The National Housing and Homelessness Crisis

Cover 42/2, Design: Debra Livingston

I employed the AI online app 'Midjourney' for the cover design of Social Alternatives Volume 41 Issue 4 'Australian Election 2022' to avoid the risk of copyright issues that might arise from using 'real' photographs from the web. For this cover issue 'The National Housing and Homelessness Crisis' I have again used 'Midjourney' prompting the AI engine to create an image of homeless people sleeping in the city. For this issue utilising AI was not for copyright reasons but out of respect so as not show photographs of real people on the cover. My original plan was to photograph one of the charities assisting the homeless such as a local group of people volunteering to wash dogs of the homeless. Other charities include a 'sleep bus' which is available every weekend for vulnerable homeless people to sleep. There is a group that washes homeless people's clothes, others donate food, tents and clothing. These charities help in keeping homeless people a little healthier and safer, but as the articles in this issue demonstrate they do not solve the overall crisis of homelessness.

Homelessness is a major global concern and combined with our current cost of living crisis is causing challenges for many households. Rent rises and a lack of housing has seen many people, even working people become homeless. Although I have used AI to generate the homeless concept for the cover design in the gallery section Claire Letitia-Reynolds showcases photographic portraits of homeless people, giving her images a positive spin to change our current perception of homelessness.

Why not discuss issues raised in the journal with other readers, or even order subscriptions and back issues. Visit us at:

SOCIAL ALTERNATIVES.COM

FLUSC
AUSTRALIA

SOCIAL ALTERNATIVES

Social Alternatives

Social Alternatives is an independent, quarterly refereed journal which aims to promote public debate, commentary and dialogue about contemporary social, political, economic and environmental issues.

Social Alternatives analyses, critiques and reviews contemporary social issues and problems. The journal seeks to generate insight, knowledge and understanding of our contemporary circumstances in order to determine local, national and global implications. We are committed to the principles of social justice and to creating spaces of dialogue intended to stimulate social alternatives to current conditions. *Social Alternatives* values the capacity of intellectual and artistic endeavour to prompt imaginative solutions and alternatives and publishes refereed articles, review essays, commentaries and book reviews as well as short stories, poems, images and cartoons.

The journal has grappled with matters of contemporary concern for four decades, publishing articles and themed issues on topics such as peace and conflict, racism, Indigenous rights, social justice, human rights, inequality and the environment. Please show your support by subscribing to the journal. For other enquiries please contact a member of the Editorial Collective.

The Editorial Collective
Editorial decisions are made democratically by the *Social Alternatives* editorial collective. Each edition involves the work and cooperation of a guest editor, liaison editor (to assist guest editors), general editor, poetry editor, short story editor, book review editor, cover designer and desktop publisher. A liaison editor is responsible for managing the editing and publication process. After contributions are blind refereed, the editorial collective has final control over publication. Where necessary the editorial collective calls on the advisory board to assist with refereeing articles.

Contributions
Social Alternatives accepts work focused on the aims of the journal. The journal also accepts proposals for themed issues from guest editors. Proposals may emerge from workshops, networks or conferences. For specific enquiries about the submission of articles, short stories, poetry or book reviews please contact an editor with appropriate responsibilities.

Submissions of articles, commentaries, reviews and fictional works are subject to double blind peer review and should be emailed to the general article editor. Authors are encouraged to consider and reference papers previously published in *Social Alternatives* to promote ongoing discussion. Submissions should be double-spaced with page numbers on the bottom right. Academic articles should be approximately 3,000-5,000 words, commentaries and review essays between 800 to 1,500 words, book reviews 800 words, short stories 1,000 words and poetry up to 25 lines. Submissions must include:

- copyright release form
- title page listing contributing authors, contact details, affiliation and short bio of approximately 80 words
- abstract should be a maximum of 150 words
- three - five keywords.

Please use Australian/English spelling and follow Harvard referencing. Submit tables, graphs, pictures and diagrams on separate pages. Remove in-text references identifying authors and replace with [name removed for the review process].

For further information please consult our website: http://www.socialalternatives.com/ and our Facebook page.

CONTENTS

THEME FOR THIS ISSUE: *The National Housing and Homelessness Crisis*

The National Housing and Homelessness Crisis

SHANE WARREN

An urgent call to action on the national housing and homelessness crisis

Australian society continues to be characterised by increasing social and economic inequality post the COVID-19 pandemic. The great hopes of many arose at the onset of the pandemic. A national Australian approach saw the country work cooperatively with an approach of improving social welfare and income supports, housing and accommodation for marginalised people but this quickly eroded as the imminent threat of the COVID-19 diminished. Access to safe and affordable housing for all people across Australia became a major social and political issue after the pandemic receded (Yang and Zhou 2022). Our television and news media has been dominated by reports of a 'Housing Crisis', particularly concentrating on major increases in weekly rental cost for people in private rental housing. Moreover, the demand for social and affordable housing across Australia's cities and regions continues to increase and outstrip supply at an alarming rate. The States and Territory Governments partner with the Commonwealth Government to deliver housing assistance, and their housing registers, often referred to as 'Housing Wait Lists' have applications in the tens of thousands. On Census night 2021 more than 120,000 people experienced homelessness in Australia (ABS 2023). Given the increasing pressures on the housing systems throughout Australia, this figure is in 2023 now likely to be much higher. The provision of housing as a fundamental human right is finally in clear focus, as more and more people experience housing insecurity and homelessness, many for the first time in their lives. It is in this context that this edition of *Social Alternatives* focusing on housing and homelessness is especially important.

In 2023, Australia is at a housing and homelessness policy crossroads. The new Albanese Labor Government has introduced some important housing reforms and policy innovations within their first year in office. These have included:

- A National Housing Accord that brings together all three levels of government and investors and organisations to unlock affordable housing supply.

- An increase in the Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA) payment of up to 15%, the first such increase in over 30 years that will assist people on low incomes.

- A $2.5 Billion dollar Social Housing Accelerator program that will help increase the immediate supply of social housing.

There is also the hotly contested $10 Billion Housing Australia Future Funds that has not yet received support from the senate, with the Greens arguing for more immediate action for people in private rental housing who have experienced considerable weekly rent increases. Although these measures are critically important, so much more needs to be done. The Commonwealth Government has announced a public consultation for the National Housing and Homelessness Plan that will be a ten-year strategy, setting out short-, medium- and long-term goals. It is vital that as many advocates and activists as possible engage with this consultation process to ensure a robust housing and homelessness policy framework is developed.

This edition of *Social Alternatives* brings an important focus to the area of contemporary housing and homelessness research, policy and practice. The articles are firmly grounded in critical theory and analysis of the failure of neoliberal housing and homelessness policies. Australia's housing policy settings have been firmly grounded in private home ownership, and this 'all eggs in one basket' approach has delivered immeasurable increases in housing and wealth inequality. Industry and academic partnerships are crucial to achieving innovative approaches to end and prevent housing insecurity and homelessness. The articles in this edition explore the housing and homelessness research through critical approaches to theory, practice and education.

Warren and Barnes' article examines community sector homelessness research and highlights the often-overlooked area of family homelessness. The current housing and homelessness crisis is seeing increasing numbers of families experiencing homelessness, yet the service system is so under-resourced and ill-equipped to support families. This is despite the overwhelming evidence about the impact of domestic and family violence being one of the most common reasons for women and families experiencing homelessness in Australia. The causes of family homelessness are complex and systemic and they require multi-agency policy responses across housing, homelessness, specialist domestic violence, education and child protection agencies. The authors recommend a stronger research agenda focusing

on families experiencing, or at risk of homelessness so that more robust policy and program design is possible. This is in line with critical social work goals and objectives; all social research needs to contribute to social change and social justice agendas.

Purcell and Davidson's paper examines young people's risk of homelessness and housing instability whilst engaged in tertiary education in Australia: 'An urgent call for research', profiles the specific challenges facing young people who are also university students. The impact of cost-of-living pressures on this group of young people, like other groups of marginalised people, has been severe and both policy and service delivery responses have been inadequate. Purcell and Davidson call for urgent research and policy reform and innovation for better program design of services that respond to young people experiencing housing instability or homelessness.

Social Work Academics and Activists Dr Jean Carruthers and Ms Hayley Thirkettle's paper 'Using podcasting to advance activist practice and critical reflection in response to the housing crisis' focuses on the use of podcast technology as a form of resistance, activism and critical pedagogy within social work education. Housing and Homelessness Advocates have long argued that housing and homelessness is not well addressed in social work curriculums. Dr Carruthers and Ms Thirkettle's article brings together a contemporary and cutting-edge pedagogical approach to ensuring housing and homelessness are addressed within social work curriculums. Their article also highlights the value of using technology as a critical and educative tool for contemporary social work education and practice.

References
Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2023 Estimating Homelessness: census (Reference period 2021) https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/housing/estimating-homelessness-census/latest-release (accessed 14/08/2023).
Yang, Y. and Zhou, M. 2022 The estimation of house bubbles during the time of pandemic: a study of Australia. *Applied economics, ahead-of-print* (ahead-of-print), 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2022.2141452 (accessed 14/08/2023).

Author
Dr Shane Warren is a Lecturer in social work at the School of Public Health and Social Work, Queensland University of Technology. He spent a considerable number of years working in the field with the former Department of Families, Youth and Care in Rockhampton, Central Queensland. He then worked in child protection in the UK before taking managerial positions in Queensland concluding in the Homelessness Program. His publications have focussed on youth and family homelessness and COVID and domestic violence.

POETRY AUTHORS

Dennis Haskell is the author of nine collections of poetry, the most recent *And Yet…* (WA Poets Publishing, 2020).

B. R. Dionysius was founding Director of the Queensland Poetry Festival. He has published nine collections of poetry, teaches English, lives in Brisbane and in his spare time watches birds.

Mitchell Welch is a writer, editor and freelance communications consultant with an interest in music and visual/photographic art. His work has appeared in a range of journals and anthologies including *Antipodes, Arena Magazine, Arena Quarterly, The Australian Poetry Journal, The Best of Australian Poems 2022, Cordite, Meanjin, The Medical Journal of Australia, Overland, Rabbit, Southerly and TEXT.*

Deanna Grant-Smith researches exploitation and employment with a focus on unpaid work and education-to-employment transitions. She is the Deputy Director of the QUT Centre for Decent Work and Industry and Technologies of Justice program co-lead in the QUT Centre for Justice.

Untitled entry

We run.
Through the heat and through the cold.

We run.
As the sounds of violence echoes in the distance.

We run.
With no destination in mind.

I hold her close.
As we hide from searching eyes.

I hold her close.
As we answer endless questions.

I hold her close.
As we wait for news.

She laughs.
With her new friends on the playground.

She smiles.
When she tells me about her day.

She sleeps.
Peacefully, without a care in the world.

GRACE ANDERSON

*Commended entry from the 2022 Seeking Asylum Poetry prize

Exploring Family Homelessness In Queensland Through A Critical Social Work Lens

SHANE WARREN AND ADAM BARNES

The current housing and homelessness crisis impacting all Australian states and territories is highlighting the complex range of social, economic and environmental factors impacting families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness. This paper reports on the findings of two focus groups that were conducted in late 2022 with representatives of Specialist Homelessness Services (SHS), housing providers and Academics to explore the rise of family homelessness and how social and economic policy responses have been inadequate. Neoliberal approaches to housing and homelessness policy (Flanagan 2020; Parsell et al. 2022) from successive governments over the last four decades have had dire consequences for families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness. This research addresses the question: In light of the current housing and homelessness crisis in Queensland, what are the community sectors' priorities regarding family homelessness research? Specifically, this paper explores the consequences for families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness in the current crisis and the considerable pressures exerted on the under-resourced housing and homelessness sector. It is argued that families are often an under-researched and profiled cohort of people that experience homelessness. The research argues for an alternative critical social work and human rights approach to housing and homelessness and that more policy attention and research needs to be directed towards supporting families.

KEY WORDS: Homelessness, Family Homelessness, Neoliberalism and Homelessness, Family Homelessness Research

Introduction

Family homelessness is a complex area of social work and social policy practice. It is also an emerging area of scholarly focus across Australia (Flanagan et al. 2019; Spinney et al. 2020; valentine et al. 2020). The current housing and homelessness crisis impacting all Australian states and territories is highlighting the stories of many families across the country who are now at risk of, or who are experiencing homelessness due to a complex range of social, economic and environmental factors including economic and taxation policies such as grants towards private home ownership and negative gearing that favour private home ownership above other forms of social and affordable housing and the utilisation of the housing market as a mechanism for individual wealth creation. Queensland is at the epicentre of this housing and homelessness crisis with an increasing population (ABS 2023) that is generating a high demand for limited housing that is increasingly unaffordable. These supply-side factors coupled with the cost of living pressures and low wages for many Australians is compounding the challenge of accessing safe and affordable housing. Individuals and families in private rental housing have experienced large weekly rent increases (Anglicare Australia 2023). This is impacting individuals and families on low incomes in severe ways including placing these people at risk of, or experiencing homelessness. Daily media coverage in Queensland and Australia highlights the impact the current housing and homelessness crisis is having on Australians. For many people, this is their first-time experience of homelessness in their lives and for others it is meaning more intractable, longer term or chronic homelessness (Byrne and Culhane 2015; Chamberlain et al. 2014; Culhane and Byrne 2010). Social work practice that reflects professional ethics and values requires exploration of the causes and effects of family homelessness and the need for critical analysis of policy responses is a priority for social workers, researchers and policy makers.

This paper reports on the findings of two focus groups that were conducted in late 2022 with representatives of Specialist Homelessness Services (SHS), housing providers and Academics to explore the rise of family homelessness and adequacy of social and economic policy responses. We argue that neoliberal approaches to housing and homelessness policy (Flanagan 2020; Parsell et al. 2022) from successive governments over the last four decades have had dire consequences for families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness. These impacts have been felt by greater numbers of families on low incomes and who are experiencing housing stress. Families' voices and those working alongside them have

been often silenced in the neoliberal policy landscape. This research addresses the question: In light of the current housing and homelessness crisis in Queensland, what are the community sectors' priorities regarding family homelessness research? Specifically, this paper explores the consequences for families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness in the current crisis and the considerable pressures exerted on the under-resourced housing and homelessness sector. It is argued that families are often an under-researched homelessness cohort. The research argues for an alternative critical social work and human rights approach to housing and homelessness and that more policy attention needs to be directed towards supporting families. Critical social work approaches provide a lens for both understanding and addressing structural inequities.

Neoliberalism, the Pandemic and the Australian housing and homelessness system

Neoliberalism has pervaded economic and social policy in Australia for the last four decades (Flanagan 2020). This economic approach has seen diminishing investment by governments in social and affordable housing at the expense of policies that promote 'individualism', private home ownership and wealth creation through the housing system (Pawson et al. 2020). Neoliberalism has promulgated the notion that government should not play an active role within the housing market and system. Rather, housing and more broadly economic systems are more efficient and effective when government does not intervene. The current housing and homelessness crisis gripping much of Australia is evidence of the failure of neoliberalism across all policy settings.

Since the second half of 2021, media attention has increasingly focused on the pressures exerted on the housing system throughout Australia. Some 18 months into the global COVID-19 pandemic, house prices dramatically increased throughout Australia, in capital cities like Brisbane and in many regional areas (Yang and Zhou 2022). This trend was in itself at odds with some of the earlier forecasts from commentators when the COVID-19 pandemic commenced that there may be a decline in house prices and the broader economy the longer the pandemic continued (Janda 2020). At an economic level, the effects of a very long run of low interest rates, low inflation, generous taxation arrangements for property investors and government policies such as Homebuilder that favoured private home ownership, combined to generate a perfect storm for high demand for housing in Australia (Yang and Zhou 2022).

The economic conditions changed again in 2022. Global events such as the Russian and Ukraine war and the effects of billions of dollars of stimulus released into the economy during the pandemic exerted pressure on inflation and ultimately interest rates. Twelve interest rate rises from May 2022 to July 2023 has placed many Australian mortgage holders in moderate to severe housing stress. The Australian Government has eschewed direct market intervention to address rising inflation and housing costs. Alternative policy interventions rather than staying with the Reserve Bank of Australia's blunt mechanism of interest rate rises as the sole policy response to rising inflation is required. Definitions of housing stress have tended to be linked to the principle of 30:40; that is where people are paying more than 30% of the weekly income on housing costs, with greater impact on people in the lowest 40% of incomes (Pawson et al. 2020). There have been many authors who have critiqued this approach including Rowley and Ong (2012) who argue that such definitions fail to recognise the impact of all household costs such as food, education, child care, energy and utilities and that such definitions also fail to recognise the lack of choice or options many people on low incomes have when it comes to housing.

National and Queensland Homelessness Rates

The estimation of homelessness undertaken as part of the five yearly National census remains an important source of quantitative data that represents the numbers and experiences of people who are homeless on census night. Nationally, there has been an increase in homelessness from 116,427 people in 2016 to 122,494 in 2021 (ABS 2023). This is an increase of just over 6,000 people, representing a 5.2% increase in overall people experiencing homelessness from 2016 to 2021 (ABS 2023). The operational group that has the highest rate of homelessness is people living in severely overcrowded dwellings.

In Queensland the housing and homelessness crisis has been widespread affecting the state's capital Brisbane and regional and rural communities. Although there has been a numerical increase in homelessness from 21,674 people in 2016, to 22,428 in 2021, the rate of homelessness per 10,000 people of the population has decreased from 46 people per 10,000 population to 44 people per 10,000 population in 2021 (ABS 2023). Queensland has experienced the highest increase in private rents of any jurisdiction, coupled with decreasing housing affordability and increasing rates of homelessness as experienced by front line SHS, noting between 22%-29% increases in people presenting to SHS over the last four years (Pawson et al. 2023). Other key statistical data relating to homelessness in Queensland include:

- Twenty-four per cent of all people experiencing homelessness in Queensland were children and young people aged 0 to 18 years. This is almost one

in every four people experiencing homelessness in Queensland is a child or young person under the age of 18 and an increase of 1.4% from the 2016 census (ABS 2023).

- There have also been increases in rates of women experiencing homelessness (2.4%),

- First Nations peoples experiencing homelessness in Queensland also increased (0.5%) between 2016 and 2021 Census (ABS 2023). First Nations peoples continue to be over-represented in data regarding people experiencing homelessness in Queensland and throughout Australia.

- People experiencing homelessness through living in severely crowded housing continues to be the major group of people experiencing homelessness in Queensland (15.2%). This group is followed by people staying temporarily with others, that is, couch surfing (9.6%) and people residing in supported accommodation services for people experiencing homelessness, that is, crisis shelters (8%). People living in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping out represented 4% of people experiencing homelessness (ABS, 2023).

These challenges have combined to create a housing and homelessness crisis that is having devastating consequences for increasing numbers of families across Queensland.

Service providers and advocates are clear that the context has changed considerably in Australia since the ABS collected their data on census night in August 2021. From May 2022 to May 2023, there have been 11 interest rate rises. There has also been immense pressure placed on housing systems through demand and supply related factors including internal population movements, including in states like Queensland, inflation making the cost of all goods and services more expensive and general increases in cost of living while incomes, especially for those living in poverty or on low income, have not changed.

Methodology

A qualitative research design was used to explore the perspective of participants about the causes, nature, dilemmas and solution to family homelessness in an in-depth manner (Padgett 2008; Paton 2002). Participants were drawn from three cohorts: 1) representatives of Specialist Homelessness Services (SHS) who provide responses to families, at risk of, or experiencing homelessness across Queensland; 2) those who deliver housing services; and 3) QUT social work academics with a record in homelessness research.

The method of focus groups was selected due to the possibility of generating a rich discussion about all aspects of family homelessness in the current crisis. According to Whittaker (2012: 47):

> A focus group is a group of individuals selected to provide their opinions on a defined subject, facilitated by a moderator who aims to create an open and relaxed environment and promote interaction between participants….Focus groups enable discussion between participants …that can enable participants to explore and challenge each other's views and can result in people clarifying and changing their views.

Each participant brought unique expertise, insight and wisdom to contribute to the research. An advantage of focus groups is that they can generate a wealth of quality data and can be less time-consuming than individual interviews (Whittaker 2012). The researchers considered this methodological approach appropriate in light of the time and resource pressures experienced by the SHS participants.

Table 1 represents the participants in this study as they were randomly divided into two focus groups. The focus groups were held at the QUT Kelvin Grove campus in November 2023. The two researchers moderated each of the focus groups. The groups ran between 1 hour and 15 minutes and 1 hour and 30 mins.

Table 1 De-identified Participant Demographics

Focus Group Participant Details	
Group 1	
Participant 1	SHS Inner Brisbane providing a range of responses to individuals and families experiencing homelessness
Participant 2	SHS Inner Brisbane providing a range of responses to individuals and families experiencing homelessness
Participant 3	QUT Academic
Participant 4	SHS Greater Brisbane focusing on families experiencing homelessness
Participant 5	SHS Greater Brisbane focusing on young people and families experiencing homelessness

Group 2	
Participant 6	QUT Academic
Participant 7	SHS North Queensland focusing on families
Participant 8	QUT Social Work Research Student
Participant 9	Neighbourhood Centre and SHS suburban Brisbane focusing on families experiencing homelessness
Participant 10	Neighbourhood Centre and SHS Brisbane and Moreton Bay Regional council area focusing on individuals and families experiencing homelessness
Participant 11	SHS Inner Brisbane responding to families
Participant 12	SHS Greater Brisbane focusing on young people and families experiencing homelessness
Participant 13	Housing and Homelessness Peak Agency
Participant 14	SHS Greater Brisbane responding to women and families experiencing homelessness

Findings

The two focus group interview transcripts were transcribed and coded by the two researchers. Each researcher coded both transcripts to ensure consistency and reliability of coding. Thematic analysis was used to draw out themes and patterns and this helped to answer the research question. The themes that emerged from this process were divided into four thematic categories. These four key themes were:

1. The personal and structural effects of neoliberal housing and social policy

2. The complexity of family homelessness

3. An under-resourced and ageing housing and homelessness service system under immense strain

4. Reimagining policy and practice responses to prevent and end family homelessness.

Each theme will be discussed in turn.

The authors firmly situate the current housing and homelessness crisis at the level of four decades of failed neoliberal housing and social policy that has increased inequality throughout Australian society. This trend was further compounded during the global pandemic due to the nature of government policy intervention favouring the middle classes and property owners. The four overarching themes analysed for this paper will also be framed in a manner consistent with the views of the participants in this study and that is to ensure the research adds value to their struggle for socially and environmentally just responses. The findings are also presented in a manner to stimulate further interest in research to promote stronger policy and practice responses with families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness.

The personal and structural effects of neoliberal housing and social policy

Participants in this research identified successive government's embrace of neoliberalism was at the heart of the current housing and homelessness crisis throughout Australia. As one participant noted, 'Housing policy is economic policy in this country'. The primacy of property as a wealth creation measure is foremost in the national psyche. Neoliberalism has also led to changes in the structural drivers of homelessness throughout Australia. The cost of living pressures, inflation, lack of affordable housing stock and debt-related issues also contributed to the challenges that people at risk of, or experience homelessness were experiencing accessing housing. A SHS participant reflected on the nature of changes in people presenting to her service, commenting on the shrinking housing stock that is available to families:

> 'There's the things we have known for years, DFV, rent arrears, condition reports, all that sort of tenancy stuff, but what we are seeing now is the massive sell of rental properties and the people we are seeing have been long term renters in properties and they are losing their housing to mum and dad investors taking advantage of the very big increase in housing prices'.

The quote illustrates the fierce competition for available housing stock in light of the conditions that have led to huge demand for private housing at the expense of people in rental accommodation. This issue of shrinking affordable housing stock was echoed by a SHS participant from a rural community in North Queensland who noted the following:

This quote highlights the impacts of neoliberalism on the housing market, where the commodification of housing and wealth generation has led to higher costs of private rental housing and lack of affordability for marginalised

groups. In line with research on the pressures experienced in rural and regional communities, there have been added challenges for families and service providers accessing affordable housing in these communities.

These findings are strongly supported by the existing literature on the impacts of neoliberalism on the housing system in Australia. More than four decades of neoliberal housing policy in Australia has emphasised and encouraged the importance of private home ownership as a wealth creation activity (Clarke and Parsell 2020; Flanagan 2020). Defining characteristics, assumptions and attitudes of neoliberal housing policy may be summarised as:

• Government's role is to support economic and fiscal policy that supports Australians towards private home ownership and property investment, including through grants to first home buyers, capital gains taxes, negative gearing and stimulus programs such as the Commonwealth Government's Home Builder scheme that was rolled out during the global COVID-19 pandemic.

• Increasing financial and taxation subsidy for private home ownership and property investment justifies declining investment in social and affordable housing which is seen as wasteful and a burden to the taxpayer as it is viewed as expensive to build and to maintain.

• The contest of public spaces and increasing privatisation of such spaces.

• Programs that traditionally problematise individuals and create precarity by focusing on temporary accommodation.

• Responding to 'rooflessness' while failing to address the structural drivers of homelessness or system issues impacting housing sustainability.

• A service system largely designed to meet the needs of single adults experiencing homelessness at the exclusion of other people's (family) experiences.

• There is an option in the private housing market for all (Flanagan 2020; Parsell et al. 2022).

These features of neoliberalism have been identifiable in the responses of participants in this study.

Participants emphasised the changing demographics of people in their communities impacted by the housing and homelessness crisis. Increasingly people on low incomes, young families, families of people with a disability or mental health concerns, natural disasters and DFV are groups experiencing increased housing insecurity and

risk of homelessness. One SHS participant identified that many families were engaged in employment but still experiencing homelessness in the current crisis:

'They're working but they are still homeless and can't get a property and have no family support. I'd say it's changed in the last few years since COVID-19, more people experiencing homelessness for the first time'.

This quote illustrates the structural barriers and challenges of accessing housing when there is no supply of or opportunity to access affordable housing. It also highlights the increasing numbers of people experiencing homelessness for the first time in their lives in the current housing and homelessness crisis.

Participants were strong and united in their views that the existing housing and social welfare systems are entirely inadequate, and in many instances further stigmatise and marginalise vulnerable people. The neoliberal and minimalist housing and welfare systems are compounding inequality and disadvantage for marginalised families (Flanagan 2020; Parsell et al. 2022). A specific example of this neoliberal policy approach was governments and organisations reliance upon sourcing motel accommodation as a temporary response for people experiencing homelessness. Two SHS participants noted that instead of investing in proper crisis responses for families experiencing homelessness, government policy had shifted towards motel accommodation, for instance:

'[If families] are navigating crisis accommodation, this means motels. Motels are completely inappropriate for young families. There are no cooking facilities, there's no laundry facilities'.

'The challenge right now…is housing families. We've got 12 families right now in motels. We've managed to get some of them into social housing. We've had about 40 families referred to us and who have been supported by our service in motels. Only three of them have gone into social housing and two of them have gone into the private market. The amount of time and effort to locate those opportunities…it is a huge challenge'.

Although motels are often framed as an immediate solution for many people, as these quotes illustrate they also bring many challenges for families. Temporary and emergency accommodation in the form of motels provides an immediate response to people experiencing homelessness but does little to address homelessness in the medium to longer term if there is not a pathway to housing.

The complexity of family homelessness

Participants in this study were strong in their shared perspectives and experiences that their practice with families experiencing homelessness was considerably different and more complex than working with individuals experiencing homelessness. The complexity of needs of families was a key theme of this research that requires further analysis. The complexity of working with families experiencing homelessness was organised into two main areas: First, the complexity of intersections between multiple systems including the housing and homelessness service system, DFV, mental health and child safety systems. Second, the complexities arising from demographic and cohort-related issues including young families, larger families, First Nations families, and families with people with a disability.

Families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness may have interactions with a wide range of service systems. In addition to their connection with the housing and homelessness service system (Bassuk et al. 2014; valentine et al. 2020), they also may have direct engagement with specialist DFV services (Flanagan et al. 2019; Healey et al. 2018), child safety services (Healey et al. 2018; Humphreys and Absler 2011), mental health (Costello et al. 2013; Isobe et al. 2020; Johnson and Chamberlain 2011), justice (Parsell 2011), employment (Steen et al. 2012; Stephens et al. 2010) and education (Gibson 2010). The nature of interaction and intersection between all of these systems is a major dimension of the complexity in working with families experiencing homelessness.

