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**DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND AGEING**

**EVALUATION OF THE YOUTH WELLBEING  
PROGRAM IN THE CENTRAL DESERT REGION OF  
THE NORTHERN TERRITORY**

**Report**

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**CULTURAL & INDIGENOUS RESEARCH  
CENTRE AUSTRALIA**

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## 1. BACKGROUND

Petrol sniffing has been a serious issue of concern in several Indigenous communities, often causing illness, death and social dysfunction in communities, and is fuelled by poverty, boredom, unemployment and the availability of petrol<sup>1</sup>. Petrol sniffing is of particular concern in Aboriginal communities in Central Australia due to more widespread social and economic disadvantage leading to higher levels of engagement in sniffing behaviour.

While petrol sniffing has a number of significant short and long-term health risks for individuals, including death and increasing levels of disability, petrol sniffing also has major disruptive and destructive effects on family and community structures.

The economic burden of petrol sniffing is also considerable. A report released in March 2006 by Access Economics estimated the costs to be around \$79 million per year.

In February 2001, the Government announced that funding of \$1 million from the Northern Territory allocation of \$2.7 million under the National Illicit Drug Strategy – Illicit Drug Diversion Initiative, would be made available to address the problem of petrol sniffing in the Northern Territory. Through this funding the Youth Wellbeing Program, as delivered through CAYLUS, was established to design and deliver community strategies to increase the health and wellbeing of all young people in communities affected by petrol sniffing.

The Youth Wellbeing Program supports services and assists communities throughout Central Australia, focusing primarily on the Pintubi/Luritja, Walpiri, Arrente, Pitjantjatjara and Alice Springs regions. These locations have been identified as having significant issues with petrol sniffing.

The goals of the Youth Wellbeing Program focus on reducing the incidence of petrol sniffing by enhancing community capacity and increasing opportunities for young people. In particular, the specific aims of the program are:

- To reduce the incidence of petrol sniffing in Central Australian Indigenous communities;
- To improve the social and emotional wellbeing of young people in Central Australian Indigenous communities;
- Increase the capacity of Central Australian Indigenous communities to address petrol sniffing problems at a local community level;
- Increase the level of positive activities for young Indigenous people in Central Australian Indigenous communities;
- To develop and maintain a regional approach to addressing inhalant substance misuse and the provision of Indigenous youth services in Central Australia;

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<sup>1</sup> S. Cairney; [http://www.abc.net.au/health/library/petrol\\_ff.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/health/library/petrol_ff.htm)

- To improve the effectiveness, accountability and range of youth service activities in remote areas; and
- To improve sustainability of Indigenous youth programs in remote areas.

This evaluation, conducted in 2007, aims to assess the appropriateness, effectiveness and efficiency of the Youth Wellbeing Program in meeting these objectives.

## 2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

There are three key areas that were assessed as part of this evaluation of the Youth Wellbeing Program, including the appropriateness, effectiveness and overall efficiency of the program.

### Appropriateness

When assessing appropriateness it is important to consider the program both in terms of identified need of the communities as well as the extent to which this corresponds with the Government's desired outcomes. Specifically, the evaluation explored:

- The consistency of the program with the objectives and principles of the National Drug Strategy;
- The extent to which the issue of petrol sniffing is being addressed by the Youth Wellbeing Program in its target communities, including a description and assessment of interventions implemented;
- The current role and function of the Youth Wellbeing Program in the community and possible areas to be expanded or removed;
- The cultural appropriateness of the Youth Wellbeing Program and the level of community support for the Program;
- Any alternative services available to address petrol sniffing within the Youth Wellbeing Program's target communities (including any social, geographical and demographic implications) and any overlap which exists between these services and the Youth Wellbeing Program; and
- Any gaps in service that would exist in the absence of the Youth Wellbeing Program.

### Effectiveness

Determining the effectiveness of the program in terms of the ability of the program to produce positive outcomes and reduce the prevalence of petrol sniffing is of key importance. In particular, the evaluation explored:

- The effectiveness of the Youth Wellbeing Program in reducing prevalence, incidence and harm associated with petrol sniffing (including a review of any external factors which may account for any changes in such a rates);
- Any factors which facilitate or impede the implementation of the program, identification of these factors and ways of improving service delivery;
- The impact of the project costs to the communities serviced by the Youth Wellbeing Program and the Northern Territory Government, including the impact on criminal justice, health fields and other community organisations associated with petrol sniffing;

- Assessment of the effectiveness of program management; including strategic and business planning, staff training and supervision, data collection, case management and quality assurance and collaboration with other service providers; and
- The relevance of the Youth Wellbeing Program's existing performance measures.

### Efficiency

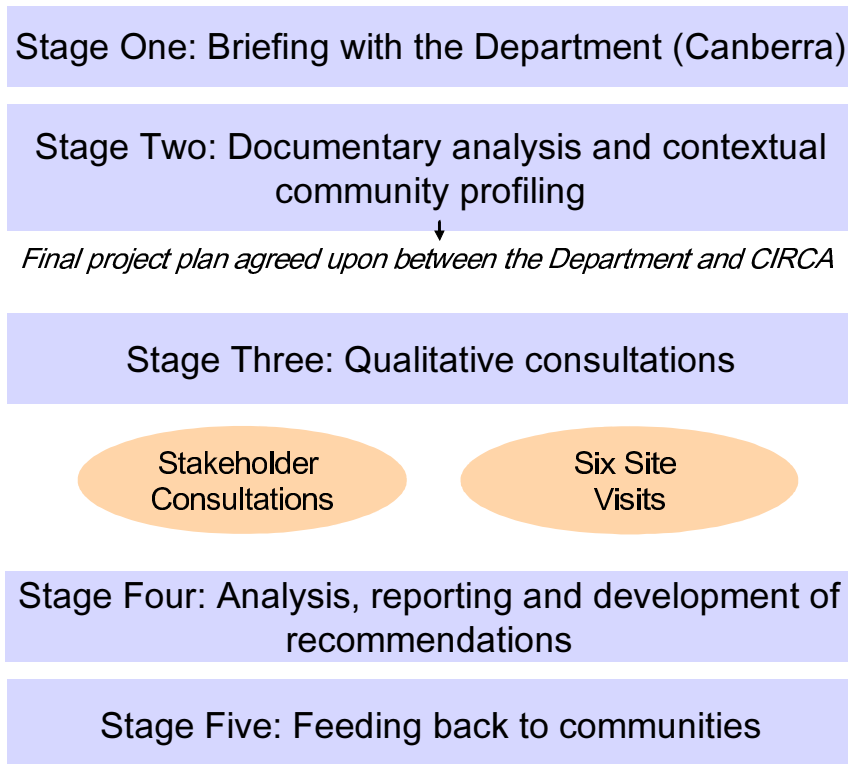
The specific objectives relating to efficiency were to assess:

- The administration of the brokerage funds, including the nature of this spending, the impact on the communities receiving the funds, and how the administration of these funds could be improved;
- Any overlap of funding from different funding bodies, such as other Australian Government Departments and Agencies and State and Territory Government Departments and Agencies; and
- The cost of running the program including comparisons of the ratio of administrative to project costs.

