Business
Male Female
Age 18-24 25-44 45-64 65 years and over
Date
Name of Interviewer
Question One – Please describe your business.
 Question Two - Are you aware of the current restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing in relation to take-away alcohol sales? If so, what are they?
Question Three - In what way has the sale and purchase of alcohol been restricted in Fitzroy at the present time?
Question Four - When did the restriction commence and when will it finish?
Question Five - How did you find out about the restriction?
Question Six - Do you know who imposed the restriction?
Question Seven - How has the restriction affected you as a community member/community worker/business owner in relation to? • livelihood, • personal health, • life style, • recreation, • access to services.
Question Eight – Did you support the restriction when first imposed? Yes No
 If so/not, what was the reason?
Question Nine - Do you support the restriction remaining in place? Yes No

• If so/not, what was the reason?

Question Ten - From your professional/business viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation/business and its service provision before and after the restriction;

TO YOU AS AN INDIVIDUAL PROFESSIONAL

Question Eleven - From your professional/business viewpoint, within your working environment, compare the effects of alcohol use and its impact on your organisation/business and its service provision before and after the restriction;

TO YOUR BUSINESS/ ORGANISATION

Question Twelve - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

TO THE TOWN

Question Thirteen - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

TO COMMUNITIES

Question Fourteen - From your personal viewpoint, compare the town, communities and people of Fitzroy Valley before and after the restriction;

• TO PEOPLE (ADULTS AND CHILDREN)

Question Fifteen - In what way can you see the restriction has generally changed the community? (positively and negatively).

Question Sixteen – Has the restriction on sale of alcohol affected your business financially?

If so, please indicate to what degree.

Question Seventeen - Are there any other comments you would like to make (what do you think the next steps should be)?