16.0
Health and wellbeing
This chapter provides an overview of health and wellbeing in the communities, and examines some key service delivery issues influencing health outcomes. The Commission has not undertaken a full review of health and wellbeing services—rather, the findings reflect a focus on significant issues impacting on remote and discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Key points

- Indigenous people in remote areas of Queensland experience a burden of disease and injury 2.4 times the non-Indigenous rate—mainly chronic disease, mental disorders and intentional injuries.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have a holistic understanding of life and health, which includes physical and mental health and other factors such as cultural, spiritual and social wellbeing.
- Socioeconomic determinants (education, income, overcrowding), racism and discrimination play a significant role in the health gap, along with behavioural and environmental risk factors.
- The health system is a multifaceted network of services and settings, involving a variety of public and non-government providers, funding arrangements, participants and regulatory mechanisms.

System issues

- The ‘silo’ approach to service delivery is problematic for communities. It is difficult to ensure services are adequate, appropriate, coordinated and not unnecessarily duplicated, and meet community priorities and user needs.
- Mainstream mental health services do not meet the differing cultural needs of Indigenous people, who view social and emotional wellbeing incorporating individuals, their families and communities.
- Providers and institutions are not well-equipped to respond effectively to the distress Stolen Generations might experience by meeting these services, often agents of harm from their past.
- Anecdotally, Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder is prevalent, and access to diagnosis limited.
- Access to healthcare can be problematic—issues include ineffective, nil or confusing referral pathways, lower screening rates and limited access to rehabilitation centres. There are significant gaps in the Indigenous health workforce.

What is working

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community-controlled health services provide effective, culturally appropriate and multidisciplinary models of comprehensive primary healthcare.
- Family Wellbeing is an example of a cultural healing program that has been found to increase the capacity of participants to exert greater control over their health and wellbeing.
16.1 High-level outcomes

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders experience more ill-health and disability than non-Indigenous Queenslanders and are more likely to die at a young age. This disparity is known as the ‘health gap’.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Queenslanders living in remote and very remote areas experience a burden of disease and injury 2.4 times the non-Indigenous rates, compared to those living in major cities (1.9 times) (QH 2017a, p. 13).

In remote areas, the largest broad cause contributors to disease and injury burden in 2011 were chronic disease, mental disorders, suicide and self-inflicted injuries. Diabetes was the leading specific cause of burden of disease and injury, followed by ischaemic heart disease, anxiety and depression, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, and suicide and self-inflicted injuries (QH 2017b, p. 28). Compared to the Queensland non-Indigenous rate of burden, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in remote areas experienced 3.5 times more than expected injuries, and four times the rate of communicable diseases, maternal and neonatal conditions (QH 2017b, p. 81).

Chronic disease

Chronic diseases accounted for the greatest burden of disease of remote living Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Queensland; diabetes and ischaemic heart disease, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease were the most prevalent. These are non-communicable diseases that evidence has demonstrated could be better prevented and managed in remote locations. Remote living Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people display increased levels of contributing health risk factors, and also have poorer access to the primary care services through which these chronic conditions can be addressed (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 1).

Chronic disease risk factors

Addressing the range of health risks that contribute to the development of chronic disease is a challenge (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 1). Known health risk factors include smoking, drinking and other drugs, family dysfunction, inactivity, poor health literacy, passive welfare, economic and employment disadvantage, gambling, and physical environmental factors including inadequate housing, overcrowding, inadequate food storage and cooking facilities and inadequate public health infrastructure. These can contribute to high rates of injury, obesity, poor nutrition, preventable infections, high STI rates, and low personal resilience—resulting in chronic disease and other poor health outcomes (Tsey et al. 2006, p. 24). People in remote areas have poorer oral health, which has also been linked to a greater risk of developing cardiovascular disease, diabetes and respiratory illnesses (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 2).

Reducing exposure to behavioural and physical risk factors could reduce the burden of disease and injury in Queensland’s Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander people by up to 37 per cent (QH 2017a, p. 11). For example, more than half of the diabetes, cardiovascular disease and cancer burden (75 per cent, 68 per cent and 50 per cent respectively) could be avoided through the elimination of selected risk factors including obesity, smoking, and physical inactivity.

Mental disorders

Together, mental disorders and intentional injuries including suicide and self-harm were the second greatest contributors to disease and injury burden in remote areas (2011), particularly among adolescents and young adults. According to the 2016 Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage report, wellbeing and resilience problems of young Indigenous people have seen no improvement—these include family violence, psychosocial distress, hospitalisations for self-harm and juvenile detention (SCRGSP 2016 in CQUniversity sub. 7).