### 3. EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 OVERVIEW

The following diagram outlines the project plan for the evaluation of the Youth Wellbeing Program.



More detail regarding the evaluation is detailed below.

#### 3.2 DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS AND CONTEXTUAL COMMUNITY PROFILING

The documentary analysis and contextual community profiling stages were conducted concurrently.

##### 3.2.1 *Documentary analysis*

Prior to conducting the fieldwork, CIRCA conducted an analysis of all documentation and data available from the Department and/or CAYLUS relating to the Youth Wellbeing Program. This review included:

- The report from the previous evaluation conducted in 2004;
- The six-monthly reports provided by CAYLUS to the Department of Health and Ageing (December 2005 and July 2007);

- Individual reports provided by CAYLUS to the Department of activities conducted in each community (December 2005 and July 2007); and
- The contract between the Department of Health and Ageing and Tangentyere Council.

### **3.2.2 Contextual community profiling**

This involved scoping and profiling the nature of each community accessing Youth Wellbeing Program funding, to map the evaluation context for each location. This included:

- Information on the size of the community;
- The range and nature of Youth Wellbeing Program activities that have been implemented in that community;
- Any other issues that may affect the ability for the evaluation to be conducted (e.g. having worked with CAYLUS in the last 12 months, having stakeholders in the community with a history of working with CAYLUS); and
- Consultations with CAYLUS staff to discuss the appropriateness of including a range of communities.

Based on this analysis, six communities were selected for the site visits, with a further five proposed to be included via telephone consultations. The final communities selected were:

#### Site visits

- Imanpa
- Mutitjulu
- Docker River
- Papunya
- Hermannsburg (Ntaria)
- Titjikala

#### Telephone consultations

Alice Springs  
Yuendumu  
Kintore  
Willowra  
Mt. Liebig

## **3.3 QUALITATIVE CONSULTATIONS**

A wide range of stakeholders and community representatives from the five regions that access Youth



Wellbeing Program funding and services were consulted. The table below lists the organisations consulted.

**Table 1: List of Stakeholders**

<b>Site Visits</b>	
<b>Imanpa</b> Council CEO Council Chairperson Health Worker Youth Worker	<b>Papunya</b> Council CEO Elders Office of Local Govt Reconnect worker (Waltja)
<b>Docker River</b> JDU Worker Anthropologist	<b>Titjikala</b> Council CEO Reconnect worker (Waltja) Chairperson
<b>Mutitjulu</b> Council CEO Youth worker	
<b>Ntaria / hermannsburg</b> Ntaria Community Government Council Operations manager Health Services Development Officer, Western Aranda Health Aboriginal Corporation Sport and Recreation Officer	
<b>Telephone Consultations</b>	
<b>Alice Springs</b> FACSIA, Petrol Sniffing Strategy NPY Women's Council Drug and Alcohol Services Association Alice Springs (DASA) Bush Mob Alice Springs Youth Accomodation and Support Services (ASYASS) NT Juvenile Diversion Unit (JDU) Supacheap Autos Alice Springs Councillor Deadly Treadlies NT Police Waltja Tangentyere Council	
<b>Kintore</b> Council CEO Substance Abuse Worker Sport and Recreation worker	
<b>Willowra</b> Youth Worker	
<b>Mt. Liebig</b> Youth Worker	
<b>Yuendumu</b> Mt Theo program	

### 3.4 CONSIDERATIONS

The research was conducted during a time of considerable change within Central Australia, as the Australian Government had commenced the Emergency Intervention. While stakeholders were very willing to participate in the research, these changes had an impact on timing, as site visits were delayed due to the intervention.

It should also be noted that within remote communities there is considerable staff mobility, and especially with the site visits in Imanpa, and Mutitjulu where Mission Australia has begun implementing the Northern Territory Integrated Youth Services Program, it was difficult to access people working in the communities with direct experience working with CAYLUS. The site visits to Papunya, Titjikala and Hermannsburg were far more effective in accessing people in the communities with direct experience.

## 4. EVALUATION FINDINGS

### 4.1 ASSESSMENT OF THE YOUTH WELLBEING PROGRAM: AN OVERVIEW

The contract between the Department of Health and Ageing and Tangentyere Council (October 2004) lists the youth Wellbeing Program goals as follows:

1. To reduce the incidence of petrol sniffing in Central Australian communities;
2. To improve the social and emotional wellbeing of young people in Central Australian communities;
3. Increase the capacity of Central Australian Aboriginal communities to address petrol sniffing problems at a local community level;
4. Increase the level of positive activities for young people in Central Australian communities;
5. To develop and maintain a regional approach addressing inhalant substance misuse and provision of youth services in Central Australia;
6. Improved effectiveness, accountability and range of youth service activities in remote areas; and
7. To improve sustainability of youth programs in remote areas.

Based on the consultations with a wide range of stakeholders and community members, this research suggests that CAYLUS have had some success in meeting all of these objectives.

Objective 1 – Consultations indicate that CAYLUS have contributed to a significant reduction in the number of petrol sniffers in the remote communities. Estimates provided in this review indicate that the number of people sniffing regularly in the relevant communities has decreased from 197 in 2003 to 12 in 2007. In fact, the reduction is likely to be even greater than this estimate, as the 2003 figure does not include the number of people sniffing in Alice Springs.

Objective 2 – Measuring social and emotional wellbeing is very challenging. Based on the qualitative discussions, CAYLUS have been successful in assisting in or providing meaningful youth programs for young people in a large number of remote communities

Objective 3 – CAYLUS have worked closely with communities and enhanced their capacity to address petrol sniffing at a local level

Objective 4 – CAYLUS have directly provided activities for young people in a range of communities, as well as assisted youth workers and communities to provide youth programs. The population of young people in the communities that CAYLUS work with is approximately 18,700.

Objective 5 – CAYLUS maintains a regional approach in addressing inhalant substance misuse and providing youth services in Central Australia

Objective 6 – Anecdotally, the research found that CAYLUS have been integral to improving the range of youth service activities in remote areas, and the effectiveness of these activities. The research was

not able to assess accountability of these youth services, although the consensus was that funds invested in these youth programs was “*money well spent*”

Objective 7 – CAYLUS have assisted communities to source ongoing funding for youth programs, and have also developed capacity within communities to develop youth programs. Estimates provided by CAYLUS indicate that CAYLUS have assisted communities to access \$5,885,000 in the last three years.

