

people's alcohol action coalition

PAAC

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Introduction

PAAC is a community-based organisation or body as defined in s61(4)(h) of the NT *Liquor Act*, based in Alice Springs. PAAC developed in response to a growing awareness of excessive alcohol use and associated harm in the Central Australian region, and provides a platform for community action to reduce alcohol-related harm. Its formation in late 1995 followed a public rally on alcohol problems instigated by the late Dr. Charles Perkins.

PAAC works towards reducing alcohol-related harm, including through the following strategies:

- developing constructive reforms to the sale of alcohol;
- advocating for controls on public consumption;
- advocating for the responsible service of alcohol; and
- promoting healthy lifestyles.

PAAC strives to raise public awareness of and influence policy on the high levels of alcohol consumption and related harm in Central Australia, the Northern Territory and generally in Australia.

PAAC has advocated successfully for many of the legislative and policy reforms that are now in place in the NT, including a Minimum Unit Price on alcohol, the reinstatement of the Banned Drinker Register, and the use of Police Auxiliary Liquor Inspectors (PALIs) at bottle shops in Alice Springs, Tennant Creek and Katherine (consistently since October 2018) to reduce the sale of alcohol to residents of alcohol restricted or prohibited areas, including the long-standing General Restricted Areas and the Alcohol Protected Areas (APAs) designated in the *Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory Act 2012* (Cth.) (Stronger Futures Act).

NT Labor administrations have recognised the urgent need for reforms in order to reduce the appallingly high rates of alcohol consumption and consequent harm in the Territory, including

violent and other offending, preventable illness and injury, child neglect, poor community amenity and economic cost.

With the exception of the Dan Murphy's matter, wherein the NT Government (NTG) legislated to assist the applicant company, including by removing the matter from the jurisdiction of the Liquor Commission and the NT Civil and Administrative Tribunal, its attempts to address the 'Rivers of Grog' in the NT have been largely progressive, with most of the Riley Review's recommendations implemented.ⁱ

The NTG's failure to deal sensibly and with foresight with the expiry of the Stronger Futures Act, for whatever reason or reasons, in our view constitutes a dangerous aberration which, if not addressed, will serve to undo the positive results of the beneficial reforms it has so far introduced. We believe we will continue to see increases in alcohol-related harm, including preventable chronic illness, child neglect FASD, offending, injury and general community amenity.

This submission will focus mainly on the actions, or lack thereof, of the NT and Federal Governments in relation to the expiry of the alcohol restrictions in accordance with the sunset clause in s118 of the Stronger Futures Act, with reference to:

- (a) the preparation for the sunset of the Stronger Futures legislation; and
 - (b) community safety and alcohol management.
- (c) and (d): PAAC also supports justice reinvestment as a better way of reducing offending. We also support CDP programs that are run for community and individual benefit, rather than for the profit of private companies or NGOs that are paid significant sums to monitor social security clients' obligations, and or to try to place people in non-existent or unsuitable jobs, to impose unrealistic reporting requirements, or suspend or cancel welfare recipients' benefits for non-compliance.

- i. The NTG has failed its constituents and exposed thousands of its most vulnerable citizens to increased alcohol-related harm. The consequences of its lack of willingness, or inability to assess, the likely outcomes of allowing the Stronger Futures alcohol provisions to lapse are becoming apparent. This was predicted by many, including Aboriginal health and community leaders who opposed the hasty and ill-advised legislative amendments to the NT *Liquor Act* and the *Associations Act* that were introduced in March and passed May. We also note the concerns of the Member for Lingiari, Ms Scrymgour, as expressed in her maiden speech and elsewhere.
- ii. The claims of former Chief Minister Michael Gunner, the current Chief Minister Natasha Fyles and other NTG Ministers, including the Attorney-General Chansey Paech MLA and the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Selena Uiibo MLA, the latter two both recently appointed to these portfolios, that the Stronger Futures alcohol provisions were racist and impinged on human rights do not stand up to scrutiny. Please see Attachment 1., correspondence to Chief Minister Fyles and to Minister Burney from several Aboriginal organisations and PAAC, which sets out the reasons for our contention that the APA restrictions were beneficial Special Measures, including the High Court's reasoning in *Maloney*.ⁱⁱ
- iii. In our submission, the Hight Court was correct in its decision in that case, and we note the following in particular in relation to the need for Special Measures:

“The human right or fundamental freedom sought to be protected by Sched 1R, and which is the subject of that purpose, is the right of Aboriginal persons on Palm Island, in particular women and children, to a life free of violence, harm and social disorder brought about by alcohol abuse.”

and in relation to the issue of rights, referring to *Bropho v Western Australia*ⁱⁱⁱ the High Court said:

"It has long been recognised in human rights jurisprudence that all rights in a democratic society must be balanced against other competing rights and values, and the precise content of the relevant right or freedom must accommodate legitimate laws of, and rights recognised by, the society in which the human right is said to arise."

- iv. It is obviously not the case, as the recently-appointed Attorney-General Chansey Paech has argued, that “any legislation that aimed at a particular group of people is racist,” whilst also declaring that he was “absolutely not prepared to allow peak Aboriginal organisations to dictate the rights of remote Aboriginal people.”^{iv}
- v. The use of terms such as ‘racist’ and the arguments about rights by NTG Ministers are ham-fisted and specious. It is equally reasonable to argue that suddenly exposing large numbers of Aboriginal women, children and other vulnerable people to alcohol in town camps, small communities such as Amoonguna, Community Living Areas, outstations and homelands (and in GRA communities which lie in close proximity to outstations and homelands) is a racist act and a nullification of the rights of those persons to live their lives free of violence and mayhem. It is well known that most Aboriginal people do not drink but of those who do, many tend to drink to excess. The burden of the consequences of alcohol abuse is now further shifted to those least able to bear the load. It could further be argued that to ignore leading Aboriginal health and other agencies which serve and represent those people is dismissive *and* racist.
- vi. As Committee members would be aware, *the Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth.) was not suspended for the purpose of the Stronger Futures Act when then Minister Macklin altered the Howard Government’s Emergency (Intervention) legislation. This fact appears to have escaped the NTG’s attention. In any event, during the decade in which the Stronger Futures alcohol restrictions existed, there was no challenge to the APAs on the grounds of discrimination, and we believe such a challenge to those provisions would most likely have failed. Similarly, we believe that the exemption for Special Measures in s57 of the NT’s own *Anti-Discrimination Act 1992* would prevail in the event of a challenge, had the NTG enacted its own APA provisions to replace those in the Stronger Futures Act. Instead, it has set up a regime whereby the hundreds of affected communities – most of whose residents had no idea what was about to happen because no-one had spoken to them in the fifteen years since the restrictions had commenced – had to opt in if they wished to avoid having immediate access to take-away alcohol in mid-July. Very few have done so to date, and there has been no thorough consultation in which evidence and data have been clearly presented to community members.