Australia’s Indigenous men have the highest rate of suicide in the world—of this group, the most prevalent rates of suicide manifest in the Cape York and Torres Strait communities (CYI sub. 26, p. 4).
The impacts of mental health and wellbeing issues are felt at the community and individual levels:

*especially when it comes to dealing with a systemic core problem of socio-economic disparity and ‘mental health crisis’ that is prevalent in remote and discrete communities ... the composition of chronic infestation is enshrouded within an invisible film of complex trauma that is filtered through the networks of community settlement bringing a scourge of a silent epidemic that is spreading with no real form of crisis management that is creating social disharmony and dysfunction within our society especially across the greater Mount Isa & Gulf regions. (NWQICSS sub. 23, p. 6)*

A study of treated psychotic disorders in the Indigenous populations of Cape York and the Torres Strait found a higher prevalence in the Aboriginal population (2.05 per cent) than in the Torres Strait (0.95 per cent). Male Aboriginal Australians were found to bear the greatest burden of psychosis in these populations. High rates of alcohol and cannabis use were found, and comorbid intellectual disability was common (Hunter et al. 2012).

There is an opportunity to achieve better community and individual outcomes through effective prevention, early intervention and an appropriate response to psychotic disorders.

### 16.2 Factors affecting health service delivery

**Economic and social determinants of health**

Between one-third to half of the health gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is estimated to be attributable to social determinants (AHMAC 2015), meaning that much of the work to improve health inequities and inequalities lies beyond the health sector. For example, chronic disease is best addressed ‘upstream’ before it has the chance to develop, with a focus on determinants of health including the social and physical environments (Tsey et al. 2006, p. 24).

Increased disadvantage in more remote areas suggests that social determinants would have an even greater impact on health outcomes. Poorer access to services, medications and healthy food sources due to environmental, geographical and cultural factors contribute to higher rates of disease and injury burden in remote parts of Queensland (QH 2017a, p. 13). Households are more likely to be overcrowded, and services such as sewerage, and facilities for food preparation and washing, are more likely not to be working (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 8). Employment and incomes tend to be lower, impacting on the ability of remote living Indigenous people to access health and community services, including transport and communication (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 8).

Health and wellbeing issues are compounded by the effects on the Stolen Generations and their immediate family and descendants. This group:

*are around 50 per cent more likely to have been charged by police, 30 per cent less likely to report being in good health, 15 per cent more likely to consume alcohol at risky levels and 10 per cent less likely to be employed compared to other Indigenous people in Australia (Anderson & Tilton 2017, p. 19)*
Box 16.1 Intergenerational trauma definition

The subjective experiencing and remembering of events in the mind of an individual or the life of a community, passed from adults to children in cyclic processes as cumulative emotional and psychological wounding.

Source: Anderson & Tilton 2017, p. 22; Atkinson 2013, p. 5.

These challenges contribute to many of the issues faced in communities, including family violence, substance abuse and self-harm (Anderson & Tilton 2017, p. 4). Misdiagnosis can result in ineffective therapeutic interventions (Nadew 2012, p. 3). A holistic approach is needed to address the full spectrum of stressors at the community and individual levels, and tackle mental illness and substance-use disorders (Queensland Health 2017b, p. 32).

A holistic view of health and wellbeing

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have a holistic view of health that includes physical health, mental health, and other factors such as cultural, spiritual and social wellbeing. The wellbeing of communities and families is as important as that of individuals (QMHC 2016, p. 6).

Social and emotional wellbeing and empowerment are key components of a holistic view of health. Social and emotional wellbeing can be defined as:

- being resilient, being and feeling culturally safe, having and realising aspirations and being satisfied with life (QMHC, 2016, p. 6)

Social and emotional wellbeing is a significant protective factor against the worst impacts of stressful life events. It protects against some mental illnesses, suicide and problematic alcohol and other drug use, and supports recovery. Social and emotional wellbeing improves life outcomes including educational, employment and economic participation, physical health and mental health (QMHC 2016, p. 6).

Empowerment involves people assuming control and mastery over their lives in the context of their social and political environment. Recognised by the World Health Organisation as a viable strategy for improving individual and community health outcomes and quality of life, empowerment must be promoted across all service areas if success is to be possible (Wallerstein, in Tsey et al. 2006, pp. 10–12).

A key lesson from the COAG Indigenous community coordination trials and the Northern Territory Emergency Response is that engagement with Indigenous Communities is essential to achieve measurable improvements in economic, health and social indicators. (SCRGSP 2009, p. 71)

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30 Wellbeing is defined as a state of health or sufficiency in all aspects of life, including health, social well-being, economic well-being, environmental well-being, life satisfaction, spiritual or existential well-being, and other characteristics valued by humans (Tsey et al. 2006, p. 12).
16.3 The health system

The World Health Organisation describes a health system as ‘all the activities whose primary purpose is to promote, restore and/or maintain health’ (WHO 2000, p. vii). The major types of health care include primary and secondary care (Box 16.2).

Box 16.2 Primary and secondary health care

- **Primary health care** includes activities ranging from health promotion, prevention and early intervention to the treatment of acute conditions, and management of chronic conditions.
- **Secondary care** encompasses medical services provided by a facility (such as a hospital) or a specialist, upon referral by a primary care physician.