Overall, based on the consultations, the research indicates that CAYLUS have achieved a notable level of success in meeting the objectives of the program.

The remainder of this section details the results from the research in terms of the activities that have lead to CAYLUS meeting these objectives, and the perceived factors in their approach that were seen to contribute to their success.

## 4.2 APPROPRIATENESS

The evaluation sought to explore whether the Youth Wellbeing Program is appropriate for identified needs in the communities. In particular, the evaluation explored the extent to which the program addresses petrol sniffing, the cultural appropriateness of the Program, and gaps and overlap in the delivery of the Youth Wellbeing Program.

### 4.2.1 *Extent to which the Youth Wellbeing Program addresses petrol sniffing in target communities*

Responses from community members, stakeholders and government representatives were unanimous in their agreement that the Youth Wellbeing Program has had an impact on petrol sniffing in the target communities. While it is very difficult to pinpoint the impact of an individual program in communities given the varying dynamics of communities and the range of programs and services in operation, it was clear that the Youth Wellbeing Program had contributed significantly to the reduction of petrol sniffing in communities.

A range of examples were given of the activities that CAYLUS have implemented that were seen to have a significant and direct impact on petrol sniffing:

- CAYLUS were seen as integral to the **roll-out of Opal Fuel** in Central Australia through lobbying and advocacy, and importantly through their direct work with communities. Many saw this as a key aspect of their work that has contributed to the reduction of sniffing in communities.

*“People had talked about Opal Fuel for decades, but they made it happen in two years” (youth worker)*

- CAYLUS have provided a large number of **youth diversion programs** in communities, in particular school holiday programs and after-school programs, which have been important in addressing petrol sniffing. Their ability to provide youth workers in remote communities is highly valued. Some even commented positively about their ability to find appropriate workers on the ground, and that they are quick to terminate an arrangement if it is not working out. Most spoke positively about the holiday programs delivered by CAYLUS.
- CAYLUS were seen as integral in the development and implementation of the **VSA legislation**. The VSA legislation, and police’s capacity to enforce this legislation, was seen to be having a positive impact on sniffing.
- CAYLUS have provided **assistance to communities in implementing youth programs**, and this has varied from assisting in the recruitment of youth workers, providing an induction and support to youth workers, providing equipment and resources (such as video equipment, laptops, etc), assisting communities to apply for funding, applying for funding on the communities’ behalf where requested, and financial assistance through the brokerage funds. The assistance CAYLUS provides communities in sourcing funding was seen as critical for the implementation of the youth programs, and CAYLUS were respected for their ability to provide information on funding options, to prepare funding submissions, and to distribute these funds to communities. Several community CEOs and youth workers said that this was a very valuable service, as they do not have the time/capacity to do the submissions themselves, and this assistance enabled the communities to have access to funds that would not ordinarily have been possible. Assistance in sourcing funding was also seen as beneficial in communities where the council was not functioning appropriately (see section 4.3.2 for more information on CAYLUS role in accessing funding).

*“If it weren’t for CAYLUS we wouldn’t be able to do a lot of activities like sports days, sport and recreation, and out-of-school hours programs” (Hermannsburg)*

*“CAYLUS recently organised funding for the holiday program, and we would have missed out on it if CAYLUS didn’t apply for it” (Mt. Liebig)*

- CAYLUS provide **support, advice and assistance to communities in relation to substance use**. This varies from intensive community development with communities, to crisis response.

*“In Papunya CAYLUS ran the school holiday programs which included activities for young children as well as teenage groups. They also run the Outreach program to this community which provides a life line of support and information to the community relating to the areas of substance abuse. They provide great support for the workers in Papunya. There was an outbreak of petrol sniffing and we phoned CAYLUS who had a plan in place and were able to implement the plan quickly and effectively.”*

*“They are only a phone call away” (remote community worker)*

- CAYLUS were seen to deliver **community capacity building in communities**, and to have been effective in engaging with and empowering communities so that decisions and activities

are community led.

*“The communities owned the Opal decision” (youth worker)*

- **Case Management** is an important component of the services provided by CAYLUS, and communities as well as youth workers and other substance abuse workers spoke very highly of this service. CAYLUS have developed strong relationships with communities, and it is critical that CAYLUS can respond to requests for help from individuals, families and communities with case management support. It appears that CAYLUS is able to work closely with other service providers in the region to deliver this service, and several workers mentioned that they joint case manage with CAYLUS, and that this works very well. CAYLUS themselves also highlighted the importance of case management, and noted that having a dedicated case worker enhanced the capacity of the organisation to continue their focus on community education and development. CAYLUS’ ability to *“get people into rehab”* was viewed very positively.
- CAYLUS played an important role in **working with retailers** to address the sale of volatile substances. An example includes working closely with SupaCheap Autos, where CAYLUS accessed funds to purchase the remaining stock (600 cans) of toxic paint, and this was then replaced with non-toxic paint. They were also integral in the introduction of a register where ID is needed to purchase paint and creating a “non-sellable” list.
- Providing **support to workers “on the ground”** was identified as an important role that CAYLUS play, and included ongoing support/guidance and inductions. For example, CAYLUS provide education about the remote communities to workers, and this history was seen as important as there is very rarely a paper trail, but knowing the history was seen as very valuable when working with communities. Mission Australia workers also appreciated the support that CAYLUS had provided them. There is a potential for this role to be formalised and expanded, and workers also suggested CAYLUS play a co-ordination role, as they are a good source of information for activities/workshops/program that are available (e.g. artists).
- **Networking** was mentioned, but not as often as other aspects of the CAYLUS program. Youth workers felt that CAYLUS provided opportunities to be kept up-to-date, and that this would be difficult for the workers to do themselves. However, there were a few suggestions that the formal inter-agency co-ordination role that CAYLUS provides could be improved as the notice for meetings was insufficient and some people said that they had not been informed of some meetings.