Specifically, the causes of this complexity included the tendency of service systems and their respective departments and funded service providers operating siloed approaches to policy and practice. The intersection of homelessness and DFV was raised by participants as an area that needs urgent policy and practice attention to achieve improved responses for women and their family's experiencing homelessness as a result of escaping DFV. One Brisbane-based homelessness and DFV service provider participant noted:

> 'Something we have noticed over the last five years….DFV systems are set up to respond to crisis in that instance, also then go on to create housing crises for women and children…We see those women and children come to our DFV service, and then go to refuge and then a few months later turn up at our housing intake team for a crisis response. They are just stuck in that cycle'.

This quote illustrates the challenges for women and families who experience homelessness as a result of escaping DFV and also SHS that provide crisis accommodation. The systems are challenging to navigate and result in prolonged housing instability for women and their families.

Many participants identified the interface between family homelessness and statutory child safety services as a major area of complexity in service delivery to families. Homelessness and poverty were identified as major reasons in themselves for many families having contact with statutory child safety services, families who would not otherwise have contact with these services. One SHS participant remarked, 'Often we see families that otherwise, apart from their homelessness, would not have child safety involvement.' This evidence highlights the tensions in different philosophies and values that underpin the respective housing and child safety service systems. The former is more person and family centred whereas the latter is intentionally child focused. Sometimes the statutory child safety interventions were perceived by service providers as both unhelpful and unnecessary. Where they were considered appropriate there were often practice issues that led to collaborative relationships between professionals and agencies.

A more recent focus across service systems is the need for recognition of the impact of trauma in people's lives. Trauma-informed practice in the context of family homelessness has been a more recent development in program design and service delivery (Milaney et al. 2019). Examples of this clash of practice philosophy and program objective is reflected in the following participant quote from a Housing and Homelessness Academic:

> 'They're Triple Pd out. Seriously. We've had families that have done eight Triple Ps, that was the idea, you will be a good parent then. I've done it eight times and I'm not getting any better'.

The quote shows the emphasis that Child Safety place upon parenting skills and the perceived acquisition of these through programs such as the Positive Parenting Program without recognition of the structural causes of homelessness and poverty. Participants also recognised the challenges in managing expectations associated with mandatory reporting of child safety concerns. These concerns also included how early developmental trauma in life placed young women in care of the state who also experience homelessness, as exemplified in the following quote:

> There is something around our cohort's experience of early developmental trauma and attachment trauma that means they are seeking connection from an early age….this intersects with young women in the care system.

Participants were strong in their views about the importance of research needing to take into account the complexity arising from the interaction of service systems underpinned by different values and philosophies. One participant commented, 'If you are a homeless person you have to access DV services, you have to access housing services, you have to access mental health services, you've got a child and none of these people are talking to each other. This is not trauma informed, this is just plain trauma'. This quote highlights the challenges in achieving a more family centred service system.

Participants across both focus groups identified other dimensions of complexity influencing family homelessness included:

• The limited housing stock suitable for families, especially larger families of seven or more people;

• The challenges of obtaining housing and temporary accommodation during peak periods;

• The challenge of housing families with pets;

• The lack of focus on tenancy rights at the expense of private home ownership in policy frameworks;

• Specific challenges for different cohorts of families including young families, families of people with a disability, First Nations families and families from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds and Refugee families who experience greater barriers and discrimination when accessing services.

In light of the complexities influencing family homelessness, further critical analysis is needed.

An under-resourced and ageing housing and homelessness service system under immense strain

The current housing and homelessness crisis has placed unprecedented demand on SHS across Queensland. In circumstances where this demand is unprecedented, it can be hard for SHS to identify the success they achieve in their day-to-day practice. In addition to the structural challenges relating to lack of affordable private rental housing, SHS providers are experiencing unprecedented demand for immediate and crisis support. As one SHS participant noted, 'ensuring people know their value. Even if there are 40 people in the waiting room and you house one of them, that's bloody significant'. The historic funding and resourcing of SHS is clearly not adequate in the current environment. Even crisis accommodation services, colloquially referred to as 'shelters' were employing waiting lists as a demand-management tool.

Participants were critical of the perceived rise in 'pop up' or 'mobile' responses to homelessness that had developed

high media profile. Participants made the following remarks about these responses to homelessness: 'we've had all these pop ups. They are really down and really inappropriate responses that people are investing in. Like you go to sleep in a hot car park with a portaloo. Have we got to that?' and 'Food vans are a disaster'. Although popular in media, these responses were not viewed as having a meaningful impact on reducing or ending homelessness.

Participants noted other barriers to accessing and maintaining housing. These included the housing market dynamics, especially in relation to private rental housing. SHS participants commented:

'People are paying 12 months rent in advance'.

'Down the Gold Coast, they are paying $30-40K up front'.

These housing market dynamics are making it increasingly difficult for people to access housing in the private rental market. Other participants noted that zoning and building regulations also contributed to the challenges:

'It says something about the building regulations doesn't it… when an older man living across the road would like to move into a small property so that it would be easier for him to manage but the whole suburb is 3- or 4-bedroom houses'.

In this scenario, the older single man in a larger dwelling could be supported to move to a more suitable property within his community thereby making a property suited to a family available. There needs to be greater flexibility in the zoning and building regulations policy to provide a range of housing types and tenures that will best suit the future housing needs of individuals and families.

Reimagining policy and practice responses to prevent and end family homelessness

Participants emphasised the need for new approaches to the design and provision of housing and homelessness services. More services that reflect early intervention and prevention need to be made available. This includes services that help people to maintain their tenancies as reflected in the following quote: 'I think that side by side stuff to help people manage in the home as well because people are losing their tenancies.' These approaches were considered to be even more important in the tight housing markets across Queensland. Other examples of services that need to be expanded targeted rental subsidies for families and the Rent Connect program.

Participants also noted the importance of co-location of housing, homelessness and other community services. This approach was seen to promote more effective collaboration between agencies and also more effective and quality services for families. There also needs to be more emphasis on practical supports for families such as family support, child care, life skills and general household services.

Discussion

The role of research in driving urgent housing and homelessness policy reform

This paper has presented findings from SHS, housing and Academic participants in focus groups about the nature of family homelessness throughout Queensland. Their evidence provides important contextual information about the causes and consequences of homelessness for families and the pressures on SHS. As noted throughout this paper, family homelessness has been an under-researched and profiled area (Rog et al. 2021; Warburton et al. 2018). Their evidence has been organised into four over-arching themes: the personal and structural effects of neoliberal housing and social policy, the complexity of family homelessness, an under-resourced and ageing housing and homelessness service system under immense strain and re-imagining policy and practice responses to prevent and end family homelessness. These themes are an opportunity to promote research and further inquiry that will help bring about equitable housing and homelessness policy and practice reform.

Australia, like many western liberal democracies post COVID-19 pandemic, is experiencing considerable economic upheaval, rising inflation and increasing cost of living pressures. Eleven interest rate rises since May 2022 have placed considerable strain on mortgage holders and on people paying rent throughout the nation. Clearly neoliberal approaches to housing policy are not working and exacerbating inequality. It is clear that more investment in housing and homelessness services is urgently required, however the policy environment is challenging (Clarke et al. 2020). The approach to investment needs to be different from private wealth and market neoliberal investment in social housing and public services, but rather fairer and socially just investment. The housing and homelessness policy challenges are immense and there are many competing pressures and intersecting social and economic policy issues. These include areas such as health care, education, child care, the NDIS, income support, that all have a strong relationship to preventing and ending homelessness. There is an urgent need for evidence to drive policy reform in a challenging fiscal environment.

Family homelessness research is needed to support policy and practice development and reform across the service system. Participants in this research identified that many homelessness services funding has not changed for decades and that their service delivery approaches have also not substantially changed during this same period. The great hope of a policy vision that was offered as part of the landscape of the previous Rudd Labor Government's 2008 *White Paper on Homelessness, The Road Home: A national approach to reducing homelessness* seems a distant memory for many who have been active in the housing and homelessness sector for a long time. Participants in this study were clear that research is needed to drive the policy reform agenda forward, especially with the opportunity of a new federal Labor Government and election commitments aimed at improving housing affordability. Family homelessness needs to be the central organising feature for research that seeks to redress homelessness.

Family Homelessness Research priorities

The four thematic areas highlighted in this research provide an opportunity for more in-depth analysis and inquiry relating to family homelessness research. These research- based themes: (1) The personal and structural effects of neoliberal housing and social policy, (2) The complexity of family homelessness, (3) An under-resourced and ageing housing and homelessness service system under immense strain, and (4) Reimagining policy and practice responses to prevent and end family homelessness; provide opportunities for critical social work scholars and researchers to contribute to the evidence base for the urgent need for alternative ways of conceptualising housing and homelessness and the associated challenges at a policy level Watson and Hernan 2017; Zufferey and Parkes 2019). Policy, funding and service delivery approaches all need to be re-vitalised to ensure there is the most contemporary and effective suite of responses to assist families, at risk of, or experiencing homelessness. This presents an opportunity to view housing through a critical social work lens that views safe and affordable housing as a universal human right. This approach supports the views of many practitioners and academics who see the immense value in industry and academic research partnerships and alliances (Watson et al. 2021).

Conclusion

Research is urgently needed to explore the causes of homelessness in this current crisis and to identify the most effective responses to assist families at risk of, or experiencing homelessness and or housing insecurity. Importantly, research and evidence are urgently needed to support cases for a more radical and systemic overhaul of the housing and homelessness systems throughout

Australia that reflects a commitment to greater social justice, fairness and equity. Families are a demographic group that have not been served particularly well by the level of inquiry to date. Given the many complexities and inter-sectionalities surrounding family homelessness, and the reality that families constitute one of the largest demographic groups experiencing homelessness throughout Australian society, this scholarly and policy focus is long over-due and critical.

References

Anglicare Australia 2023 *Rental Affordability Snapshot: National Report 2023, 14th Edition*. https://www.anglicare.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Rental-Affordability-Snapshot-National-Report.pdf.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2023 *Estimating Homelessness: Census Reference period 2021*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/housing/estimating-homelessness-census/latest-release.

Bassuk, E. L. DeCandia, C. J. Tsertsvadze, A. and Richard, M. K. 2014 The Effectiveness of Housing Interventions and Housing and Service Interventions on Ending Family Homelessness: A Systematic Review. *American journal of orthopsychiatry*, 84(5), 457-474. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000020.

Byrne, T. and Culhane, D. P. 2015 Testing Alternative Definitions of Chronic Homelessness. *Psychiatric services (Washington, D.C.)*, 66(9), 996-999. https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ps.201400240.

Chamberlain, C. Chamberlain, C. Johnson, G. and Robinson, C. 2014 *Homelessness in Australia*. UNSW Press.

Clarke, A. and Parsell, C. 2020 The Ambiguities of Homelessness Governance: Disentangling Care and Revanchism in the Neoliberalising City. *Antipode*, 52(6), 1624-1646. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12671

Clarke, A. Parsell, C. and Vorsina, M. 2020 The role of housing policy in perpetuating conditional forms of homelessness support in the era of housing first: Evidence from Australia. *Housing Studies*, 35(5), 954-975. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2019.1642452.

Costello, L. D. Thomson, M. and Jones, K. D. 2013 *Mental Health and Homelessness Final Report for the Mental Health Commission of New South Wales*. A. H. U. R. Institute.

Culhane, D. and Byrne, T. 2010 *Ending Chronic Homelessness: Cost Effective Opportunities for Interagency Collaboration*. A White Paper commionsed by the New York State Office of Mental Health and the New York City Department of Homeless Services.

Flanagan, K. 2020 *Housing, neoliberalism and the archive : reinterpreting the rise and fall of public housing*. Routledge.

Flanagan, K. Blunden, H. valentine, k. and Henriette, J. 2019 *Housing outcomes after domestic and family violence AHURI Final Report 311*. A. H. a. U. R. I. Limited.

Gibson, C. 2010 (May 2010). Homelessness and Child Wellbeing. *Communities, Children and Families Australia*, 5(1 pp. 35-45).

Healey, L. Connolly, M. and Humphreys C. 2018 A Collaborative Practice Framework for Child Protection and Specialist Domestic and Family Violence Services: Bridging the Research and Practice Divide. *Australian Social Work*, 71(2), 228-237. https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407x.2017.1409777.

Humphreys, C. and Absler, D. 2011 *History repeating: child protection responses to domestic violence. Child & family social work*, 16(4), 464-473. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2011.00761.x.

Isobe, J. Healey, L. and Humphreys, C. 2020 A critical interpretive synthesis of the intersection of domestic violence with parental issues of mental health and substance misuse. *Health & social care in the community*, 28(5), 1394-1407. https://doi.org/10.1111/hsc.12978.

Janda, M. 2020 CBA warns Australia risks 32 per cent house price crash in a 'prolonged downturn', flags $1.5 billion coronavirus-hit to bank. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-05-13/coronavirus-commonwealth-bank-house-prices-economy-unemployment/12241338

Johnson, G. and Chamberlain, C. 2011 Are the Homeless Mentally Ill? *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 46(1), 29-45.

Milaney, K. Lockerbie, S. L. Fang, X. Y. and Ramage, K. 2019 The role of structural violence in family homelessness. *Canadian journal of public health*, 110(5), 554-562. https://doi.org/10.17269/s41997-019-00219-y.

Padgett, D. 2008 *Qualitative Methods in Social Work Research*. Sage.

Parsell, C. 2011 (September 2011). Responding to People Sleeping Rough: Dilemmas and Opportunities for Social Work. *Australian Social Work*, 64(3), 330-345.

Parsell, C. Cheshire, L. Walter, Z. and Clarke, A. 2022 Social housing after neo-liberalism: new forms of state-driven welfare intervention toward social renters. *Housing Studies*, 37(7), 1124-1146. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2018.1563673.

Paton, M. Q. 2002 *Qualitative Research And Evaluation Methods 3rd Edition*. Sage Publications.

Pawson, H. Clarke, A. Moore, J. van den Nouwelant, R. and Ng, M. 2023 A blueprint to tackle Queensland's housing crisis, Q. C. o. S. Services.

Pawson, H. Milligan, V. and Yates, J. 2020 *Housing Policy in Australia A Case for System Reform* (1st ed. 2020. ed.). Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-0780-9.

Rog, D. J. Henderson, K. A. Wagner, C. A. and Abbruzzi, E. L. 2021 Housing Matters, Services Might: Findings from the High Needs Families Program Evaluation. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 693(1), 209-229. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716221997037.

Rowley, S. and Ong, R. 2012 *Housing Affordability, Housing Stress and Household Wellbeing in Australia* (AHURI Final Report, Issue. AHURI).

Spinney, A. Beer, A. Mackenzie, D. McNelis, S. Meltzer, A. muir, K. Peters, A. and valentine, k. 2020 *Executive Summary Final Report No. 347 Ending homelessness in Australia: A redesigned homelessness service system* (AHURI Final Report, Issue. A. H. a. U. R. I. Limited). https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/347.

Steen, A. Mackenie, D. and McCormack, D. 2012 *Homelessness and Unemployment: Understanding the Connection and Breaking the Cycle*. S. I. f. S. R. S. University.

Stephens, M. Fitzpatrick, S. Elsinga, M. van Steen, G. and Chzhen, Y. 2010 *Study on Housing Exclusion: Welfare Policies, Housing Provision and Labour Markets.* S. A. a. E. O. Directorate-General for Employment, European Commission. Brussels.

valentine, k. Blunden, H. Zufferey, C. Spinney, A. and Zirakbash, F. 2020 *Supporting families effectively through the homelessness services system AHURI Final Report No. 330*. AHURI. http://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/330.

Warburton, W. Whittaker, E. and Papic, M. 2018 Homelessness Pathways for Australian Single Mothers and Their Children: An Exploratory Study. *Societies (Basel, Switzerland)*, 8(1), 16. https://doi.org/10.3390/soc8010016.

Watson, J. and Cuervo, H. 2017 Youth homelessness: A social justice approach. *Journal of sociology* (Melbourne, Vic.), 53(2), 461-475.

Watson, J. Nipperess, S. and Johnson, G. 2021 Social Work Education and Homelessness: Mobilising Academia–Industry Partnerships to Create a

Homelessness Subject. *Australian Social Work*, 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2021.1989606

Whittaker, A. 2012 Research skills for social work (2nd ed.). Learning Matters.

Yang, Y. and Zhou, M. 2022 The estimation of house bubbles during the time of pandemic: a study of Australia. *Applied economics, ahead-of-print* (ahead-of-print), 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2022.2141452.

Zufferey, C. and Parkes, A. 2019 Family homelessness in regional and urban contexts: Service provider perspectives. *Journal of rural studies*, 70, 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.08.004.

Authors

Dr Shane Warren is a Lecturer in social work at the School of Public Health and Social Work, Queensland University of Technology. He spent a considerable number of years working in the field with the former Department of Families, Youth and Care in Rockhampton, Central Queensland. He then worked in child protection in the UK before taking managerial positions in Queensland including in the Homelessness Program. His publications have focussed on youth and family homelessness and COVID and domestic violence.

Mr. Adam Barnes is passionate about collaboration, social justice, and keeping the people we work alongside at the centre of what we do. During the last twenty years he has worked as a practitioner and leader in the community sector, as a research assistant and as an active board member of peak social policy organisations.

Soliloquy

I'm fed up; there is no more air left
in my lungs to breathe out.

There's a snail in my head
encamped in me, cramping me out of my mind.

My feet have to lift me off the down-at-heel globe
before my heels crack,
before my soles scarify the day
before death with its exotic accent slices my skin.

My flesh is a grove of olives; in my corneas the amber
of rupture; my pupils are oil
Wells, and in my larynx, the news headlines clot.

I am manic for you;
you are a miniature of the Middle East conflict,
an occident of tropes that rebukes me.

No wonder I grapple gravity,
hang from the gallows—a contortionist

of melancholy. My camouflage
a congestion of fugitives clinging, like me,
to their scaffolds of pendency in the immigration abyss.

In the stream of subalterns
I am an insider, avid to disparage the white knight
savior; I am a time bomb wrapped in velvet bigotry.

Bigots, you have no idea
who I am. I am a rib cage of blades,
the death of a woman, her internal bleeding.

I crack the glass ceiling;
I shake off the handcuff and find my way to the balcony
to curb the cockatoo terrorists
who yawn like ordnance at the windows.

Only then can I settle for life,
only then, conserve my feet
and let them carry me to the kitchen to make a mint tea
for the annihilated lives in the pages I write.

I let my feet take me back
to the text where I sit and fall back in love with the livid flesh.

Suffused with the failure of recovery
from where I fell into a world
with dogmas more vigorous than slaughter
I catapult into annulment
triggered by how belonging is a belittlement factory.

In my liminal room
I pester the pleated skirt till it falls from my waist
and I squeeze all hatred in the world for others
between tanned thighs till it cries for clemency
and dies for justice wishing it had never been born.

Now, the whole day falls
under my sovereignty; I lean a soliloquy against my silhouette.
My endemic perseverance, emancipated from entropy,
purge planar fatigue from my fingertips.
Now, I own the day.

SABA VASEFI

*Commended entry from the 2022 Seeking Asylum Poetry prize

Homelessness and Housing Instability in Young People Engaged in Tertiary Education in Australia: An urgent call for research

TAYLOR PURCELL AND DANIELLE DAVIDSON

Recent housing strategies at both national and state levels have announced the need to improve housing access for young people through providing access to safe, secure and affordable housing. However, there is a paucity of research examining the experience of housing insecurity and homelessness for young people seeking tertiary education at higher education institutions despite the increasingly dire situation. Young people engaged in tertiary education experience vulnerability to homelessness and housing insecurity through structural inequalities such as low income, precarious employment, food insecurity, and an inaccessible, precarious and unaffordable private housing market. Housing insecurity and homelessness is detrimental to students' academic achievement, engagement and wellbeing. The paper concludes by outlining key recommendations for urgent research on higher education students' experiences of homelessness and housing insecurity needed to ensure appropriate interventions and policy responses by Australian universities and government.

KEY WORDS: Homelessness, housing insecurity, tertiary students, higher education, young people

As the cost-of-living pressures rise, young Australian tertiary students find themselves being placed in a position of growing precarity and vulnerability to homelessness and housing insecurity. While young people are a national priority area for Australian and state and territory governments to reduce the incidence of homelessness, specific attention on tertiary students' homelessness and housing insecurity is significantly lacking. Census data from 2016 indicated that more than 10,000 university students were considered homeless (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS] 2016). Increasing student activism and calls for actions to support students with the rising cost-of-living have emerged from a variety of universities, as demonstrated by the recent submissions to the Senate by the Queensland University of Technology Student Guild (Davidson 2023) and the National Union of Students (Bita 2023). Despite this situation, there is a severe lack of Australian research examining the experience of housing insecurity and homelessness for young people undertaking tertiary education.

This paper argues that young tertiary students are an overlooked cohort of Australia's current housing crisis. A conceptual analysis of extant international and Australian literature will be outlined, with a particular focus on Queensland where the authors are from. It will highlight the unique factors that make these young people particularly vulnerable to housing insecurity and homelessness. The paucity of Australian literature on this topic raises the urgent need for such research to ensure the needs of this group are captured by policy and service responses by both government and universities.

Homelessness and housing insecurity in Australia

Although a wealthy country, Australia's crisis of housing insecurity and homelessness has reached a critical point. The Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS] 2018 defines a person as homeless if they do not have suitable accommodation alternatives, and their current living situation: (a) is in a dwelling that is inadequate; (b) has no tenure or the tenure is short and cannot be extended; or (c) does not allow the person to exercise both control of and access to space for social relations (ABS 2023).The most recent Australian Census data classified 122,427 people as experiencing some form of homelessness (ABS 2023). Of this, 25% were aged 12 to 24 years, with those aged 19 to 24 years experiencing the highest rates of homelessness at 91 persons per 10,000 people (ABS 2023). However, these estimates of youth homelessness may greatly underestimate the extent of this issue, as the 2021 census data occurred during the period of COVID-19 when governments were providing temporary accommodation for those sleeping rough (ABS 2023), and recognises that they have not yet established a reliable way to precisely estimate homelessness amongst young people who are likely to experience hidden forms of homelessness. For instance, young people experiencing homelessness most

commonly live in crowded dwellings (68%), followed by supported accommodation (17%), temporary stays at other households (e.g., couch surfing) (11%), boarding houses (11%), and least commonly sleeping rough (3%) (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW] 2021).

Young people, like many other groups in Australia, are experiencing unprecedented housing insecurity in response to the increasingly precarious nature of the local housing market, particularly since the COVID-19 pandemic. Housing insecurity is an umbrella term used to reflect the intersecting challenges households may experience in obtaining safe and secure housing (Morris et al. 2021), such as unaffordable rent, overcrowding, frequent or forced house moves, spending the majority of household income on housing (Frederick et al. 2014; Kushel et al. 2006), and reliance on private rental properties (Beer et al. 2016). These challenges can be experienced differently amongst varying population groups, but are particularly felt by the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in society (Morris et al. 2021), such as young people living in poverty. Using this broad term allows for different experiences of housing and housing-related stress to be captured.

A prominent aspect of housing insecurity experienced by young tenants in the housing market is the issue of housing affordability. Australia is currently experiencing a housing crisis in the form of a rapid decline in the accessibility of affordable housing such as social and community housing as well as low-cost private rentals (Pawson et al. 2023). This situation is caused by a complex interplay of structural factors including reduced investment in public housing alternatives, high mortgage rates, negative gearing, low wage growth and low income, reduced rates of home ownership, increased use of housing as an 'investment', and a highly competitive and expensive rental market (Beer et al. 2016; Gurran et al. 2021; Hulse et al. 2019; Morris et al. 2020; Pawson et al. 2023; SGS Economics and Planning 2022). In consideration of these factors, the affordability of private rentals has drastically reduced. Furthermore, rental affordability has been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic due to the reduced economic and financial stability of private renters (Ong et al. 2022) with limited affordable private rental properties available for people on low incomes (Anglicare 2023a). Recent data from the national Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey also indicates that the amount of affordable housing has reduced and is a more common cause of housing precariousness than forced moves or overcrowding (Ong et al. 2022). The scarcity of affordable housing in the private rental market creates a precarious and turbulent housing situation for both private renters and young people.

A significant marker of housing insecurity is the number of low-income households experiencing rental stress. Rental stress is experienced when households in the bottom 40% of Australia's income distribution spend over 30% of their income on housing costs (Morris et al. 2021; SGS Economic and Planning 2022). Households experiencing rental stress can become particularly vulnerable, as they need to continuously forfeit other essential items to continue to pay their rent (Morris et al. 2021). In 2020, HILDA data discovered that over 12% of the Australian population experienced financial stress after their housing costs were deducted, with over 6% of people indicating they were unable to pay their housing costs on time, an increase from previous years (Wilkins et al. 2022). This is backed up by ABS data which indicates that approximately 55% of low-income households with young people aged 15 to 24 years contribute over 30% of their income to housing costs (ABS 2022).

It has been long recognised that young people transitioning to adulthood experience greater vulnerability towards housing instability and homelessness than older adults (Ong et al. 2022). Young people's vulnerability to these social issues are found to be associated with a number of structural and cultural factors contributing to housing insecurity in young people. This cohort experiences additional challenges to accessing affordable housing as they are often employed casually and receive lower incomes, making it more difficult to secure private rental properties or enter the housing market without support from family and others (Susilawati and Wong 2014). These factors make young people twice as likely to experience a housing crisis compared to any other housing group (Susilawati and Wong 2014), with young people more likely to live in overcrowded households and experience rental stress (Bentley et al. 2019). These intersecting factors of precarious employment, low income, and inaccessible housing markets, contribute to young people being particularly vulnerable to housing insecurity. Additionally, Pearl et al. (2022) assert that it is this exposure to multiple social and economic factors, such as unemployment, low job security, high housing costs, and inadequate welfare support, that create the conditions that lead to young people's risk of homelessness.

In recognition of the current housing crisis illustrated above, state, territory and federal governments throughout Australia have developed targeted housing strategies. One such strategy is the Queensland Youth Strategy which was developed to address issues pertaining to young people in Queensland (Department of Communities, Child Safety and Disability Services 2017). An element of this strategy is a targeted aim to improve housing for young people, in recognition

that 23.4% of all people experiencing homelessness are young people. Other key areas of this strategy include supporting vulnerable groups of young people, providing access to safe, secure and affordable housing, initiating health and wellbeing programs, and supporting educational pathways for improved employment outcomes (Department of Communities, Child Safety and Disability Services 2017). Although vague in detailing specifically how these goals will be achieved, the housing strategy succeeds in acknowledging the presence and challenges of homelessness and housing insecurity in young people. However, while the strategy recognises young people as a vulnerable group and places an emphasis on education as a pathway out of homelessness, it fails to acknowledge and address the unique housing challenges and experiences of those engaged in tertiary education.

Homelessness, housing insecurity and tertiary education

While the conditions that contribute to young people's vulnerability to housing insecurity and homelessness have been heavily researched, there has been a scarcity of Australian research in the context of tertiary students and housing precarity. Recent Specialist Homelessness Services (SHS) data found that in 2019-2020, 2.2% young people (aged 15-24 years) accessing SHS services were university students (AIHW 2021). Grace et al. (2012) conducted a qualitative interview of 11 young people who were attending university while engaged with a youth-foyer housing program and aimed to document their experiences and challenges. The study identified that homelessness in university students was mostly experienced through hidden forms of homelessness such as couch surfing, staying in overcrowded accommodation, living in cars, or living in homeless accommodation services (Grace et al. 2012). Although this research is outdated, it provides vital information in establishing how homelessness can be experienced amongst young people studying at university. However, larger and more recent studies would be required to further examine the prevalence and experiences of homelessness and housing instability in young people engaged in tertiary education, particularly those not connected to a youth-foyer service where engagement in education or work is required.

Whilst there is a scarcity of research in Australia, housing insecurity and homelessness in tertiary students has been extensively researched in America and the United Kingdom (UK). Tsui et al. (2011) found 41.7% (approximately 100,000) of students studying at the City University of New York experienced housing insecurity. Similarly, Crutchfield and Maguire's (2018) online survey of 24,324 students at California State University found

that 10.9% of students reported being homeless one or more times within the past 12 months. In a smaller survey of 390 participants, Silva et al. (2017) identified that 4% of students had faced extremely unstable housing, and 5.4% had experienced homelessness since starting tertiary study. Additionally, two different studies by Haskett and colleagues on nearly 2000 university students' experiences of food insecurity and homelessness found that over 9% of students had experienced homelessness, with 4.6% of these students staying temporarily with friends or family, 2.6% sleeping outdoors, and 5% staying in temporary accommodation, closed areas or treatment centres (Haskett et al. 2020; Haskett et al. 2021). Evidently, homelessness and housing instability in tertiary students has been widely documented in American research, indicating that this is a well-identified social issue amongst tertiary students.