Source: AIHW 2014, p. 2.1

Health services to rural and remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait communities are a complex arrangement of providers, funding, and regulatory mechanisms. Services range from public health and preventive services in the community, to emergency services, hospital-based treatment, rehabilitation and palliative care. Organisations and health professionals involved in providing health services include medical practitioners, nurses, allied and other health professionals, hospitals, clinics, pharmacies, and public and private agencies (AIHW 2014, p. 2.1). All levels of government, as well as non-government sectors, are involved in planning and delivery of services to communities (AIHW 2014, p. 2.0). An overview is provided at Box 16.3.

A good health system is one that ‘delivers quality services to all people, when and where they need them’ (WHO 2015). However, stakeholders have advised that the effectiveness, efficiency and equity of health services for communities is hampered by duplication and gaps, inappropriate service delivery models, and a mismatch with community priorities. Access is hampered by cultural and language barriers, lower levels of service availability, and distance. These issues are discussed in the following section.
Box 16.3 Health system roles and responsibilities

**Australian Government** funds and commissions:
- universal public health insurance (Medicare), subsidising medical services and pharmaceuticals
- population health programs, community health services, health and medical research
- jointly funds public hospitals; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health services
- outreach health programs including chronic disease, hearing, optometry (CheckUP).

**Queensland Government:**
- manages and jointly funds public hospitals; delivers and commissions primary health care services
- funds and delivers chronic disease prevention and management services (including dental services) through community health centres, public hospitals (outpatient units, outreach programs, inpatient services) and Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Services.

**Local governments deliver:**
- community-based health and home care services; public health and health promotion activities including immunisation services
- environmental health-related services (for example, water and sanitation services, food inspection).

**Community controlled health organisations:**
- culturally appropriate and multi-disciplinary models of comprehensive primary healthcare, with a social and emotional wellbeing focus and a view of the individual as part of the family and community
- services include Indigenous health practitioners, outreach midwives, podiatrists, audiologists, physiotherapists, dietitians and nutritionists, diabetes nurse educators, paediatricians and GPs.

**Apunipima Cape York Health Council:**
- the largest remote community controlled health organisation in Queensland, delivering comprehensive primary health care services to 11 Cape York communities
- delivers integrated wellbeing and primary health care services.

**Royal Flying Doctor Service:**
- general practitioner care in remote and very remote locations
- grant funded by the Australian Government—does not bill Medicare.

**Private sector:**
- private hospitals; medical practices; pharmacies; allied health services
- limited presence in the remote and discrete communities.

*Sources: AIHW 2014, p. 2.1; QH 2015; Tsey et al. 2006, p. 9.*
Duplication and gaps

Communities have multiple local, state and Australian government providers visiting to provide specific services. For example, in Coen—a small community of around 400 people—there are two primary health care facilities less than 100 metres apart ‘two separate buildings, each separately staffed, delivering primary health services and using separate patient records in one small community’ (CYP sub. 26, p. 9). A lack of coordination and communication between services gives rise to issues including duplication and gaps in service delivery, sub-optimal referral pathways, and no shared tracking of outcomes. CheckUP provided an example that typified broad concerns:

(CheckUP) ... facilitated a stakeholder meeting between a local discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community medical centre, the local HHS facility, the State run Healthy Hearing program, a Commonwealth Hearing program, the regional HHS tertiary hospital ENT service and CheckUP’s funded visiting audiologist. Although all of these providers were linked together in their goal to improve the hearing health of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, some providers were not aware that there were other services visiting, or of the range of services currently being provided. They were also not aware that they were able or how they could refer to others; not aware that their own referral criteria could restrict external organisations’ access; were servicing some groups multiple times while other groups inadequately; and finally there was no shared database or way of tracking whether patients entering the system were progressing through to achieve an outcome. One provider commented that they had waited five years for a meeting like this to occur. (CheckUP sub. 10, p. 9)

Gap: suicide prevention

Submissions to this inquiry suggest a mismatch between services and community priorities, such as addressing the root causes of suicide. For example, concerns raised about Doomadgee mentioned:

suicide and criminal activity are disproportionate amongst youth in Doomadgee ... there is ‘nothing for them to do’—with no facilities or effective programs; and that the solution is on-country education programs that have previously been proposed but not support or funded ... concern that funding is spent on a plethora of duplicated externally provided services, rather than capacity building and employment opportunities within the local Indigenous community. (Burke Shire Council sub. 25, p. 1)

In Yarrabah:

suicide prevention funding which employed staff in Yarrabah was reallocated to Lifeline, and is now absorbed into their overarching funding. Previous local support has been replaced by the 1800 phone number which is insufficient and unacceptable for Yarrabah’s specific and highly acute needs. (YASC sub. 11, p. 10)

Suicide is a significant health challenge in communities. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Suicide Prevention Evaluation Project identified potential success factors for Indigenous suicide prevention programs, led by communities (Box 16.4).
Box 16.4 Community led suicide prevention programs

Primordial prevention:
- addressing community challenges, poverty, social determinants of health
- cultural elements—building identity, SEWB, healing
- alcohol/drug use reduction.

Primary prevention:
- gatekeeper training—Indigenous-specific
- awareness-raising programs about suicide risk—use of DVDs with no assumption of literacy.