#### **4.2.2 Cultural appropriateness of the Youth Wellbeing Program and level of community support**

Overall the research suggests that CAYLUS deliver a culturally appropriate service to remote communities and to Alice Springs Town Camps. All the consultations indicated that there is

considerable community support for the Program. The factors that contribute to this perception are:

- The staff have considerable experience in remote communities, and this is seen to provide an expertise that is appreciated and valued
- CAYLUS have an extensive knowledge of petrol sniffing in Aboriginal communities. As one Council CEO noted, CAYLUS *“hit the ground running and they don’t need a lot of support from Council, as often people take up a lot of time. CAYLUS work a lot with Council without getting on our nerves.”*
- CAYLUS staff are able to limit the influence of local politics in delivering their service. They were seen to be able to work with a huge range of stakeholders in sometimes difficult circumstances, and to be *“good at bringing disparate interests together”*.
- Their commitment and passion were identified as critical to the success.
- CAYLUS relationships in communities are key to their effectiveness, and their credibility in communities was identified consistently as an important factor in their success. CAYLUS conduct comprehensive consultations with communities and *“reflect what the communities want”, “follow community direction”* and *“understand community dynamics”*. The fact that they travel widely was also seen as important in building these relationships, as this is not always the case for staff who work in outreach with remote communities.
- The reliability of CAYLUS was important, and the perception was that CAYLUS are *“well known for getting the job done”*.
- Several people commented on the ability of CAYLUS to provide youth workers ‘on the ground’ as an important asset.
- Providing a centralised and supported service with a regional approach was seen as positive.

#### **4.2.3 Alternative services available to address petrol sniffing within the target communities**

The service and policy framework within Central Australia addressing petrol sniffing has changed significantly over recent years, and this has had an impact on the communities that CAYLUS work with, and the support that they provide.

In September 2005 the Australian Government announced funding (\$9.5 million over two years) to support a comprehensive regional strategy to tackle petrol sniffing within the Central Desert Region. The Western Australian, Northern Territory and South Australian governments have given their support to an Eight Point Plan of action. Elements of the Eight Point Plan include a rollout of unleaded *Opal* fuel to affected communities, roadhouses and pastoral properties in the targeted area, a uniform legal framework across the region dealing with petrol sniffing and mental health, appropriate levels of policing, alternative activities for people in the area, rehabilitation and treatment facilities, a communication strategy, activities to strengthen and support communities and evaluation. CAYLUS

have worked with government agencies in implementing the eight point plan, and are seen to complement the strategy as they are “a critical part of the government armour to address substance abuse.” CAYLUS also played an important role in providing holiday programs recently when contracts were being negotiated with Mission Australia for the roll-out of the youth program through the Petrol Sniffing Strategy.

There was one service provider that identified changes in their working relationship with CAYLUS as a result of the changing service framework. The Drug and Alcohol Services Association Alice Springs (DASA), a rehabilitation service, historically co-case managed with CAYLUS, and it is estimated that there were 30 admissions over a two year period. CAYLUS worked with DASA to develop a rehabilitation program for sniffers. This service allowed people to come in with a support person for at least 10 days, and they were jointly managed by CAYLUS and DASA. It was noted that CAYLUS does not work as closely with DASA as they have in the past because there are more services on the ground, and because DASA now work with court clinicians with VSA clients.

However, consultations with a wide range of service providers in the Central Australian region did not identify significant concerns with overlap, as CAYLUS is seen to work well with other organisations and to be dynamic so that they fill gaps rather than duplicate existing services. Several youth and substance abuse workers indicated that they currently joint case manage with CAYLUS and that two way referrals are operating (e.g. with Waltja and CAYLUS), and that this works well. Also, given the mobile population in Central Australia, this cross-over of services was seen as less of an issue. While a few questioned this overlap, the general consensus was that CAYLUS work very effectively with other agencies in delivering services and support to communities.

It was also clear from the interviews that communities, service providers and government agencies felt that there would be considerable gaps in the delivery of support and services to remote communities if the Youth Wellbeing Program was no longer available.

### **4.3 EFFECTIVENESS**

It is very difficult to accurately measure the impact of CAYLUS on reducing the incidence of petrol sniffing because a range of strategies have been implemented since 2005 to address petrol sniffing, and it is impossible to distinguish the impact of individual organisations and strategies. However, the overwhelming response from the consultations was that CAYLUS have been effective in reducing the prevalence, incidence and harm associated with petrol sniffing. Clearly the introduction of Opal Fuel is critical to the reduction in petrol sniffing, but CAYLUS are inextricably linked to the successful roll-out of Opal fuel. As well, CAYLUS’ holistic approach to addressing both supply and demand is seen as critical.

The table below provides estimates of the incidence of petrol sniffing in the communities that CAYLUS



works with. As highlighted above, these changes are not solely attributable to CAYLUS' programs, but they do demonstrate the significant impact of a range of strategies and programs, including those of CAYLUS. Importantly, in October 2007, CAYLUS estimates that there were 12 people sniffing in the region that they service, an overwhelming reduction from 197 people in 2003 and 131 people in 2005. The region that CAYLUS service includes 36,630 people, of which 18,790 are young people.

**Table 2: Population numbers and estimates of petrol sniffing prevalence in Central Australia**

Community	Total Population	Population of young people	No. of people sniffing – Feb 2003 (1)	No. of people sniffing – Dec 2005 (1)	No. of people sniffing – Oct 2007 (2)
Papunya	450	280	50	60	0
Mt Liebig	300	180	40	4	0
Kintore	500	300	40	25	0
Areyonga	200	120	4	0	0
Ntaria (3)	400	230	18	7	0
Aputula (3)	300	180	N/A	N/A	0
Imanpa (3)	300	180	15	15	0
Docker River	400	200	10	0	0
Mutitjulu (3)	300	150	20	20	0
Bonya	180	100	N/A	N/A	0
Amplitwatja	300	180	N/A	N/A	0
Harts Range	300	150	N/A	N/A	0
Lake Nash (3)	500	290	N/A	N/A	0
Ikuntji	200	120	N/A	N/A	0
Willowra	400	220	0	0	0
Yuendumu	800	500	0	0	0
Nyirripi	200	120	N/A	N/A	0
Laramba (3)	300	180	N/A	N/A	0
Ti Tree (3)	600	350	N/A	N/A	0
Ali Curung	300	190	0	0	0
Titjikala (3)	300	180	N/A	N/A	2
Mt Allan	300	190	N/A	N/A	0
Yulara	800	200	N/A	N/A	0
Alice Springs	28,000	14,000	N/A	N/A	10 (4)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36,630</b>	<b>18,790</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>12</b>

(1) Source: CAYLUS Six-Monthly Report July-Dec 2005 where CAYLUS provided estimates of the number of people sniffing regularly

- (2) *Estimates provided by CAYLUS in October 2007*
- (3) *There have been short outbreaks in these communities in 2007. CAYLUS and other agencies have assisted communities to deal with the outbreaks and they have not been ongoing.*
- (4) *There have been frequent outbreaks in Alice Springs. Aside from this, there are ten people that are known to be sniffing in October 2007.*

Following are several examples that demonstrate the role CAYLUS has played in the reduction in the incidence of petrol sniffing in several communities. Again, it is important to keep in mind that it is not possible to attribute the reduction entirely to CAYLUS, but the overwhelming response from the consultations was that CAYLUS have been effective in reducing the prevalence, incidence and harm associated with petrol sniffing

#### Papunya

Discussions with Community Council members, the CEO, and youth workers from Papunya indicated that the number of petrol sniffers has reduced from up to 100 sniffers several years ago to the current situation where the CEO noted that *“there has been no sniffing for over 12 months.”* CAYLUS was identified as contributing significantly to this reduction through community capacity building, assisting in running diversionary programs, assisting in sourcing funding, providing support to workers in Papunya, and running school holiday programs.