- vii. Chief Minister Fyles has continually stated, incorrectly, that the NTG had no choice:

“The Bill allows affected communities to opt in to a continuation of alcohol restrictions for a period of up to two years after the Commonwealth law ends on 17 July 2022.

If we did not pass this Bill, there would be no restrictions whatsoever after 17 July 2022 for affected communities, when the Commonwealth law sunsets.”^v

- viii. Curiously, the Chief Minister also initially spoke on a number of occasions about licensed clubs in communities, which of course is not the issue at hand:

“We will continue to talk through with communities. The safety of communities, particularly for women and children has to come first. We do see good examples where communities do have licensed clubs and community leadership... and others that don’t want any alcohol in their community.”^{vi}

- ix. The NT has an independent Liquor Commission to rule on all licence applications, and it also has the power to approve or reject Alcohol Management Plans (AMPs). The power to deal with AMPs was handed over the NT by the Federal Government some years ago. The Chief Minister has also stated that she has had legal advice to the effect that the NT could not legislate to continue the restrictions, but has to date failed to produce that advice. We ask that the Committee seeks to obtain this advice from the Chief Minister.
- x. The Chief Minister, Attorney-General Paech and the Minister for Police and for Families Kate Worden, have all stated on the public record that the Federal Government ‘washed its hands’ and ‘walked away from’ the Stronger Futures restrictions issue^{vii}, leaving the NT no choice but to legislate in the manner in which it did. It appears that the NTG would have been prepared to have the Federal Government extend the provisions. We do not know exactly what transpired in relation to discussions between the NTG and then Minister for Indigenous Australians Ken Wyatt, but it appears that perhaps Mr. Wyatt did abandon the issue and the NTG then scrambled to find a solution, grabbed the

race card and implemented its legislation despite the strong objections of community-controlled organisational experts and others, including the NT Police Association. There seems to have been no thoughtful planning over the ten years in which the legislation applied.

- xi. There does exist a ‘Sunset Review’ dated simply 2022 and conducted by the National Indigenous Australians Agency,^{viii} which we recently found online. The alcohol Recommendations on p7 are as follows:

1. The Australian Government allows Part 2 ‘Tackling alcohol abuse’ of the SFNT Act to sunset.
2. The Australian Government encourages the NT Government to mitigate the risk of increased alcohol-related harm in areas currently known as alcohol protected areas (APAs) before the sunset of the SFNT Act. This action may include introducing a targeted approach to alcohol controls under the Liquor Act 2019 (NT).
3. The Australian Government and the NT Government continue to take a co-ordinated, evidence-based, community centred approach to policy and program designs to address alcohol-related harm with clear outcomes that align with the principles in the National Alcohol Strategy 2019 - 2028 (National Alcohol Strategy) and shared decision making under the National Agreement on Closing the Gap.

- xii. It may be that this is what the NTG refers to as the Federal Government ‘walking away’ – presenting a report late in the piece. It does not, however, excuse the NTG’s irresponsible attempt at a solution, made without any proper consultation with those affected. There has certainly been no mitigation. To the best of our knowledge, neither NTG Ministers nor the Federal Minister have made any public reference to this Review.

- xiii. Then Minister Wyatt in February handed over Stronger Futures equivalent funding^{ix}, which the NTG was happy to take with one hand, whilst on the other, hastily exposing many of its vulnerable constituents to increased harm. We hope the Committee will be able to ascertain just what occurred. It beggars belief that a government which has demonstrated a strong commitment to alcohol reform could pursue such a reckless course of action. To our knowledge the opt-in choice to continue restrictions has only been taken up by a handful of communities, most if not all of these in the Top End.

- xiv. What has been inflicted overnight upon the community under the false precept of some sort of equality, and in the absence either of clear communication with Aboriginal health, legal and other agencies, or advance comprehensive discussion with community members, is an entirely predictable increase in alcohol-related violence, including domestic violence, particularly in the Alice Springs region, where all but one of the town camps (restricted through its residents' initiative many years ago) are now unrestricted, along with the nearby Amoonguna community and many outstations and homelands in close proximity to General Restricted Areas. This trend is likely to continue, with the unavoidable flow-on to children and other vulnerable community members, leading to a further regression in what is already below-par development for many Aboriginal kids in the Northern Territory.
- xv. The NTG and Minister Burney agreed in August to set up a joint data monitoring group to examine real-time data in order to ascertain the effects of the changes to the APA restrictions, with representation from community organisations^x. Chief Minister Fyles has repeatedly stated that it could take 'some months' to set up a 'data dashboard.'^{xi} Some data has recently been collated on an NTG website,^{xii} but it a small selection, and is not the real-time data that has been agreed upon, and some, like wholesale sales (consumption) data is unavailable beyond the end of 2020.

The lack of initial consultation and the messy consequences have become even more stark as the months since the provisions lapsed and the NT legislative amendments took effect. At time of writing there was, as mentioned, still no real-time data available, the Terms of Reference for the monitoring group were not settled, and the monitoring group's membership had not been finalised.

The Chief Minister's following comments to the ABC in late November, in our submission, clearly demonstrate the NTG's inability to foresee the glaringly obvious as to what would transpire, and its negligence in failing to implement a rigorous consultation process prior to any changes: ^{xiii}