Young people:
- peer-to-peer mentoring, and education and leadership on suicide prevention
- programs to engage/divert, including sport
- connecting to culture/country/Elders.

Clinical elements:
- access to counsellors/mental health support—24/7 availability
- awareness of critical risk periods and responsiveness at those times
- crisis response teams after a suicide/postvention.

Community leadership/cultural framework:
- community empowerment, development, ownership—community-specific responses
- involvement of Elders
- cultural framework.

Provider:
- partnerships with community organisations and ACCHOs
- employment of community members/peer workforce.

Source: ATSISPEP 2016, p. 3.

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31 A postvention is an intervention conducted after a suicide, largely taking the form of support for the bereaved (family, friends, professionals and peers).
Gap: Disabilities and Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder

Concerns have been raised by stakeholders to this inquiry about gaps in the diagnosis of disabilities and delivery of disability services. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have substantially higher rates of disability than non-Indigenous Australians (AIHW, 2011). However, many living in remote communities are reluctant to identify as having a disability and may not receive the services they need. Remoteness further impacts on the availability of disability support services (Griffis 2012; Queensland Government sub. 27, p. 5).

Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) is an umbrella term used to describe a range of impacts caused by exposure to alcohol in the womb. The consequences vary along a spectrum of disabilities including physical, cognitive, intellectual, learning, behavioural, social and executive functioning disabilities, and problems with communication, motor skills, attention and memory. Concerns about the prevalence of FASD in the remote and discrete communities were raised in submissions. For example:

Amnesty International has heard repeatedly from communities, service providers and government about limited access to diagnosis for FASD. The effects that this has on ATSI [Indigenous] children, particularly as an identified contributing factor towards the overrepresentation in the justice system, must be taken into consideration in the delivery of services in remote and discrete Indigenous communities. (Amnesty International Australia sub. 13, p. 3)

The need for some form of antenatal intervention was canvassed:

FASD is prevalent in remote Aboriginal communities. Some form of ante-natal intervention is warranted. Current legislation does not provide services any opportunity for intervention in situations where pregnant mothers-to-be are clearly consuming alcohol at levels harmful to the unborn foetus. At what point does this activity constitute knowledgeable and avoidable harm such that some loss of liberty is warranted. Consideration could be given to prioritising family rehabilitation for families with expectant mothers at venues such as the Cape York Family Centre near Cooktown. (Hannan sub. 24)

FASD can have a number of adverse, life-long consequences including inappropriate sexual behaviour, crime, psychiatric problems and alcohol and drug abuse. Lack of early diagnosis (before 12 years of age) has been indicated as one of the strongest correlations of adverse outcomes (Streissguth et al. 2004).

The prevention of FASD can improve mental health of children including intellectual, cognitive and learning abilities, speech and language, and behaviour and emotional wellbeing. This requires working with communities to inform and underpin interventions with an understanding of the complexities of alcohol consumption during pregnancy. Early detection of FASD to prevent secondary disabilities such as mental health problems and chronic diseases is also important.

What works: Community health assessment

Remote and discrete Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are highly diverse, suggesting a one-size-fits-all approach is unlikely to be successful. A way to manage this is for local people to be engaged in the development of measures so that they reflect local needs and characteristics. Good information is needed about the current health status of the community, and factors that will influence that health status, to effectively plan and prioritise services. An assessment of a community’s health can help the community to work with professional organisations and service providers in prioritising appropriate prevention activities and response services. Community health assessments are described in Box 16.5.
A partnership approach informed by a community health assessment can address existing problems in an effective and prioritised way that makes the best, most cost-effective health choices possible (CDCP 2013, p. 1).

**Draft findings**

To achieve real health and wellbeing improvements in communities, a more localised planning and delivery approach is needed. Community health assessments would enable better planning of health services, reduce duplication and enable gaps to be identified and addressed. Effective prioritisation of services would make more cost-effective health choices possible.
Access to primary health care is critical for improving health outcomes. Mortality data suggests that in remote areas, fewer chronic diseases are detected before advanced presentation, representing significant inequality in access to appropriate and timely diagnostic and treatment services (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 1). Issues with access to health care lead to poorer health outcomes as diagnosis and management of conditions is delayed.

When Indigenous people are diagnosed with cancer, it’s usually late stage cancer, which means survival rates are lower. Screening rates are a lot lower for Indigenous people. (Dr Al-Yaman, in Hunter & Gordon 2017)

Models of health care are needed that maximise participation by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Even though remote living Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people suffer a burden of disease 2.4 times greater than the non-Indigenous Queensland population, their access to many services is significantly lower than for the general population (QAIHC 2011, p. 9). The accessibility of health services to communities is influenced by the effectiveness of the health workforce, the level of involvement of communities in planning and program design and delivery, and the degree to which services are effectively integrated (Queensland Health 2015, p. 9).