*“They contributed to the running of the diversionary program with some of the local Aboriginal men which had a major impact on the almost irradiation of Petrol Sniffing in Papunya. They provide great support for the workers in Papunya. There was an outbreak of petrol sniffing and we phoned the people at CAYLUS who had a plan in place and were able to implement that plan quickly and effectively. Some of the changes which are noticeable in the community are only 12 months ago some of the kids who were suicidal are now playing football.”*

#### Hoppy’s Camp (Alice Springs)

A youth worker noted that there used to be 50-60 incidents a week in Alice Springs (where there were call-outs), and Police, Alcohol and Drug workers and CAYLUS would go and visit weekly, whereas now it is down to about 4-5 incidents a week. The co-operation of the three agencies was also seen as a positive step in reducing the prevalence of petrol sniffing. Twelve petrol sniffers were also taken to Mt Theo for rehabilitation services.

#### Docker River

Stakeholders indicated that the impact in Docker River went beyond reducing the incidence of petrol sniffing, and included improving school attendance, child health, and creating a “citizen” culture among family and individuals. Workers noted that now Docker River has no “actual sniffers”, and quite a few “x-sniffers”, whereas in 2003 it was estimated that there were 10 sniffers. CAYLUS worked with Docker River in empowering the community, developing the youth program (with the JDU youth

worker), providing legal advice, accessing rehabilitation for petrol sniffers, and delivering holiday programs.

#### Willowra

In response to a death in the community CAYLUS has been working closely with Willowra for several years. Stakeholders noted that CAYLUS spent a lot of time talking to the community and helped the community address problems with petrol sniffing by “*building the community up*” and “*building the youth worker up*”. In the initial stages CAYLUS provided equipment (a video camera, band equipment, a laptop computer and an amp) and this formed the basis of the initial youth program. CAYLUS were also seen to develop the capacity of the community so that the youth worker is now able to prepare submissions in conjunction with the community. It was noted that Willowra had “*a large population of chronic sniffers*” and now there is no regular sniffing, although they have occasional outbreaks. This was provided as a positive example of CAYLUS’ community capacity building as the community feels they “*stopped sniffing themselves*”.

#### Kintore

CAYLUS works alongside the substance abuse worker and the sport and recreation worker in Kintore, and have assisted in obtaining funding grants, and CAYLUS recently put in an application for three year funding for the substance worker.

#### Lake Nash

CAYLUS have recently started working with Lake Nash, which has a large population of young people (approximately 170 under 25 years), in response to a sniffing outbreak. CAYLUS have talked to the community about Ilpolera outstation, have helped find a sport and recreation worker, have supported the school holiday program, and have also recently put in a submission for funding for another youth worker in the community. If this funding application is successful the funding will go directly to the community. Lake Nash is on the edge of the Opal area, and the nearest sniffable fuel is only 50 km away.

#### Titjikala

This is a different scenario, as this is the only community consulted where it was noted that petrol sniffing is still an issue, and stakeholders felt that “*there is still a significant amount of sniffing going on*”. However, it was stated that the community is “*very good at taking care of sniffers, we get them out of the community as soon as they are seen sniffing and send them back to wherever they have come from. If they are from the community we ring CAYLUS to make arrangements to get them back on track, and some get sent to diversionary programs.*” Recently CAYLUS have made several trips to Titjikala to take the petrol sniffers to Ilpolera outstation, but at the time of writing this had not eventuated. Titjikala also recently had problems with the community store not selling Opal fuel, and this store manager has been sacked.

### 4.3.1 *Reach of CAYLUS*

As outlined in table 2 above, CAYLUS works with 24 communities, and this includes approximately 36,630 people in total, of which 18,790 are young people. CAYLUS believe that all people in these communities have been helped by the range of petrol sniffing programs that have been implemented. As well, CAYLUS have also provided an estimate of the number of people directly affected by specific programs, as follows:

- Holiday programs in remote communities – CAYLUS provide regular holiday program services to 16 communities, and this provides services to 2,400 young people per year;
- Youth programs interim provision for six months (2006/2007) in Aputula, Imanpa, Docker River and Mutitjulu – Approximately 700 young people participated in these programs;
- Youth programs in Ikuntji and Papunya – CAYLUS have been running the programs for 8-10 months, and have provided substantial support for the last three years. Approximately 400 young people have benefited from this service/support;
- Providing substantial support to key youth programs – CAYLUS have provided this support to programs in Ntaria, Willowra and Kintore, servicing approximately 750 people;
- Casework – The case load has been approximately 100 for the last three years, with around 30 cases active at any one time;
- Rehabilitation support – CAYLUS have provided support to a range of rehabilitation services, and the number that have benefited from this is around 310 (50 at Ilpurla, 200 at Mt Theo, 50 at Ipolera, 10 at DASA and 2 at CAAPU).

### 4.3.2 *Supporting communities to access funds*

Many community representatives and youth workers spoke of the assistance CAYLUS provided in accessing funds. Assistance ranged from providing advice to communities on possible funding opportunities, providing assistance to prepare grant applications, to preparing the submissions on behalf of the community.