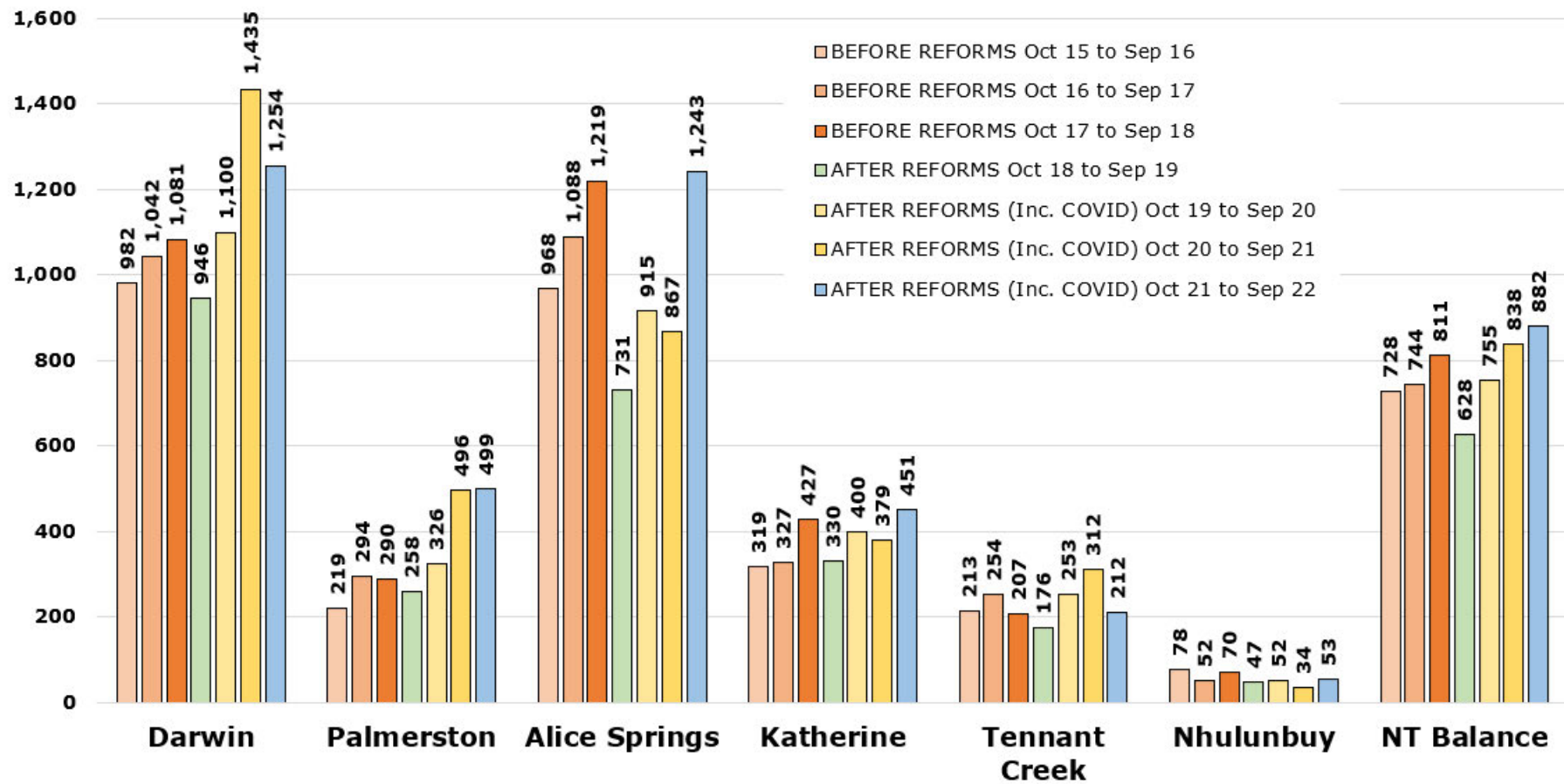
“One of the discussions I had with your stakeholders (recently in central Australia) is how do we support communities and get communities to fully understand alcohol and how to get Alcohol Management Plans for their community or their town camp and how do we empower the whole community and not just select people, and that’s something we didn’t come up a solution (for), but we very much focussed on.

We know domestic and family violence is a huge part of this Brashy. We know homelessness and housing and accommodation and that’s why we’re continuing to look at what options we’ve got but also lobbying the Commonwealth for that needs-based (DV) funding. So, these are incredibly complex issues and around the changes from Stronger Futures we certainly want to empower communities to make those decisions. We won’t have a blanket race-based approach.”

xvi. It appears from the information that is available to the general public, that the expected consequences of the sudden removal of the restrictions have unfortunately come to pass. In the week following the changes, from 18th to 24th July, there were 179 domestic violence police callouts.^{xiv}

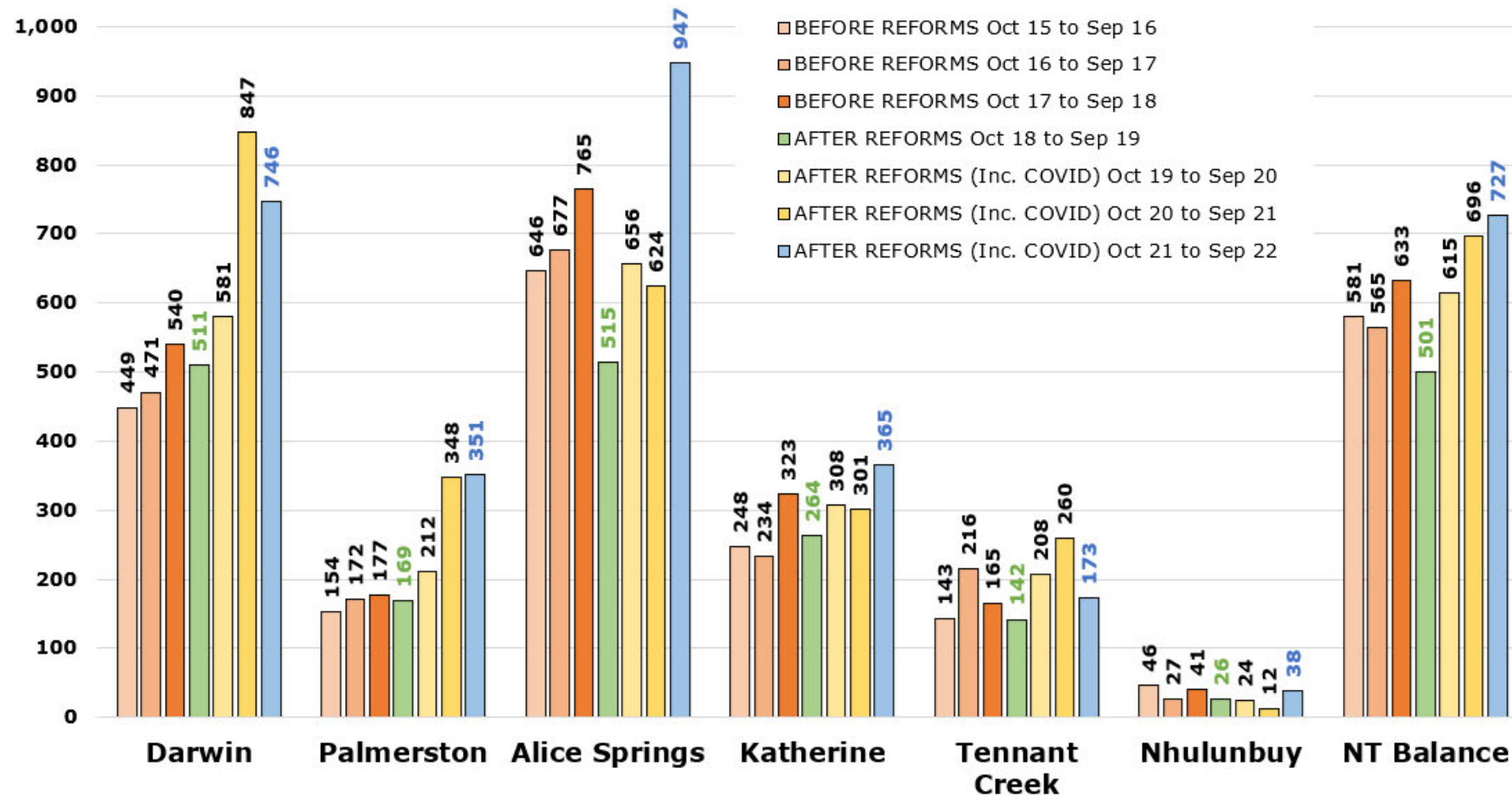
xvii. The latest available NT Police crime data is to the end of September 2022^{xv}. This data is released on the third Friday of each month. For ease of comparison, we have had the data converted to graph form. We would be happy to discuss this data further with Committee members. The increases in assaults in Alice Springs are apparent, and we also note that spikes prior to the mid-July changes, in particular in the April quarter, are most likely the result of a shortage of PALIs during that time. Also please see attached the latest alcohol Wholesale Sales (apparent consumption) data.^{xvi} The assault, emergency presentation and sales data graphs were prepared for PAAC by Edward Tilton Consulting in November 2022.