Health workforce

Organisations delivering services in remote areas have specific workforce challenges, including attracting and retaining people with the skills and experience needed to deliver complex services, connectivity and access to training (Queensland Government sub. 27, p. 9). Because of workforce shortages across many health professional groups in remote and discrete communities, people are frequently unable to access the health care they need at the time they need it—if at all. Combined with greater health need and socioeconomic disadvantage, poorer access to primary care leads to increases in hospitalisations that might have otherwise been preventable.

Workforce disadvantage has two aspects—the relatively small number of Indigenous people in the health workforce and the shortages of workers, particularly health professionals. An overview of the health workforce and issues of shortages in remote communities is at Box 16.6.
Box 16.6 Health workforce

General practitioners (GPs)
- GPs in very remote areas are half the number per capita compared to major cities.
- Remote GPs work longer hours and perform a broader range of tasks due to fewer other health professionals being available.
- Limited access to quality and timely primary care through a local GP leads to a higher prevalence of chronic disease.

Nurses
- They are often the first point of contact for a range of primary care functions that would normally be provided by GPs, specialists and allied health professionals.
- They are often the sole primary care provider in the community.
- Nurses are frequently required to extend their skills due to the diverse health needs of their community and the lack of any other form of health personnel support.

Aboriginal health workers
- They comprise only 1.4 per cent of the health workforce, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people make up 3.5 per cent of the population (Qld).
- They are often the first point of contact in the primary care setting.
- The health workers are critical and integral to ensuring culturally appropriate, effective health services.

Allied health professionals
- They play a vital role in the prevention and management of chronic disease.
- Examples of these professionals are dietitians, diabetes educators, exercise physiologists.
- There are less than half the number of allied health professionals in remote/very remote areas compared to major cities.

Dental professionals
- Dentists, dental hygienists, dental therapists, dental prosthetists and oral health therapists are classified as dental professionals.
- People living in remote/very remote areas have significantly poorer oral health and limited access to dental services—around one-third the number of dentists compared to major cities.
- Poorer oral health has been linked to a greater risk of developing cardiovascular disease, diabetes and respiratory illnesses.

The need to 'train and recognise an Indigenous health workforce and a workforce for Indigenous health, and up-skill our health workforce to provide culturally appropriate services' has been identified by the Health and Hospitals Reform Commission (QAIHC 2011, p. 19). It is also recognised that existing training does not support health and mental health providers and institutions such as aged-care facilities to respond effectively to the increasing distress Stolen Generations and their descendants might experience by coming into contact with these services, often agents of harm from their past (Anderson & Tilton 2017, p. 30).

Greater Indigenous representation in the health workforce would go a long way to solving these issues. Indigenous health workers are recognised to be immensely important to the health and wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and their communities. Their significance to the engagement of communities in their own primary health care is recognised nationally and internationally (QAIHC 2011, p. 10). Substantial gaps in Indigenous participation in the health workforce pose a major challenge to achieving health outcomes.

**What works—increase the workforce capacity**

The National Rural Health Alliance has identified innovative chronic disease prevention and management programs being trialled or run in rural Australia that could complement initiatives to increase workforce capacity. For example, upskilling local staff, usually nurses so that they were able to provide pulmonary rehabilitation to local patients was found to be effective—rural and remote patients with chronic lung disease were able to access treatment previously unavailable to them, and patient outcomes were improved (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 16).

Significant health benefits also stand to be gained through interventions outside the health system. For example, involving Aboriginal people in land management has been found to improve health outcomes and reduce the costs of primary care. After adjusting for relevant sociodemographic factors and health behaviours, it was found that Aboriginal people involved in land management had significantly less chance of developing diabetes, kidney disease and high blood pressure (NRHA Inc n.d., p. 17).

**Draft findings**

Accessibility and effectiveness of health services can be improved by attracting and retaining an effective health workforce, and creating career pathways for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health staff.

Initiatives to grow and support the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health workforce are vital to efforts to reduce disadvantage.

**Community control and integration of services**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in remote and discrete communities have complex health needs. They need to access multiple services in a wide range of areas including health, housing and community supports. The Commission has heard that having to retell their story to multiple service providers and workers is difficult, and creates barriers to access and effective service delivery. Some services do not wish to collaborate with others, for example by referral, due to concerns regarding access to funding. These issues would be assisted by communities working together with services and as part of the decision-making, including when funding is provided. Services could better work together in a collaborative approach that puts the needs of the service user at the centre (QMHC 2016, p. 13).
Tsey et al. highlight that preventive health care is about self-determination and so must be community-based and owned (Tsey et al., 2006, p. 24). Increased community control in the design, delivery and monitoring of primary health care services is recognised to be a key factor for improving Indigenous health indicators. Culturally effective programs designed and delivered by the local community have demonstrated improved uptake and outcomes. By accessing more primary health care services, communities achieve better prevention, early intervention and management of health conditions, fewer preventable hospital admissions and long-term health gains (Queensland Government, 2011, p. 7).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Community Controlled Health Organisations

Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisations (ACCHOs) have demonstrated the effectiveness of the community-controlled model (Box 16.7).

Box 16.7 Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisations

More than 150 ACCHOs across Australia are responsible for managing and delivering comprehensive and culturally appropriate primary health services to their communities. The ACCHO model of integrated care is in keeping with the philosophy of Aboriginal holistic health.