This assistance is not formally recorded by CAYLUS, although an estimate was provided for this review. The role of CAYLUS in funding submissions is summarised below:

- Wrote approximately 100 Remote Area Aboriginal Alcohol and other Substance Strategy (RAAASS) applications in the last three years. This program provides grants of up to \$5000, and in the last three years CAYLUS assisted communities to access \$500,000 in total;
- Prepared two submissions for Papunya Sport and Recreation funding, and one for Ikuntji, each for approximately \$35,000 (\$105,000 in total);
- Wrote a submission for the Substance Abuse worker in Kintore, which is \$250,000 for three years (through NT Government);
- Wrote the submissions to Family and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaCSIA) for Papunya Outside School Hours Care and vacation care funding, which resulted in funding

of \$80,000 per year for three years (\$240,000 in total);

- Assisted Ilpurla to apply for the refurbishment funding, where \$2,000,000 was provided for the refurbishment;
- Wrote a submission for a second worker at Ilpurla that resulted in funding of \$250,000 over two years;
- Helped secure funding for the youth program at Warlpiri Region through Warlpiri Education Trust, which was for \$1,000,000 over three years;
- Facilitated successful National Indigenous Drugs Strategy (NIDS) bid for Willowra which was \$110,000 over 18 months;
- Wrote Initial NT Family and Community Services (FACS) Youth Initiatives Program Submission for Willowra, resulting in funding of \$80,000;
- Applied for Recurrent Interim Service Provision for 8 Point Plan region, which was \$600,000 over 6 months;
- Secured ABA funds for holiday programs in Bonya and Lake Nash resulting in funding of \$90,000 over 18 months;
- Helped secure funds for Ipolera (when it was running) of \$300,000;
- Applied for brokerage to support unfunded clients attending rehabilitation at Ilpurla and Mt Theo, amounting to \$300,000 over 18 months;
- Accessed funds amounting to \$60,000 for community projects to support Volatile Substance Abuse (VSA) Act education.

Based on these estimates, CAYLUS assisted communities to access \$5,885,000 in the last three years.

CAYLUS noted that working with communities to access funding is an important strategy that they utilise to engage with communities and encourage involvement. In this approach CAYLUS work with the community to identify required funds for specific projects, and work together to prepare the submission. In most cases, where the community has the administrative capacity, the community receive the funding directly.

## **4.4 EFFICIENCY**

### **4.4.1 Governance Structure and administration costs**

Tangentyere Council is the service delivery agency for CAYLUS, and the project management structure includes a Reference Group. There have been some concerns regarding the appropriateness of CAYLUS sitting under Tangentyere Council, mainly due to the 14% fee that Tangentyere Council charge, and because of the limitations in the accommodation provided. However, CAYLUS have indicated that they are happy to sit under Tangentyere Council. CAYLUS noted that being within Tangentyere Council offers several advantages:

- Tangentyere Council provide an overdraft facility which allows CAYLUS to employ workers on the ground prior to funding coming through, and this happened recently with the provision of the holiday programs while the Mission Australia contract was being negotiated;
- Tangentyere Council provide financial services including accounting and auditing;
- Tangentyere Council oversee spending, and amounts over \$200 are approved by the Finance Manager, with the Executive approving spending amounts over \$2000;
- The location is beneficial as Tangentyere Council is a gathering place for many Aboriginal people, so it allows CAYLUS to be accessible;
- The Tangentyere Council mechanic maintains the CAYLUS vehicles. CAYLUS pays for this service, but have noted that it is very convenient to have someone on the premises to provide mechanical services;
- CAYLUS are able to borrow cars from Tangentyere Council if needed;
- Tangentyere Council provide IT support;
- Human Resources provide advice to CAYLUS when dealing with contractors; and
- Insurance through Tangentyere Council covers CAYLUS staff and contracted workers for public liability, and also covers the vehicles.

The question regarding efficiency with regards to administration costs is based on an assessment of whether the 14% administration charge of Tangentyere Council is reasonable given the services provided. Based on the feedback from CAYLUS this is perceived to be an appropriate fee, especially as the financial management, IT support and location are highly valued (although there is a need to improve the accommodation to provide confidentiality when necessary). Government representatives were less likely to view the administrative fee as appropriate. This is an issue that should be further explored, and assessing other models of governance will need to consider the cost implications with regards to administrative services.

There were a few suggestions for CAYLUS to become their own entity, although the costs of this should be considered, as there would need to be accommodation, administration support and a management structure (CEO/administrator). This option also poses some risks, as there could be a very negative impact if it was not possible to employ an appropriate CEO/administrator.

While it was suggested that CAYLUS could sit under another organisation such as Mission Australia, there was some concern that this may also stifle their ability to work effectively with communities.

Another suggestion was for CAYLUS to work in a multi-jurisdictional capacity through a whole-of-government approach in the expanded petrol zone. Relevant Departments could include South Australia, The Northern Territory, and Western Australia Governments, as well as Federal

Government agencies such as the Department of Education, Science and Training, the Attorney General's Department, the Department of Family and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, and the Department of Health and Ageing. This whole-of-government approach could potentially provide more funding to allow CAYLUS to be a separate entity.

It should be noted though that CAYLUS were not particularly keen about being a separate entity, although discussions were very loose in this regard.

#### 4.4.2 Funding Sources

The table below details the funding sources for CAYLUS in the 2006-07 financial year.

**Table 3: CAYLUS Funding June 2007 (ex GST)**

<b>Funding body</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
<b>FACSLIA/ ICC</b>	\$ 47,652.00	Interim OSCH Service Mutitjulu
<b>FACSLIA/ ICC</b>	\$ 406,597.00	Interim youth services 8 point plan
<b>FACSLIA ABA</b>	\$ 91,200.00	Holiday programs at Bonya and Lake Nash
<b>AERF</b>	\$ 4,400.00	Professional Development Tristan
<b>AG's NCCP</b>	\$ 77,000.00	Volatile Substance Supply reduction
<b>AG's</b>	\$ 350,119.00	Rehab Placement brokerage
<b>DEST</b>	\$ 150,000.00	SchoolHolidays prog West Macs
<b>Central Land Council</b>	\$ 30,000.00	Aftercare Mutitjulu
<b>NT Police JDU</b>	\$ 88,000.00	Remote youthworker support
<b>NT Police JDU</b>	\$ 40,000.00	Papunya outreach worker
<b>Health and Aging</b>	\$ 1,466,617.00	core operations interim services
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 2,751,585.00</b>	

As can be seen, CAYLUS source funds from a wide range of agencies, which was identified as one of the benefits CAYLUS offer communities.

#### 4.4.3 Administration of the brokerage funds

Brokerage funds are critical to effectively working with remote communities and responding immediately to concerns. Many of the community councils and service providers commented positively on CAYLUS' ability to provide funds when needed.

CAYLUS have a brokerage fund of \$40,000 per annum (based on the 2005 contract), and this is not pre-allocated to communities, as has been the case in the previous contract arrangement (contract to 2004). Allocation requests over \$2000 are referred to the Reference Group for advice, and allocations under \$2,000 are approved through the normal process of exercising delegation within Tangentyere

Council.

In the first years of the CAYLUS project the brokerage component of the project was substantial. However it was requested instead by the CAYLUS consortium and recommended in the 2004 CAYLUS evaluation that this pool of funds be reduced in size in preference for employing a second staff member and expanding operational funds. This change is reflected in the breakdown of brokerage spending that follows.