In addition, further American research has identified how being a student can contribute to homelessness and housing insecurity. These conditions reflect the intersection of university student lifestyle and housing challenges, such as losing their college residence during university holiday breaks; falling behind on rent which leads to the risk of eviction; threats to maintaining share housing if roommates are not able to cover their rent; and the need to prioritise the cost of schooling supplies over food or other essentials costs (Hallet and Crutchfield 2018). In consideration of the turbulent periods of the university student lifecycle, Crutchfield and Meyer-Adams (2019) suggest that students' experiences of housing insecurity are better understood as fitting along a housing security continuum, where they can fluctuate between high stability and high instability throughout the schooling period. Hence, in the context of the higher education environment, various points throughout the student lifecycle can increase risk of housing insecurity, alongside other external economic and social factors.

While these findings are key in establishing that housing insecurity and homelessness is an issue affecting university students, there is a gap in the research on this cohort in the Australian context. These American studies provide a wealth of knowledge in understanding homelessness and housing insecurity for university students that can be used as a preliminary foundation for researching this concept in Australia. However, these findings cannot necessarily be generalised to the Australian context as there are important differences between the two countries, including the nature and accessibility of the welfare systems, cost of higher education, and affordability and accessibility of housing. Furthermore, these American studies may not be representative of homelessness and housing insecurity in young students (ranging from 18-24 years), as participants of all age ranges were included.

Considering this gap in knowledge, the overlapping vulnerability factors to insecure housing that were previously identified in Australian young people, such as precarious employment, low income and insecure living arrangements, will be examined in tertiary students.

The vulnerability of university students

A dominant cultural narrative of the 'starving student' depicts studying at university as a period marked by financial insecurity, inadequate access to nutritional and affordable food, and inconsistent living arrangements (Crutchfield et al. 2020a; Maynard et al. 2018). This rhetoric reinforces the assumption that living in poverty is a rite of passage for university students, rather than a situation requiring action from policy makers (Hallett and Crutchfield 2018). Failure to address housing precarity for university students on a social policy level not only silences the experiences of this group, reinforcing and perpetuating oppression and disadvantage, but also can have significant impacts on students' educational obtainment and wellbeing. Previous research has identified that tertiary students are exposed to several factors that influence their vulnerability to experiencing insecure housing and homelessness, such as precarious employment and low incomes (Hallett and Crutchfield 2018), and food insecurity (Haskett et al. 2021). Hence, to consider housing insecurity and homelessness in young Australian university students, these vulnerabilities and their impacts on students will be analysed below.

Low income and income insecurity

Income insecurity and low incomes have both been identified as factors that can increase vulnerability to homelessness and housing insecurity in Australian young people, and university students overseas (Chamberlain and Johnson and 2013; Miller 2011). In Australian tertiary students, financial hardship has been identified as a common issue. To monitor the financial challenges for university students, Universities Australia conducts a regular study on the cost-of-living for students. In 2017, Universities Australia surveyed 18,500 students of all ages about their income, employment, and living and study costs. They found that the median yearly income for domestic undergraduate students was $20,900, with paid work (79.1%) and Youth Allowance (33.2%) being the main sources of income (Universities Australia 2018). This demonstrates that the majority of tertiary students are considered as either low-income earners or living in poverty, with the poverty line sitting at approximately $23,000 per year for a single adult (Australian Council of Social Service 2020). Queensland Council of Social Service (2022) identified that the average weekly budget of a single university student (under 25) was below the poverty line by $43.59 per week and in an average expenditure deficit of $7.32 per week, leaving little room to afford necessities. This was calculated based on a young student receiving both Youth Allowance and casual employment, with no dependents, which is the situation of the majority of young tertiary students. These findings provide evidence that young tertiary students in Australia have significantly low incomes, which may increase their risk of experiencing housing insecurity and homelessness in the face of high housing and living costs.

Precarious employment

Tertiary students tend to be employed in casual jobs and face increasing precarity of employment. Precarious employment is work that involves irregular hours, that does not guarantee ongoing employment, and is associated with lower incomes and increased financial and housing stress (Chesters and Cuervo 2019; Victoria State Government 2021). Tertiary students are more likely to experience precarious employment than those who are not studying (Chesters and Cuervo 2019), with over half of all young workers under 25 employed in casual jobs (Creed et al. 2022). This places tertiary students in a precarious position where not only are they low-income earners, but their hours of employment can vary each week and are not guaranteed, which can result in their pay fluctuating with each pay period. An inconsistent wage and work schedule can have implications on a worker's financial security, which can also impact their ability to consistently afford housing.

Tertiary students, especially international students, are also vulnerable to exploitation through precarious employment. Clibborn's (2021) mixed methods study of 1433 international students in Sydney discovered that most participants were engaged in precarious work, with 60% of respondents being paid less than the National Minimum Wage, and 35% of this group being paid $12 or less per hour. International students identified their lack of work experience, limited English language skills, temporary visa status, work and study requirements, and replaceability in this competitive underground job market, as barriers to obtaining employment with legal minimum wages (Clibborn 2021). If students are engaging in insecure and exploitative employment with wages below minimum wage, this can contribute to increasing vulnerability to securely afford their accommodation. Employment insecurity has been linked to housing insecurity as precarious employment reduces the capacity for households to access accommodation, consistently pay their rent or mortgage costs, and access income support (Beer et al. 2016: Bentley et al. 2019).

Precarious employment cannot only have an impact on student's abilities to gain secure housing, but can also come at the detriment to their higher education

studies and wellbeing. In a survey of 24 Australian working tertiary students, Creed et al. (2022) identified a negative relationship between precarious employment and wellbeing, with wellbeing being negatively impacted through student's experiencing poorer sleep quality, student burnout, high financial and job strain, and affected academic performance and functioning. These findings are consistent with previous research in an international study by Barber and Levitan (2015), which found that amongst the 78 Canadian university students surveyed, students who needed to engage in work to meet their basic necessities and tuition costs were disadvantaged in higher education systems. Due to financial insecurity, these students needed to prioritise employment rather than their education, resulting in work commitments and work-related fatigue reducing student's available time to study and complete assessment, and thus reduced their academic performance (Barber and Levitan 2015).

Food Insecurity

Tertiary students with low incomes have been identified as vulnerable to experiencing food insecurity, which is strongly associated to financial and housing insecurity, and has detrimental effects on student's wellbeing and education. Food insecurity may occur when access to healthy foods is compromised (Gallegos et al. 2014), food intake is disrupted or reduced, or meals are missed due to limited finances (Crutchfield et al. 2020b). To measure food insecurity in Australian university students, Gallegos et al. (2014) surveyed 810 tertiary students and found that one in four (25.5%) students experienced food insecurity. These findings have been supported by recent research by Brownfield et al. (2023) whose study found that in 664 Australian tertiary students aged under 25, 25.5% of students were food insecure. Corroborating reports from these studies demonstrate the widespread prevalence of food insecurity throughout tertiary students in Australia, as demonstrated consistently even after almost a decade. Additionally, food insecurity is associated with greater psychological distress and poorer academic performance (Brownfield et al. 2023; Dana et al. 2023). Considering the widespread and long documented experiences of food insecurity in young university students on low incomes, food insecurity may be indicative of more extensive insecurity of students' basic needs.

Alongside negative wellbeing and academic outcomes, food insecurity in university students has been connected to experiences of housing insecurity and homelessness. Students who are privately renting, working part-time or reduced hours, and/or receiving government income support are more likely to experience food insecurity (Gallegos et al. 2014). An American study by Goldrick-Rab et al. (2018) found that out of 43,000 students,

36% reported experiencing food insecurity, and 22% had experienced both food insecurity and housing instability. Additionally, of this initial 22%, a further 8% of students reported experiencing housing insecurity, food insecurity and homelessness (Goldrick-Rab et al. 2018). These results identify a correlation between experiences of food insecurity, precarious housing and homelessness in American tertiary students. Notably, these results do not establish a causational relationship between food insecurity, homelessness and housing insecurity. However, they identify an association between these different factors of basic needs insecurity within the tertiary student population. As food insecurity has already been well-documented in Australian students, these findings indicate the strong possibility of a more extensive situation of tertiary student housing instability and homelessness than currently recognised.

Housing for university students

The situation of low wages and precarious employment makes it difficult for tertiary students to access private rentals in what is currently an unprecedentedly expensive and competitive rental market. Recently, Australian media and news reports have become increasingly focused on Australian tertiary students, reporting this cohort to be particularly affected by the current housing crisis and rising cost-of-living. As various ABC news articles report, students are priced out of rental markets (Nothling 2023), increasingly exposed to housing scams (Mayes 2023), sleeping in cars amid accommodation shortages (Olumee and Rheinberger 2022) and resorting to actively skipping meals to afford necessary life expenses (O'Flaherty and Hamilton-Smith 2023). Whilst these reports demonstrate the growing disparity and exclusion of tertiary students from housing, there is a significant lack of empirical research in this area to identify the extent and impact of the housing crisis for young tertiary students.

Despite the limited research, the unaffordability of the rental market for tertiary students was identified in a recent report. Anglicare (2023a) conducted a review of the affordability of rental property for low-income earners receiving different income streams, including Youth Allowance. Youth Allowance is a government income support payment for young people under 24, with a maximum payment of $562.80 per fortnight for a single person over the age of 18, living out of home (Services Australia 2023), and is received by many tertiary students. In analysing 45,895 rental listings on realestate.com.au nationally across March of this year, Anglicare (2023a) found that there were zero affordable homes available for a single person over 18 receiving Youth Allowance. In Queensland, of the 2859 available rental properties available in Brisbane, the median rent of

a single rental and a room in a share house for a single person aged over 18 receiving Youth Allowance, equated to 113% and 88% of this payment, respectively (Anglicare 2023b). Furthermore, this year's report found the lowest number of available rentals for people on low incomes in the history of the Anglicare snapshot (Anglicare 2023a). This data suggests young students receiving Youth Allowance are significantly impacted by rising private rental costs and may find it virtually impossible to obtain affordable private rental accommodation, unless they share with others. While this study is only conducted at one point in time, over a single weekend in March, it provides important insight into the affordability of the private rental market for young tertiary students.

Due to issues of affordability, tertiary students may find themselves living in insecure, overcrowded shared housing. Students with low incomes commonly rely upon shared housing for economic affordability, to reduce housing and other living expenses (Hilder et al. 2018; Nasreen and Ruming 2021). However, to reduce their housing costs to a more affordable amount, students may end up living in overcrowded conditions through shared-room housing or overcrowded shared housing. Shared-room housing refers to group housing where two or more unrelated tenants share a sleeping space (bedrooms or portioned living rooms) and share the rental costs (Nasreen and Ruming 2021). Often these arrangements may be informal, which can appeal to low-income tenants and those without a rental history, as they are commonly excluded from the traditional, formal rental market (Maalsen et al. 2022; Nasreen and Ruming 2021). Hence, exploitative and insecure living arrangements may be more accessible than the traditional rental market, limiting student's housing options and contributing to their disadvantage and vulnerability to housing insecurity and homelessness.

Whilst informal or overcrowded housing arrangements are not experienced by all tertiary students living in share homes, initial research has identified numerous tertiary students living in these conditions. In a study of 135 people living in shared housing arrangements in Sydney, Nasreen and Ruming (2021) found that 18% of participants lived in living rooms that were converted to bedrooms, and 27% of participants shared a bedroom with more than one person. While university students were not the intended core demographic of Nasreen and Ruming's (2021) study, 29% participants were tertiary students. This provides valuable preliminary evidence to demonstrate that some tertiary students live in insecure, shared housing situations. Under these conditions, these tertiary students may be living in dwellings that the ABS (2016) would define as severely overcrowded (if at least four additional bedrooms are required to adequately

accommodate each household member) and classify these students as homeless. Hence, while preliminary, this research indicates that the lack of available, accessible and affordable housing may contribute to tertiary students living in insecure, overcrowded, shared living arrangements. As these findings are only from a small sample size, taken in one location in Australia and participants were from all age groups, further research is necessary to establish the prevalence of young tertiary students living in overcrowded share homes, and thus experiencing homelessness and/or housing insecurity.

Impacts of housing insecurity and homelessness on tertiary students

To fully grasp the implications of homelessness and housing insecurity for tertiary students, it is necessary to understand how it impacts student's education and wellbeing. Basic need insecurities, encapsulating food insecurity, financial insecurity, housing insecurity and homelessness, have been found to have significant negative impacts on student's wellbeing such as anxiety, depression, physical health, and reduced academic success (Coakley et al. 2022; Kornbluh et al. 2022; Leung et al. 2021). In a UK qualitative study of 16 tertiary students, it was reported that student's studying capabilities were negatively affected by the challenges they faced while experiencing homelessness and living in substandard, overcrowded temporary housing (Mulrenan et al. 2018). Students reported that their housing situations lacked privacy and designated learning spaces for effective study, lacked internet to access learning materials, and frequent transitions between different accommodations often resulted in losing study materials and encountering difficulties in commuting to university (Mulrenan et al. 2018). Grace et al.'s (2012) Australian study found that while students were committed to completing their studies, they still faced a number of barriers that impacted their studies, such as a lack of social networks, and health-related issues. In addition, these students tend to experience more delays across their course and to take longer to complete their studies due to the interruption of housing concerns (Grace et al. 2012). As these findings suggest, inadequate access to appropriate and secure housing significantly places students at a disadvantage, negatively impacting their studies and their wellbeing.

Discussion

Upon examining the available Australian and international literature, it is evident that young tertiary students in Australia are a vastly under-researched cohort in the context of homelessness and housing insecurity. While the extent of young students experiencing homelessness and/or housing insecurity is undetermined in Australia, it is evident that students experience a range of structural

inequalities that contribute to their vulnerability to homelessness and housing insecurity, such as low incomes, precarious employment and unaffordable housing.

It is imperative that quantitative and qualitative research is performed throughout various regions of Australia to identify the prevalence, experiences, challenges and required resources for young people experiencing homelessness and housing insecurity whilst engaged in tertiary education. Such research needs to include a diverse range of students, with varying income levels, ethnic backgrounds, and family socio-economic status to determine the factors shaping tertiary students' risk and experiences of housing inequality and homelessness. As student homelessness tends to be more hidden, it is also important that future research explores the various types of homelessness that tertiary students experience, such as couch surfing, temporary housing, and severe overcrowding (Brownfield et al. 2023). In addition, the educational and wellbeing outcomes of homeless and housing insecure students need to be compared with students who have secure housing. Without adequate data, these students remain marginalised, silenced and overlooked by social policy and university support services.

There is a need for target responses and support from university for students at risk of and/ or experiencing housing insecurity and homelessness. Mulrenan et al. (2018) argues that tertiary institutions should identify a student's housing status in the same manner that they do a student's socio-economic background and ethnicity, to ensure appropriate support is provided by the university. Furthermore, as the diversity of students attending university increases, tertiary institutions need to consider how to implement a range of flexible, appropriate and inclusive programs to support students from diverse backgrounds (Costa et al. 2020). As proposed by Bland (2018), these programs could include specific bursaries/scholarships to support students to find affordable accommodation, programs where universities provide students with the opportunity to obtain deposit-free and guarantor-free accommodation, and for universities to advocate for rental control to the private student accommodation companies they endorse. Students may also be impacted by shame and stigma surrounding accessing university resources, so tertiary institutions may need to implement discrete, supporting and commonly available, known and easily accessible support services (Mulrenan et al. 2018).

Whilst universities play a crucial role in the provision of these support services, it is imperative that safe and affordable housing for young tertiary students be addressed through the provision of appropriate social policy. The Australian government must incorporate the specific needs, experiences and challenges of housing for young tertiary students into their social policies, strategies and reforms to address the structural disadvantage of this cohort. The Queensland Family & Child Commission (2018) states that young peoples' experience of homelessness is diverse and as such the policy solutions needed to address this issue need to reflect this diversity and the issues they face. Research evidence that identifies the extent, experiences and challenges of homelessness and housing insecurity of this population is needed to ensure policy and service responses adequately target the range of issues at play for this cohort, such as low incomes, the need for time to study and attend classes, and the lack of affordable low-cost housing. It is necessary for research to be conducted to inform social policy through identifying the extent, experiences and challenges of homelessness and housing insecurity for young people studying at university. This is imperative to providing a clear pathway forward to address affordable housing for this cohort, to ensure their experiences and needs are reflected and addressed throughout Australian housing social policy.

Conclusion

The paper has highlighted the various factors that contribute to the vulnerability of young tertiary students to housing insecurity and homelessness. Previous research overseas has identified tertiary students as significantly experiencing prominent rates of housing insecurity and homelessness. However, there is a paucity of research in Australia to determine if this is the case in young Australian tertiary students. Both tertiary students and young people experience numerous structural inequalities associated with housing vulnerability such as low income, precarious employment, insecure living arrangements and basic needs insecurity. Thus, it is vital for researchers to begin to explore this area to identify the extent, experiences and challenges of young tertiary students experiencing homelessness and housing insecurity in Australia. Failure to bring attention to this cohort in research and social policy initiatives will continue to perpetuate the cycle of disadvantage experienced by this cohort, leading to them being silenced and slipping through the gaps throughout our education system and housing initiatives. In contemporary Australia, it is incredulous that a student should be positioned as having to choose between obtaining an education and having a secure place to call home. It is time to bring this cohort to the forefront of the housing conversation.

References
Anglicare. 2023a *Rental affordability snapshot: National report*. https://www.anglicare.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Rental-Affordability-Snapshot-National-Report.pdf.

Anglicare. 2023b *Rental affordability snapshot: Regional snapshot*. https://www.anglicare.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Rental-Affordability-Snapshot-Regional-Reports.pdf Australian Association of Social Workers. 2020 Code of ethics. https://www.aasw.asn.au/document/item/13400.

Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS]. 2016 *Census of population and Housing: Estimating homelessness*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/housing/estimating-homelessness-census/2016.

Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS]. 2018 *Census of Population and Housing: Estimating Homelessness*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/housing/estimating-homelessness-census/2016.

Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS]. 2022 *Housing occupancy and costs*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/housing/housing-occupancy-and-costs/2019-20.

Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS]. 2023 *Estimating homelessness: Census*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/housing/estimating-homelessness-census/2021

Australian Council of Social Service. 2020 *Poverty in Australia 2020: Part 1 Overview*. https://povertyandinequality.acoss.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Poverty-in-Australia-2020_Part-1_Overview.pdf.

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW]. 2021 *Homelessness and overcrowding*. https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/children-youth/homelessness-and-overcrowding.

Barber, M. and Levitan, J. 2015 Balancing the books: The impact of university students' outside employment on academic performance and emotional well-being. *The International Journal of Learning in Higher Education*, 21(3-4), 13-19. https://doi.org/10.18848/2327-7955/CGP/v21i3-4/48725.

Beer, A. Bentley, R. Baker, E. Mason, K. Mallett, S. Kavanagh, A. and LaMontagne, T. 2016 Neoliberalism, economic restructuring and policy change: Precarious housing and precarious employment in Australia. *Urban Studies*, 53(8), 1542-1558. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098015596922.

Bentley, R. Baker, E. and Aitken, Z. 2019 The 'double precarity' of employment insecurity and unaffordable housing and its impact on mental health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 225, 9-16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.02.008.

Bita, N. 2023 *University graduates to be slugged with a $4.5bn increase to student debt*. National Union of Students. https://nus.asn.au/index.php/2023/03/21/nus-fronts-the-senate-education-and-employment-committees-into-abolishing-indexation-for-education-loans/

Bland, B. 2018 "It's all about the money: The influence of family estrangement, accommodation struggles and homelessness on student success in UK higher education". *Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning* 20 (3): 68–89. https://doi.org/10.5456/WPLL.20.3.68.

Brownfield, N. Quinn, S. Bates, G. and Thielking, M. 2023 What is eating Gilbert's grades? Examining the impact of food insecurity and psychological distress on weighted average marks within a sample of Australian university students. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2023.2176203.

Chamberlain, C. and Johnson, G. 2013. Pathways into adult homelessness. *Journal of Sociology*, 49(1), 60–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783311422458.

Chesters, J. and Cuervo, H. 2019 Adjusting to new employment landscapes: Consequences of precarious employment for young Australians. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 30(2), 222–240. https://doi.org/10.1177/1035304619832740.

Clibborn, S. 2021 Multiple frames of reference: Why international student workers in Australia tolerate underpayment. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 42(2), 336-354. https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831X18765247.

Coakley, K. E. Cargas, S. Walsh-Dilley, M. and Mechler, H. 2022 Basic needs insecurities are associated with anxiety, depression, and poor health among university students in the state of New Mexico. *Journal of Community Health*, 47(3), 454–463. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10900-022-01073-9.

Costa, C. Taylor, Y. Goodfellow, C. and Ecochard, S. 2020 "Estranged students in higher education: Navigating social and economic capitals". *Cambridge Journal of Education* 50 (1): 107–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2019.1648639.

Creed, P. A. Hood, M. Selenko, E. Hu, S. and Bagley, L. 2022 The relationship between job precariousness and student burnout: A serial indirect effects model. *Journal of Education and Work*, 35(8), 843–857. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639080.2022.2149713.

Crutchfield, R. M. Carpena, A. McCloyn, T. N. and Maguire, J. 2020a The starving student narrative: How normalizing deprivation reinforces basic need insecurity in higher education. *Families in Society*, 101(3), 409–421. https://doi.org/10.1177/1044389419889525.

Crutchfield, R. M. Maguire, J. Campbell, C. D. Lohay, D. Valverde Loscko, S. and Simon, R. 2020b "I'm supposed to be helping others': Exploring food insecurity and homelessness for social work students. *Journal of Social Work Education,* 56(1), S150–S162. https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2020.1741478.

Crutchfield, R. and Maguire, J. 2018 *California state university office of the chancellor study of student basic needs*. https://www.calstate.edu/impact-of-the-csu/student-success/basic-needs-initiative/Documents/BasicNeedsStudy_phaseII_withAccessibilityComments.pdf.

Crutchfield, R. and Meyer-Adams, N. 2019 If I don't fight for it, I have nothing: Supporting students who experience homelessness while enrolled in higher education. In H. Larkin., A. Aykanian., and C.L. Streeter (Eds.), *Homelessness Prevention and Intervention in Social Work*, (359-377). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-03727-7_17.

Danā, L. M. Wright, J. Ward, R. Dantas, J. A. R. Dhaliwal, S. S. Lawrence, B. O'Connor, M. Booth, S. Kerr, D. A. and Pollard, C. M. 2023 Food insecurity, food assistance, and psychological distress among university students: Cross-sectional survey Western Australia, 2020. *Nutrients*, 15(11), 2431–2446. https://doi.org/10.3390/nu15112431.

Davidson, Z. 2023 *Submission to the education & employment committee on the education & other legislation amendment bill 2022: Abolishing indexation & raising the minimum repayment income for education and training loans*. QUT Guild. https://qutguild.com/pageassets/about/qut-guild/QSG-Senate-Submission_Education-and-Employment-Committee_Feb-2023.pdf.

Department of Communities, Child Safety and Disability Services. 2017 *Queensland youth strategy: Building young Queenslanders for a global future*. Queensland Government. https://www.des.qld.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/231095/qld-youth-strategy.pdf.

Frederick, T.J. Chwalek, M. Hughes, J. Karabanow, J. and Kidd, S. 2014 How stable is stable? Defining and measuring housing instability. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 42(8): 964-979. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21665.

Gallegos, D. Ramsey, R. and Ong, K.W. 2014 Food insecurity: Is it an issue among tertiary students? *Higher Education*, 67(5), 497–510. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-013-9656-2.

Goldrick-Rab, S. Richardson, J. Schneider, J. Hernandez, A. and Cady, C. 2018 Still hungry and homeless in college. https://www.bhcc.edu/media/03-documents/voicesofhunger/Wisconsin-HOPE-Lab-Still-Hungry-and-Homeless-April-2018.pdf.

Grace, M. Keys, D. and Hart, A. 2012 Homeless

university students: Experiences with foyer-type service. *Journal of Social Inclusion*, 3(1), 43–57. https://doi.org/10.36251/josi.41.

Gurran, N. Hulse, K. Dodson, L. Pill, M. Dowling, R. Reynolds, M. and Maalsen, S. 2021 *Urban productivity and affordable rental housing supply in Australia cities and regions*. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute. https://doi.org/10.18408/ahuri7320001.

Hallett, R. E. and Crutchfield, R. 2018 Homelessness and housing insecurity in higher education: A trauma-informed approach to research, policy, and practice: Homelessness and housing insecurity in higher education. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, 43(6), 7–118. https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.20122.

Haskett, M. E. Kotter-Grühn, D. and Majumder, S. 2020 Prevalence and correlates of food insecurity and homelessness among university students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 61(1), 109–114. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2020.0007.

Haskett, M. E. Majumder, S. Kotter- Grühn, D. and Gutierrez, I. 2021 The role of university students' wellness in links between homelessness, food insecurity, and academic success. *Journal of Social Distress and Homeless*, 30(1), 59–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/10530789.2020.1733815.

Hilder, J. Charles-Edwards, E. Sigler, T. and Metcalf, B. 2018 *Housemates, inmates and living mates: communal living in Australia. Australian Planner*, 55(1), 12–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/07293682.2018.1494612.

Hulse, K. Morris, A. and Pawson, H. 2019 Private renting in a home-owning society: Disaster, diversity or deviance? Housing, *Theory, and Society*, 36(2), 167–88. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2018.1467964.

Kornbluh, M. Wilking, J. Roll, S. and Donatello, R. 2022 Exploring housing insecurity in relation to student success. *Journal of American College Health*, 1-5. https://doi.org/10.1080/07448481.2022.2068016.

Kushel, M.B. Gupta, R. Gee, L. and Haas, J. 2006 Housing instability and food insecurity as barriers to health care among low-income Americans. *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 21(1), 71–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1525-1497.2005.00278.x.

Leung, C.W. Farooqui, S. Wolfson, J.A. and Cohen, A.J. 2021 Understanding the cumulative burden of basic needs insecurities: Associations with health and academic achievement among college students. American Journal of Health Promotion, 35(2), 275–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0890117120946210.

Maalsen, S. Shrestha, P. and Gurran, N. 2022 Informal housing practices in the global north: Digital technologies, methods, and ethics. *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 22(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/19491247.2022.202688.

Mayes, A. 2023 (February 4). Scammers circle international students amid university accommodation crisis. *ABC News*. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-02-05/qld-student-university-accommodation-rental-prices-property/101927250.

Maynard, M. S. Meyer, S. B. Perlman, C. M. and Kirkpatrick, S. I. 2018 Experiences of food insecurity among undergraduate students: "You can't starve yourself through school." *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 48(2), 130–148. https://doi.org/10.47678/cjhe.v48i2.188121.

Miller, P. M. (2011 A critical analysis of the research on student homelessness. *Review of Educational Research*, 81(3), 308-337. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654311415120.

Morris, A. Beer, A. Martin, J. Horne, S. Davis, C. Budge, T. and Paris, C. 2020 Australian local governments and affordable housing: Challenges and possibilities. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 31(1), 14–33. https://doi.org/10.1177/1035304619880135.

Morris, A. Hulse, K. and Pawson, H. 2021 *The private rental sector in Australia: Living with uncertainty*.

Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-33-6672-5

Mulrenan, P. Atkins, J. and Cox, S. 2018 "I get up in the night to cry:" The impact of homelessness on higher education students in London, UK. *Critical Social Policy*, 38(1), 143-154. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018317724524.

Nasreen, Z. and Ruming, K.J. 2021 Informality, the marginalised and regulatory inadequacies: A case study of tenants' experiences of shared room housing in Sydney, Australia. *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 21(2), 220–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/19491247.2020.1803531.

Nothling, L. 2023 (February 5). Brisbane university accommodation prices match rental jump, pricing out students. *ABC News*. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-02-04/university-accommodation-crisis-as-international-students-return/101912694.

O'Flaherty, A. and Hamilton-Smith, L. 2023 (March 27). University students relying on food banks, skipping meals as cost of living bites. *ABC News*. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-03-27/university-ug-food-crisis-cost-of-living-student-food-qut/102137568.

Olumee, F. and Rheinberger, N. 2022 (February 16). NSW students sleeping in cars amid critical rental, accommodation shortage. *ABC News.* https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-02-16/students-face-critical-rental-housing-shortage-in-nsw/100831572.

Ong, R.Vifor, J. Singh, R. Baker, E. Bentley, R. and Hewton, J. 2022 *Precarious housing and wellbeing: A multi-dimensional investigation.* Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute. https://doi.org/10.18408/ahuri8123801.