Number of alcohol-related assaults, Northern Territory 2015 to 2022

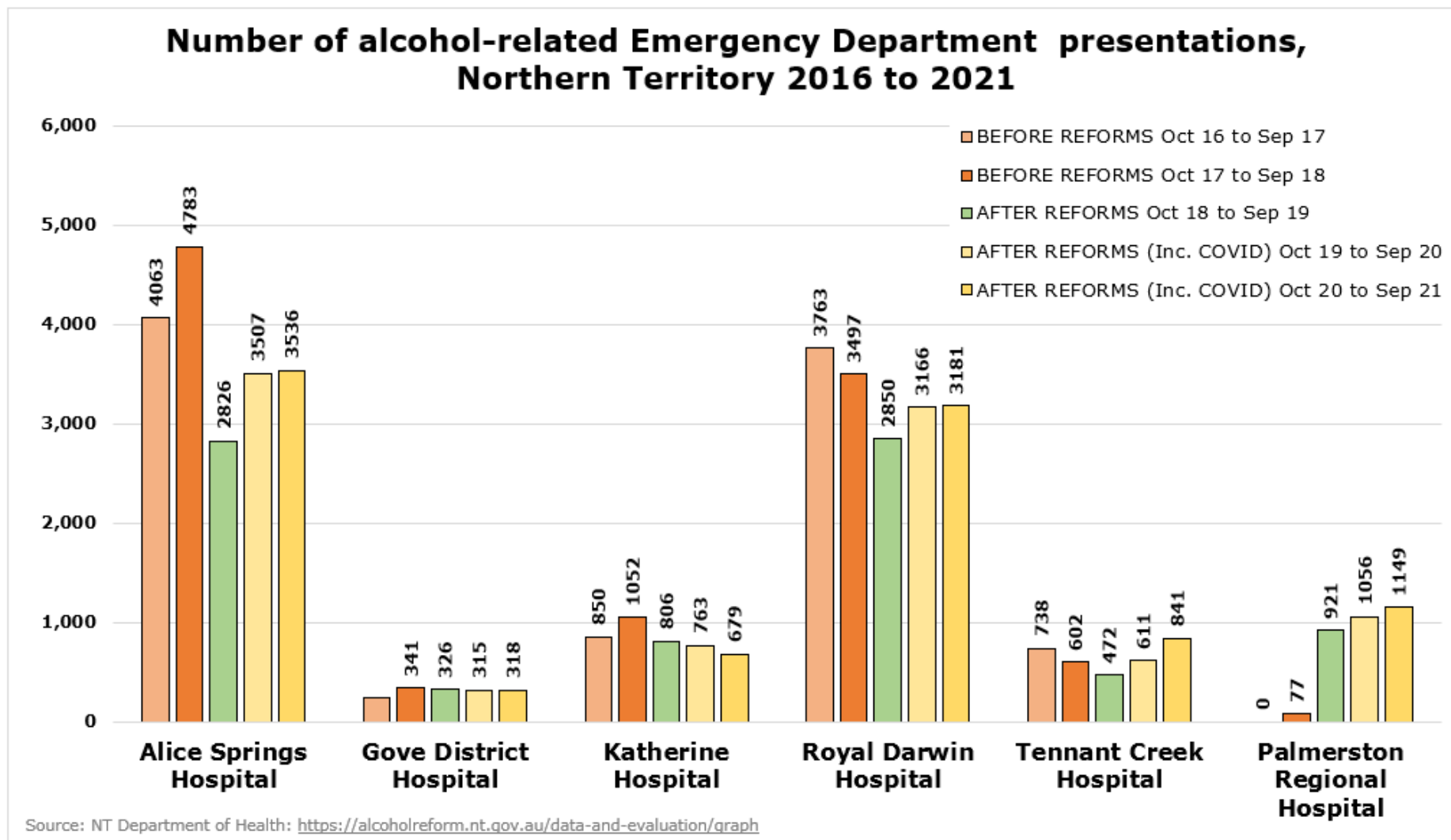


Source: NT Police Crime Statistics: <https://www.pfes.nt.gov.au/police/community-safety/nt-crime-statistics/statistical-publications>