An assessment of the Aboriginal community controlled health services found they have reduced unintentional racism and barriers to access to health care, and are progressively improving individual health outcomes for Aboriginal people.

Primary health care data show the ACCHOs are consistently improving performance in key performance on best-practice care indicators, and demonstrate superior performance to mainstream general practice.

ACCHOs also play a substantial role in training the medical workforce and employing Aboriginal people.

ACCHOs are funded by the Commonwealth through the Medical Benefits Scheme and block grant funding, though they have faced a loss of funding for their policy role which is seen to be a critical element of their success.

With commensurate and secure funding arrangements, ACCHOs are an effective model for all levels of government to re-think the way they work with Indigenous communities.

Source: DPMC 2015; Panaretto et al. 2014.

ACCHOs play a critical role in supporting community decision making, participation and engagement in health care. This is fundamental to effective primary health care and ensures that services are provided to meet community needs in a holistic and culturally appropriate way (QAIHC 2011, p. 28). The model of care is team-based more so than general practitioner-focused. Care is patient-and-family-focused, with significant physician input and integration with allied health specialists, mental health professionals and community services (Panaretto et al. 2014, p. 649). Broader benefits of community controlled health services include greater local participation in the health workforce, and improved self-determination and empowerment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities.
Currently, Apunipima Cape York Health Council provides community controlled primary health care to 11 Cape York communities. Apunipima ACCHO services include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Practitioners, outreach midwives, podiatrists, audiologists, physiotherapists, dietitians and nutritionists, diabetes nurse educators, paediatricians and general practitioners (ACYHC sub. 4, p. 1). The Queensland Government is also progressing the transition of Queensland Health delivered primary healthcare services to community control arrangements. For example, Gurriny Yealamucka (Yarrabah) was the first community in Queensland to transition its primary health care services to a community control arrangement, becoming the lead provider of all primary healthcare services, with the Cairns and Hinterland Hospital and Health Service continuing to offer emergency services in the community. Services in other communities including Aurukun are in the process of being transitioned to community control (Queensland Government sub. 27, p. 11).

Mainstream service—Deadly Ears

Mainstream programs vary in their accessibility to communities. The Deadly Ears program delivers culturally effective hearing and ear health services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children (Box 16.8).

**Box 16.8 Deadly Ears**

Deadly Ears is the Queensland statewide Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander child ear health program. Its aim is to reduce the high rates of conductive hearing loss attributable to middle ear disease among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children.

The program operates in 12 rural and remote communities in Queensland, and is delivered by four teams:

- a health promotion team which works with each community to promote good ears and hearing
- a workforce development team which trains and supports health staff and the community to better detect middle ear disease
- an allied health team which works with the community to limit the impacts of ear disease on child development
- an ENT outreach team which treats kids' ears for different types of middle ear disease.

*Source: AIHIN, 2017.*

Deadly Ears is delivered by state-run hospital and health services in close collaboration with the local community (Queensland Health, 2015, p. 9). It has been recognised as an exemplary program that tackles ear disease by integrating prevention, screening and diagnosis, and medical treatment programs, with scheduled follow-up of affected children (Hill 2012).

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**Draft findings**

Complex health needs require access to multiple services in a wide range of areas including health, housing and community supports. Increased community control in the planning, design, implementation and monitoring of health care services, and better integration of required services, are key factors for improving Indigenous health indicators.
Mental health care accessibility

In contrast to the success of Deadly Ears, there are issues with the accessibility of some mainstream mental health services. Barriers include inappropriate models of care, and a lack of clear funding processes for preferred community-controlled, culturally capable models of care (Anderson & Tilton 2017, p. 43). Issues regarding mental health services accessibility were raised by the Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council (LGAQ sub. 14, p. 8).

Box 16.9 Accessibility of mental health services

The CEO of Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council believes there are problems with accessibility and raises the issue of a mental health counselling service where the three practitioners fly in on a Monday and fly out on a Friday. Their office is located within public view near to the local store.

The CEO indicated:

To be effective mental health counsellors you need to mix with and get to understand the community ... where the risks might lie ... you need to get out of the office and do the vital outreach needed for a vibrant health service ... not sit in an office and wait for community members to come to you ... people feel shamed and don't want to be seen entering the office.

He also raised the concept of 'efficiency dividend', questioning the cost of fly in, fly out counsellors (for example, $1,100 return airfare per person every week) and asking at what point in time it becomes more efficient to fund a full-time mental health counsellor living within the community.

Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council has experienced significant trauma, a suicide, rape, and domestic violence in recent months, and needs a commitment to “on the ground” service provision. Mental health issues do not just arise on Tuesday to Thursday of each week. This community has been traumatised and needs support.