Pawson, H. Clarke, A. Moore, J. van den Nouwelant, R. and Ng, M. 2023 *A blueprint to tackle Queensland's housing crisis.* Queensland Council of Social Service. https://www.qcoss.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Hal-Pawson-Report-2023-Final.pdf.

Pearl, B. Harvey, C. and Brophy, L. 2022 Understanding how young people exit homelessness in Australia: A critical realist approach. Housing, *Theory, and Society,* 39(4), 383–400. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2021.1968487.

Queensland Council of Social Service. 2022 *Living affordability in Queensland.* https://www.qcoss.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Living-Affordability-in-Queensland-2022_FINAL.pdf?_cf_chl_tk=sEoSyhd5FdqJ_Gi6aSWFpqzNLJA_lQ.yDFNp9J0qktl-1682248782-0-gaNycGzNDGU.

Queensland Family & Child Commission [QFCC]. 2018 *Youth homelessness: Rates of homelessness among young people in Queensland*.

Services Australia. 2023 *How much you can get: Youth allowance*. https://www.servicesaustralia.gov.au/how-much-youth-allowance-for-students-and-apprentices-you-can-get?context=43916.

SGS Economics and Planning. 2022 *Rental affordability index*. https://www.sgsep.com.au/assets/main/Rental-Affordability-Index_Nov_2022_low-resolution.pdf.

Silva, M. R. Kleinert, W. L. Sheppard, A. V. Cantrell, K. A. Freeman-Coppadge, D. J. Tsoy, E. Roberts, T. and Pearrow, M. 2017 The relationship between food security, housing stability, and school performance among college students in an urban university. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice,* 19(3), 284–299. https://doi.org/10.1177/1521025115621918.

Susilawati, C. and Wong, L.R. 2014 (January 19-24). *Barriers to entering affordable home ownership for young people: A preliminary study from university students' perspectives* [Conference Paper]. 20th Annual Pacific Rim Real Estate Society Conference, Christchurch, New Zealand. https://eprints.qut.edu.au/83852/.

Tsui, E. Freuenberg, N. Manzo, L. Jones, H. Kwan, A. and Gagnon, M. 2011 *Housing instability at CUNY: Results from a survey of CUNY undergraduate students*. https://www.gc.cuny.edu/sites/default/files/2021-05/cunyhousinginstability.pdf.

Universities Australia. 2018 2017 *Universities Australia student finances survey*. https://www.universitiesaustralia.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/180713-2017-UA-Student-Finance-Survey-Report.pdf.

Victoria State Government. 2021 *Victorian Government submission to the senate select committee on job security: Inquiry into the impact of insecure or precarious employment.* https://www.aph.gov.au/DocumentStore.ashx?id=24d97105-482d-4db0-933f-fbe51cd2ed8e&subId=706115#:~:text=The%20Victorian%20Government%20considers%20that,and%20innovative%20businesses%20are%20encouraged.

Wilkins, R. Vera-Toscano, E. Botha, F. Wooden, M. and Trinh, T. 2022 *The household, income and labour dynamics in Australia survey: Selected findings from waves 1 to 20.* https://melbourneinstitute.unimelb.edu.au/hilda/publications/hilda-statistical-reports.

Authors
Taylor Purcell is a current student at the Queensland University of Technology, in her fourth year of a Bachelor of Behavioural Science (Psychology)/Bachelor of Social Work (Honours). This year she is about to commence her social work honour project which aims to research homelessness and housing insecurity in young Australian university students.

Dr. Danielle Davidson is a lecturer in the School of Public Health and Social Work, Queensland University of Technology. Her research interests include workplace justice for practitioners, spatiality of practice, young people's experience of domestic violence, homelessness and housing accessibility.

Guardian seven three twenty-three

A fish inside a birdcage

teaching's last gasp recorded

and rebroadcast to silent screens.

A simulacra of educational exchange

reducing educators to talking taxidermy

and quality oversight.

No teaching happens here.

DEANNA GRANT-SMITH

OBSERVATION TANKS

Axolotls blink their gills. They water-breathe

and climb across each other at multiple elevations.

Every shiver of shark pups behaves in a circle.

These, the epaulette sharks, hardly breathe at all.

PhDs patrol the gridwalk mesh over beds rolling

with glass eels, elvers and fingerling squids.

All shark relatives possess eyelids, but no desire

to blink. In its aquarium the axolotl's behaviour,

gold with goldenrod eyes, is tied to the thyroid

in a complicated, almost Greco-Roman coil.

Mutatis mutandis the slippery salamanders

in their semi-aquatic terraces on Vivarium Lane.

They stare with blank abandon at their carers'

blue synthetic overcoats, carrying in their stems

the cell memory of an unassailable craft

dropping anchor. The swoop of specimen nets.

Dark memory-foam impressions of creatures

jettisoned from the Ark. These fish know

they are hungry. Those fish know they are fed.

A ghost knife nods its electrosensitive head.

MITCHELL WELCH

Using Podcasting to Advance Activist Practice and Critical Reflection in Response to the Housing Crisis

JEAN CARRUTHERS AND HAYLEY THIRKETTLE

As a form of social scholarship, podcasting has become a way to share knowledge usually confined to academic settings within a broader social context. A Queensland University of Technology (QUT) social work program is using this platform to share education and raise awareness of critical and creative pedagogies and practices through a podcast titled 'critical conversations for social work' (CCSW) (Carruthers 2023, np.). This podcast is targeted towards students, educators, and practitioners and brings focus to important social concerns, critical analysis, critical reflection, and activist practices for the purpose of positioning social justice at the forefront of social work education and practice. Furthermore, the commentary within the podcast can facilitate what Henry Giroux refers to as educated hope. This paper highlights how this form of social scholarship can be useful to bring light to pervasive social concerns such as homelessness as showcased in episode 3 Part A and episode 3 Part B of the CCSW podcast. The paper demonstrates the value of podcasting as a form of social scholarship to advance ideas around activist practice and research informed critical reflection beyond academia when addressing personal, social and political concerns related to homelessness.

KEY WORDS: Housing and homelessness, critical social work, critical and creative pedagogy, activist practice, critical reflection, podcasting.

Introduction

Podcasting in social work and human services has become a way to share knowledge usually confined to academic settings within a broader social context. As a form of social scholarship, podcasting can enhance engagement and deepen learning as well as improve critical thinking and reflection skills (Moore 2022). It can also allow a deeper appreciation and understanding of theory by applying it to 'real-world' scenarios, through podcast production, based on interviews and storytelling within communities of practice (Moore 2022). Ferrer et al. (2020) suggest podcasting has the potential to move from a form of static broadcast to a site to engage in direct activism. It can achieve this in two ways. Firstly, it has the potential to create communities of practice where individuals and community organisations with limited resources can engage in knowledge mobilisation and capacity building (Ferrer et al. 2020). Secondly, the public nature of podcasting has the potential to support awareness within communities by extending the discussion of literature and practice beyond the academic to non-academic listeners, including those who have a lived experience of the concerns discussed (Singer 2019). In Australian Social Work, the use of podcasting has produced a number of contributions to the field, with discussion of reflective practice in the *Social Work Stories Podcast* with ambassadors Liz Murphy and Dr. Mim Fox leading the way (in Murphy and Fox, 2018-present). And more recently the Australian Association of Social Workers' (AASW) contribution – *The Social Work People Podcast* with Senior Policy Advisor Angela Scarfe (Scarfe 2020-present).

The Critical Conversations for Social Work (CC4SW) (Carruthers 2023) podcast is a new addition to the social work podcast community. This podcast is a collaboration between students, educators and practitioners supported by project coordinator, former practitioner, and social work educator Dr Jean Carruthers. The CC4SW podcast draws on critical pedagogy and podcasting to share knowledge of critical and creative approaches for social work education and practice. The podcast has two intersecting parts within its structure. Firstly, interviews conducted by students with an educator or practitioner showcasing their understanding of critical and creative pedagogy as it applies to their practice context (the Part A episode). Following, a second episode (the Part B episode) features a conversation between Jean and a student, educator and/or social work practitioner. The Part B episodes are a response to and reflection on the Part A interviews, and seek to highlight key ideas, unpack discourses and language, and make concepts related to theory and practice accessible through the process of

critical reflection. In addition, the guests (social work and human service students, educators, and practitioners) in Part B discussions are able to speak to their reflexive interest in the topic and their knowledge of, and/or lived experience of this area of practice.

In this paper, authors Jean Carruthers and social work practitioner/researcher Hayley Thirkettle draw on the commentary of two podcast episodes (episode 3 Part A and episode 3 Part B) exploring social work practice and research in the context of housing and homelessness. Jean and Hayley critically reflect on the historical, social, and political analysis, the critical and creative pedagogies and social work practices discussed in the episodes. The paper seeks to demonstrate how the podcast platform provides alternative perspectives through sharing knowledge of social work education and practice as a form of social scholarship and opportunities to mobilise for social action toward emancipatory social change.

In episode 3 Part A, 'Beyond Discrimination and Stereotypes: Thinking Critically About Homelessness' (Warren and Castillo 2023) social worker, QUT educator and researcher Dr Shane Warren speaks with social work student Angela Castillo about the importance of critical social work pedagogy and practice for emancipatory change in the housing and homelessness sector. Shane speaks from 30 years of experience as a social worker with his interest in the homelessness sector beginning in a Queensland Government homelessness policy program role in 2008 and completing his PhD a decade later with a focus on homelessness in central Queensland mining communities in the Dysart, Moranbah and Mackay regions. As a follow on, in episode 3, Part B titled 'Is Housing Insecurity the New Normal?' (Carruthers and Mickle 2023) social worker, researcher and former QUT student Lauren Mickle and Jean critically reflect on the complexities of housing and homelessness based on Lauren's research on boarding houses in the Brisbane region in the late 1980s, and her article 'An Olympic feat: Securing boarding house tenancies in Brisbane' whilst completing her Masters Qualifying student placement (Mickle et al. 2022). In the episode, Lauren and Jean also revisit Shane and Angela's Part A homelessness episode and reflect further.

Through the podcast platform, conversations held with both Shane and Lauren concerning social work research and educational commentary about practice are transformed into social scholarship. Social scholarship is broadly defined as the use of social media to engage in and expand the scholarship of discovery, integration, teaching, and application to practice (Greenhow and Gleason 2014). In this instance, social scholarship, in

the form of podcasting, also functions to break down the binaries of traditional pedagogical forms such as those of 'participant/scholar, practice/research and inside[r]/outside[r]' (Greenhow and Gleason 2014: 399) and invites a broader audience to witness (and potentially become involved in) the process of knowledge co-construction (Singer 2019). The authors consider this process to be a form of critical and creative pedagogy that shines a light on areas of practice for analysis and action. The focus, in this instance, is housing and homelessness as demonstrated in the commentary below. This highlights the complexity, myths, neoliberal influences, processes of gentrification and displacement in the context of housing and homelessness, as well as the critical and creative possibilities for socially just and emancipatory practices in this space.

The complexities of homelessness

Shane and Angela thoughtfully reflect on what homelessness looks like with reference to the complexities that exist within this sector of practice. From Shane's perspective:

> Homelessness is a very complex area ... and it's really important not to think about it homogeneously. So, there are many different types of homeless people, sleeping rough is what everyone kind of thinks of, but it includes couch surfing; it includes people in severely overcrowded housing; it includes people in emergency shelters; it includes people in boarding houses (Warren and Castillo 2023, 24:39-25:02).

Organisations are required to respond to the myriad of ways that homelessness presents. This means resources need to reflect the complexity of the multiple representations, barriers, and the lack of attention to the uniqueness of peoples' experiences of homelessness and the instability this creates in the sector.

Lauren's research points to complexity through the impact of deinstitutionalisation on housing for people with disability and mental health vulnerabilities. She explains how, at the end of the 1980s, institutions that housed people living with a disability or mental health condition were in the process of being closed and their residents encouraged to live in the community. Lauren recognises this was 'overall a good thing [as it] took people out of institutions and out of the abusive situations that were happening in institutions' (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 13:26-13:35). She notes, however, that 'there were no resources put into it. So, there was no plan of what to do with people once these places shut down' (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 14:58-15:03). This had dire implications for 'families who weren't resourced or equipped to be

able to support loved ones … with mental illness and severe physical disabilities' (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 13:53-14:04).

Underlying the shifts in housing and homelessness strategy was a desire to simplify what is an incredibly complicated and demanding area of practice which reflects current concerns in the sector and has perpetuated a system where individuals at the greatest risk due to their homelessness status are often the least likely to receive community housing. There is the requirement for individuals to be 'housing ready' (Micah Projects 2016: 10). This is influenced by discrimination toward people who are marginal in society, such as people with disability and mental health vulnerabilities. Consequently, the community-based housing sector does offer some approaches that respond to this complexity, such as housing first initiatives, where housing needs are addressed without preconditions before coordinating other services and supports (Micah Projects 2016; O'Campo et al. 2022). Shane points out that 'the pressures that social workers and social welfare agencies are under' are not often realised and applauds the work these organisations do with recognition of the expectations that governments and communities have of those organisations and 'just the incredible work that they do' (Warren and Castillo 2023). However, we have a long way to go in addressing the enormity of the current housing crisis and the influence of social forces such as neoliberalism.

The impact of neoliberalism on housing and homelessness

Shane explains his inception into the homelessness sector coincided with the implementation of the national white paper on homelessness (FaHCSIA, 2008) released by Kevin Rudd. A big injection of funding from the government occurred as a result, which allowed a whole lot of new contemporary approaches to ending homelessness. Shane reflects on this as 'a really exciting time to be a part of', a time of 'hope and optimism' and 'a wonderful opportunity' when looking back on it (Warren and Castillo 2023, 4:04-4:40).

However, Shane's historical account and his recognition of the influence of neoliberalism, which Morley et al. (2017: 26) describe as 'the discourse that provides justification for global capitalism, reduces everything to commodities, subjecting them to market calculations that maximise exploitation and profit', speaks to the eroding of social justice values within the sector. As a result, this 'honeymoon period' was short lived and as Shane explains, even with the implementation of the National Housing and Homelessness Agreement (FaHCSIA, 2008) 'there hasn't been any increase in

federal funding into homelessness in over a decade. That is embarrassing and shameful to Australia' (Warren and Castillo 2023, 26:41-26:50). This lack of investment in the homelessness sector is credited to neoliberalism determining what is prioritised (or not) in government spending. Shane attests that under a neoliberal government there is a 'classic hostility to the welfare system' (Warren and Castillo 2023, 25:48-25:50). Shane further states:

> [T]he idea is that governments should have a very minimal role in relation to the provision of social welfare. It's a very minimalist sort of system, and people need to be responsible for their own lives, and there shouldn't be any sort of greater investment in social welfare (Warren and Castillo 2023, 25:57-26:15).

Shane extends this notion of neoliberalism to the ways it supports a managerial (business like) approach to welfare concerns through the kinds of initiatives that are implemented (Ferguson and Lavalette 2006). This includes:

> Initiatives that are more about generating profit … as opposed to achieving social justice goals. It also reflects in the way governments fund organisations. It's reflected in the sorts of rhetoric that you see in government policy. I think governments increasingly are output and outcome funded and…try to reduce this really complex area down to some really arbitrary measures around numbers of clients that a service sees or hours of service delivery, which is not particularly useful or meaningful (Warren and Castillo 2023, 25:57-26:15).

In this sense, managerialism and business ethics are seen to override social work or social justice ethics.

In agreement with these sentiments, Lauren's research suggests that during the 1980s, responses to housing need were primarily localised, community-based responses. She discusses how things have changed over time due to the intrusion of managerialism on local community negotiation:

> [T]hese [housing] workers would take a slab of beer up [to landlords]. One [landlord] that she [the housing worker] talked about in particular was an old Greek fellow that used to sit outside, and he would just chew raw garlic and smoke cigarettes all the time. She'd take a six pack of beer and be like, can you take this guy without

a bond? That was all kind of an agreement and a handshake. But then it's managerialism now. There is no way that those kinds of arrangements could ever survive (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 18:54-19:20).

The rhetoric Lauren engages suggests that the informal and somewhat emancipatory practices used to respond to homelessness began to change during the Bjelke-Petersen government era. The Bjelke-Petersen era broadly covers the period when Joh Bjelke-Petersen was premier and the leader of the National Party who held majority government in Queensland (1968-1987) (Queensland Parliament 2023). His government was subsequently found by the Fitzgerald Inquiry to have been involved in widespread corruption which included circumventing legal processes and tendering for developments in exchange for bribes (Fitzgerald 2012). This government was widely viewed to have held a radically pro-development agenda and a strong neoliberal stance (Whitton 1993). The shifts that occurred in this period have led to the practices outlined by Lauren becoming obsolete and social work practice in the sector becoming significantly constrained by the demands for services to meet neoliberal outcomes and quality measures in order to obtain funding (Dobrovic et al. 2022). This focus fundamentally changes the supports offered, often favouring one size fits all approaches and self-responsibility with limited resources to address the disadvantage that contributes to housing instability or to adopt localised or community-based responses (Dobrovic et al. 2022; Stonehouse et al. 2015). Lauren directly attributes this to the failing of neoliberalism:

You can see how that is a failing of neoliberalism because it doesn't give space for complexity, and it isn't able to extend past baseline profit … motives. And it doesn't value anything other than profit (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 15:48-16:08).

Ultimately, the current system is one where the market determines the housing options available for individuals, and simultaneously, constrains social work responses and resources to address homelessness.

Shane provides examples of how things have changed with the injection of neoliberalism into the housing and homelessness sector. Some of the government initiatives include John Howard's implementation of goods and services tax (GST), Scott Morrison's homebuilder scheme, the cashless debit card which was trialled in the Turnbull era and carried through by Tony Abbott (Morgan 2020; Khadem 2022; Lowrey 2022).These are schemes that have bolstered the privilege of people who are already comfortably housed and demonised those

who are housing insecure. Shane's critiques of Howard's implementation of GST and the implications this has for the most marginalised people in Australia was clearly evident in the following statement:

[T]here were the debates about GST …. GST eventually came in under John Howard and what we've seen is this regressive form of tax on people. But then we've seen income taxes and corporate taxes decrease. And if you look at the evidence around that, it's really striking that middle class and businesses, the amount of tax breaks and tax concessions and tax write-offs, and what …Lois Bryson would refer to as fiscal welfare, that has really increased over the last 30 or 40 years. It's really at the heart of a lot of the structural inequality (Warren and Castillo 2023, 12:45-13:34).

Bringing this critique into current times, whereby housing schemes are focussed on the deregulation of the welfare state and in contrast punitive fiscal measures for the poor, Shane expresses a critical view of the cashless debit card and increasing benefits to the middle and upper class with reference to the government's home builder scheme:

"I'm also very critical of the federal government … rolling out the cashless debit card and increasing the number of locations now. Now that is a punitive measure that will further stigmatise the most marginal people in our society. I think we all have a role to play in rejecting it" (Warren and Castillo 2023, 27:53-28:12).

[Furthermore], I'm very critical of the government's home builder scheme. I think billions of dollars of taxpayer money going towards private home ownership and people making very expensive home renovations that only favours the very wealthy end of our society. That's another example of something that I find just atrocious (Warren and Castillo 2023, 13:40-14:01)… [W]hile we have decisions like that being made, it means there's less money being spent on affordable …and quality childcare. There's less money being spent on housing and less money going into education systems. This is all the product of really strong neoliberalist policy settings (Warren and Castillo 2023, 14:32-14:52).

In these times, neoliberalism has created multiple challenges to social justice including 'a whole range of social and economic inequality, having really big impacts for the most marginalised in our community' (Warren and Castillo 2023, 12:21-12:40). These measures could

not have been anticipated just a few decades ago. Shane brings to light the enormity of the challenges the homelessness sector is facing as a result:

> [We have had] a federal government that's completely absent and has not committed one dollar to affordable housing (Warren and Castillo 2023, 19:23-19:29) ... We've had eight years of conservative government. Australia's population has grown. We've been through a pandemic. We've had all sorts of other issues around poverty, violence, and other inequality, but there's been no substantial increase in funding for homelessness services either. I just think that is absolutely appalling (Warren and Castillo 2023, 19:41-20:00).

Shane explains that he has put effort into following and critiquing the trends and processes. By sharing information through this podcast, to expose and resist the pervasiveness of neoliberalism in the welfare sector, Shane is using critical pedagogy as a form of activist practice to contribute to emancipatory social change. Lauren is also contributing to this change by sharing knowledge of gentrification and displacement.

The process of gentrification and displacement

Neoliberalism has also shown itself to respond to social, political, and demographic changes in ways that further limit people's housing choices, such as through the process of gentrification and displacement. Gentrification occurs as the migration of higher income households to a lower income area creates an increase in competition for housing, resulting in social demographic shifts that favour those on higher incomes (Spinney et al. 2011). This process also transforms predominantly vacant or low-income inner-city neighbourhoods from their previous forms of 'economic, recreational, and residential use' (Collins et al. 2019: 200) favouring the interests of newly introduced middle and higher income earners.

Lauren speaks specifically of the ways that interest in inner city living led to those in the West End area, without economic privilege, being pushed to the margins of the city:

> [it] generally started from when cities were first developed. The industrial centre is the centre of the city, and so it's [initially zoned as] poorer neighbourhoods. People [living in these poorer neighbourhoods] need[ed] to be within walking distance to facilities and services and their workplaces…All of the wealthy people or people that have become wealthy through working would move out to the suburbs, and the suburbs would

be created and … people would sprawl out and then people would want to move back into the city for the trendy city lifestyle. [So] they would buy up the old workers' cottages and renovate (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 5:17-5:52).

This process led to the displacement of lower income residents, and a process Morris (2019: 2) terms communicide, 'the destruction of a place-based community' due to either the wilful or unintentional impacts of government policy. In Lauren's words, 'a lot of people who hadn't been integrated into society all of a sudden just left' (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 14:48-14:57).

In the instance of the West End community in the late 1980s (as is the case in many communities), the profit motives of developers were met with the support of a pro-development government with substantial links to the building and construction industries, in effect, accelerating the impacts of gentrification. Lauren concludes, 'There was a lot of justification for ignoring the social justice issues and there was a lot of agenda in terms of the development' for the benefit of profit (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 10:00-10:08).

Through Lauren's reflexive response to her research, she specifically explores what gentrification meant for the lives of the men who lived in the West End boarding houses with reference to the ways neoliberalism links to patriarchal assumptions of men's position in society as providers:

> I was quite surprised that the kind of, I don't know if pity is the right word, maybe compassion, that I felt for these largely … male groups of people that have been failed by the patriarchy. They are the losers of that system because they weren't able to pull themselves up by the bootstraps. They weren't able to make themselves successful by the means of what it means to be a masculine man in society and instead have found themselves with the scraps and scrapping with each other and being treated like they're unwelcome in a community that they may have grown up in their entire lives (Carruthers and Mickle 2023, 23:48-24:25).

Having worked for a program that supported people with mental health concerns to transition into the community on release from prison, I (Hayley) observed the barriers people with complex needs had to accessing housing programs. One example used to address this need was the National Rental Affordability Scheme (NRAS) which provided generous subsidies for rentals in the private market, however the scheme left landlords and rental

agents to determine applicant's suitability for properties. The mostly younger men I worked with were from populations that frequently had ABIs (Acquired Brain Injuries) and significant trauma histories. These service users were seen as undesirable tenants to rental agents and had a low level of acceptance for rentals despite their high levels of housing need representing further displacement due to the stigma of mental health. The personal stories within the commentary highlight the structural and discursive barriers faced by people who are marginalised in the housing context which begs the question: how could homelessness possibly be seen as a choice?

Debunking the myth of homelessness as a choice

Hegemony is a process whereby the dominant views of those in power are used to organise, persuade, and maintain the consent of the majority and, therefore, become the social norm for the whole of society (Garrett 2018: 108). This idea of hegemony is most successful when the dominant order (e.g. neoliberalism) appears as 'common sense' to the majority and therefore goes unquestioned in everyday life (Garrett 2018: 108). Such ideas are continually perpetuated through uncritical assumptions made by the general public, but also practitioners who unwittingly (or not) individualise the issue of homelessness to a failing of the person (who is at risk or currently homeless) assuming this to be a choice, or something that they could potentially solve if they only 'tried harder'. This hegemonic assumption that homelessness is a choice is most harmful due to the ways it is perpetuated through political rhetoric, through media and, as such, reinforces public opinion. When asked how Shane's practice has influenced him when working within the context of homelessness his response highlights the importance of bypassing these unhelpful assumptions about people who are experiencing homelessness and the importance of moving beyond discourses that demonise the poor:

> In my observations, I've seen a lot of judgmental practice, people being labelled as drug addicts, or they can't manage their money, or they waste their money or they're gambling. A lot of it is the discourses around demonising the poor. I think as social workers, it's really important for us to be sort of rejecting those discourses. Especially when people present to services seeking housing assistance or other sorts of support that we really do listen, and we're present and recognise that if these people have been sleeping rough for so long …or had no stable accommodation, being victims of violence, got no money, that has a major impact on people's lives (Warren and Castillo 2023, 18:00-18:48).

Further, debunking the myth that homelessness is a choice Shane draws on the story of a young man he interviewed for his PhD, he states:

> In terms of my own research, I've interviewed rough sleepers. [T]his was in Mackay. I interviewed a young man [who] had become homeless at 15, and he was couch surfing at that time. The couch surfing went on for about 18 months, then he began sleeping on the street, and then he was in and out of shelters [and] living back on the street. He was about twenty-one or so when I interviewed him and his advice to me was, I've slept on the riverbanks, I've been bashed so many times from all sorts of people, the little possessions I have get stolen every two to three days .... I'm constantly using what little money I have to replenish things that get stolen (Warren and Castillo 2023, 20:59-21:47) … This young man's advice back to me in light of all of those things was what person actually makes a choice to do that? (Warren and Castillo 2023, 22:02-22:09).

For this reason, a counter-hegemonic approach is required. This involves contesting taken for granted assumptions and public discourses that stereotype and vilify people experiencing homelessness, while also organising politically around values like social justice, economic cooperation, and revolutionary democracy (Morley et al. 2017). Practitioners need to work individually with service users and act collectively to 'challenge inegalitarian social relations' (Rogowski 2015: 62). Shane's suggestion to combat these structural and discursive barriers begins with reconstituting 'a much bigger investment in social welfare' (Warren and Castillo 2023, 26:17-26:19) and recognising the critical and creative work that housing agencies can do collectively.

Critical and creative practice toward emancipatory change

Shane speaks passionately about the role social work plays in raising community awareness, providing adequate education, and addressing significant social concerns in the context of homelessness through advocacy and activism. In his own words he states, 'I think our opportunity to influence and advocate and also engage in activism is just so crucial to social work' (Warren and Castillo 2023, 5:10-5:18). He sees his current role as a lecturer as an opportunity to share knowledge and experience and really support students to become agents for social change.

Shane's passion for critical and anti-oppressive practices to expose the structural inequalities and dehumanising

stereotypes prevalent within the homelessness space is evident in the pedagogy he prioritises in his practice:

> In terms of … pedagogies informing my practice frameworks and approaches, they're very much based in the critical social work traditions and specifically, anti-oppressive practices are extremely important to me. And thinking critically about the power that social workers have and especially within their agency and organisational systems and contexts (Warren and Castillo 2023, 5:50-6:15).

He continues by recognising how important these practices are 'in terms of our foundations as critical social workers and conceptualisations around power' (Warren and Castillo 2023, 6:52-7:00), especially our own 'positional power' when working alongside people who are experiencing marginalisation.

The conversation moves more explicitly to critical pedagogy in the context of social work education. Shane postulates that Paulo Freire, the father of critical pedagogy, and his early work critiquing the banking model of education (Freire 2000: 71) is just as relevant to the advances in critical social work education today:

> I … got back into Paulo Freire's work in recent times around deconstructing and critiquing the banking concept of education. And I'm very passionate about that idea in the context of social work education … I really think social work education is at its best when we are undertaking that learning as part of communities. Breaking down some of those oppressive structures that occur within especially higher education systems that prevent people from being able to do that. So, the idea of thinking critically about social work education where we are now in the 2020s (Warren and Castillo 2023, 10:05-10:55).

What is clearly apparent in Shane's explication of social work pedagogy and practice is the intentional positioning as an agent for social change and not an administrator of social control (Morley et al. 2020). This is evident in the following statement:

> I believe that social work is fundamentally about social change. [I]f we are about imposing from that top-down sort of authority structure, you know, it is about social control, and I think we really need to resist and reject any constructions of social work practice that is about social control (Warren and Castillo 2023, 8:14-8:32).