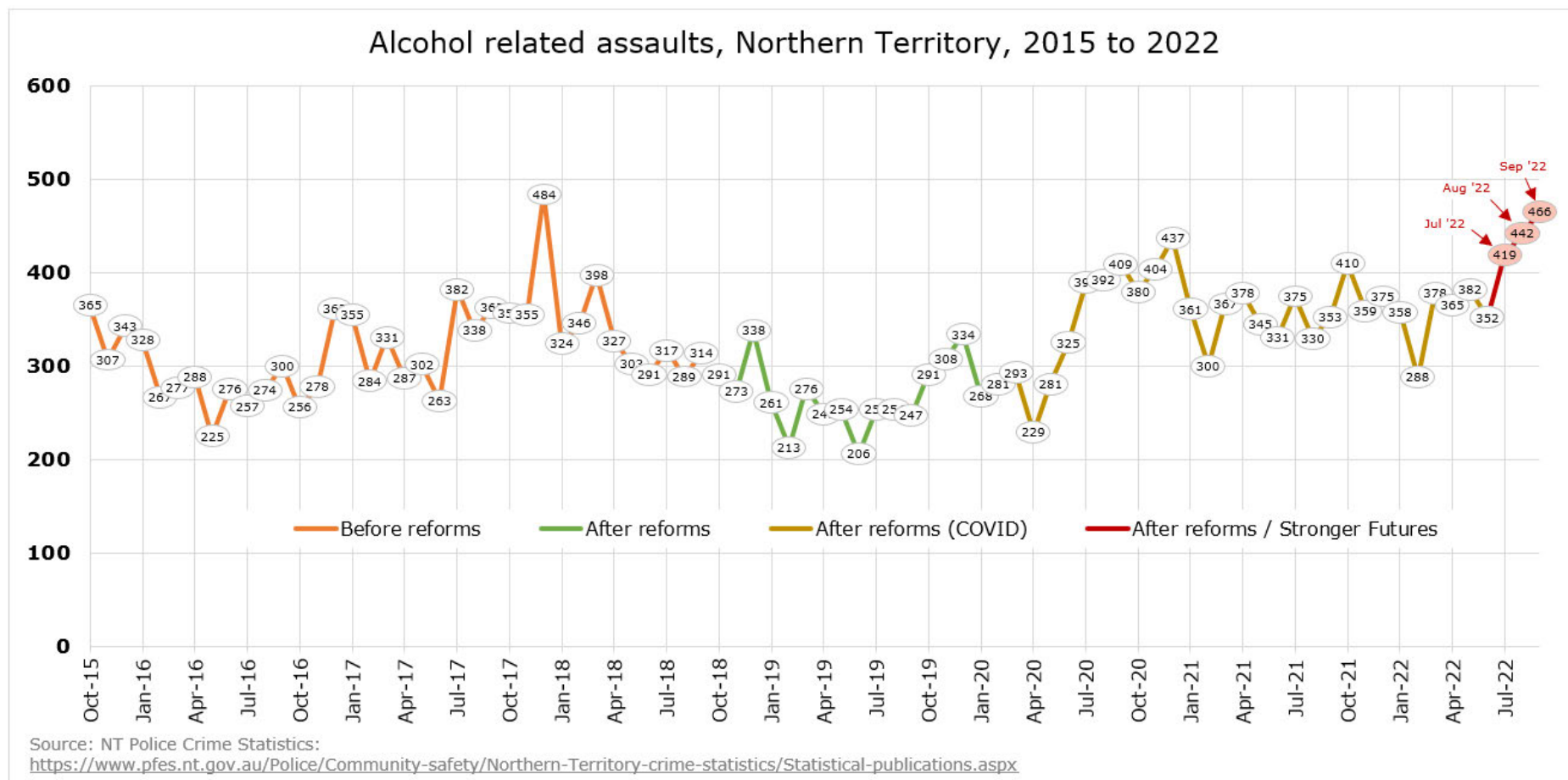
Number of alcohol-related domestic violence assaults, Northern Territory 2015 to 2022



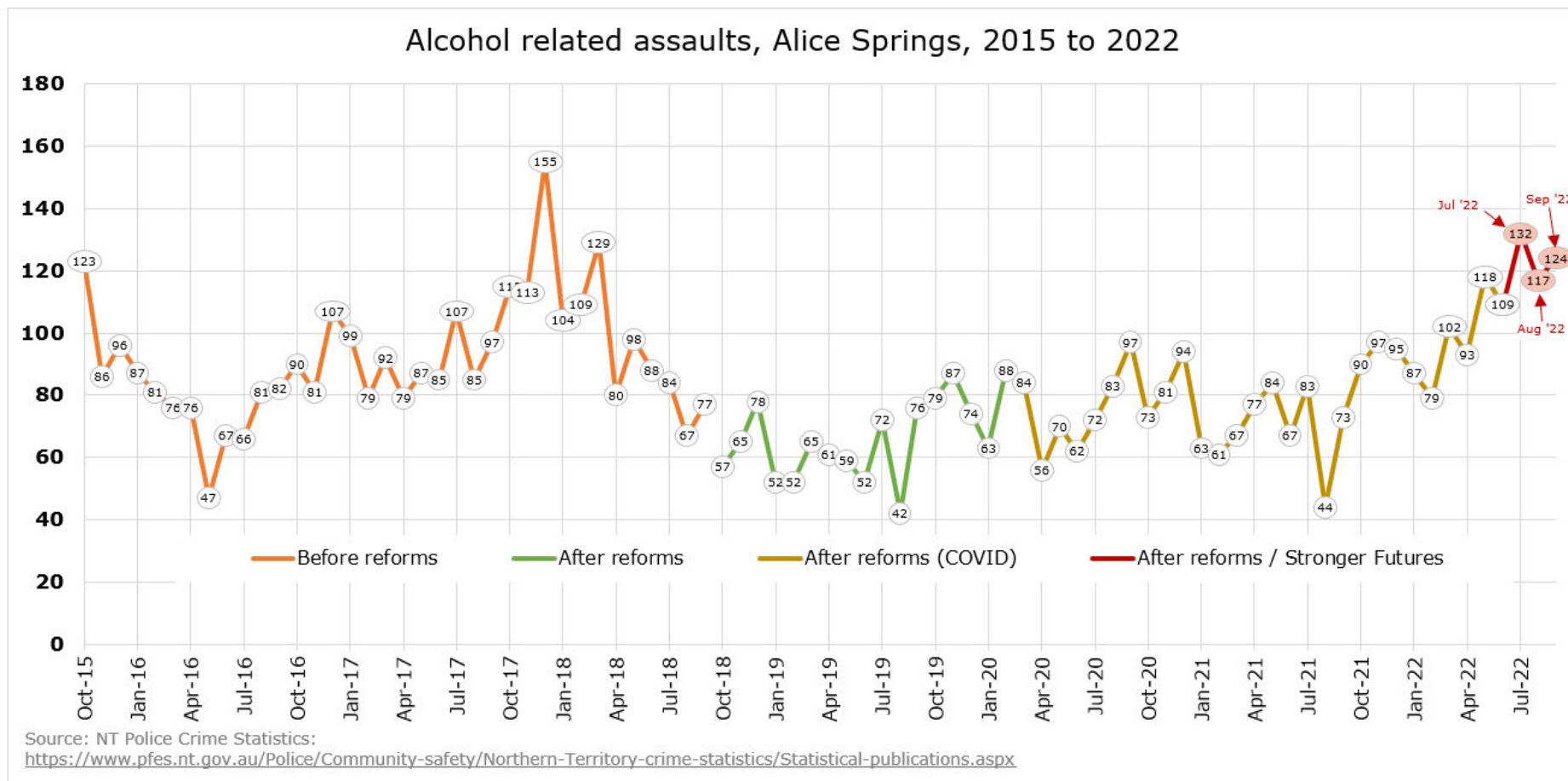
Source: NT Police Crime Statistics: <https://www.pfes.nt.gov.au/police/community-safety/nt-crime-statistics/statistical-publications>

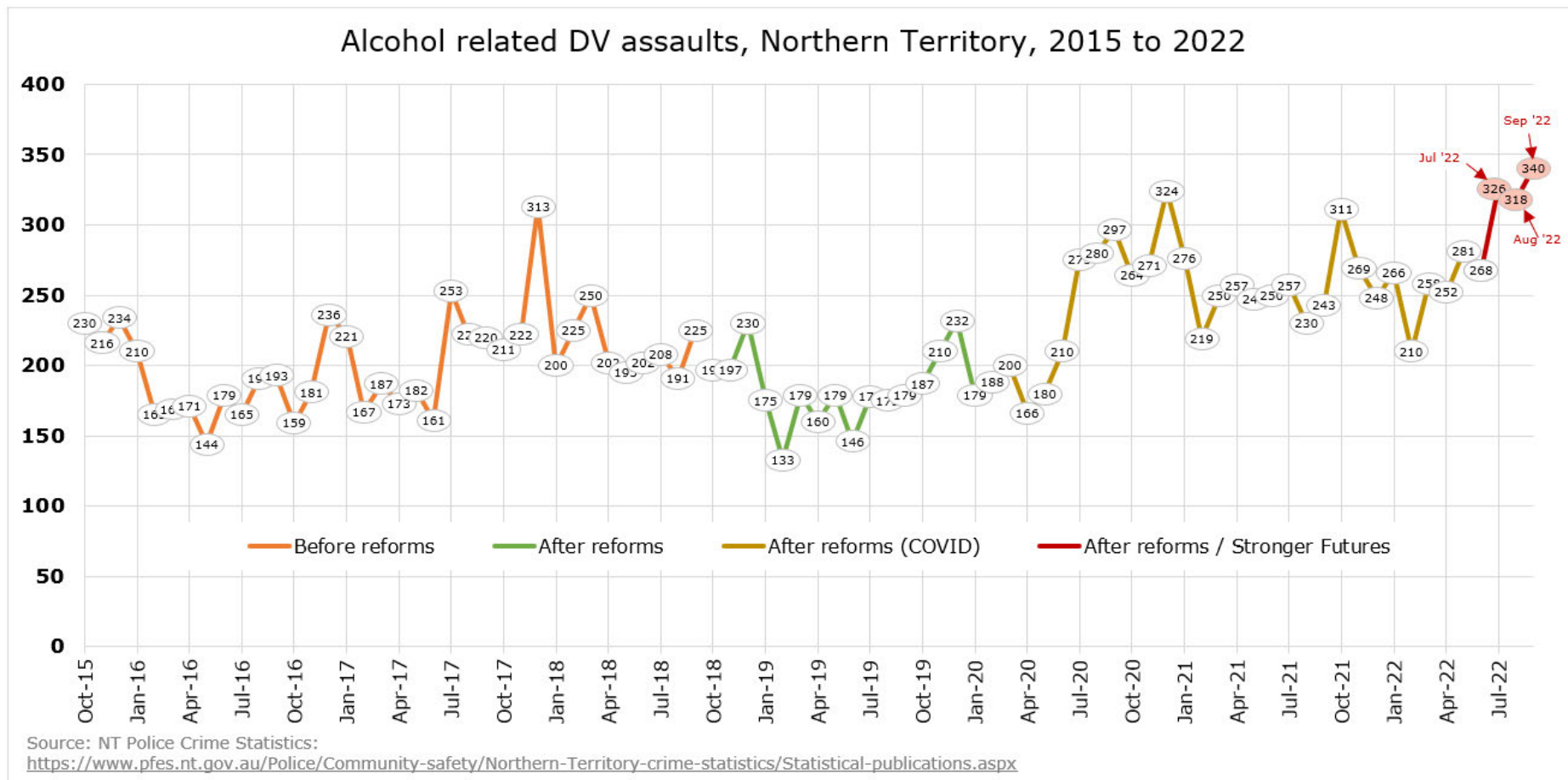


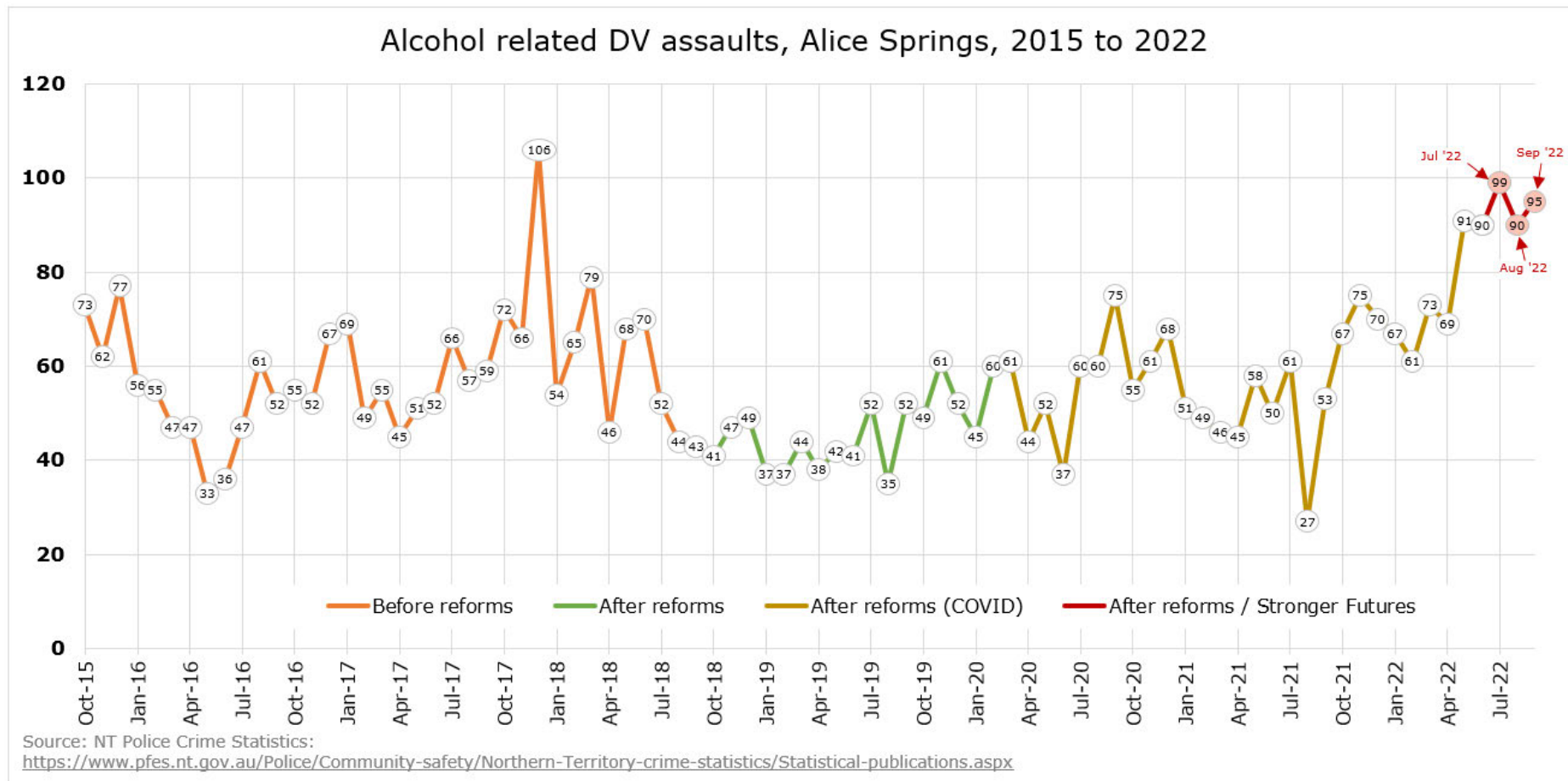
Note that at 23 November 2022, the ED presentations data has only been released up to the 2nd Quarter of 2022 (31 July 2022). This means that comparisons with earlier years are not yet possible for the period October 2021 to September 2022.



This and the following graphs show the number of alcohol related assaults and DV assaults before and after the NT Government's alcohol reforms of October 2018. It also shows the number of assaults for the period after 17 July 2022 when the Stronger Futures protected areas provisions expired.







xviii. The effects of the changes are obvious to anyone who lives in the town. There has been a return to drinking camps in the river bed and other public spaces such as school and sporting ovals. Empty beer cans and spirit bottles, often broken, are once again a common sight. Large numbers of people, some already intoxicated, gather around the fringes of bottle shops from 2pm on weekdays when these open, or earlier on weekends (on Sundays there are only two pub drive-through outlets allowed to trade), looking for money for take-away alcohol. Police and ambulance sirens are heard with great frequency around the town, including during the day. The number of customer refusals for intoxication by PALIs at take-away liquor outlets has increased fourfold, according to police.^{xvii} It is common to see this occur. Police say that with large numbers of people suddenly able to buy take-away alcohol, they are purchasing, consuming to intoxication then presenting to try to buy more supplies. PAAC members have personally observed public drinking and drunken behaviour which was previously minimal, particularly since the PALIs began full-time coverage of bottle shops in 2018, and prior to this when police managed to staff the bottle shops. This arrangement was referred to as Temporary Beat Locations and later as POSIs, or Point of Sale Interventions, and operated from around 2012. We ask Committee members to please read the attached transcript of interview with Dr. John Boffa, PAAC's spokesperson, in order to obtain a picture of what is happening.^{xviii}

xix. In addition, property offending, largely by youth, remains at very high levels and has done for many months. The NTG and police, and the broader community, are struggling to deal with this very challenging situation, with many of the (often extremely young) offenders being from unstable households where there is alcohol or drug abuse or other problems. In November the Police Commissioner deployed more than forty additional officers to Alice Spring to address the continued youth offending, much of which involves cars being stolen and driven dangerously in the town^{xix}. Just a few days later, four children under the age of twelve were taken to hospital after allegedly rolling a stolen car in a town camp. In the first six days of the operation (known as Drina), police tipped out 300 litres of alcohol and took two hundred people into protective custody.^{xx}

xx. To allow more alcohol to flow into the already very difficult situation in Alice Springs has been nothing short of disgraceful. With at least some of these young offenders, who are often repeat offenders in breach of bail conditions, coming from homes where there are high levels of substance abuse and neglect, or living in residential care from which they often take their leave, the sudden removal of the Stronger Futures restrictions simply adds fuel to the fire. In contrast to Alice Springs, Darwin and Katherine, there has been no significant increase in assaults in Tennant Creek, where town camps remain restricted because they were already General Restricted Areas when the original bans were implemented under the Howard Government's Emergency Response. We need all the relevant data as soon as possible. Tennant Creek also has limits on the volume of take-away alcohol that may be purchased by an individual customer each day, and, under a Liquor Commission ruling in May 2021, no purchase may be made if a PALI or sworn officer is present, unless the PALI or officer physically checks the place of residence on the customer's ID. This is in addition to electronic scanning of all customers (across the NT) for the purpose of the Banned Drinker Register.

xxi. A related issue of the utmost importance is the serious potential for additional harm to already disadvantaged children as a result of the removal of these restrictions with the default opt-in position. The Australian Early Development Census (AEDC) regularly measures five significant areas, or domains, of childhood development across Australia:^{xxi}

- physical health and well-being
- social competence
- emotional maturity
- language and cognitive skills (school-based)
- communication skills and general knowledge

Nationally, 22% of children are developmentally vulnerable in one of these domains, and 11.2% are vulnerable in two domains. In the NT, this is much higher, with just over 39% vulnerable in one domain, and more than 25% in two domains.^{xxii} In Alice

Springs, 33.3% of children are vulnerable in one developmental area, and 20.6% in two areas. Due to small numbers, data is not available for more remote parts of central Australia, but we have no doubt that the vulnerability percentages are likely to be equally as high.

The implications of greater availability and increased consumption of alcohol, after several years of effective reform, are dire for children who already lag behind other Australian kids. This disadvantage will be almost impossible to overcome if increased access to alcohol continues to be included in the mix of social determinants that contribute to this disadvantage. What we will see is children burdened with greater hardship, and more FASD in the region as the effects of greater access to take-away alcohol manifest in this devastating condition.

xxii. The Minister for Police, for Territory Families and for the Prevention of Domestic, Family and Sexual Violence (the latter since April) Kate Worden recently told the media that there had been “huge systemic changes” to the NT’s child protection system since a 2018 incident. She was referring to a suicide by a teenaged rape victim. Parental substance abuse was one of the girl’s many disadvantages. This is one of the key causes of child neglect and will inevitably rise with the change to restrictions.^{xxiii} She has also suggested that Tangentyere Council should deal with ‘illegal campers’ coming into town to obtain alcohol and staying at town camps, by issuing them with notices under the *Trespass Act*. It is difficult to see how this would be effective with family members. The Minister has tough portfolios, but unfortunately, she appears not to make the connection between improvements in child protection in the NT and alcohol reforms, including the existence of APAs and the consistent use of PALIs to prevent alcohol getting to restricted areas.

Minister Worden has also said that alcohol is “not a driving factor” in domestic violence, but only “makes it worse.” Whilst it is true that the abuse of alcohol exacerbates violence that may otherwise be of lesser seriousness, the causal effects are more complex than this, with alcohol part of a combination of causes that include gender inequality and childhood trauma. We know that reduced access to

alcohol in the NT contributes significantly to lower rates of domestic violence, including defensive injuries amongst Aboriginal women.

- xxiii. As Dr. Stephen Gourley, Head of ED at the Alice Springs Hospital and now President of the Australasian College for Emergency Medicine noted in 2019, just under a year after the PALIs were engaged to cover bottle shops during all opening hours:

"It's a massive improvement — we were seeing up to 30 people a day being intoxicated, and now it's down to just a few," he said.

"It's a much more pleasant place to work, and I think it's a much more pleasant place for other patients to be."

"We used to see a lot of ladies with defensive fractures of the forearms just from fending-off attacks. That was a common fracture — not common elsewhere but common in Alice Springs," he said.

"[It's] very, very rare now, I haven't seen one for months.

"There's still a small degree of violence, it's not down to zero by any means, but it's a massive improvement and it's been sustained."

Dr Gourley, who is also the deputy chair of the National Rural Health Alliance, said it was likely Government policies, such as the presence of police auxiliary liquor inspectors (PALIs) stationed at regional bottle shops, were behind the decrease.^{xxiv}

- xxiv. There is an inescapable irony in the NTG's continued demand for increased and needs- based Federal funding to address our high rates of domestic violence.^{xxv}

This is on the face of it a fair argument, but when we have a situation where the NTG has, through its own very poor decisions, has elevate the risk of higher rates and levels of seriousness of domestic violence.

Summary

The NTG has made a grave error in hastily devising and implementing the changes to the alcohol restrictions that existed prior to 16th July. At the very least, it should have either negotiated with the Federal Government, or implemented of its own accord, a two-year extension to the APA provisions whilst there was extensive consultation with and thorough and clear presentation of evidence to affected APA residents. It is widely recognised that this type of consultation, for example where there is an application for a licence or an Alcohol Management Plan, must include separate discussions with the most vulnerable community members, as well as service providers including health, education, Regional Councils and Police. Instead, what we have is more grog, more assaults and, sadly, probably more mayhem to come.

The NTG's failure to analyse and consider the implications of simply allowing the restrictions to laps demonstrates an ineptness that arguably makes a mockery of its largely thoughtful and useful approach to alcohol policy and legislative reform to date. We are now seeing the results, day in, day out, in central Australia. Women, children and other vulnerable community members are suffering.

Its refusal to listen to organisations with relevant expertise including NAACHO, AMSANT, NAAJA, the Central Australian Aboriginal Congress, the Danila Dilba Health Service, the NPY Women's Council and Aboriginal Housing NT, shows disdain for these organisations and their extensive expertise.

We ask that the Committee not only examine how this poor and potentially disastrous decision eventuated, including the respective roles of the NTG and the Federal Governments. We also ask that the Committee take whatever measures are within its power either to persuade the NTG to reinstate equivalent Stronger Futures Act alcohol provisions, or to have the Federal Parliament legislate for the Northern Territory, as it is empowered to do under the Australian Constitution. This is an instance where the NTG has not used its powers for the peace, order and good government of the Territory as required under the *Northern Territory (Self Government) Act 1978*.

2nd December 2022

ⁱ <https://industry.nt.gov.au/publications/licensing/alcohol-policies-and-legislation-review-final-report>

ⁱⁱ *Maloney v The Queen* [2013] HCA 28 (19 June 2013) <http://www7.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/viewdoc/au/cases/cth/HCA/2013/28.html>

ⁱⁱⁱ (2008) 169 FCR 59 at 83 [81].

^{iv} Interview on ABC Alice Springs 5.5.22.

^v <https://www.miragenews.com/associations-and-liquor-amendment-bill-783600/>

^{vi} ABC Radio Darwin 14.4.22.

^{vii} [Intervention-era alcohol bans have ended in the Northern Territory. Here's what that means - ABC News](#)

^{viii} <https://www.niaa.gov.au/sites/default/files/publications/sfnt-review.pdf>

^{ix} <https://www.indigenous.gov.au/news-and-media/announcements/extension-remote-aboriginal-investment-northern-territory>

^x <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-08-19/data-monitoring-after-nt-alcohol-bans-end/101347314>

^{xi} <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-11-01/alcohol-data-dashboard-for-nt-still-incomplete-after-ban-lifted/101598288> and repeated by the Chief Minister on the ABC Alice Springs 3rd and 22nd November 2022.

^{xii} <https://alcoholpolicy.nt.gov.au/>

^{xiii} Interview on ABC Alice Springs 22.11.22

^{xiv} See attachment 3: Answer to Written Question 410 Josh Burgoyne MLA.pdf

^{xv} <https://pfes.nt.gov.au/police/community-safety/nt-crime-statistics> and <https://pfes.nt.gov.au/police/community-safety/nt-crime-statistics/statistical-publications>

^{xvi} Attachment 4. Alcohol Supply in the NT (2017 to 2022) November 2022.docx

^{xvii} https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-10-05/patrons-refused-service-bottle-shops-quadruples/101503166?utm_campaign=abc_news_web&utm_content=link&utm_medium=content_shared&utm_source=abc_news_web

^{xviii} Attachment 1: J. Boffa on harm since end of SF. ABC ASP Thursday 15th September 2022.docx

^{xix} <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-11-23/alice-springs-40-police-crime-second-cbd-shutdown-in-two-weeks/101686934>

^{xx} Superintendent James Grey-Spence, officer in charge of Operation Drina, ABC radio Alice Springs 30.11.22.

^{xxi} <https://www.aedc.gov.au/>

^{xxii} <https://www.aedc.gov.au/data-explorer/>

^{xxiii} <https://www.skynews.com.au/australia-news/loved-ones-of-aboriginal-girl-15-who-died-in-apparent-suicide-after-horrific-sexual-abuse-back-calls-for-inquiry/news-story/f91d467489637d19ff89b2e53045f249>

^{xxiv} <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-09-09/alice-springs-hospital-emergency-alcohol-presentations-plummet/11492076>

^{xxv} <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-08-18/nt-domestic-violence-funding-fast-tracked/101346822>