Source: LGAQ sub. 14.
Mental health care for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders need to address social and emotional wellbeing. The National Centre for Family Wellbeing describes wellbeing as:

The concept of social and emotional wellbeing (SEWB) merges the population health paradigm and an Indigenous Australian worldview in which spirituality is recognised as a key element of health. SEWB is premised on Indigenous views of health as holistic, involving spiritual, social, emotional, cultural, physical and mental wellbeing, and issues related to land and way of life. It supports the view that Indigenous health inevitably relates to colonisation, history, racism and social factors, all of which need to be addressed as part of effective service delivery. (NCFW sub. 16, p. 1)

Examples of SEWB protective factors include:

cultural continuity, self-determination and community control, good mental health and wellbeing, social support, resilience, problem solving skills and strategies for coping with stress. (NCFW sub. 16, p. 2)

Risk factors include:

cultural or religious conflicts, no social support networks, at risk mental status, recent interpersonal crisis, loss or trauma, family breakdown, child custody issues, influence of alcohol or drugs, difficulty accessing help; financial difficulties, unemployment, legal prosecution, illness. (NCFW sub. 16, p. 2)

Early intervention and management of mental health and substance use are critical to prevent exacerbation of symptoms (Queensland Health 2017b, p. 31). Yet it is recognised that the provision of mental health services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is both inadequate and inappropriate (NMHC 2012, in Dudgeon et al. 2014, p. 2). Conventional mental health services may not fully meet the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders’ holistic view of health and wellbeing, incorporating differing cultural values and needs than the mainstream (Queensland Health 2017b, p. 31). This means that even where mental health services are physically available in a community, the level of access by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders is unlikely to reflect the level of need (Queensland Health 2017b, p. 31).

The accessibility of rehabilitation services was also raised as an issue:

Rehabilitation centres are difficult to access. Centres servicing Cape York are in Yarrabah and Townsville and this requires a long and expensive journey. Also the removal from country impacts the individual emotionally. A rehab centre located more centrally on Cape York and near bushland rather than the trappings of large cities would have benefit ... (Hannan sub. 24)

What works—mental health and wellbeing

Effective strategies to strengthen the mental health and wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are identified by Dudgeon et al. Important program features include:

- a holistic approach
- a focus on recovery and healing from stress and trauma
- a means of empowering people to regain a sense of control and mastery over their lives
- strategies that are Indigenous-led, family-focused, culturally responsive, and context-specific
- interdisciplinary approaches that provide outreach services and transport
- partnerships with the Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Services sector and local communities (Dudgeon et al. 2014, p. 2).

Characteristics of mental health programs that work are at Box 16.10.
Health and wellbeing services that are designed and delivered either in a real partnership with communities, or wholly by communities, have been demonstrated to effectively improve the social and emotional wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Models demonstrated to be effective include the Cape York Wellbeing Centres, integration of wellbeing and primary health care services, and the Family Wellbeing Program.

Cape York Wellbeing Centres

Jointly funded by the Australian and Queensland Governments, the Wellbeing Centres (WBCs) were established to contribute to the change in behavioural and social norms, through culturally appropriate services that assist individuals and their families to maintain or return to positive social and emotional wellbeing.

The WBCs focus on issues such as drug and alcohol misuse, gambling, mental health and wellbeing, and family violence. Activities are guided by Local Advisory Groups, local staff members, Elders and other community stakeholders to reflect the specific community needs. An evaluation commissioned by the Australian Government found that the WBCs had a clinically and statistically significant positive effect on the mental health on their clients. Anecdotally, individual change was having a positive effect on some families within the communities (Health Outcomes International 2014).

However, the evaluation noted ‘there can be no quick fix to rectify challenges that have been decades in the making’. It was considered unlikely that sustained significant change would be observed at the community level unless there was another significant positive enabler of change in the communities, for example the availability of employment.

The evaluation report recommended that Cape York social and emotional wellbeing services be integrated within a primary health care setting, to improve service delivery and client referral, reducing service duplication and improving performance monitoring (Health Outcomes International 2014).

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Box 16.10 Characteristics of mental health programs that work

Programs that show promising results for Indigenous social and emotional wellbeing are those that encourage self-determination and community governance, reconnection and community life, and restoration and community resilience.

- Important features include a holistic approach; focus on recovery and healing; empowering people to regain a sense of control and mastery over their lives; strategies that are Indigenous-led, family-focused, culturally responsive, and context-specific; interdisciplinary approaches that provide outreach services and transport; partnerships with ACCHOs and local communities.

- There is evidence that both mainstream and Indigenous-specific programs and services that adhere to principles of engagement, access, integration and accountability are more effective.

- Programs that involve Indigenous families and communities in developing, implementing and evaluating programs tend to foster a more culturally responsive and safe environment for users.

- Engaging in cultural activities is an indicator of positive cultural identity that is associated with better mental health among Indigenous Australians.

*Source: Dudgeon et al. 2014, p. 2.*
Integrated Social and Emotional Wellbeing and Primary Care model (Apunipima)

The Apunipima Cape York Health Council has integrated social and emotional wellbeing with primary health care in their service delivery model. The community-controlled health service aims to empower Cape York people by providing culturally competent, comprehensive primary health care through Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander led services that promote and support the social, emotional, spiritual and cultural needs of individuals, families and communities. The integrated approach is consistent with recommendations of the Evaluation of Cape York Wellbeing Centres Final Evaluation Report (Health Outcomes International 2014).