CAYLUS noted that brokerage funds remain an integral part of the CAYLUS program and have been a key component of community development initiatives in nearly all of the communities. CAYLUS did not identify any concerns with the brokerage arrangement or with the burden of administering the brokerage funds.

The following table provides details of the brokerage funds allocated by CAYLUS from January to July 2007.

**Table 3: Brokerage funds allocated July 2004 to July 2007**

Date	Amount	To	What for
<b>2004/2005</b>			
16/7/04	\$18700	Nyirripi Community	Upgrade of rec facilities
9/9/04	\$11000	Walungurru/Kintore	Night patrol project first instalment
9/12/04	\$1014	Willowra	School holiday program workers flights
10/12/04	\$1500	Willowra	Food and goods to support school holiday project
3/12/04	\$1104	CAYLUS	Swags for Outstation clients to be loaned given as necessary
17/1/05	\$1018.50	Willowra	PA and Leads for Youth program
8/2/05	\$1500	Willowra	Employ local program worker for school holidays
21/2/05	\$5500	Warlpiri Media	To deliver workshop at Willowra as a part of school holiday project
14/3/05	\$3951	Willowra	To buy computer equipment for youth program activities and editing (remains property of Tangentyere but on loan long term to the program)
1/4/05	\$1583	CAYLUS	Video equipment for CAYLUS to lend to remote youth programs
26/5/05	\$5000	Kintore	To bring people to run a school holiday program
2/6/05	\$3300	Warlpiri Media	To run touring video festival to Willowra, Papunya, Kintore, Mt Liebig
14/6/05	\$2312.90	CAYLUS	To make stickers designating cars as using Opal
29/6/05	\$11,000	Kintore	To Construct Youth Worker Premises( this is allocated but not paid and was used in part to leverage NT recurrent commitment to Kintore building due to commence in early 2006)
29/6/05	\$11000	Kintore	2 <sup>nd</sup> Payment (committed but not paid awaiting reporting)



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<b>Date</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>What for</b>
29/6/05	\$2516.15	Papunya/Kintore	To fly workers out for school holiday project
30/6/05	\$1080	Larapinta	To employ worker for school holiday project
30/6/05	\$3000	Papunya	To employ worker for school holiday project
<b>TOTAL 04/05 (1)</b>	<b>\$86,080</b>		
<b>2005/2006</b>			
25/8/05	\$11000	Kintore	1 <sup>st</sup> Payment on substance abuse worker project
20/12/05	\$1425.30	Ntaria/ Hermannsburg	To cover a surplus cost in getting Opal (one off payment)
Jan 06	\$11125	Nyirripi Community	School holiday program. \$8000 was paid back to CAYLUS as a \$5000 submission we wrote with the community was successful and the council also contributed \$3000 of untied funds
Jan-April 06	\$1442	Various suppliers	Various case management related expenses. AERF caseworker funding carries these expenses currently
Jan 06	\$2300	Papunya community	To employ additional rec worker for school holidays
Feb 06	\$1438.50	Ntaria Community	To cover interim additional expense to the community of Opal fuel as BP and NTFP negotiate Opal supply arrangements so as to ensure Opal supply to the community
Feb 06	\$11,000	Kintore Community	Last payment of Substance abuse worker start-up contract
March 06	\$22,000	Docker River	To purchase minor capital including a trailer, sporting and cooking equipment
March 06	\$2862	Yuendumu Ilpurla	Costs for Riley and Enid from Mt Theo and Barry Abbott to attend the Access economics Opal cost benefit Analysis launch and other meetings in Sydney
<b>TOTAL 05/06 (1)</b>	<b>\$64,592.80</b>		
<b>2006/2007</b>			
July 06	\$655	Mutitjulu	CAYLUS purchased sports equipment for use in Mutitjulu rec program
July 06	\$2559.90	Bonya	Contribution to the cost of a 2 week holiday program
July 06	\$4615.04	NPY council	Women's Contribution to costs of sending a remote community delegation to the access economics Opal cost benefit analysis
August 06	\$360	Papunya	Footballs for rec program
August 06	\$1649.37	Papunya	CD Production costs for "Warumpinya Songu" CD produced as a part of youth program.
August 06	\$70.00	Papunya	Newspaper AD for Papunya youth worker position
December 06	\$55.00	Docker River	Socks for Docker River roller skating program
4/1/07	\$1814.07	Super Cheap Autos Alice Springs	To buy out stocks of sniffable paint at Super cheap Autos
18/01/07	\$320.32	Kintore	Contribution to the costs of a video making kit for Kintore
29/01/07	\$500	Hidden Valley Town camp	Art Supplies for rec program

Date	Amount	To	What for
30/1/07	\$2445	Papunya	Sports Equipment and program materials for Papunya youth support and activities
15/2/07	\$2086.35	Tangentyere Circus	Costs of taking kids circus group to indigenous circus
April 07	\$ 4100	Ntaria	Support for sniffing interventions in Ntaria, including volunteer placement, interim night patrol support
1/5/07	\$ 700	Kiwirrkurra	To support youth activity at Kiwirrkurra following incidents of sniffing in the community
20/5/07	\$100	Docker River	Pavers to make a softball pitch
<b>TOTAL 06/07</b>	<b>\$22,030.05</b>		

(1) In 2002 to June 2004 CAYLUS looked into supporting several projects in remote communities, but the funds were not handed over until the following two financial years when everything was in place. This is reflected in the amount for 04/05 which is \$86,080 and 05/06 which is \$64,592, even though the brokerage budget was \$40,000.

As can be seen, the brokerage funds are significant, and have been utilised to provide a wide range of services and resources. They include providing resources directly to the community, covering staff wages and travel, and supporting sniffing interventions. The above table also suggests that the amount of money allocated through brokerage funds has decreased over time. The preference from CAYLUS is for a brokerage amount of approximately \$60-80,000 per annum.

## 5. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Overall, there was a clear preference for CAYLUS to continue, and CAYLUS was seen to be in a good position to work more proactively with communities, and to continue key services such as the holiday programs. This section provides feedback on the future direction for CAYLUS across a range of key areas.

### 5.1.1 Substance Use Focus

The research indicates that there is a need for a continued focus on petrol sniffing, as it was felt “*there is a need for constant vigilance,*” especially given there were several reports of recent outbreaks. One stakeholder also suggested that there has been an increase in petrol sniffing in Alice Springs since the alcohol restrictions were brought in, although they acknowledged that this is anecdotal feedback at this stage. Another stakeholder said that there had been an outbreak of sniffing in Imanpa and this was said to be a result of the alcohol restrictions in Alice Springs, which has meant people are moving back to communities and that this has led to a sniffing outbreak. Others also commented that while the incidence of petrol sniffing has reduced, the underlying causes of petrol sniffing have not been addressed.

Given this, there is still a clear imperative to keep young people occupied in a meaningful way, especially as there is a risk that other substances may replace petrol if young people have nothing to do. However, the research did not find any clear evidence that petrol has been replaced by other substances in the communities.

While it is important that petrol sniffing remains a focus for CAYLUS, there is an opportunity for CAYLUS to widen their brief to cover substance misuse more broadly (marijuana, alcohol, paint sniffing and glue sniffing), and it was noted that this is happening already to some extent given the preventive and holistic approach CAYLUS takes. A broader brief though will require additional funding, as there may be repercussions if CAYLUS is “*stretched too far.*” It is perhaps timely for CAYLUS to extend to other substances, especially alcohol, given the Australian Government’s Emergency Intervention in the Northern Territory.

There may also be opportunities for CAYLUS’ brief to be broadened to address other related issues such as providing assistance with education in terms of the retention of students in remote communities and developing pathways to employment for youth, which has been an unintended outcome in some cases.

### **5.1.2 Case Management**

This is a critical component of the service CAYLUS provides, and needs to continue. Having a dedicated case manager also allows CAYLUS staff to concentrate on prevention and community development. There were also a few suggestions for their case management capacity to be increased.

### **5.1.3 Organisational structure**

The brief for this evaluation included assessing the organisational structure of CAYLUS, and opportunities for the future. CAYLUS have a preference for remaining with Tangentyere Council, as they feel they are managed well, and that this association assists in working with communities, especially in town camps. While there was a suggestion that CAYLUS could become their own entity, the costs of this should be considered, as there would need to be accommodation, administration support and a management structure (CEO/administrator). This option also poses some risks, as there would be a very negative impact if it was not possible to employ an appropriate CEO/administrator, and there is also a chance that if CAYLUS were responsible to a reference committee this could effect operations and limit their ability to respond quickly to immediate needs.

Another suggestion was for CAYLUS to work in a multi-jurisdictional capacity through a whole-of-government approach in the expanded petrol zone. Relevant Departments could include South Australia, The Northern Territory, and Western Australia Governments, as well as Federal Government agencies such as the Department of Education, Science and Training, the Attorney General's Department, the Department of Family and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, and the Department of Health and Ageing. This whole-of-government approach could potentially provide more funding to allow CAYLUS to be a separate entity and the feasibility of this approach should be explored. This approach may also allow for the reporting to be streamlined, so that CAYLUS could provide one report that met the needs of all funding agencies.

One worker also suggested that CAYLUS could play the role of auspicing body for the funding for communities, where there are no appropriate community organisations through which the funding can be directed (for example in Willowra). CAYLUS were seen to be appropriate for this role, and this option should be considered.

### **5.1.4 CAYLUS accommodation**

There were some concerns about the CAYLUS accommodation at Tangentyere Council, especially as it is an open plan office which does not offer a space for confidential discussions. There is also a growing need for storage identified by CAYLUS.

### **5.1.5 Working with other agencies**

There is perhaps room for improvement for CAYLUS in working with other agencies, although this is

not a significant issue. It was suggested that agencies providing similar services could focus on different communities, and that communities themselves could also have a say about who provides the service. However, the overwhelming response from the research was that there is minimal service overlap, so this is not a high priority.

A few people noted that there is some confusion about the role of CAYLUS, as to whether they provide youth work and direct youth services, education, or support for youth workers, although this was not a significant issue. It may however be valuable for CAYLUS to define this role, especially when working with new agencies and youth workers.

### **5.1.6 Regional focus**

There were a few suggestions that the regions CAYLUS covers could be expanded. CAYLUS were hesitant to do this though, as they feel that their success is driven by their relationships in the communities, and that if they were to expand to areas where they do not have these relationships their effectiveness would be limited. There may however be potential for CAYLUS to work across the expanded petrol zone and this should be considered, although this would clearly require more funding and a larger organisational structure.

The terms of reference for CAYLUS need to provide flexibility, as CAYLUS needs to have the capacity to respond to communities that ask for help, and they have done this in the past with communities that were outside their original brief.

### **5.1.7 Administration Support**

CAYLUS suggested that their capacity could be enhanced with the provision of administration support, as this takes up a considerable amount of their time. The tasks could include answering phones, maintaining office systems (such as an asset register), maintaining the vehicles, mapping the reporting obligations and assisting in the reporting.

There were some criticisms of CAYLUS' organisation of the reference group and inter-agency meetings, and CAYLUS would benefit from administration support that would provide more resources to be dedicated to this aspect of their business.

### **5.1.8 Housing**

Appropriate housing for youth workers was raised as a significant issue that needs to be addressed, and while this is outside the brief of this evaluation, lack of accommodation does limit the ability of CAYLUS to provide support in communities.

### ***5.1.9 Community development and support***

It was clear that there is a preference for CAYLUS to continue to address prevention as well as rehabilitation, and that a holistic approach is critical. The research suggests there is still a need for CAYLUS to play a role in remote communities doing community development and providing recreation and education services, especially for people who are ex-sniffers.

### ***5.1.10 Support for youth workers***

CAYLUS role in providing support to workers “on the ground” was highly valued, and there is potential for this role to be formalised and expanded. This role includes induction, education of youth workers (both when they start and ongoing in terms of keeping youth workers up-to-date with changes), and ongoing support and guidance to assist in the relevance and level of engagement of programs. CAYLUS could also play a co-ordination role by providing information on activities and workshops and programs that are available (eg artists, etc). In particular, providing an induction for youth workers going to remote communities was seen as a service gap that could be filled by CAYLUS.

### ***5.1.11 Employing local people***

A few stakeholders mentioned that it is important that any approach aims to employ local people. Docker River is an example where local people were employed in the provision of youth programs, and this is a key component of the Mission Australia model, and an area that needs to be considered for the future development of youth programs.

### ***5.1.12 Brokerage funding and funding submissions***

CAYLUS needs to continue their role of providing access to funding for communities, as this is highly regarded. There were no criticisms of the current brokerage model, and this should continue.

### ***5.1.13 Use of media***

Advocacy was seen as an important aspect of CAYLUS’ work, although there were mixed responses to the use of media. While many acknowledged their advocacy during the roll-out of Opal fuel, and their significance in generating political and media support for this, some questioned the extent of their use of the media. Government staff in particular were concerned about CAYLUS’ exposure in the media, which it was felt was sometimes premature. This is something that may need to be managed, and possibly media training would be beneficial