Expanding on this notion of social work as a critical endeavour, Shane argues that it is 'fundamentally a political activity' to ensure the government's accountability in matters of social, economic, and political disadvantage and advocating for resources to be distributed equitably within society:

> [W]e've got a value base [in social work] that's very strongly committed to social justice and environmental justice. And it does mean that we are critiquing the way resources are allocated and distributed within society and that we're locating those personal issues that people are experiencing broadly within some of those structural contexts. Whether that's the economy, whether it's the way agencies or service systems are structured or resourced. The famous feminist saying from the 1970s holds true. The personal is political (Warren and Castillo, 2023 15:21-16:00).

This concept of the personal as political, coined by early feminist thinkers, suggests that all personal problems are politically situated (Hanish 1969). According to Rogan and Budgeon (2018: 6), this adage still holds prominence in social work fifty years later. Shane also draws on the words of a respected colleague from the United States, Dr Michael McAfee (see McAfee et al. 2021), to foster a sense of hope for the future:

> [S]ome of the biggest wins in terms of social change happen at times where there's been the most hostile governments towards social welfare… [H]e [meaning McAfee] pointed to a few examples of how the homelessness sector in the United States had been able to really advance their case during some really oppressive republican regimes that were really hostile to social welfare spending. [H]e finished this story by saying he'll dance with whoever's in power (Warren and Castillo 2023, 30:41-31:12).

Shane expands on this by bringing into focus what students and practitioners might consider in the ways they can contribute to change in their own emerging or current practice.

> [I]t means every day we're taking our values and our code of conduct [as] social workers seriously. We're using that opportunity to influence people, and that's influencing people in the meetings that we attend; the perspectives we bring to those meetings and the critical questions [we ask]. [Questions like] why is it that we've got this plan the way it is? Why has this policy been silent on early intervention? Where is the spending on

women experiencing violence here? Those are critical questions. We can be using our capacity to ask those critical questions here and whether it's writing letters, or whatever it is because there are many many different ways that we can be using our influence every day towards the pursuit of these goals and objectives (Warren and Castillo 2023, 30:38-32:01).

These words seek to inspire students and practitioners to never give up in the pursuit of emancipatory social change and to encourage all of us to question the relevance of conservative policies and practices and to 'dance with power'. Shane's sentiments reflect Henry Giroux's concept of educated hope which 'contests the assumption that existing social structures cannot be challenged' and enables a vision for 'alternative ways of living and organising society' (Morley and Ablett, 2020: 208).

This paper has provided an insight into the ways that podcasting, as a form of social scholarship and activist practice, can be useful for sharing critical knowledge for the purpose of creating greater awareness and possibilities for change in the context of social work. Through this commentary space was created to discuss serious concerns central to the housing crisis, recognising the structural and discursive influences such as neoliberalism, hegemonic discourse and gentrification that have contributed to extreme inequality, displacement and stigma towards people who are at risk of, or experiencing homelessness. This is complex terrain, and it is clear through Shane and Lauren's thoughtful and provocative explanations that there is much to be done. However, there is hope. While these discussions revealed a complex social problem in need of urgent and immediate response, the narratives also offered opportunities for change whereby students, educators, and practitioners can challenge their own taken-for-granted assumptions, checking their own power and privilege, commit to asking critical questions and challenging dominant ways of thinking about, and doing, social work and taking emancipatory action. In addition, recognition was given to the crucial role that organisations and practitioners play to combat the housing crisis, and how critical and creative pedagogies and practices might be useful to support alternative responses and lead to much needed change. This commentary has demonstrated that podcasting has the potential to provide new forms of educated hope, whereby we are educating students, educators, and practitioners to 'learn how to take risks, engage in thoughtful dialogue, and taking on the crucial issue of what it means to be [a] socially responsible' practitioner (Peters 2012: 7).

References

Bryson, L. 1992 *Welfare and the state: who benefits?* Macmillan Press.

Carruthers, J. (Producer). 2023 *Critical Conversations for Social Work* [Audio podcast]. Spotify. Critical Conversations for Social Work.

Carruthers, J. and Mickle, L. 2023 *Is Housing Insecurity the New Normal?(No. 3B)* [Podcast]. Spotify. https://open.spotify.com/episode/06d6WnNgqlCtODIiRbxxi1?si=7a233ca4865f4bd8 (2023, March 29).

Collins, A. B. Boyd, J. Mayer, S. Fowler, A. Kennedy, M.C. Bluthenthal, R.N. Kerr, T. and McNeil, R. 2019. 'Policing space in the overdose crisis: A rapid ethnographic study of the impact of law enforcement practices on the effectiveness of overdose prevention sites', *The International Journal of Drug Policy*, 73: 199–207 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2019.08.002 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Dobrovic, J. Boddy, J. and O'Leary, P. 2022 'Social Impact Bonds and Homelessness: A Review of the Literature', *Australian Social Work*, 1-13 https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2022.2104654 (accessed 18/07/2023).

FaHCSIA [Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.2008. *The road home : a national approach to reducing homelessness*. https://apo.org.au/sites/default/files/resource-files/2008-12/apo-nid2882.pdf (accessed 20/01/2023).

Ferguson, I. and Lavalette, M. 2006 'Globalization and global justice: Towards a social work of resistance', *International Social Work*, 49(3): 309–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872806063401 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Ferrer, I. Lorenzetti, L. and Shaw, J. 2020 'Podcasting for social justice: exploring the potential of experiential and transformative teaching and learning through social work podcasts', *Social Work Education*, 39(7): 849–865 https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2019.1680619 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Fitzgerald, T. 2012 *The Commission of Inquiry into Matters Set Out in an Order in Council Dated 26 May 1987.* Fortitude Valley, Queensland: Crime and Misconduct Commission.

Freire, P. 2000 *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (30th anniversary ed.). Continuum.

Greenhow, C. and Gleason, B. 2014 'Social scholarship: Reconsidering scholarly practices in the age of social media', British Journal of Educational Technology, 45(3): 392–402 https://doi.org/10.1111/bjet.12150 (accessed 20/05/2023).

Hanisch, C. 1969 The personal is political. In Shulman, A. K. and Moore, H. 2021 *Women's Liberation! Feminist Writings That Inspired a Revolution & Still Can*. Edited by A. K. Shulman and H. Moore. New York: A Library of America. pp. 134-138.

Khadem, N. 2022, January 8. *Some loved it, others hated it. Either way, the $25,000 HomeBuilder grant was 'life-changing'.* ABC News https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-01-07/homebuilder-grant-housing-construction-economy-covid-support/100742970 (accessed 18/05/2023).

Lowrey, T. 2022, September 28. Cashless debit card to be abolished, but a new income-management system will take its place for some. *ABC News.* https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-09-28/cashless-debit-card-abolished-new-income-management/101480280 (accessed 11/04/2023).

McAfee, M. Kirschenbaum, J. Lanzerotti, L. Seldon, W. Sakaue, L. and Daniels, C. 2021 *Moving from Intention to Impact: Funding Racial Equity to Win*. PolicyLink and The Bridgespan Group, July 15, 2021 (accessed 18/07/2023).https://www.bridgespan.org/getmedia/f7110245-ce21-454c-b8e1-3170f85c0287/report-moving-from-intention-to-impact-funding-racial-equity-to-win.pdf (accessed 10/04/2023).

Micah Projects 2016 *Housing first: A roadmap to ending homelessness in Brisbane*. https://www.500lives500homes.org.au/resource_

files/500lives/20160808Housing-First-Roadmaplores. pdf (accessed 10/04/2023).

Mickle, L. Newcomb, M. and Webster, A. 2022 'An Olympic feat: Securing boarding house tenancies in Brisbane', *Parity*, 35(1): 29–30. https://search. informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.443123654898830 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Moore, T. 2022 'Pedagogy, podcasts, and politics: What role does podcasting have in planning education?', *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 0739456X221106327. https://doi. org/10.1177/0739456X221106327 (accessed 18/05/2023).

Morgan, E. 2020, July 1 The GST turns 20 today. Is it time to increase the tax rate or broaden the base? *ABC News*. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-07-01/gst-20-years-old-is-it-time-to-increase-the-tax-rate/12407258 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Morley, C. and Ablett, P. 2020 'Henry Giroux's vision of critical pedagogy: Educating social work activists for a critical democracy', in C. Morley, P. Ablett, C. Noble and S. Cowden. (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Pedagogies for Social Work.* Taylor & Francis Group. pp. 201-212.

Morley, C. Macfarlane, S. and Ablett, P. 2017 'The neoliberal colonisation of social work education: A critical analysis and practices of resistance', *Advances in Social Work and Welfare Education*, 19(2): 25-40 https://journal.anzswwer.org/index.php/advances/ article/view/168/150 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Morris, A. 2019 Gentrification and Displacement: The Forced Relocation of Public Housing Tenants in Inner-Sydney. Springer Singapore. https:// doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1087-4 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Murphy, L. and Fox, M. (Hosts). (2018-present). *The Social Work Stories Podcast* [Audio podcast]. (accessed 18/07/2023). Spotify. The Social Work Stories Podcast, https://open.spotify.com/show/1oF Ca7v4Iql46R28N8ncGQ?si=4bb3c5d8b77341da& nd=1 (accessed 18/07/2023).

O'Campo, P. Stergiopoulos, V. Davis, O. Lachaud, J. Nisenbaum, R. Dunn, J.R. Ahmed, N. and Tsemberis, S. 2022 'Health and social outcomes in the Housing First model: Testing the theory of change', *EClinicalMedicine*, 47: 101387–101387 https:// doi.org/10.1016/j.eclinm.2022.101387 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Peters, M. A. 2012 'Henry Giroux on Democracy Unsettled: From Critical Pedagogy to the War on Youth — An Interview', *Policy Futures in Education*, 10(6): 688–699. https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2012.10.6.688 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Queensland Parliament. 2023 Former members details. Bjelke-Petersen, Johannes (Joh). https://www. parliament.qld.gov.au/Members/Former-Members/ Former-Members-Register/Former-Member-Details?id=1543517032 (accessed 26/05/23).

Rogan, F. and Budgeon, S. 2018 'The personal is political: Assessing feminist fundamentals in the digital age', *Social Sciences* (Basel), 7(8): 132–. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci7080132 (accessed 18/7/2023).

Rogowski, S. 2015 'Margaret Thatcher's legacy for social work with children and families: critical possibilities?', *Critical and Radical Social Work,* 3(1): 53-65. https:// doi.org/10.1332/204986015X14231253143844 (accessed 18/7/2023).

Scarfe, A. (Host). 2020-present AASW - *Social Work People Podcast* [Audio podcast]. Spotify (accessed 2023) AASW – Social Work People Podcast.

Singer, J. B. 2019 'Podcasting as social scholarship: A tool to increase the public impact of scholarship and research', *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*.10(4): 571–590 https://doi. org/10.1086/706600 (accessed 08/05/2023).

Spinney, A. Reynolds, M.A. Wulff, M. and Atkinson, R. 2011 'Gentrification and Displacement: The Household Impacts of Neighbourhood Change', *Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.* https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/APO.23615 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Stonehouse, D. Threlkeld, G. and Farmer, J. 2015 '"Housing risk" and the neoliberal discourse of responsibilisation in Victoria', *Critical Social Policy*, 35(3): 393–413. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018315588232 (accessed 18/07/2023).

Warren, S., and Castillo, A. (Hosts). 2023, March 22 Beyond Discrimination and Stereotypes: Thinking Critically About Homelessness (No. 3A) [Audio podcast episode]. Spotify Episode 3 (Part A): Beyond Discrimination and Stereotypes: Thinking Critically About Homelessness (accessed 12/05/2023).

Whitton, E. 1993. *The Hillbilly Dictator: Australia's Police State*, Sydney, ABC Books.

Authors

Dr Jean Carruthers, PhD, is a Lecturer and Course Coordinator in Social Work and Human Services at the School of Public Health and Social Work, Faculty of Health, QUT. Before starting her career in academia, Jean practiced in diverse areas within social work, including domestic and family violence, sexual assault, community development in rural communities and family law. Further to her work in direct practice, Jean has been heavily involved in social activism, community education and research working collaboratively with community groups such as the Justice Dance Project and Applied Theatre Project. In her academic work, Jean has used the arts, specifically performance art, as a means for embodied critical learning in social work education. Her PhD titled "Performance as a platform for critical pedagogy in social work education" outlines the use of critical performance pedagogy, a critical and creative educational approach used in social work education. Jean is the founding member of the Critical Conversations for Social Work podcast and supports students to complete their field placement through this initiative. Her current research program is focused on using the arts, particularly drama, to expose novel and innovative directions in teaching critical social work practice.

Hayley Thirkettle is a research assistant in the School of Public Health and Social Work, Faculty of Health, QUT, where she is part of a research project evaluating the 'critical conversations for social work' podcast. Hayley holds a Master of Social Work (Qualifying) as well as a Master of Counselling where her project work focused on identifying narrative approaches for counselling practice to support people experiencing trauma. She is currently primarily working in direct practice in child and adult mental health and disability services. Her first role in the field saw her working in a service designed to support people with mental health vulnerabilities to maintain their tenancies, and she has subsequently worked with populations experiencing homelessness, as well as, systems reform roles in the mental health sector and for human rights projects such as the campaign for a Human Rights Act for Queensland.

Postscript: Politics, Housing Policy and National Cabinet

BRONWYN STEVENS

Introduction

As this issue of *Social Alternatives* examining aspects of the national housing and homelessness crisis was being prepared for press the National Cabinet announced new policies agreed to by State, Territory and Commonwealth Governments aimed at ameliorating the escalating crisis in housing affordability and homelessness. This crisis has become a major political issue. For the first time in decades many Australians of all backgrounds began to experience marginal, precarious housing or homelessness. As the cost of living and interest rates rose those who did not own a home or had large mortgages came under pressure. A shortage of housing stock made finding a rental property an expensive and perilous venture. Young people, older people, women and children, people in employment as well as people on marginal incomes were affected. Australians were shocked to hear of families living in cars. Tents began to appear on public land in the suburbs and regional Australia. The policies the Commonwealth Labor Government took to the 2022 election were no longer adequate for the scale of the crisis, one that been developing for years as the policies of Commonwealth and State Governments failed to provide the affordable and public housing required. This has resulted in a staggering number of Australians being pushed into homelessness as rents escalate and construction languishes. Around 175,000 households are stagnating for years on social housing waiting lists (Morris 2023).

> A lack of supply, growing demand, declining approvals, soaring construction costs, building firms going bust, and spiralling rents, have created a perfect storm (Speers 23).

A Political Crisis Develops

These soaring housing costs, rising interest rates, limited rental stock, high rents and a lack of public housing have created intertwined crises for the Albanese Government. They are now facing substantial pressure to do more as the situation worsens. However, the federal division of powers and the lack of a majority in the Senate have made it difficult for the Government to progress even relatively modest election promises. The Housing Australia Future Fund was to build up to 30,000 new social and affordable homes over five years. It has been opposed outright by the Coalition in the Senate and delayed by the Greens who are insisting on reforms to rental policies, rents freezes and rises only every two years. Despite increasing the money available for housing the Greens have remained unconvinced and continue to delay the housing fund legislation and are still urging a rental cap. But rental policy is largely under State, Territory and Local Government control and most Premiers had opposed rental freezes.

The National Cabinet Proposals

Against this background Prime Minister Albanese convened a National Cabinet meeting with State and Territory leaders. The focus was firmly on supply with the new National Cabinet agreement placing faith in boosting overall housing supply (Pawson 2023). Agreement was reached on developing national guidelines to streamline zoning, land development and construction. An increased target of 1.2 million homes to be built in five years was agreed with the Commonwealth putting forward financial incentives for States and Territories to meet these housing targets.

For renters, now a growing segment of the population, National Cabinet agreed to develop a national code of renters' rights providing minimal standards for rental properties, regulating no fault evictions and limiting rent rises to once a year. Rental caps and freezes were not agreed

to. Most State and Territory leaders rejected the case for rental caps fearing they would be counterproductive in the longer term and result in reduced investment in the private rental market. The agreements could be criticised as lacking in ambition. The Greens' housing spokesperson castigated the agreement as 'effectively no change for the vast majority of renters in the country' and claiming, 'Labor should take responsibility for every rent rise' (Chandler-Mather cited by Karp and Remeikis 2023).

Whether these changes are sufficient for the Greens to pass the *Housing Australia Future Fund* legislation providing funding for social and affordable housing is still unclear. The Prime Minister argues that 'You can't say you want public housing and then vote against it' (Albanese cited by Robertson 2023). The Greens have gained political capital by elevating rental issues to the forefront of the national agenda, but it is questionable if this will be retained if they continue to oppose the 10-billion-dollar affordable housing fund by insisting on a rental freeze that is outside the control of the Commonwealth government.

The changes agreed to at National Cabinet should go some way to improving the housing situation in the longer term if the ambitious targets can be achieved. This however will require sustained attention from all levels of government given that the States, Territories and Local Councils retain authority over housing and rental policy. But for the many groups dealing with the victims of the housing crisis these policies may provide some hope for the future but will provide little, short-term relief. There will be little immediate effect on the housing shortage and further action will be needed to deal with the harm resulting from years of neglected housing policy.

* The Government's housing package has now passed the Senate with Greens support.

References

Karp, P. and Remeikis, A. 2023 'National cabinet agrees to build 1.2m new homes in bid to tackle housing crisis', *The Guardian*, 16/08/23, https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2023/aug/16/national-cabinet-agrees-to-build-12m-new-homes-in-bid-to-tackle-housing-crisis (accessed 17/08/2023).

Morris, A. 2023 'It's soul-destroying': how people on a housing wait list of 175,000 describe their years of waiting', *The Conversation*, 08/08/23, https://theconversation.com/its-soul-destroying-how-people-on-a-housing-wait-list-of-175-000-describe-their-years-of-waiting-210705 (accessed 12/08/2023).

Pawson, H. 2023 'Labor offers new help for renters and first homebuyers, but PM must aim higher', Pearls and Irritations, 19/08/23, Labor offers new help for renters and first homebuyers, but PM must aim higher – *Pearls and Irritations* (johnmenadue.com) (accessed 19/08/2023).

Robertson, J. 2023 Albanese hails deal with states to 'get housing moving' chttps://thenewdaily.com.au/news/politics/2023/08/16/albanese-premiers-hail-housing-supply-boost-better-deal-for-renters/?utm_campaign=PM%, The New Daily, 16/08/23, (accessed 17/08/2023).

Speers, D. 2023 'From public holidays to rental freeze and housing supply, National Cabinet showed there are limits to Anthony Albanese's power', *ABC* 17/08/23 https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-08-17/national-cabinet-albanese-rent-freeze-housing-supply/102737420 (accessed 18/08/2023).

Author
Bronwyn Stevens is Coordinating Editor of *Social Alternatives*.
She has published on Australian politics and public policy.

Australians were shocked as tents began to appear on public land in the suburbs and in regional Australia. Tents ranging from basic to elaborate reflect the varying circumstances of the homeless from those who can't afford a property to those who can't find one.

A gift from SIEV X

My dad always told me that I'm the man of the house in his absence,
Even though I'm the youngest in our family, after seven girls.

Why was my dad always away for months? I didn't know.
When I asked my mum,
she told me he was travelling on a business trip.
But every night, just as my dad taught me.
I asked my God to grant him sustenance in abundance
to come back safely with many gifts for all of us.

Whenever daddy came back with a face full of scratches and bleeding wounds
like someone who had lost a boxing match,
his nails were long and dirty, and some were loose; a comb could not get through his hair
I saw a kingdom of lice roaming over it and traces of whips on his back.
Why did he always forget the gifts my mother promised me?

He carried me on his shoulders, and he told me,
"Next time, I will bring you a little something with wheels
to ride on your first day at school."

That night I didn't sleep until dawn, thinking, what colour would my bike be?
Silver, red, blue, gold, or a fancy mosaic?
I'd let my mum and my sisters ride it,
but I'd never, never, ever, ever, let that monster, our neighbour's child,
who, whenever he saw me, snarled like a rabid dog and tried to scratch my face
or snatched a piece of candy from my hand and ran away;
I wouldn't let him even look at my bike.

One day, after midnight, I woke up to whispering voices around me.
My mum told me not to say a word as she carried me over her shoulder
and rocked me until I fell asleep again.

I thought I was still dreaming when I saw an ocean wave for the first time
approaching me and walking away as if she was afraid of my feet
or did not want to play with me.

We boarded a wooden boat; I saw many children with their parents,
we became a playful gang, waving at the birds and an old, deserted lighthouse
as there was no one there to say goodbye to us.

The boat sauntered for days with nothing but waves, and the sun was very bright.
At night, the sky seemed close, like the one I knew before,
but this one was as vast as a blazing blue tent embroidered with pearls.
The boat looked like my origami toy in these raging waves for days.

Suddenly, high winds blew on that worn-out boat,
turned it upside down like a leaf
the screams were like a howling forest in the middle of nowhere.
I saw my father praying to his God to save his family
and not to die in vain like someone throwing stones into the ocean's depths.

I shouted out:
"Oh, God, if we don't drown
I'll give you my bike
The one that my dad will buy me after we arrive in Australia."

<div align="center">

AFEIF ISMAIL

</div>

Commended entry from the 2022 Seeking Asylum Poetry prize

Local Community Climate Activism, Television and Social Change

ELKE WEISSMANN AND BELINDA TYRRELL

Communities are often more willing to take direct action to tackle climate change than politicians are (Buky 2020). If the shift to sustainable futures is to happen, local communities need to be empowered and supported to do more. In this article, we examine how this can happen on the basis of research conducted in Liverpool, UK. We show that collaboration between community groups and reporting by local media can be fundamental in enabling the groups to continue their work. Collaboration facilitates the sharing of scarce resources provided for climate change, while the local media can inform local residents not just about what community groups are doing, but also provide the validation for the work that local residents are doing, thus motivating them to keep up their work for the environment.

KEY WORDS: Climate change, local communities, local media, climate action, television

Introduction

A recent special issue of *Social Alternatives* on 'Global Emergency' (2020) examined 'Forty Years of Failed Australian Climate Policy'. It emphasised the need for climate action in the face of rising emissions and warming temperatures which several contributors (Buky 2020; Hil 2020) named as having the potential to lead to the extinction of the human species. In addition, several contributors indicated the lack of meaningful action, particularly by successive Australian governments but also other policy makers and citizens (Lowe 2020; Stevens 2020; English and Baldwin 2020). Anthony Giddens (2009:2) described this in his self-named paradox:

> since the dangers of global warming aren't tangible, immediate or visible in the course of day-to-day life, […] many will sit on their hands and do nothing of a concrete nature about them. Yet waiting until they become visible and acute before being stirred to serious action will, by definition, be too late.

Gidden's description of the paradox seems to describe an unwilling populace, a point emphasised by his opening remarks on 'why does anyone […] continue to drive an SUV?' (2009:1) which draws attention to everyday individual behaviour and therefore frames the need for action against climate change through a neoliberal lens. What the contributions in the special issue of *Social Alternatives* in contrast make evident, is that the populace is often more willing to take action against climate change than politicians. In the words of Michael Buky (2020:14): 'With the uptake of renewable

energy led by households, the Federal Government has done little to promote it.' It seems, as time is running out to address climate change, a different approach than looking for leadership from policy makers is required.

This article will examine if local community climate action, when it is given a platform through local television (and other media), can be an arbiter of change. It will draw on evidence collated in Liverpool, UK, where the researchers worked with a small community interest company, Love Wavertree. It will discuss changing attitudes in the community in relation to climate action as a result of a number of television programs made about local community climate action. A key focus in that regard will be affective changes evident in citizen responses as well as a shift towards an approach of collaboration as a result of increasing awareness of different community groups. Thus, we will in many ways continue the work of Kathryn English and Claudia Baldwin (2020) who examined how 'Emotions Influence Community Advocacy'. We will begin by laying out some of the research conducted on how to motivate the public to act against climate change before discussing the specific case study of Liverpool: first, local government responses to climate change and citizens' perceptions of these responses, second, local community activism, and finally the role of television in enabling a more positive outlook.

How to Inspire Climate Action? A Key Question for Climate Research

Much scientific research on climate change draws a stark picture of the potential future if climate change isn't

addressed (Lovejoy et al. 2019; Orr 2016). As a result, a whole area of research has emerged that ponders how people can be encouraged to be more proactive in working against climate change or at least reduce their own contribution to it. The media are seen as instrumental in communicating the effects of and motivate people to take action against climate change (Braasch 2013; English and Baldwin 2020). Other researchers, such as Sissel Furuseth et al. (2020), point to the helpfulness of having a more holistic approach to culture, as is the case in Norway, where film and television are considered amongst other cultural outputs such as literature and where industry bodies have emerged to guide creatives, to support a behavioural shift towards greater sustainability.

As Furuseth et al. also describe, much of the narratives in Norwegian film, television and literature are dominated by a sense of doom and gloom, connecting stories of climate change with a sense of dread. This is quite typical for media representations which tend to 'portray climate change as causing widespread and potentially catastrophic impacts' (English and Baldwin 2020). As several researchers have found, however, such representation can lead to climate denial (Norgaard 2011) and apathy and helplessness (O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole, 2003). Indeed, English and Baldwin suggest that 'negative emotions such as fear may be counter-productive if the goal is to motivate the public to address climate change' (2009:32).

English and Baldwin set against it the positive emotions they found were generated in the community work of board members of the Noosa Biosphere Reserve in Queensland, Australia. They argue that community engagement could become key in motivating wider climate action. Similarly, Frederico Martellozzo et al. (2019) point to the role of community-led initiatives to a) support the transition to net zero and b) engage a wider populace in the transition to more sustainable lifestyles. These findings are backed up by other research, including Enrique Del Acebo Ibáñez and Mariano Costa (2019) who show that young inhabitants in Buenos Aires and San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, are more willing to alter their behaviour if they feel a sense of rootedness in the local community. Contact with others, a sense of belonging and a shared sense of purpose thus seem important in motivating people to act. As Jale Tosun and Jonas Schoenefeld (2017) indicate, it may indeed be the wish for collective action that motivates people to become engaged in such citizen initiatives which, in a networked governance that combines transnational organisations, national governments and local civic societies as well as corporations and businesses, will be important to deliver on reducing carbon emissions (see also Bond 2009).

Many of the researchers on community initiatives emphasise the importance of locality in their discussions.

Drawing on existing research, Meghan Bond (2009: 215), for example argues that:

> Many drivers of adaptation, such as geographical, political and social conditions differ from place to place and even within place. Therefore, commentators point to cities, local authorities and communities as being key players in facilitating and/or coordinating climate action, and creating innovative locally suited responses.

A place-sensitive approach is therefore important not just to mitigate climate change but also to engage citizens on the basis of what is needed locally. Importantly, such a focus on the local is also useful in media representations of climate change: we have seen a significant shift, in the last few years, in television narratives on specific locales such as the Ceredigion region in Wales in *Hinterland/Y Gwyll* (S4C, BBC, 2013-2016, see Noonan and McElroy 2019) as well as an increased international circulation of narratives from across the world which has led American scholar Timothy Havens (2018) to argue that high-end television drama is now marked by 'conspicuous localism'. Such a focus on the specifically local also goes along with ideas of the small-scale which Gary Braasch (2013) suggests as a solution to the problem of inspiring climate action through imagery. As he writes:

> More pictures are needed of specific solutions and adaptations that will shape the world of tomorrow. The future is here. […] images of a neighbourhood of homes with local wind generation, solar panels, electric cars, gardens, and attractive public transit may encourage people to work toward positive goals (2013:38).

To examine this further, we now move on to discuss research conducted in the city of Liverpool, UK. In Liverpool's suburb of Wavertree, the researchers first distributed questionnaires amongst a local community before interviewing some participants in more depth. Our main goal at this stage was to glean what participants already knew about climate change and where they had gained that knowledge. The questionnaires were also used as a recruitment tool for a series of four climate assemblies that were organised around the key themes of housing, transport, food and business. These assemblies were filmed and transformed into a series of four half-hour television programs. In addition, we filmed four 10-minute programs about local community groups. These were then screened locally in a venue as well as being distributed online via YouTube. Finally, the screening was followed by another questionnaire which gave us an understanding of how the programs were understood and what role such programs may play in motivating people to take

climate action. As we discuss the project, we will first lay out existing climate policy in Liverpool and how our participants perceived it.

Climate Emergency: Declaration, Action and Perception

In 2019, as English and Baldwin (2020:26) highlight, a climate emergency was declared by a number of countries and local governments across the world 'making the commitment to take action to address the causes and impacts of climate change'. Amongst the declarants was the Liverpool City Region Combined Authority (LCR) as well as all of its six councils (St Helen's, Knowsley, Halton, Sefton, Wirral and Liverpool City Council (LCC)). The LCR, which is home to approximately 1.6 million inhabitants, faces a number of challenges, including significant levels of deprivation, including 62,000 children living in poverty while 'the 2019 Index for Multiple Deprivation scores for Knowsley and Liverpool are second and third in the North West of England' (Public Health Institute 2021). In addition, Liverpool City Council has seen significant budget cuts as a result of the Conservative Government's austerity measures. Other challenges that the area faces are environmental: some predictions point to the likeliness of several communities being submerged or at risk of regular flooding by 2050 unless emissions are curbed (Climate Central 2021) requiring potential measures such as the development of flood defences and/or coordination of rehousing.

The declaration of the climate emergency has led to concrete policy documents and pledges to become net zero by 2040 (LCR) and 2030 (LCC) respectively. The long-term strategy *Pathway to Net Zero* by the LCR was published in 2019 and sets out the strategic vision of achieving this goal across the thematic areas of housing, transport work and neighbourhoods. This includes the development of green skills and training, reducing consumption, particularly of energy, increasing the use of public transport, cycling and walking, encouraging people to change behaviour and ensuring that this transition is fair, thus recognising the significant disparity in resources available to different segments of the region's population. In the same year, Liverpool City Council declared it wanted to become the first net zero city in 2030 (LCC 2022). The strategic plan that aims to deliver on this goal emphasises emissions in relation to buildings and heat, power supply, transport and waste. Concurrently, the plan also recognises the challenges posed by the impacts of climate change. The *City Plan* (LCC 2022) makes evident the wish to work across community, voluntary, public and private sectors to deliver on health, education, neighbourhoods, economy, culture and climate.

While both of these plans are ambitious and suggest that Liverpool City and Region are at the forefront of combating climate change, these perceptions have not filtered through to local residents. Several respondents to our initial survey only named the planting of wildflower meadows as a strategy adopted by Liverpool City Council. Such a wildflower meadow had noticeably transformed the local park, called 'The Mystery' in local vernacular, which had hitherto largely consisted of big stretches of lawn to facilitate sports play. Another respondent (62), who only ticked 'have declared a climate emergency' wrote in a text box: 'I am sure the council [sic] will claim it has done some of the above but the effects will be minimal and the actions are not wide reaching enough. Traffic, consumption and the way money moves are clear signs that the above is fiddling while Rome burns.' Similar sentiments were expressed by other respondents and the interviewees.

The interviews also revealed a more troubling perception, namely that Liverpool City Council is not just not doing enough, but is perceived to be actively unhelpful. This became evident in Ihmad's (pseudonym) interview. He describes his involvement in different community groups in Liverpool in the following terms:

> So I got the locals, you know, "Come on, let's do something, let's do something". And then worked very hard getting – it's very, very hard, you know, when you go to Liverpool City Council, you go to other organisations. They say, "What are you talking about?" I said "Well we have to get this garden going". [But none of them offered help]. So I got the local school children involved, they came planting daffodils.

As in the case of Australia (Buky 2020), Ihmad here describes an active populace who is transforming their local communities through gardening projects. In contrast, local government, here the LCC, is perceived to be unhelpful to the point that innovative ways of problem solving (by involving local school children) are required to push the project forward. When asked about why he believes the local council to be unhelpful, he pointed to the fact that the environment didn't appear as a priority – rather it was employment. This points to a potential problem for climate communication, one that we want to come back to later, namely that environmental issues continue to be communicated as one-item topics when they are actually deeply enmeshed with other issues such as health, employment, economy, social justice and education. What we want to suggest instead is that any communication about the environment should emphasise other benefits including to employment, health etc.

Another interviewee, Sean (pseudonym), similarly expressed a frustration with the local council. Sean could be understood to be an 'exclusive informant' (Bruun 2016)

as like the industry workers Hanne Bruun interviewed for her study of Danish television, Sean had worked for Liverpool City Council in the recent past. Comparing his experience there with that of working at another council, he felt the attitude across the city was one of competition – competing in particular for scarce funding resources. In contrast, he argued, other councils were more collaborative, finding ways of sharing these scarce resources and indeed banding together to make the resources stretch further. While this is based on subjective experience and cannot be corroborated, it is important to point out that the existing structures and systems at LCC have been more widely criticised. Liverpool City Council struggles with its existing systems that have been perceived not just as inefficient but as wasteful and at points corrupt, leading to significant oversight by the national administration (Badshah, 2022).

Overall then, it is clear that although Liverpool City Council and City Region have put in place the policy framework to work towards a more sustainable future, local citizens do not yet have a sense that this policy framework has any consequences on their lived experiences. And as informants as Sean make visible, in part the actions by local government cannot be delivered because the local systems in place operate against them. In order to counteract these systemic problems, therefore, alternative ways of tackling local issues are required. For the time being, it seems, in Liverpool, these are delivered by local community groups.

Local Community-led Climate Action

Like many other cities and regions, Liverpool City Region is home to a number of subgroups of national and international activist groups such as Friends of the Earth and Extinction Rebellion. In addition, there are a number of other groups focused on tracking and supporting action against climate change, including the National Biobank, Friends of Parks Groups and Scouseflowers, a wildflower project originating from the National Wildflower Centre in Court Hey Park that closed in 2017. However, beyond these relatively big and established groups and organisations exist a number of micro-local groups who often operate without funding and on a purely voluntary basis. It is to the four projects that were filmed as part of the television program series *Love Wavertree Community Climate Action* (2022) that we now want to turn. Due to issues of space, we want to focus on one group in particular, while quickly mentioning the others: they are, first, Wavertree Garden Suburb in Bloom, a group dedicated to look after local green spaces, plant them up to increase biodiversity and combat climate change through carbon capture; second, LitterClear, a litter picking group which takes on local community spaces, cleans them from litter as well as refurbishing furniture such as

benches, bins and signage and third, Aigburth Community Cycle Club which organises guided cycle rides across Liverpool in order to encourage more people to take up active travel.

The fourth group is Love Wavertree itself. A Community Interest Company (CIC) it was set up in 2019 after a series of reports in the local and national press that suggested the area of Wavertree and in particular its historic high street had fallen into decline. Instead, local residents wanted to draw attention to the assets that existed, which included a strong sense of community. In 2020, Love Wavertree launched its shop, which is home to the food club at the centre of focus of the program. As we will show, Love Wavertree, in line with the other community groups combine a variety of interests including community work and the fight for social justice with action on climate change.

The food club reuses out-of-date food from local supermarkets which is collected by the charity FareShare who distributes the food waste from local shops to different charities across the UK, including across Merseyside. Love Wavertree substitutes this food which is largely dry food with fresh food that it buys with money raised from the charity shop. Members of the food club can come to collect ten items (worth approximately thirteen pounds) for three pound fifty. Thus, the food club also makes available cheap food at a time of a cost-of-living crisis. At the time of writing (February 2023), approximately 300 members were signed up, most of whom struggle to feed themselves or their families. This was perceived as 'helping you out' as one contributor to the film put it. In addition, the food club becomes an opportunity to gather for the community and where further help (for example in relation to housing) can be organised, as the director of Love Wavertree, Will Chambers, made clear.

What the food club makes visible is that climate change is deeply connected to other issues: here to food poverty and community. Food waste contributes significantly to climate change through the emission of different greenhouse gasses including methane and carbon. In 2013, a global report by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (2013:6) estimated that if food waste were a country, it would be the third largest emitter of carbon dioxide. By reducing the food waste from local shops and redistributing it across the city, FareShare with the help of Love Wavertree contributes to the reduction of the carbon and methane footprint. This benefits the local community also financially: Wavertree, like the rest of the city of Liverpool, struggles with poverty and multiple levels of deprivation. Thus the 'extension of the life cycle' of food, as our interviewee, Will Chambers, suggested, fundamentally redresses both social and environmental problems. On top of this, the weekly food club has become

a local meeting point for the local community, providing mental and emotional support.

Overall, the four micro-local community groups all in their own unique ways supported a more sustainable way of living by encouraging and supporting local communities to take small steps to climate action: reducing food waste, gardening, reducing litter and using active travel. But each project delivered these sustainable goals in tandem with others: reducing food poverty, creating community, giving a sense of pride into the local area and community and supporting the wellbeing of the local community. Researchers such as Florence Margai (2012: 4) point to the fact that 'the poor and underrepresented groups are too often the ones to bear the brunt of environmental hazards, the most likely to develop health complications from these exposures, and yet the least likely to gain access to beneficial health services that would detect and treat these problems', pointing to the fact that environmental disparities go hand in hand with those of social justice. It is, however, similarly important to stress that environmental solutions go along with other benefits, such as the reduction in health and food disparities, as well as the fostering of stronger communities. Indeed, we found that these three aspects – climate justice, community and social justice – were three deeply interconnected branches of a sustainable community which needed to be addressed and tackled at the same time to help local communities to flourish. Importantly, the community groups we introduced above provided this, thus leading the way towards more sustainable futures.

Television as Amplifier and Motivator

While the groups delivered on sustainability and other goals, it became clear that they couldn't do it by themselves: many of the founders, directors or leaders of the group expressed a sense of concern that their model of working wasn't sustainable simply because they couldn't resource it properly. This included resources in terms of material and equipment, but mostly of people. The materials could often be purchased through funds that were made available through philanthropic means: for example, Love Wavertree gained support from a local business and from a charity auction to pay for some of additional food bought for the food club, while LitterClear gained funding from a regular event focused on raising monies for local community activities to buy some of the equipment required to pick litter and restore outdoor furniture. However, the resource of people became a bigger issue, and one which feeds back to the question of how to get more people involved in climate action.

Considering these findings, it is interesting to examine how local media were perceived by our participants: no one could remember stories about climate change in the

local press or local radio. *The Guardian* and the BBC were perceived to be the key distributors of information and education about climate change. Both of these operate nationally, thus providing little space for local initiatives. The dominant local newspaper, *Liverpool Echo*, has proven itself little interested in climate stories, rejecting several that local journalists had pitched. As a result, participants saw climate stories as not connected to their specific locale. This affected what groups knew about each other: members of LitterClear, for example, had heard about Love Wavertree but didn't know how to contact them, while few had yet heard of LitterClear and the Wavertree Garden Suburb in Bloom groups. Finding out about each other was thus perceived as a key positive outcome of our project for the participants of the groups and led to greater collaboration, enabling mutual support.

Importantly, the element of information was also perceived as a positive outcome for other members of the public who were not yet involved in any of the actions. Those who filled in the post-screening questionnaire and were not yet involved in any of the groups highlighted again and again that finding out about the groups and finding out about the small things they did to tackle climate change helped them to understand what they themselves could do. All participants who filled in the post-screening questionnaire made clear that they experienced some form of positive emotion as a result of seeing the work being done. Words such as 'positive', 'inspired' and 'energy' abounded in the responses.

In line with English and Baldwin (2020) this suggests the role that local community engagement has in motivating others to become involved. But the problem of the resource of people also makes evident that community engagement alone isn't enough to motivate people to become involved in climate action: by themselves, the groups' work is too small-scale and does not attract enough people. What is required are stories and communication about the positive work these groups do in the local media to spread the word and help build momentum for these groups. Unfortunately, the existing local media, including the *Echo*, but also the local television channel Liverpool TV, did not run stories about the groups, but rather focused on established organisations, including the Council, the courts, the police and other rescue services to fill their pages and airtime. Importantly, our programs which essentially were short documentary introductions to the groups, all indicated the number of benefits that the action brought to the community, including those relating to social and community aspects such as the cost-of-living crisis, a sense of belonging and physical and mental health, thus emphasising that climate action was deeply interconnected with positive action in other areas. This overall positive emphasis spread over to viewer perception with one viewer on YouTube commenting 'Just

brilliant'. In addition to these positive emotions in viewers, participants in the programs also felt validated by being observed by cameras, thus sustaining their motivation too. Thus, local media, such as television, play a crucial part in supporting the efforts of the local community to tackle climate change.

Conclusions

Our project, focused on the case study of Liverpool, examined the role of local communities in creating sustainable futures and tackling climate change. It showed that local community engagement in Liverpool is clearly central in tackling climate change and seems at the moment, in line with previous findings (Buky 2020; English and Baldwin 2020), more effective than other sectors within the networked governance Tosun and Schoenefeld (2017) describe. However, for these civic societies and community groups to motivate more people they need the support of local media to spread information with positive stories that can inspire others. Thus, it is precisely the small-scale, positive changes that Braasch (2013) argued media needed to show, that media stories about local community efforts can create. Importantly, by telling more stories about the positive example such community groups set, local media may well inspire more local politicians to take their pledges to tackle climate change seriously and deliver tangible policy which our participants currently found wanting.

References

Badshah, N. 2022 'Government to take greater control of Liverpool city council. *The Guardian*, 19 August. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/aug/19/government-control-liverpool-city-council-report (accessed 11/01/23)

Bond, M. 2010 'Localizing climate change: stepping up local climate action'. *Management of Environmental Quality 21, 2: 214–25.*

Braasch, G. 2013 'Climate change: is seeing believing?' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 69, 6: 33–41.

Brunn, H. 2016 'The Qualitative Interview in Media Production Research'. In C. Paterson, D. Lee, A. Saha and A. Zoellner (eds) *Advancing Media Production Research. Shifting Sites, Methods and Politics.* pp. 131-146. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Buky, M. 2020 'Degrees of climate crisis'. *Social Alternatives* 39, 2: 10–18.

Climate Central. 2020 *Coastal Risk Screening Tool. Comparison: Long-term Sea-level Outcomes.* https://coastal.climatecentral.org/map/12/-6.2452/53.3362/?theme=warming&map_type=multicentury_slr_comparison&basemap=roadmap&elevation_model=best_available&lockin_model=levermann_2013&refresh=true&temperature_unit=C&warming_comparison=%5B%221.5%22%2C%223.0%22%5D (accessed 11/01/23).

del Acebo Ibáñez, E. and Costa, M. 2010 'Antarctic environmental problems: attitudes and behaviours of young inhabitants of two Argentine cities (Buenos Aires and San Carlos De Bariloche)'. *Polar Record* 46, 3: 257–63.

English, K. and Baldwin, C. 2020 'How climate change knowledge and emotions influence community

advocacy.' *Social Alternatives* 39, 2: 26–34.

Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. 2013 *The State of Food and Agriculture*. Report. Rome. https://www.fao.org/3/i3300e/i3300e.pdf (accessed 11/01/23).

Furuseth, S., Gjelsvik, A., Gürata, A., Hennig, R., Leyda, J. and Ritson, K. 2020 'Climate change in literature, television and film from Norway'. *Ecozonia*, 11, 2. https://ecozona.eu/article/view/3468 (accessed 11/01/23).

Giddens A. 2009 *The Politics of Climate Change*. Polity Press, Cambridge, Malden.

Havens, T. 2018 'Transnational television dramas and the aesthetics of conspicuous localism', in *Flow: A Critical Forum on Media and Culture.* https://www.flowjournal.org/2018/04/transnational-television-dramas/ (accessed 17/11/22).

Hil, R. 2020 'Rethinking us: civil society, civility, climate change and the great unravelling.' *Social Alternatives* 39, 2: 35–38.

Hinterland/Y Gwyll. 2013-2016. S4C, *BBC*. Fiction Factory.

Liverpool City Council (2022) *City Plan Liverpool*. Available at: https://cityplanliverpool.co.uk/ (accessed 17/08/22).

Liverpool City Region Combined Authority (2019) *Pathway to Net Zero.* https://www.liverpoolcityregion-ca.gov.uk/what-we-do/energy-environment/pathway-to-net-zero/ (accessed 17/08/22).

Love Wavertree Community Climate Action. 2022 Edge Hill University. Available at: https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLBrk-wPNLaVmNDWCCGE5fB5gvMxKQ8n4x&feature=shares (accessed 11/01/23).

Lovejoy, T.E., Hannah, L. J. and Wilson, E. O. (eds) 2019 *Biodiversity and Climate Change: Transforming the Biosphere*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Lowe, I. 2020 'Reflections on forty years of failed Australian climate policy.' *Social Alternatives* 39, 2: 3–4.

Margai, F. 2012 Environmental Health Hazards and Social Justice: Geographical Perspectives on Race and Class Disparities. Taylor and Francis, Hoboken.

Martellozzo, F., Landholm, D.M. and Holsten, A. 2019 'Upscaling from the grassroots: potential aggregate carbon reduction from community-based initiatives in Europe'. *Regional Environmental Change* 19, 4: 953–66.

McElroy, R. and Noonan, C. 2019 *Producing British Television Drama: Local production in a global era.* Palgrave Macmillan (Palgrave pivot), London.

Norgaard, K. M. 2011 *Living in Denial: Climate Change, Emotions, and Everyday Life*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Ofcom. 2022. *Online Nation Report*. Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0023/238361/online-nation-2022-report.pdf (accessed 11/01/23).

O'Neill, S. and Nicholson-Cole, S. 2009 '"Fear won't do it': promoting positive engagement with climate change through visual and iconic representations". *Science Communication* 30, 3: 355–79.

Orr, D.W. 2016 Dangerous Years: *Climate Change, the Long Emergency, and the Way Forward.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Public Health Institute 2021 *Vulnerable Individuals and Groups Profile*. Liverpool City Region. Liverpool: John Moores University. Available at: https://www.ljmu.ac.uk/-/media/phi-reports/pdf/2021-03-vulnerable-groups-profile-liverpool-city-region.pdf (accessed 11/01/23).

Social Alternatives. 2020 'Global Emergency', *Social Alternatives*. 39, 2.

Stevens, B. 2020 'Climate emergency, Covid-19:

introduction to "Global Emergency"'. *Social Alternatives* 39, 2: 5–9.

Tosun, J. and Schoenefeld, J.J. 2017 'Collective climate action and networked climate governance.' *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 8, 1: 1-17.

Authors

Elke Weissmann is a Reader in Film and Television at Edge Hill University. She has published widely on television, particular on Transnational Television Drama (2012). She is also editor of Critical Studies in Television and head of Edge Hill University's Television Studies Research Group.

Belinda Tyrrell is a research associate at the University of Liverpool's Heseltine Institute. A former Policy and Programs Officer at Liverpool City Council, Belinda worked on the performance monitoring of externally funded programs including Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, Housing Market Renewal Initiative and was part of the Project Liverpool Team which mapped and tracked the value of Area Based Initiatives within the City of Liverpool.

Yogi, the Supersonic Bear

21st March 1962

The musk of bear sweat overpowered even the jet fuel's

waft that swamped your nose's delicate gauge. The pall

of wintering in a cave's stomach; all those pent-up gases

which ancient tunnels vented in their sandstone wisdom

were present cruising at 30,000 feet. Who would choose

a bear to eject? Your eyes' altimeter rolled back into your

head; drugged up, your tongue pushed to the side of your

great jaws, a slavering mess as after a raid. You went as a

cork from a champagne bottle, the boulder-sized capsule

nested you in the winter of your hibernation. For seven

minutes you floated down, a bear god; one of the first

living creatures to descend from paradise. The landing

didn't kill you, only science's rush as doctors opened

your furry stomach – like bomb-bay doors over a city.

B. R. Dionysius

Modern Muses

"… the truest poetry is the most feigning…" As You Like It. 3.3.20-21

Cherie flicks away, and puffs away
a wisp of her wind-tangled hair
— fan-driven wind, but never mind,
it expresses and presses her lips,
her cheeks to kiss the air.
Her sleek eyes half-closed
she's pretty and unique.

Monique struts down
the catwalk, so chic,
putting one foot exactly
where the other just was:
no-one in their right mind
would walk like this
but it makes her hips swivel
and her half-naked
breasts fetchily bobble.
She's so pretty and unique.

Smooth, "super curvy" Sophie
wears an oblique bikini
that's hardly there,
her bum no longer covered
but fully on display.
She influences Hic Hoc, Dickery Dock
and has more followers than Jesus:
who once were poster pin-ups
now sweetly move on YouTube.

Clear skinned Marisa, a "legend"
— never mind the names,
they're all as reliable as spies —
eyes you sneakily
over her dazzling bare shoulder,
powdered, long eye-lashed,
daring you, and unique.

As temporary as youth,
all their skills are visible;
they have perhaps a decade
to captivate men's eyes
and some women's too. Yet
you, and everyone knows
that off camera they'll all
get off their tuffets,

dress down and go back
into their shopping,
burping and sleeping lives.
It's all make-believe. And it works:
our gene-driven stupidity
being as hard-wired as desire.

Dennis Haskell

The Labor-Greens Climate Wars in Australia: How it all began and why it must end

VERITY BURGMANN

Market-based climate mitigation policies—emissions trading and carbon pricing—disproportionately harm working-class and poor people (fossil-fuel workers denied Just Transition and households struggling to pay passed-through decarbonisation costs). Such policies undermine support for mitigation. A social-democratic climate policy would utilise state action for the common good: mandating an orderly phasing out of fossil fuels with transition plans for the workers affected. Since 1992 trade unions have urged such an approach. Instead, the Australian Labor Party government of Kevin Rudd attempted a neoliberal emissions trading scheme so badly designed it would have prevented emissions reductions and handed billions of dollars to fossil-fuel interests. The Labor government ignored objections raised by the Australian Greens, because it believed Greens would not affect the outcome given the numbers in the Senate. It negotiated instead with the Liberal Party, which extracted changes that further alienated the Greens; then Liberals defeated the weakened legislation anyway. However, two Liberal Senators crossed the floor to support the scheme, so Labor could have passed the legislation with the Greens' support it had spurned. Labor persistently portrays the Greens' opposition as the reason the CPRS failed, never the double dealing of the Liberal Party nor its own mishandling of negotiations. Blaming the Greens distracts attention from the fact that its neoliberal climate policy was unfair and ineffectual, and that the social-democratic mitigation policies advocated by unions and the Greens would be more efficient, more effective and much fairer.

KEY WORDS: Climate mitigation; emissions trading; carbon pricing; Australian Labor Party; Australian Greens

Introduction

The deal brokered on 27 March 2023 between the Labor government and the Greens was hailed as 'the first concrete steps on climate in a decade'. The Greens could not persuade the government to heed the science and rule out new coal and gas projects but did secure a ceiling on overall emissions of the biggest 215 emitters of 140 million tonnes a year (which will limit leeway to approve new coal and gas projects), a cap on the amount of pollution corporations can write off with offsets, and the subjecting of any new coal and gas projects to rigorous tests that account for emissions from the outset (Robertson 2023).

The Greens negotiated these improvements against a backdrop of negative Labor Party commentary about their role in opposing the Rudd government's Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme (CPRS). Will the Greens behave better this time was the question posed by government ministers, echoing the regular refrains of Labor MPs and supporters down the years. For example, on the tenth anniversary of the defeat of the CPRS, Labor claimed that emissions would be 200m tonnes lower if the Greens had supported the CPRS (Martin 2019).

Yet the Rudd Labor government did not pursue Greens' backing for the CPRS because it believed Greens' support alone would be insufficient to pass the legislation in the Senate. So it ignored Greens' criticisms and negotiated instead with the Liberal Party, making the CPRS worse and worse with every concession it made to try to secure Liberal support. As events played out—described below— the Labor government did, unexpectedly, require the Greens' support it had spurned. Despite the manifest treachery of the Liberal Party, and its own mishandling of negotiations with other parties, Labor habitually portrays the Greens as the chief villain, so never interrogates its attempt to create a market in rights to pollute. In the current context this traditional blame game has distracted attention from the inadequacy of the Safeguard Mechanism and Labor's 43 per cent emissions reduction target by implying the greatest danger was not fossil fuels but Greens behaving badly again.

The regularity with which Labor politicians and party activists vilify the Greens for opposing the CPRS—and its renewed energy recently—calls for calm consideration of how and why emissions trading schemes are inefficient,

ineffective and unfair, and the CPRS especially so. This article also seeks to explain why Labor opted for an inherently problematic policy; why the Greens wanted to improve it or, failing that, oppose it; and why Labor's policy choice undermined support for climate mitigation, providing fossil fuel interests and the Coalition with the political ammunition to undo the Gillard government's carbon tax and wedge the Labor Party on climate policies at the 2019 election.

The trouble with emissions trading

Emissions trading schemes are grounded in neoclassical/ neoliberal economic theory (Stilwell 2011: 110). By 2007 neoliberal thinking had become so firmly embedded in the corridors of power it had changed the thinking of Labor politicians and advisers (Scott 2000; Conley 2001; Burgmann 2004). Their default mindset had arguably shifted from social-democratic inclinations focused on state action and social justice to greater trust in market 'solutions', such as carbon trading (Rosewarne 2010/2011).

Had the climate crisis occurred under the Chifley government of the late 1940s or the Whitlam government of the early 1970s, it is easy to imagine that these Labor governments would have used state power to mitigate this public, planetary harm. In the early nineteenth century, governments abolished slavery by legislating against it, not erecting a slave trading reduction scheme. More recently, because chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) deplete the ozone layer, the Montreal Protocol of 1989 phased out their manufacture. A CFC trading scheme would have been an absurdly ineffectual way to deal with the problem. Thanks to governments simply outlawing CFC production, the hole in the ozone layer is recovering. By contrast, an emissions trading scheme, even though it limits the number of permits to be issued, is hazardous because it marketises the environment, creating individually saleable rights to violate our collective interest (Stilwell 2011: 114).

When Labor won 'the world's first climate change election' on 24 November 2007 (Glover 2007), Kevin Rudd had promised to meet 'the great moral challenge of our generation' with decisive action to reduce emissions (Age 31 March 2007; Rudd 2007). Political scientists largely agree that climate change was the most decisive issue of the campaign, with global warming foremost among the concerns of voters who swung the election for Labor (Brohe et al. 2009: 199; Jackman 2008: 107-108; Bean and McAllister 2008; Watson and Browne 2008: 6). Opinion polls at the time also indicated most people wanted more effective action than the proposed emissions trading scheme (ETS) (Climate Institute 2007). So why did the Rudd government misspend its massive mandate to mitigate climate change on an inefficient, ineffective and unfair scheme?

Emissions trading schemes are popular with policy makers prone to market-oriented 'solutions' to problems, including those caused by the operation of markets. In the case of emission trading schemes, a well-placed group of 'experts' whose material interests are served by their creation, lobby politicians, public servants and the public on behalf of such schemes—for example accounting and law firms who benefit from legislation that creates a trade in emissions permits.

Agnes Koh describes this 'carbon-trading lobby' as 'those who see a buck to be made in the price on carbon'. Amongst interviews with key players, she cites then Shadow Minister for Climate Change Greg Hunt saying of emissions trading: 'You've got the banking, trading and services sector. They're like, "Gosh we really want this, because we can make an awful lot of money trading permits"'. Former Howard government adviser (but mitigation advocate) Guy Pearse told Koh that the carbon trading conferences then happening around the country were funded by the carbon-trading lobby 'who are looking to make a dollar out of the carbon trade' (Koh 2010: 44).

Economists concerned about climate change—but entranced by market-based 'solutions'—are an important part of the carbon-trading lobby, providing ideological nourishment to those with a pecuniary interest in such legislation (for example, Academy of the Social Sciences 2020). The carbon-trading lobby presents emissions trading as straightforward—'efficient, effective and fair', according to the Academy of the Social Sciences. Yet emissions trading schemes have 'a complex institutional architecture to oversee trading, entailing substantial costs' (Rosewarne 2010/2011: 46-7). They have little impact on emissions but undoubtedly enrich the carbon-trading lobby: the accounting, law and other firms employed to deal with their complexities (Burgmann and Baer 2012: 117-124). There is evidence, too, from the European Union that the opportunity to gain windfall profits from its emissions trading scheme attracted heavy lobbying activity on behalf of such schemes by the emitting industries themselves (Laing et al. 2014: 515)—the carbon lobby weighing in on behalf of the carbon-trading lobby.

The extent to which the Labor Party, like most parties, has been prey to the carbon lobby is well documented (Wilkinson 2020); less well understood is its capture by the carbon-trading lobby, facilitated by the decline of its social-democratic imagination under the remorseless impact of neoliberalism. This is the back story to its ill-fated faith in emissions trading as a mechanism to mitigate climate change, the reason why it wasted precious political capital on a market-based 'solution'.

Emissions trading schemes have not been sufficiently successful in reducing emissions to justify the huge

problems they otherwise cause for climate mitigation initiatives. An exhaustive academic evaluation in 2014 of the European Union's emissions trading scheme (ETS), introduced in 2005, found that disentangling its impact from other factors was complex, but concluded that attributable emission savings were only 2–4 per cent of total capped emissions. The EU ETS had affected investment decisions in very limited ways, insufficient to drive the large long-term investment decisions 'that decarbonisation ultimately requires' and 'more targeted supports—notably the renewable energy policies—may be more directly impactful' (Laing et al. 2014: 516). There was 'an overwhelming general consensus' in the studies evaluated that 'the scale of impact so far is limited to a fraction of what is necessary to deliver the types of long-term capital projects needed to meet the long-term targets that the EU has set out' (Laing et al. 2014: 512).

A 2015 survey of 142 countries was even more critical: it found that countries without carbon trading markets have increased emissions by around 1 per cent per annum and countries with carbon trading markets have reduced emissions by around 1 per cent per annum, inadequate to meet IPCC targets. In any case, it concluded that these miniscule reductions have largely been the result of other policies, such as feed-in tariffs (Corporate Europe Observatory 2015). At best, the empirical evidence for any benefits suggests correlation with the existence of carbon trading markets rather than causation.

There is also concerning evidence that carbon pricing undermines better emissions-reduction policies. For example, around 2015 the UK government sought to weaken energy efficiency measures and renewable energy targets on the grounds that these could collapse the carbon price. The Corporate Europe Observatory concluded that emissions trading schemes are designed to allow polluters to delay implementing emission cuts, are riddled with loopholes and are dangerous distractions from genuine measures to cut emissions (Corporate Europe Observatory 2015).

Carbon pricing allows the cost of decarbonisation to be avoided by the corporations that profit from fossil fuels and transferred instead to consumers— and the poorer the consumer the more s/he pays in effect. Studies of the EU ETS provide 'compelling empirical evidence to support the existence of … cost pass-through, not only in electricity but also in industrial sectors'. Companies have varying degrees of ability to pass through carbon costs to consumers; and this pricing power is often high, particularly in markets where demand is inelastic (Laing et al. 2014: 514-515).

Then there is the problem of fraud and gaming to which emissions trading schemes, even if well designed, are especially vulnerable. All commodity markets contain some illegal activity, but carbon markets are particularly susceptible to fraud because of the nature of the commodity being traded. Carbon, unlike corn or oil, is not a tangible product (Corporate Europe Observatory 2015). The EU's ETS has consistently seen businesses pass on carbon 'costs' to consumers that were never incurred in the first place. A handful of large companies have gained tens of billions of Euros in un-earned, windfall profits this way (Laing et al. 2014: 513). By 2011 the top ten benefiting companies had enjoyed windfall profits four times the entire EU environment budget over the same period (Sandbag 2011).

Windfall profits, endemic in emissions trading, represent a transfer of income, with a few emissions-intensive producers making profits at the expense of consumers. Moreover, greater windfall profits tend to be accrued by installations with more carbon-intensive production (Laing et al. 2014: 515). All in all, the EU's ETS has not been cost-effective and has subsidised polluters, especially the worst polluters, at taxpayers' expense (Corporate Europe Observatory 2015).

David Peetz notes that some object to carbon pricing because of the corruption of trading markets by financiers and speculators. That, he argues, is a question of implementation, not principle (Peetz 2020). Accepting for the sake of argument that it is just a matter of devising the best possible scheme, let us assume that fraud and gaming do not occur and that companies which emit truly bear the costs of those emissions. What would happen then is that carbon pricing would have less deterrent effect on richer, better-resourced corporations more able than poorer competitors to absorb costs from paying for emissions. Larger players would drive smaller players out of the market. It would encourage monopolisation in the fossil fuels sector, arguably increasing rather than decreasing its power and influence.

So even well-designed carbon pricing advantages larger and more powerful emitters in relation to smaller and less powerful. It is hardly surprising that large corporations, such as BHP, prefer emissions trading to more effective climate policies. But their support should not be taken as proof that such mechanisms are the best way forward, as economists tend to conclude; on the contrary, their support indicates such mechanisms are the least effective way to discourage fossil fuel production and consumption fast enough to prevent catastrophe.

Emissions trading has the added bonus for coal exporters that it cannot deter emissions produced by Australian coal once it leaves Australia—and there is four times more of that than the amount consumed domestically. Carbon

pricing might have some deterrent effect on coal mining onshore but cannot deter emissions produced by that coal once it leaves Australia, a far greater contributor to global climate change than the emissions produced in the mining process. A meaningful and morally responsible emissions reduction policy should respond adequately to the enormous problem of Australia's outsourced emissions, as Jeremy Moss (2021) has urged.

Crucially, marketising carbon undermines public support for climate mitigation policies because corporations pass on costs to consumers and are perceived to be passing on costs. Carbon pricing exacerbates the secondary injustice of climate change. The *primary* injustice of climate change is that those who have contributed least to the problem of global warming will suffer most and are suffering most. The *secondary* injustice is that market-based mitigation policies predominantly harm poorer households, who pay disproportionately for emissions trading schemes and carbon taxes. They are therefore unpopular and give climate mitigation in general a bad name.

Since the 1990s the international trade union movement has developed the concept and practice of Just Transition to counteract this secondary injustice of climate change. It is well known that Just Transition is about guaranteeing that workers displaced from fossil fuel jobs are provided with equivalent incomes or alternative jobs as well paid as those lost and with the same opportunities for unionisation. But Just Transition is also about state action to phase out fossil fuels, withdrawing the massive subsidies to fossil fuel corporations, redirecting that public money to renewables, preventing fossil fuel corporations from making the public bear the cost of phasing out the dangerous fuels from which they have profited. Just Transition principles ensure that climate policies are fair and seen to be fair, and therefore secure working-class and poor people's acceptance and support, preventing fossil fuel interests pitting labour and environmental movements against each other to undermine mitigation efforts.

The ETS Debacle

Apart from being inefficient and ineffective, neoliberal climate policies, such as the Rudd government's proposed CPRS, weaken support for climate action, because they are unfair and seen to be unfair. Denialist forces are invariably quick to exploit the situation. For example, in 2008 the Murdoch press seized upon and misreported a Lowy Institute poll of 1001 people conducted between 12 and 28 July, which asked how much extra per month they were prepared to pay on their electricity bills to help fight climate change: 'The 2008 Lowy Institute Poll reveals that Australians want action on climate change, but not if it … hits them in the back pocket' (*Australian* 29 September 2008).

To make matters worse, the CPRS was seriously flawed, even by the low standards of emissions trading schemes. Its emissions reduction targets fell way short of the recommendations in the Report it had commissioned leading economist Ross Garnaut to provide; its cap was far too low and it ruled out greater reductions in the future. It gave excessive amounts of compensation to fossil fuel companies: $7.4 billion compensation in the first two years, with a further $2.25 billion designated primarily for coal-fired power stations. Companies were also granted free emissions permits: coal-fired power plants would have free permits valued at almost $4billion in the first five years of the scheme and 90 per cent of permits required by emissions-intensive activities were to be provided free (Australian Government 2008: xxiv-xxvi; Diesendorf 2009: 56). Garnaut himself had expressed a preference for a carbon tax and expressly warned against generous assistance to polluting industries that would encourage 'rent seeking behaviour rather than the pursuit of low-emissions production processes' (Garnaut 2008: 315-317). An *Age* headline on 17 December 2008 declared: 'Households pay as big polluters cash in on climate change.'

Climate scientists expressed dismay at the proposed scheme; environmental organisations vowed to campaign against it. A National Climate Action Summit in Canberra on 31 January-2 February 2009, attended by 500 people representing 150 climate action groups, unanimously opposed the CPRS legislation (Spratt 2009). Backed up by environmental organisations, Greens Senators branded the CPRS the 'Continue Polluting Regardless Scheme' and urged Labor to propose a better policy. They cited the problems already evident of emissions trading in the EU and pointed to glaring faults in the government's version of such a scheme: it gave billions in handouts to coal companies and polluters; Treasury modelling showed that under the CPRS there would be no reductions in emissions for 25 years; and any future attempt to strengthen the scheme would result in yet more billions of compensation payments to polluters. The Greens still defend their opposition to a 'bad policy that would have locked in failure to take action on climate change', which 'locked in emissions targets that failed the science', while giving 'a false impression it was actually going to do something' (Australian Greens 2022a).

Although opinion polls at the time indicated that, for the majority of Australians deeply concerned about climate change, disappointment was building at the miniscule nature of the projected emissions reductions, Labor ignored Greens' pleas to increase emissions reduction targets and decrease compensation to polluters. The Greens did not quite hold the balance of power in the Senate, so were unable to negotiate an acceptable scheme. Labor strategy deemed their support irrelevant,

a faulty assumption as it turned out. Instead, the Labor government kept weakening the CPRS further to try to secure Liberal Party backing. Changes negotiated with Liberal leader Malcolm Turnbull, who favoured such market-based climate mitigation policy, doubled compensation to coal interests, gave out even more free emissions permits, increased compensation to companies for electricity price increases while reducing compensation to households. Despite these further concessions agreed with Turnbull, the Liberal Party, along with the Nationals, defeated the legislation for the third time in the Senate on 30 November 2009. However, two Liberal Senators—Suzanne Boyce and Judith Troeth—crossed the floor to support the CPRS, unexpectedly making the Greens' opposition relevant to the outcome.

Might the Greens have gritted their teeth and supported the defective legislation, if they had known these Liberal defections would happen? Possibly, but probably not. The Greens were convinced that the CPRS was so fundamentally flawed it really was worse than no legislation at all. The Labor government had handled Greens' criticisms and concerns so dismissively in its ill-fated bid to placate the Liberals. A more likely successful scenario is that a CPRS improved along lines the Greens advocated would have passed the final hurdle in the Senate with the support of Greens and the same two defecting Liberal Senators. Labor concedes no fault with the content of its CPRS nor with its strategy to pass it. Instead, Labor mythology holds up its CPRS as wonderful and reproaches the Greens who tried to make it at least worthwhile—and blames them entirely for its defeat, as though the Liberals' double dealing had nothing to do with its downfall.

On 1 December, Turnbull was replaced, by just one vote, as Liberal Party leader by Tony Abbott, who branded the CPRS a 'great big new tax' (*Australian* 2 December 2009: 1). The Senate's third-time rejection of the Bill gave the government pretext for a double dissolution election. To try to break the impasse, in early 2010 the government at last began negotiating with the Greens, Senator Xenophon and the dissident Liberal Senators over the Greens' proposal for an interim carbon tax (*Age* 23 February 2010: 1). This had good prospects of success in both Houses and ought to have been pursued, but this new opportunity to legislate much more effectively for reduced emissions was passed up by the Labor government.

Instead, on 27 April 2010 Rudd abruptly announced the CPRS would simply be shelved and reviewed again in 2012 (Age 27 April 2010:1). His decision was at odds with the mandate received at the 2007 election and also of opinion polls. A Lowy Institute poll released the day Rudd made that announcement found that 72 per cent

agreed 'Australia should take action to reduce its carbon emissions before a global agreement is reached' (Grattan and Arup 2010). Rudd's approval rating plummeted in the fastest collapse of support for a PM in the 20-year history of Newspoll and one of the two sharpest drops in the 40 years of Neilsen polls (Hartcher 2010a). By June, two-thirds of respondents polled could not distinguish between the two major parties on climate change politics (Davis 2010). Labor had thrown away the huge advantage it had clearly had.

Primary support for the Greens, who argued still for a better and stronger scheme and wanted to support that through parliament, rose to record figures in May 2010: 13 per cent according to Nielsen and 16 per cent according to Newspoll (Hartcher 2010b). A Newspoll on 1 June 2010 found the 16 per cent Greens' primary vote still held—the highest yet recorded for the Greens (Davis 2010). Moreover, a two-year study of attitudes towards emissions trading schemes, conducted by the Centre for the Study of Choice at the University of Technology, Sydney, found in July 2010 that the majority of the 7000 randomly selected people wanted to see a more ambitious and more immediate scheme than the one abandoned by the Rudd government, regardless of whether the US and China took similar steps (Cubby 2010). Rudd's decision to retreat from the CPRS instead of presenting a better scheme (and, if necessary, accepting defeat in the Senate as a double-dissolution trigger) was at odds with the wishes of the Australian people.

Just Transition: Unions Behaving Better than Labor

The Rudd Labor government ignored its industrial wing just as much as it disregarded the Greens. Despite widespread media attempts to depict workers as hostile to climate change mitigation, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and its affiliated unions had since the early 1990s urged Labor governments to plan properly for transition to a greener future. The union movement argued for state action, not market tinkering, to achieve this, and because this was the fairest way forward for workers and poorer people.

In 1992 in *The Greenhouse Effect: Employment and Development Issues for Australians*, the ACTU had identified green employment as a key issue and called for immediate measures to reduce emissions. Had the Labor governments of the 1990s followed its policy suggestions, Australia would have become the global leader in emissions reduction and the cost of transition to a low carbon economy greatly reduced. The ACTU argued price measures would have an adverse effect on low-income earners and that regulatory and planning measures would be more efficient and effective (ACTU 1992). In 2008 the ACTU and Australian Conservation

Foundation (ACF) jointly published *Green Gold Rush. How An Ambitious Environmental Policy Can Make Australia a World Leader in the Global Race for Green Jobs*: strong action on climate and industry policy could create 500,000 additional green jobs by 2030 (ACTU/ ACF 2008).

The ACTU position was supported by the union most affected, the Construction, Forestry Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU), whose research officer had formulated the 1992 policy. In 2007 the CFMEU ran an advertisement in mining regions, with hard-hatted fossil fuel workers urging people to vote Labor to protect their jobs and communities: 'Choose a Government that's serious about climate change.' It called for proper plans to help coal communities face the inevitable low carbon future, declaring its members wanted to be part of the solution (Maher 2007; CFMEU 2009).

In mid-2008 the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union (AMWU) conducted a poll which showed that 93 per cent of workers in energy-intensive industry supported action on climate change 'if there is government support for new industries'. The union maintained the threat of climate change could become genuine opportunity with the right government policies and programs, such as public investment in new greener industries (AMWU 2008). At a Trade Union Climate Change Conference at Melbourne's Trades Hall on 9 October 2010, La Trobe Valley AMWU officials were scathing about the Labor government and its ETS, stating that markets were the problem not the solution to climate change: 'our members have had enough of market forces'. They argued for direct government intervention and regulation, with Just Transition strategies in place, because the costs of transition to renewables should not fall exclusively on workers displaced from the brown economy (Burgmann and Baer 2012: 223-225).

Ultimately, there are more jobs in an economy based on renewables rather than fossil fuels—and no jobs at all on a dead planet. Had the Rudd Labor government followed the forward-thinking advice of its affiliated unions—and adhered to the social-democratic principles upon which the Labor Party was founded—it would have responded to climate crisis with state action for the common good: banning new fossil fuel infrastructure; orderly phasing out of the remainder; withdrawing the billions of dollars of annual subsidies to fossil fuels and redirecting this money to renewable energy projects; providing Just Transition plans for workers losing jobs, with income guarantees or well-paid replacement jobs in renewable energy and other projects through public investment and incentives for private investment in a transition economy.

The Carbon Tax

In 2011 the ACTU published *Climate Change is Union Business*, by which stage Julia Gillard had replaced Rudd as Prime Minister. The political fallout from Rudd Labor's policy choice, and its handling, had created internal instability for Labor; given subsequent Coalition governments ammunition to oppose mitigation; and heightened Labor-Greens climate wars. Notwithstanding red-green conflict, a brief period of Labor-Greens cooperation brought about the Gillard government's carbon pricing mechanism (CPM), a carbon tax by any other name. Labor could not this time ignore the Greens, as they had under Rudd: the 2010 election had returned a minority Labor government, dependent on the support in the House of Representatives of solitary Greens MP— Adam Bandt—and progressive Independents.

The carbon tax was also a market solution, but a 'market-adjusting' rather than 'market-creating' one. Though simpler and more direct than the ETS, the CPM was nonetheless complex (more money for the carbon-trading lobby). Frank Stilwell argues that, although the carbon tax was still a problematic example of 'marketising the environment', building a community focus on sustainability was more likely through common acceptance of a tax on bad behaviours than through the sale of rights to behave badly (Stilwell 2011: 114). However, like an emissions trading scheme, this market-based 'solution' carried with it the immense political baggage of cost-pass-through, actual and/or perceived.

Cost-pass-through was acknowledged by the Gillard government when it tried to ensure that poorer households were compensated for the resulting higher energy prices. People were not persuaded that they would not be bearing the costs of reducing emissions, rather than the emitters. The first Morgan poll after the carbon tax showed the Coalition with 60.5 per cent Two-Party Preferred and Labor with 39.5 per cent, its worst result since 1942. While most people wanted climate change mitigation, only 37 per cent supported the tax and 58 per cent opposed it; 62 per cent thought it would have no effect on reducing emissions and 32 per cent believed it was designed to achieve upwards wealth redistribution. Morgan (2011) concluded: 'the Government's message of using the carbon tax to help prevent global warming is being drowned out by discussion about how it will impact upon household budgets.'

The ETS shambles undoubtedly contributed to wariness and weariness with carbon pricing. In this environment, the Gillard government's attempts to recompense poorer households added to the cost and complexity of the CPM but could not assuage concerns about cost-pass-through. Whether emissions trading or carbon taxation, carbon

pricing cannot garner broad public support, because it exacerbates the secondary injustice of climate change. By doing so, carbon pricing emboldens fossil fuel interests to mobilise against climate mitigation in general. Tony Abbott used the opportunity to 'pledge in blood' to undo the carbon tax. Though better than Rudd's ETS, and successful in slightly reducing emissions (Flannery 2020: 25), the CPM still encountered this political problem of cost-pass-through. So Abbott was elected to repeal it and climate deniers rejoiced.

Nine Nasty Years: 2013-2022

Labor-Greens climate wars broke out again after 2013. Preferring to disown the period of Labor-Greens cooperation, Labor activists harped upon the history of the CPRS, blaming the Greens not the Coalition for its fate. This reflex blame game discouraged any scrutiny of that policy choice and encouraged Labor to remain trapped in a false dichotomy between jobs and climate action. It could have cut through this with ambitious Just Transition plans, such as those pursued by Labor State governments. These governments have implemented Just Transition plans from above and supported Just Transition strategies emanating from below, working with communities in areas dependent on coal and coal-fired power, for example in Collie in Western Australia and in Gippsland in Victoria (Government of Western Australia 2020; Communities Leading Change 2021).

At federal level, however, Labor's reluctance to embrace ambitious Just Transition delivered the disastrous 2019 election result. Labor wedged itself on the issue of climate action: telling workers in regional Queensland seats that coal would keep on going; implying to voters elsewhere that it knew coal was bad. Labor's 2019 policy stated that it had no plans to phase out coal and it supported gas as a 'transition fuel'. It would set up an independent Just Transition Authority 'to plan and coordinate the structural adjustment response to inevitable future station closures'—but this was a reactive rather than proactive policy (Australian Labor Party 2019; Climate Council 2019: 3-9). It made it clear that it would not encourage orderly, faster phasing out. The market would decide.

The Centre for Future Work argues that sudden market-driven closures are far worse for fossil fuel workers than planned ones and that it is cruel and deceptive to tell them their jobs have a future, instead of working with them to plan for transition, which would also be hugely beneficial economically, as other parts of the world have found (Stanford 2020). Moreover, offering a clear vision for affected communities of a sustainable secure future based on new jobs, as well paid as those being replaced, brings together climate mitigation and employment issues. To do otherwise allows these issues to be counterposed, with terrible electoral consequences, as we saw in 2019.

Unsurprisingly, Labor blamed former Greens' leader Bob Brown's 'Adani Convoy' for its poor performance in regional Queensland. The Adani Convoy would not have happened if federal Labor and Queensland Labor had opposed the Adani mine and instead proposed detailed and far-reaching Just Transition plans for fossil fuel communities. The Greens 2019 policy platform did have comprehensive Just Transition policies for such areas, but these became submerged, because most press reporting of the tactically unwise Convoy predictably portrayed it as southern greenies not caring about workers' jobs.

The lengthy review of Labor's 2019 loss acknowledged that 'Labor did not effectively discuss the cost of not acting on climate change or the job opportunities a transition to a renewable energy future could bring' yet recommended that 'Labor should recognize coal mining will be an Australian industry into the foreseeable future' and again took aim at Greens. Labor's 'ambiguous language on Adani' was a problem, not in itself, but because the Adani Convoy drew attention to it: 'Brown's caravan … had the effect of highlighting Labor's ambiguous position on the Adani proposal and enabled the Coalition repeatedly to reaffirm its unequivocal support for the mine … the earlier 2010 alliance with the Greens meant Labor was vulnerable to the Coalition's claims Labor shared the Greens' position … to oppose the mine' (Emerson and Weatherill 2019: 61, 31, 35, 38, 45).

Election 2022 and Beyond

On 23 April 2021 the ACTU declared: 'Australian workers need a climate plan with ambition' and 'a national just transition plan with funding and support for workers and communities impacted both by the climate crisis and by a shift to cleaner technologies' (Australian Unions 2021). The Greens 2022 climate policy taken to the 2022 election argued for 75 per cent emissions reduction on 2005 levels by 2030: 'We don't need to choose between taking urgent climate action and supporting coal communities. We can do both.' It outlined its plan to rein in fossil fuels directly through comprehensive transition plans that would give fossil fuel workers certainty and financial security because, when mines close without a plan, only one in three workers would find another job (Australian Greens 2022b; Australian Greens 2022c).

Labor's 2022 election policy committed to 43 per cent emissions reduction but, like its 2019 policy, had no clear transition plans, continuing instead to support many new coal and gas projects. Climate Action Tracker (2022a, 2022b) considered its policy incompatible with keeping below 1.5 degrees of global warming. Ten leading scientists ranked Labor's climate policy ahead of the Coalition's but deemed it inadequate without a clear commitment to phasing out coal (Age, 14 May 2022: 8).

While the Greens insist that government should phase out fossil fuels in a systematic, coherent manner and support workers in the process, the Albanese government maintains the market must decide.

The appropriate social-democratic response to climate crisis is not faith in markets but mandating an orderly phasing out of fossil fuels with Just Transition for the workers affected. Labor repeatedly vacates this space for the Greens yet resents their existence. The carbon lobby has sabotaged climate policy in Australia; but the carbon-trading lobby's capture of the Rudd government saw it squander a crucial policy moment. It's Time for Labor to stop blaming the Greens for preventing legislation they were justified in wishing to improve. Had Labor pursued Just Transition instead of the marketing concoction of emissions trading it would have significantly reduced both emissions and red-green conflicts, made climate mitigation more popular and strengthened its traditional support base. It could have won more elections. Labor's neoliberal policy foray damaged both the planet and the party.

References

Academy of the Social Sciences 2020 *Efficient, Effective and Fair: a Discussion Paper* June. 29pages.

ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] 1992 The Greenhouse Effect: employment & development issues for Australians ACTU, Melbourne.

ACTU/ACF 2008 *Green Gold Rush* Melbourne. http://www.actu.org.au/Images/Dynamic.

Australian Government 2008 Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme: Australia's Low Pollution Future—White Paper vol.1, Australian Government, Canberra.

Australian Greens 2022a '2009: the CPRS was Bad Climate Policy' https://greens.org.au/explainers/cprs (accessed 19/04/2023).

Australian Greens 2022b *Looking After Coal Workers. Empowering Communities to Build Their Own Future* Canberra, 4 pages.

Australian Greens 2022c *Power Past Coal & Gas* https://greens.org.au/beyond-coal-gas (accessed 02/04/2023).

Australian Labor Party 2019 *Labor's Climate Change Action Plan* https://www.alp.org.au/media/1692/labors_climate_change_action_plan.pdf (accessed 05/12/2019).

AMWU 2008 'AMWU members want action on climate change' 24 July. http://www.amwu.org.au/read-article/news-detail/154/AMWU-members-want-action-on-climate-change/ (accessed 15/05/2009).

Australian Unions 2021 'We need a safe climate with secure union jobs' 23 April. Petition.

Bean, C. and McAllister. I. 2008 'The Tale of the Rabbit-less Hat: Voting Behaviour in 2007' *Australian Federal Election Book*, 2007 API Network.

Brohe, A., Eyre, N. and Howarth, N. 2009 *Carbon Markets: An International Business Guide,* Earthscan, London.

Burgmann, V. 2004 'Moloch's Little Mate: The Ruling Class and the Australian Labor Party' in N. Hollier (ed.) *Ruling Australia. The Power, Privilege & Politics of the New Ruling Class,* Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne, 48-69.

Burgmann, V. and Baer, H. 2012 *Climate Politics and the Climate Movement in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Climate Action Tracker 2022a 23 May https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/australia/2022-05-23/ (accessed 03/04/2023).

Climate Action Tracker. 2022b 22 August https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/australia/ (accessed 03/04/2023).

Climate Council 2019 *Climate Policies of Major Australian Political Parties* May www.climatecouncil.org.au (accessed 05/12/2019).

Climate Institute 2007 *Climate of the Nation. Australians Attitudes to Climate Change and its Solutions*, March, Climate Institute, Sydney http://www.climateinstitute.org.au/images/reports/climatenation.pdf (accessed 22/04/2010).

Communities Leading Change. 2021 *Transitions. Stories of Gippsland Communities Leading Change* 9 July. https://www.communitiesleadingchange.org.au/new_gippsland_magazine_features_stories_of_positive_transition (accessed 03/04/2023).

Conley, T. 2001 'The Domestic Politics of Globalisation', Australian Journal of Political Science 36:2, July, 223-46.

CFMEU 2009 'Climate Change' http://www.cfmeu.com.au/index/.cfm?section=29&Category=61&viewmode+content&ContentID=252 (accessed 19/05/2009).

Corporate Europe Observatory. 2015 'EU emissions trading: 5 reasons to scrap the ETS.' 26 October. https://corporateeurope.org/en/environment/2015/10/eu-emissions-trading-5-reasons-scrap-ets (accessed 09/02/2020).

Cubby, B. 2010 'Most want action now on emissions' *Age* 29 July. http://www.theage.com.au/environment/climate-change/most-want-action-now-on-emissions-20100729-10wdr.html (accessed 29/07/2010).

Davis, M. 2010 'A "pox on both their houses" attitude prevails among voters' *Age* 1 June. http://theage.com.au/opinion/politics/a-pox-on-both-their-houses-attitude-prevails-among-voters-20100601-wsi3.html (accessed 01/06/2010).

Diesendorf, M. 2009 *Climate Action: A Campaign Manual for Greenhouse Solutions*, UNSW Press, Sydney.

Emerson, C. and Weatherill, J. 2019 *Review of Labor's 2019 Federal Election Campaign* https://alp.org.au/media/2043/alp-campaign-review-2019.pdf (accessed 15/05/2022).

Flannery, T. 2020 *The Climate Cure: Solving the Climate Emergency in the Era of COVID-19*, Text Publishing, Melbourne.

Garnaut, R. 2008 Garnaut Climate Change Review: Final Report, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Glover, J. 2007 'The lucky country?' *Guardian* 23 November. http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2007/nov/23/climatechange.australia (accessed 25/11/2007).

Government of Western Australia 2020 *Collie's Just Transition Plan* December https://www.wa.gov.au/government/publications/collies-just-transition-plan (accessed 07/02/2022).

Grattan, M. and Arup, T. 2010 'Rudd in ETS backflip' *Age* 28 April, p.1.

Hartcher, P. 2010a 'How Rudd lost his nerve on an ETS election' *Age* 15 May, p.1.

Hartcher, P. 2010b 'Brown leads Greens to the promised land' *Sydney Morning Herald* 22 May. http://www.nationaltimes.com.au/opinion/politics/brown-leads-greens-to-the-promised-land-20100521-wlpd.html (accessed 01/06/2010).

Jackman, C. 2008 *Inside Kevin 07: The People, the Plan, the Prize*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Laing, T., Sato, M., Grubb, M. and Comberti, C. 2014 'The effects and side-effects of the EU emissions trading scheme' *WIREs Climate Change* vol.5, July/August: 509-519.

Maher, T. 2007 'Crib Rooms and Climate Change. Empowering Mine Workers. Presentation to NSW Minerals Council Environment Conference' 16 August. http://www.cfmeu.com.au/storage/documents/NSWMC_enviro2007.pdf (accessed 21/07/2010).

Martin, S. 2019 'Labor says emissions would be 200m tonnes lower if Greens had supported CPRS' *Guardian*

2 December https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/dec/02/labor-says-emissions-would-be-200m-tonnes-lower-if-greens-had-supported-cprs.

Morgan, G. 2010 'Election race closes.' 4 June. http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4506 (accessed 08/06/2010).

Morgan, G. 2011 'Finding No. 4684, 15 July; Finding No. 4687, 19 July', www.roymorgan.com (accessed 26/07/2011).

Moss, J. 2021 *Carbon Justice. The Scandal of Australia's Biggest Contribution to Climate Change*, UNSW Press, Sydney.

Peetz, D. 2020 'Why it would be wrong to ignore a carbon price' *Arena* 10 January. https://arena.org.au/why-it-would-be-wrong-to-ignore-a-carbon-price.

Robertson, J. 2023 'Deal hailed as first concrete steps on climate in a decade' 28 March. https://thenewdaily.com.au/news/politics/2023/03/27/safeguard-mechanism-deal-climate/?utm_campaign=Morning%20News%20-%2020230328&utm_medium=email&utm_source=Adestra&lr_hash=. (accessed 28/03/2023).

Rosewarne, S. 2010/2011 'Meeting the challenge of climate change: the poverty of the dominant economic narrative and market solutions as subterfuge' *Australian Journal of Political Economy* 65 (Summer): 17-50.

Rudd, K. 2007 'Budget Reply Speech' http://australianpolitics.com/2007/05/10/2007-budget-reply-speech-kevin-rudd.html (accessed 15/05/2007).

Sandbag. 2011 Carbon Fat Cats: The companies profiting from the EU Emissions Trading Scheme, Sandbag report, June.

Scott, A. 2000 Running on Empty: 'Modernising' the British and Australian Labour Parties, Pluto Press, Sydney.

Spratt, D. 2009 'Suicidal Sweethearts' *New Matilda* 5 May. http://newmatilda.com/2009/05/05/sweethearts (accessed 30/06/2010).

Stanford, J. 2020 *Employment Aspects of the Transition from Fossil Fuels in Australia* 16 December https://futurework.org.au/report/employment-aspects-of-the-transition-from-fossil-fuels-in-australia/ (accessed 02/04/2023).

Stilwell, F. 2011 'Marketising the Environment' Journal of *Australian Political Economy 68* (Summer): 108-125.

Watson, I. and Browne, P. 2008 'The 2007 Federal Election: Exit Poll Analysis' September. *Australian Policy Online.* www.apo.org.au (accessed 14/07/2010).

Wilkinson, M. 2020 *The Carbon Club. How a network of influential climate sceptics, politicians and business leaders fought to control Australia's climate policy,* Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Author
Verity Burgmann FASSA is Adjunct Professor of Politics, School of Social Science, Monash University and Director of Reason in Revolt, documents of Australian radicalism at www.reasoninrevolt.net.au. She is NOT a member of the Australian Greens. Her publications focus on left-wing ideologies, environmental politics and labour movements. Recent books include: *Green Bans, Red Union*. *The Saving of a City* (with Meredith Burgmann, 2017); *Globalization and Labour in the Twenty-First Century* (2016); and *Climate Politics and the Climate Movement in Australia* (with Hans Baer, 2012).

A Change in Heart

Only a sky of stars could understand
my heart and its melancholic chambers.
To see you marvel at the world,
I could never fall away from the gift of us.
Drown me in your words,
Oh how I crave your glances,
all but the absence of your voice.

How the crowds worship you
with admiration, false or true.
Among them, only one loves your mangled soul.
I have learnt the blotches of your heart,
yet only mine aches for its presence.

A brightness obscured when I look upon your face,
Mind deconstructed, only yours I want to trace.
Entangled you are, in my mind.
Love, you are my fate, but for you,
I am only the deepest secret nobody knows.
Enfold my heart, I bide my time.

Indulge myself in your sea of emotion.
All have forgotten how softly one walks.
Must I feel this way?
How an anchored gaze or a waft of your scent
undoes a heart so delicately.
How in one's eyes,
a plethora of words come through.
The air trembles and the water shimmers at a mere possibility.
Hearts bursting, heat radiating,
palm in palm, your touch of an angel.

We were the spark to set each other ablaze,
But two broken people cannot fix each other.
Fallen to your knees, now
I only ask that you leave a clue.

Love wraps me in a suffocating embrace,
so if music be the food of love, play on.
I loathe myself for wishing I would be
the sole one to entwine hands with you.
To go on seems absurd, please,
take me where your heart is.

I feel everything, watching them with you.
Alas, I see that same look in your eyes,
Only this time,
I am not in the reflection.

- forever never means forever

MEGAN LIEM

*Commended entry from the 2022 Seeking Asylum Poetry prize

Changing Perceptions on Homelessness #Mycommunityismyhome

CLAIRE LETITIA REYNOLDS

These portraits of homelessness are about strength and resilience, community, and hope.

This project is a result from a group of people and organisations meeting once a month for two years to make a plan to assist people experiencing homelessness on the Sunshine Coast and Hinterland, Queensland, Australia.

I submitted a proposal to 'My local Community Centre', it was successful and I received a grant for this project, this being contracted to photograph homeless people with the outcome as an exhibition. The project's aim is to challenge and change current perceptions and associated stigma surrounding homelessness.

I began the project in early June 2020, when we were coming out of the pandemic lockdown. Many community services were still closed, but I was able to connect with 'The Shack', an organisation in my local area that offers a free hot breakfast for those who are in need. It was here that my journey began, I would turn up to The Shack every morning at 6.30am, leaving my baby and partner who had lost his job due to COVID at home.

I met all kinds of people, listening to their stories. Many people were wary of my camera however, I was mindful in my approach and was very clear about what the portraits were for, and why. A large proportion of people I asked to photograph said no, they didn't want to be the face of *homelessness*.

The daily struggle for survival for people experiencing homelessness is real – each day brought monumental challenges, things that you and I take for granted on a daily basis. The more I delved into this project, the more I began to see the 'hidden homeless' people sleeping in cars, on living room floors, couch surfing, under bridges. Young men, old, men, woman and children – there is no discrimination in homelessness.

Many of the stories people so graciously shared with me were heartbreaking, but shared with a resolve firm and steadfast.

I am very thankful for everyone that allowed me to take their portrait, their contribution to this cause was invaluable, and for those that couldn't participate for one reason or another, opened up and shared their life and stories. To see the images in colour visit: https://www.clairereynolds.com/homeless

Claire Letitia Reynolds has worked as a photographic artist for over 15 years, developing her practice and learning to communicate not only her own stories but also the stories of others. Capturing subjects at their most intimate and familiar moments, Reynolds blurs the boundaries between art, social commentary and documentary. Reynolds has also been awarded multiple Arts grants in 2021; Regional Arts Development Funding Sunshine Coast, Arts Queensland QASP funding, and Australia Council Arts Funding Individuals, whilst also completing a Graduate Diploma in Visual Arts at Queensland College of Art, Griffith University, 2021.

"I make pictures as a way of navigating life. The colours, the lines, and the light intermingle, to form a single pattern different every time, no matter what. Just before I take a picture, I feel this strong energy force – it takes over. At this moment, I feel real. I feel honest ... and I feel alive".

Corrine : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I have studied the psychology of human emotional reactions in life, its what forms our personality".

Corrine, 2020

Corrine sadly passed away in 2021, may she RIP.

Danielle F. : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

*"I will do whatever I can to help people".*

Danielle, 2020
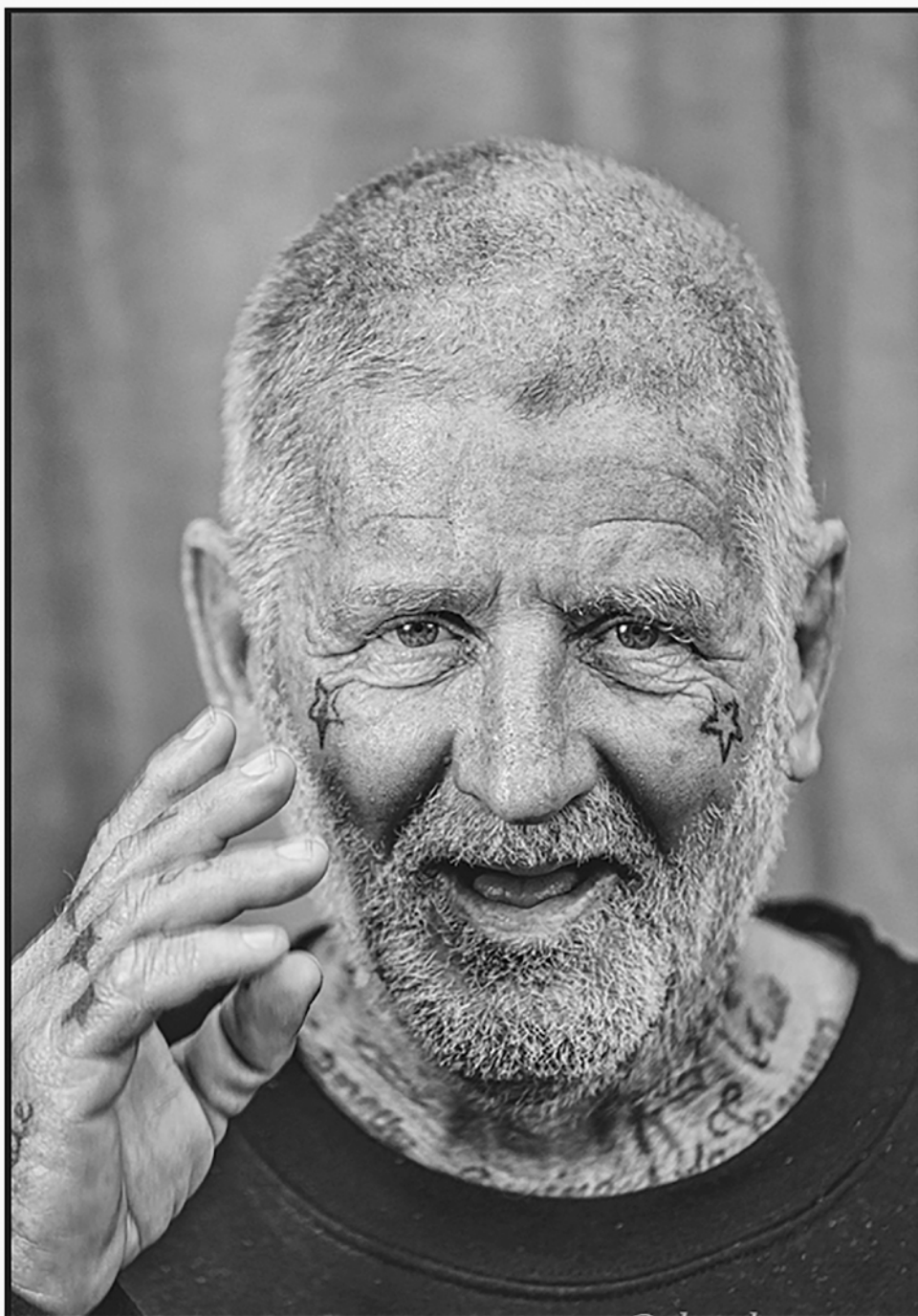
Dracky : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"Everyone should be good to their Mum".

Mark 'Dracky', 2020

Andrew, 'Drew' : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I'm the best, but I'm biased. You have to love yourself before you love anyone else".

Andrew 'Drew', 2020
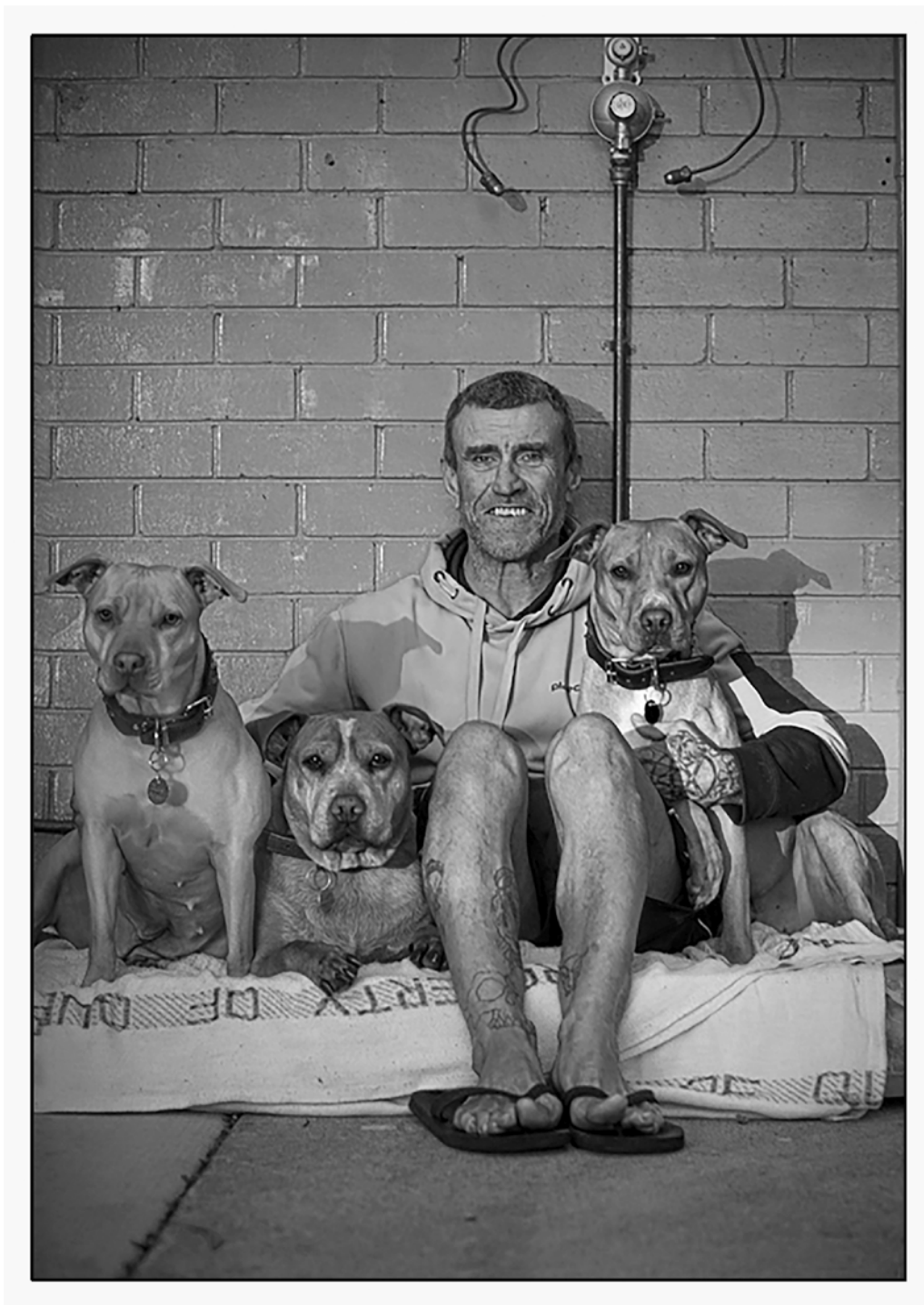
Gary : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I'm friendly and so are my dogs, we are family".

Gary, 2020

Glen : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I'm loyal and helpful".

Glen, 2020

Steven : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I'm lovely".

Steven, 2020
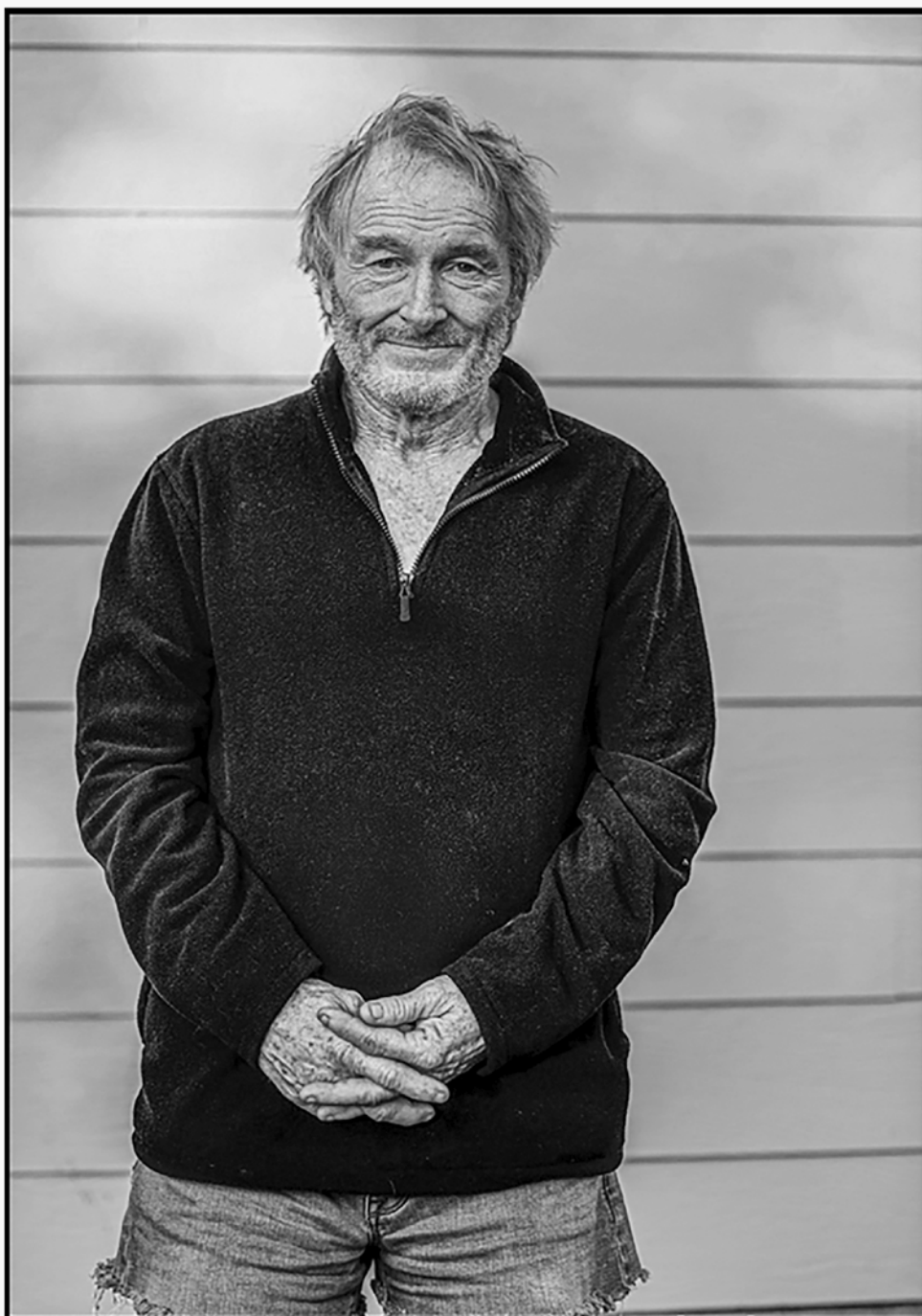
John : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I recently came out of a lung tumor, now I look at life differently. Just enjoy life".

John, 2020

Jesse : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I'm a peaceful guy and a mad keen fisherman".

Jesse, 2020
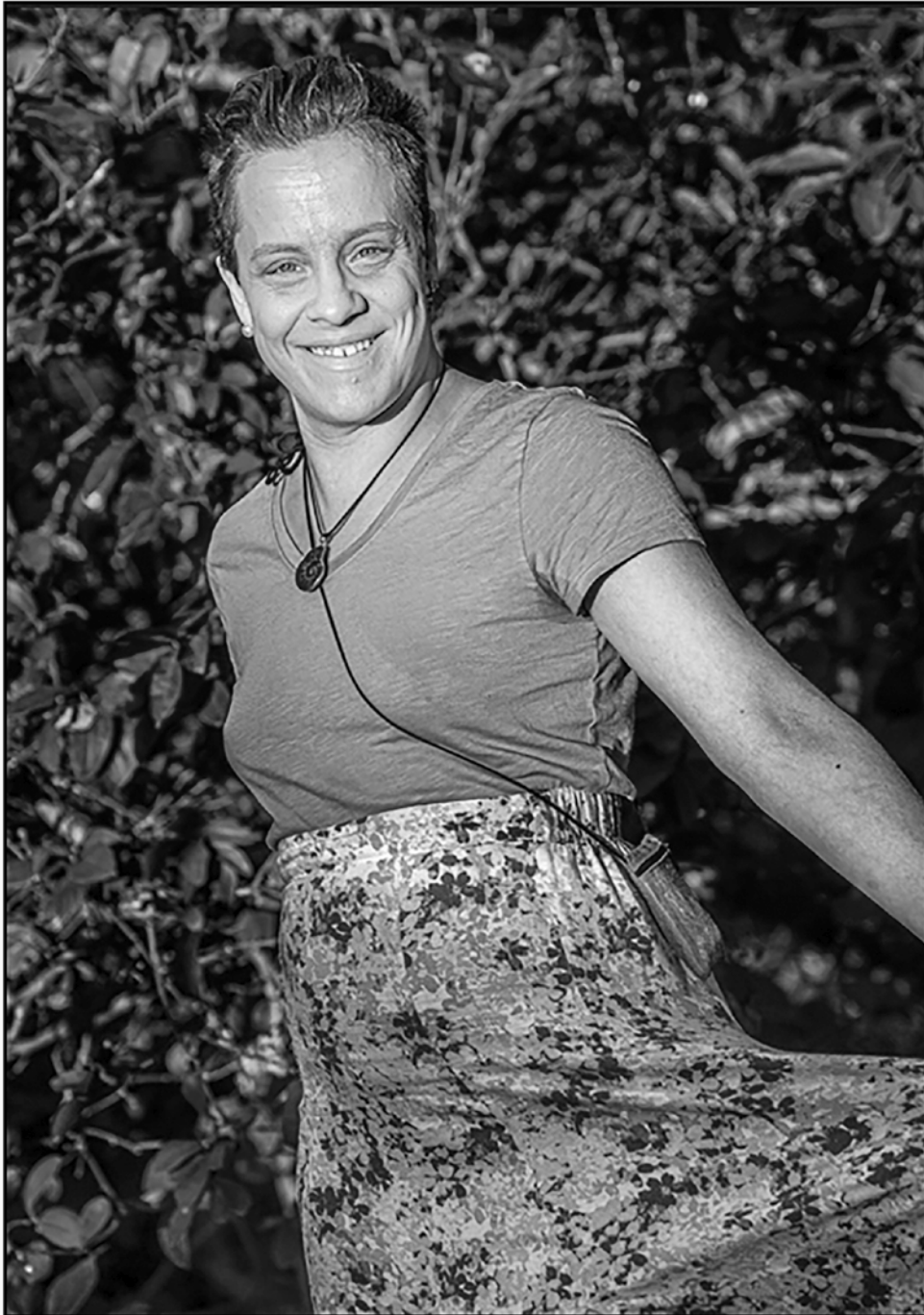
Danielle : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"Dreams are a wish your heart makes, never give up on your dreams, follow your heart".

Danielle, 2020
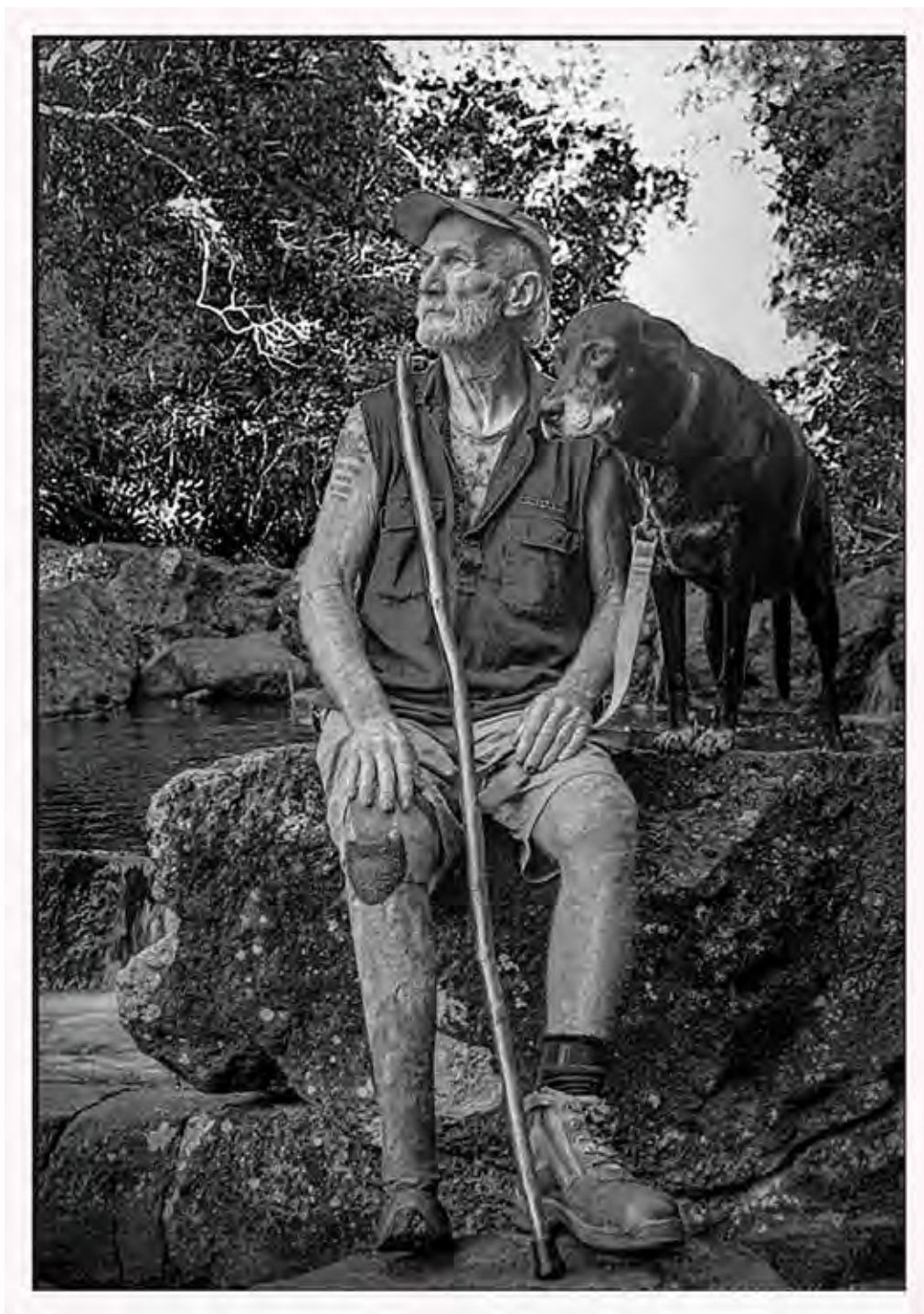
Dave 'Hoppy' : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I'm happy, not snappy".

Dave 'Hoppy', 2020

Mory : photographer Clare Letitia Reynolds, 2020.

If you could tell the world one thing about yourself?

"I am a Mummy".

Mory, 2020

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

☐ I would like to subscribe to
Social Alternatives Journal

☐ I would like to purchase a gift subscription

INDIVIDUALS
☐ 1 year - 4 issues $50

☐ 2 years - 8 issues $80

INSTITUTIONS AND LIBRARIES
☐ 1 year - 4 issues $80

☐ 2 years - 8 issues $150

CONCESSIONS
☐ 1 year - 4 issues $35

☐ 2 years - 8 issues $60

Plus overseas postage of $50 per annum if applicable

PAYMENT VIA THE WEBSITE
You can subscribe or purchase a gift subscription electronically via PAYPAL from the *Social Alternatives* website – www.socialalternatives.com

PAYMENT BY EFT
Email: debra@socialalternatives.com for details on how to make payments in Australian dollars to our bank account. Please include your subscription request and address details.

PAYMENT BY CHEQUE OR POSTAL ORDER
Send a cheque or Postal Order in Australian dollars to:
    Social Alternatives
    Post Office Box 595
    Buderim, Queensland 4556
    Australia

NAME ……

ADDRESS ……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

COUNTRY ………………………………………………………………………… POSTCODE …………………......

PAYMENT AMOUNT $……………………………………………………………………………………………..

BACK ORDERS

☐ I would like to order the following back issues:

Vol..............No.........   Vol..............No.........

Vol..............No.........   Vol.............No.........

Vol..............No.........   Vol..............No.........

Vol..............No.........   Vol..............No.........

Or tick which issue(s) you would like from the list on the next page.

PER SINGLE COPY:

Including Australian postage ………….. $14

Including Overseas postage …………….$17

....

Subscription amount $.............................

Backorder amount $.............................

Postage amount (for overseas subscriptions)

                      $.............................

Total amount $.............................

Please note that Social Alternatives is not obliged to charge or pay GST.

SOCIAL ALTERNATIVES

An extensive catalogue of back issues is available spanning over 40 years of publishing. BELOW is the list of issues.