Family Wellbeing Program

The Family Wellbeing Program (FWB) was initially started in 1998 in South Australia by a group from the Stolen Generations. It has been adapted by the Apunipima Cape York Health Council to meet the specific needs of Cape York communities. FWB is premised on the concept that efforts to close the gaps should start with personal development and capacity enhancement (Lowitja Institute 2015). Participants learn a range of practical techniques that can be applied to everyday living and develop the confidence to address their personal, family and community wellbeing.

Efficacy of the FWB program has been established in an evaluation by the University of Queensland and James Cook University. Most participants were better able to manage change, support others and remain focused on the future:

we can help them now, we’ve got the strength back – some of it.

[FWB]... helps you understand yourself you know to take one thing at a time – you can’t just take a big sledge hammer and smash the rock. You’ve got to chip away be chipping away at it. It’s the same in life. FWB will help you to understand that. (Tsey et al. 2006, pp. 37–38)

Positive individual, family and community outcomes were identified, with improvements in domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse, suicide prevention, school absenteeism, education, welfare dependence and employment. Health and wellbeing improvements included diet, physical activity, alcohol and smoking.

Draft findings

Improving Indigenous wellbeing means tackling more than just physical illness—initiatives to grow and support the social and emotional wellbeing and mental health of Indigenous communities are vital to efforts to reduce Indigenous disadvantage.

Mental health programs should take account of Indigenous values, lifestyles, aspirations, family and differing needs and capacities of Indigenous people in diverse economic and social circumstances.

Models of service delivery that integrate social and emotional wellbeing services in a primary health care setting are consistent with a holistic view of health. Integration may improve service delivery and client referral, reduce service duplication and improving performance monitoring.
16.4 Conclusion

Up to half of the health gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is estimated to be attributable to social determinants, meaning that much of the work to improve health inequities lies beyond the health sector. Closing the health gap requires simultaneous effort to address socioeconomic determinants of health including housing, education and employment. While some progress is being made, there is an opportunity to change practices to better meet the needs of communities, families and individuals.

Table 38 Current commissioning model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commission phase</th>
<th>What happens now</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population needs assessment and market analysis</td>
<td>There is limited assessment of needs at the community, family or individual level. This gives rise to duplication and gaps in service delivery and poor outcomes. In particular, stakeholders have highlighted gaps in responses to suicide, disabilities and Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service design</td>
<td>A lack of user focus and community input to the design and integration of services makes the system difficult to navigate and results in suboptimal outcomes. Mental health services reflect mainstream design and are not meeting the cultural needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The ACCHOs deliver an integrated model of health and wellbeing services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selecting providers and contracting</td>
<td>Providers are commissioned by the Australian and Queensland governments, without reference to a community health needs assessment. This results in fragmentation of funding and misalignment with community priorities. Selection of providers can overlook characteristics that might be of benefit to communities. The number of Indigenous health workers is proportionately well below parity with the broader population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring and evaluation</td>
<td>There are gaps in the monitoring of some key issues facing communities including disabilities, psychosis and Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder. There is limited community input into the evaluation of services.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A localised planning and delivery approach is more likely to achieve health and wellbeing improvements. There is an opportunity to develop an effective health strategy by working with communities to assess community health needs. Community health assessments would enable better planning of health services, reduce duplication and enable gaps to be identified and addressed. Effective prioritisation of services would make more cost-effective health choices possible.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders can have complex health needs that require access to multiple services in a range of areas including health, housing and community supports. Services could be better integrated to improve service delivery and client referral, reduce duplication and improve performance monitoring. Increased collaboration between government and non-government service providers would also promote better integration of services, for example, by improving transition care arrangements such as discharge planning, transfer of patient records and follow-up care.
Improving Indigenous wellbeing means tackling more than just physical illness. Accessibility and effectiveness of health services can be improved with models of service delivery that include social and emotional wellbeing services in a primary health care setting. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Community Controlled Health Organisations exemplify an effective model. The Commission notes that several Queensland Health primary health care services are being transitioned to community control in these communities.

Cultural accessibility of services can be enhanced by attracting and retaining an effective workforce, with career pathways for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander staff.

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**Draft recommendation 15**

All stakeholders should address opportunities to improve health and wellbeing services through:

- a greater focus on prevention and early intervention, including strategies to address:
  - socioeconomic determinants of health
  - suicide
  - Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder—prevalence assessment and prevention strategies
  - disabilities—prevalence assessment and early intervention
- individual and community input to prioritise, design and deliver services, based on data-informed community health assessments to address:
  - accessibility, cultural appropriateness and effectiveness
  - attraction and retention of an effective health workforce, including growing and supporting the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health workforce
  - better integration of services through increased collaboration with non-government health service providers (particularly Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisations (ACCHOs)) and improved transition care arrangements
  - improved pathways and access to mental health and substance services
  - gaps in responses to suicide, disabilities and Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder.