



Gender & Disaster Australia

Australian Capital Territory (ACT)

DISASTER CONTEXT

Socio-demographics from
a gendered perspective



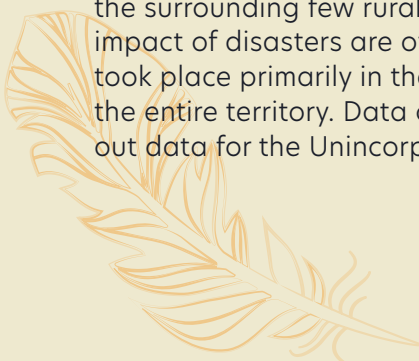


Australian Capital Territory (ACT)



From: ABS Census <https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/8>

The area covered by this map, and considered in this factsheet, is the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). This was selected as most useful given that there is only Local Government Area (LGA) for the whole territory of the ACT; the Unincorporated ACT. The ACT also includes the urban area of Canberra and the surrounding few rural settlements and localities. Given the relatively small area of the territory, the impact of disasters are often felt across the entire territory. As such, whilst the bushfires of 2019-2020 took place primarily in the Namadgi National Park in the south of the ACT, the bushfire smoke impacted the entire territory. Data cited in this factsheet relate to the whole of ACT and where relevant will draw out data for the Unincorporated ACT, as it is the LGA for the ACT.





INTRODUCTION

The ACT is located within the south-eastern region of Australia. It lies inland, away from the coastal areas, and is surrounded by the Brindabella Ranges to the west.¹ It is home to Canberra, the capital city of Australia. The northeast area of the ACT where Canberra lies, is the only major urban development area in the territory. The city is centred around the floodplains of the Murrumbidgee and Molonglo Rivers. The outskirts of the urban zone include areas of agriculture and forestry, scattered semi-rural residential areas, and small settlements such as Hall, Tharwa, Uriarra, Williamsdale and Naas. The ACT also has an abundance of natural bushland and nature reserves in the southern and western areas of the territory. These areas, such as the Tidbinbilla Nature Reserve and the Namadgi National Park, offer opportunities for outdoor activities, wildlife encounters, and bushwalking. The traditional owners of the land are the Ngunnawal people.² Overall, the ACT's geography combines natural beauty, with its surrounding hills and waterways.

The ACT is prone to a number of disasters such as bushfires, storms, heatwaves, earthquakes and floods.³ One of the most significant disasters was the Woden Valley flash flood of 1971, which took the lives of 7 people and damaged infrastructure in the area.⁴ Additionally, the 2003 bushfires in the ACT impacted Canberra and its surroundings to such an extent that it was classified as one of the worst disasters in the territory. It claimed the

lives of 4 people, destroyed 488 homes and burnt approximately 70% of pasture, forests and nature parks in the ACT.⁵

However, in the most recent years, it was the 2019-2020 bushfires and the resulting smoke that impacted the territory to the most, even though no human lives were directly lost due to the bushfires themselves. As fires ravaged parts of New South Wales (NSW) and Queensland (QLD), the smoke from these fires engulfed the city of Canberra and its surrounding settlements in the ACT.⁶ To make matters worse, in January 2020, the Tallaganda National Park fire, the Beard fire near Canberra Airport, and the Orroral Valley megafire that started in the Namadgi National Park created a state of emergency. The impact of the resulting smoke from all these events meant that people were advised to stay indoors due to the health complications it would cause. At times, during the 2019-2020 bushfires, Canberra's air quality was reportedly rated the worst in the world.⁷

Whilst the direct impact of bushfires in terms of lives and costs to infrastructure is often well researched, less is known about the long term impact of bushfire smoke on everyday lives of people.⁸ Nevertheless, several research publications have looked into how the smoke affected the physical and mental health conditions of people living in the ACT, given the unprecedented scale of the bushfire smoke.

- 1 Bryant C 2008, "Australian Capital Territory" in *Understanding bushfire: trends in deliberate vegetation fires in Australia*, Technical and background paper series no. 27. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. https://www.aic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-07/tbp027_08_act.pdf
- 2 ACT Government (2020), *Orroral Valley Fire Rapid Risk Assessment Namadgi National Park*, March, Environment Planning and Sustainable Development Directorate, ACT Canberra, Available from: https://www.environment.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/1495236/orroral-valley-fire-rapid-risk-assessment-namadgi-national-park.pdf
- 3 <https://esa.act.gov.au/be-emergency-ready/preparing-emergencies#:~:text=Canberra's%20location%20and%20environment%20mean,terrorist%20acts%2C%20earthquakes%20and%20floods>
- 4 <https://knowledge.aidr.org.au/resources/flood-woden-valley-act-1971/>
- 5 <https://knowledge.aidr.org.au/resources/bushfire-canberra-2003/>
- 6 <https://knowledge.aidr.org.au/resources/black-summer-bushfires-act-2020/>
- 7 Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory (2021), *Bushfire Smoke and Air Quality Strategy 2021-2025*, From: https://www.parliament.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/1900323/Bushfire-Smoke-and-Air-Quality-Strategy-2021-2025.pdf
- 8 <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2021/oct/14/debilitating-health-impacts-of-smoke-from-australias-black-summer-bushfires-revealed-in-study>



One study found that 97% of the participants of the study experienced at least one physical symptom attributed to the smoke and one out of five respondents required medical attention for their symptoms.⁹ Additionally, it found that residents reported symptoms of anxiety and depression, as well as sleep loss due to long duration of exposure to hazardous levels of smoke. The inability for residents to go outside for exercise and travel due to the smoke, also had secondary impacts on their overall health and wellbeing. Another survey in the ACT also identified how people with previous mental health issues reported to have experienced worsening of their conditions as a result of the bushfire smoke.¹⁰ It noted how people who experienced trauma in the 2003 bushfires in the ACT experienced the triggering of traumatic memories due to the smoke created by the 2019-2020 Black Summer bushfires. These studies indicate that repeated inhalation of bushfire smoke can have a significant impact on the overall health and wellbeing of people.

A number of studies also consider the impact of bushfire smoke on vulnerable groups. The 2020 survey by the ACT Commissioner for Sustainability and Environment reports that pregnant women and new mothers experienced increased stress due to the smoke, as they were concerned for the health of their infants.¹¹

Moreover, a research that focused on stories from Aboriginal people around NSW and ACT, highlighted the experiences of Aboriginal people during the bushfires as relief and recovery services lacked to be culturally safe and welcoming, which put Aboriginal people at further risk.¹² A similar study reported that generally there is a lack of inclusion of Aboriginal experiences in the aftermath of bushfires across the country, using the lack of inclusion of Aboriginal experiences in the Macleod Inquiry that followed the 2003 bushfires as an example.¹³ Furthermore, it was noted in the ACT's Bushfire Smoke and Air Quality Strategy 2021-2025 that people with socio-economic difficulties would have felt the consequences of the bushfire smoke more than the average resident "as they are less likely to have access to air conditioning, good insulation and air purifiers, and are more likely to have 'leaky' houses that provide little protection from smoke".¹⁴ The research demonstrates how the impact of bushfire smoke is felt more by vulnerable groups compared to the general population.

⁹ Rodney R, Swaminathan A, Calear A, Christensen B, Lal A, Leviston Z, Reynolds, J, Trevenar, S, Vardoulakis, S and Walker, I (2021), "Physical and mental health effects of bushfire and smoke in the Australian Capital Territory 2019-20", *Front Public Health*, 9:682402. 10.3389/fpubh.2021.682402

¹⁰ Perival E & Taylor R (2021), "Protecting Canberra's Air Quality", January, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/156270d5f1e34477b6f011910fa78cab>

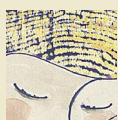
¹¹ Perival E & Taylor R (2021), "Protecting Canberra's Air Quality", January, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/156270d5f1e34477b6f011910fa78cab>; *There is a study called 'Mother and Child (MC2020) that is being currently undertaken by the Australian National University (ANU), University of Canberra and University of Wollongong, along with Canberra Health Services and NSW Health, that looks further into the impact of bushfire smoke and Covid-19 on new mothers in the ACT and southeast New South Wales. <https://medicalschoo.anu.edu.au/research/projects/mother-and-child-2020-mc2020>

¹² Williamson B (2022), *Aboriginal community governance on the frontlines and fault-lines in the Black Summer bushfires* (Discussion Paper No. 300/2022), Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University. https://caepr.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2022/4/DP_300_Williamson_2022.pdf;

The author was a member on the ACT Bushfire Council (2017-2021), is a member of the large Aboriginal community in Canberra and the neighbouring Queanbeyan (NSW) and were directly impacted by the Beard Fire of Canberra.

¹³ Williamson B, Markham F, Weir J.K (2020). *Aboriginal Peoples and the Response to the 2019-2020 Bushfires*, Working Paper No. 134/2020; Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University: Canberra, Australia, 2020. https://caepr.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2022/4/DP_300_Williamson_2022.pdf

¹⁴ Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory (2021), *Bushfire Smoke and Air Quality Strategy 2021-2025*, From: https://www.parliament.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/1900323/Bushfire-Smoke-and-Air-Quality-Strategy-2021-2025.pdf; p. 25



DISASTER BACKGROUND

Kind of disasters affecting this region/town: bushfires, storms, heatwaves, earthquakes and floods.¹⁵

Event name ¹⁶	Hazard type(s)
Flash flood, 4 January 2023 ¹⁷	Flood
Flash Flood, 7-8 February 2020 ¹⁸	Storm/ flood
Hailstorm, 20 January 2020	Hailstorm
Black Summer bushfires and the resulting bushfire smoke, 2019-20	Bushfire/ bushfire smoke
Bushfire - Canberra 2003 ACT	Bushfire
Flash Flood - Woden Valley, 1971	Flood

Recent major disaster: Black Summer bushfires & the resulting bushfire smoke, 2019-20¹⁹

- Fatalities: Reportedly 1²⁰
- People displaced:
 - o The Orroral Valley fire drew close to the rural village of Tharwa (east of the Namadgi National Park). Residents were warned to be ready to evacuate if necessary earlier during the fires, and later were warned to seek shelter as there was no time to evacuate when the fires drew closer. The fire was contained due to rain and evacuation was later called off.²¹
 - o Residents of Canberra's far southern suburb of Banks were asked to activate their bushfire survival plans as spot fires approached the suburb. Some residents decided to evacuate for safety and an evacuation centre was established at Erindale College.²²

15 <https://esa.act.gov.au/be-emergency-ready/preparing-emergencies#:~:text=Canberra's%20location%20and%20environment%20mean,terrorist%20acts%2C%20earthquakes%20and%20floods>

16 Table compiled (unless indicated otherwise), using the interactive map available at: <https://knowledge.aidr.org.au/disasters/>

17 *An elderly woman who travelled to the ACT lost her life after exiting the plane due to the bushfire smoke. <https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/8038038/homes-and-businesses-inundated-after-flash-flood-hits-canberra/>

18 ACT Government (2020), *ACT Bushfire and Flood Recovery Plan*, September, Available from: https://www.environment.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/1622855/act-bushfire-and-flood-recovery-plan-2020.pdf

19 This disaster was chosen to profile here as this has had the largest impact on the territory in recent years. This disaster has also prompted a coronial inquest which is being undertaken at the time of the creation of this factsheet due to the nature of the Orroral Valley bushfire (ignited by a search helicopter's searchlight). This is a developing inquest. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-06-07/act-coronial-inquiry-orroral-valley-bushfire-continues/102450518>

20 <https://www.9news.com.au/national/canberra-woman-dies-smoke-air-quality-plane/32530dcf-a5e9-4285-af5f-a53a322528c7>

21 Taylor R (2020), "Australia's Black Summer: Impacts of the Black Summer 2019-20", August, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/a85a25304c6d4b119e820431db0e25fd>; <https://knowledge.aidr.org.au/resources/black-summer-bushfires-act-2020/>

22 <https://knowledge.aidr.org.au/resources/black-summer-bushfires-act-2020/>



- o Residents of the ACT were asked to stay indoors due to the smoke.²³
- o Vulnerable groups were warned to take extra care from the smoke.²⁴
- o The ACT bushfire smoke caused an estimated: 31 excess deaths, 82 cardiovascular hospital admissions, 147 respiratory hospital admissions, 89 smoke-related emergency department presentations, including for asthma.²⁵
- o 71% of respondents of a survey reported a change in their mental health, 53% of respondents with a history of mental illness experienced a worsening of symptoms due to the bushfires.²⁶
- o The smoke event from 2019-2020 Black Summer bushfires triggered traumatic memories or events related to the 2003 Canberra bushfires for 26% of respondents in a survey.²⁷
- Properties and infrastructure affected:
 - o About 80 per cent of the Namadgi National Park's total area, 22 per cent of the Tidbinbilla Nature Reserve, and about 3,350 hectares of rural lands were burnt.²⁸
 - o 0.13% of all agricultural land burned in Australia was in the ACT.²⁹ The Australian Government offered a disaster recovery allowance to employees, primary producers and sole traders in the ACT who experienced loss of income as a direct result of the bushfires.³⁰
 - o Canberra Airport shut down for a day due to the Beard Fires and some vehicles in the carpark were reportedly damaged.³¹
 - o Businesses, institutions, services and attractions were impacted as they were forced to close, with social and economic consequences.³² However, no homes were lost.³³

- 23 Taylor R (2020), "Australia's Black Summer: Impacts of the Black Summer 2019-20", August, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/a85a25304c6d4b119e820431db0e25fd>
- 24 Taylor R (2020), "Australia's Black Summer: Impacts of the Black Summer 2019-20", August, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/a85a25304c6d4b119e820431db0e25fd>
- 25 Borchers AN, Palmer AJ, Bowman DM, Morgan GG, Jalaludin BB, and Johnston FH (2020), "Unprecedented smoke-related health burden associated with the 2019-20 bushfires in eastern Australia", *Medical Journal of Australia*, 213(6), 282-283. Available from: <https://www.mja.com.au/journal/2020/213/6/unprecedented-smoke-related-health-burden-associated-2019-20-bushfires-eastern>
- 26 Perival E & Taylor R (2021), "Protecting Canberra's Air Quality", January, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/156270d5f1e34477b6f011910fa78cab>
- 27 Shirmer, J. (2020), "Living well in the ACT region: exploring the wellbeing of ACT Residents in 2019-20 – Part 2: Bushfire, Hailstorm and COVID-19: experiences of ACT Residents to May 2020", *Regional Wellbeing Survey ACT*, <https://www.regionalwellbeing.org.au/living-well-in-the-act-region/>
- 28 https://www.environment.act.gov.au/ACT-parks-conservation/bushfire_management/recovering-from-the-2020-bushfires/overview; Taylor R (2020), "Australia's Black Summer: Impacts of the Black Summer 2019-20", August, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/a85a25304c6d4b119e820431db0e25fd>
- 29 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1105657/australia-bushfire-damage-area-share-agriculture-land-by-state/>
- 30 ACT Government (2020), *ACT Bushfire and Flood Recovery Plan*, September, Available from: https://www.environment.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/1622855/act-bushfire-and-flood-recovery-plan-2020.pdf
- 31 <https://knowledge.aidr.org.au/resources/black-summer-bushfires-act-2020/>
- 32 Taylor R (2020), "Australia's Black Summer: Impacts of the Black Summer 2019-20", August, Available from: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/a85a25304c6d4b119e820431db0e25fd>
- 33 <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-01-23/bushfire-burning-at-pialligo-in-canberra/11892476>



- o Canberra Hospital's operations were impacted due to smoke infiltrating the inside of the hospital. Elective surgeries were cancelled, and the MRI machines were affected by the smoke.³⁴
- o Namadgi National Park includes the ACT's primary water catchment area and networks of water source. Specifically the Sphagnum bog and fen sites, which are important water networks in the area were directly impacted by the fires.³⁵
- o Several high use recreation facilities such as walking tracks and campgrounds were also burnt.³⁶
- o Aboriginal archaeological sites and land area that has meaning to the Ngunnawal people were impacted. European archaeological sites were also impacted.³⁷
- o Tourism business in Canberra reported a 20% cancellation rate.³⁸
- o Australia Post was unable to complete deliveries due to safety concerns for their workers.³⁹
- o Even after the smoke dissipated, winemakers in the ACT had to abandon their smoke-affected 2020 vintage, resulting in significant financial losses estimated to amount to millions of dollars for the industry. Smoke Taint Grants were established to provide support for eligible wine grape producers. Grants of \$10,000 were provided to four local producers.⁴⁰
- o Businesses faced complexities seeking financial compensation due to the fact that the initial location of the fires were in NSW and the loss of revenue was not caused directly by the fires. As a response, the ACT Government established a registration platform for businesses that had been significantly impacted by the hazardous smoke conditions and approximately 120 businesses that registered.⁴¹
- o Disaster recovery assistance was also activated to help with the residential clean-up. It also provided concessional interest rate loans for farmers and small businesses. Two outdoor recreation businesses and one retail business that accessed concessional loans.⁴²
- o The Canberra Business Advice and Support Service (CBASS) also provided assistance to businesses impacted by the smoke.⁴³

34 Duckett S, Mackey W and Stobard A (2020), "The health effects of the 2019-20 bushfires", *Submission to the Inquiry into the 2019-20 Victorian Fire Season*, Grattan Institute, available from: <https://grattan.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Grattan-Institute-submission-Victorian-Inquiry.pdf>

35 ACT Government (2020), *Orroral Valley Fire Rapid Risk Assessment Namadgi National Park*, March, Environment Planning and Sustainable Development Directorate, ACT Canberra, Available from: https://www.environment.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/1495236/orroral-valley-fire-rapid-risk-assessment-namadgi-national-park.pdf

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory (2021), *Bushfire Smoke and Air Quality Strategy 2021-2025*, From: https://www.parliament.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/1900323/Bushfire-Smoke-and-Air-Quality-Strategy-2021-2025.pdf

39 Ibid.

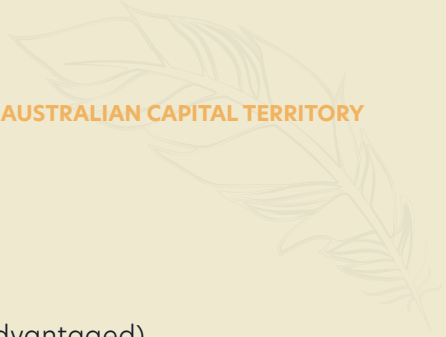
40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.





ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE

- Unincorporated ACT LGA is ranked:⁴⁴
 - o 516 out of 544 LGAs in Australia (where 544 is most advantaged)
 - o in the 10th decile (out of 10, where 10 is most advantaged)
 - o In the 95th percentile (out of 100, where 100 is most advantaged)



HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND HOMELESSNESS

- Housing affordability:⁴⁵
 - o Median rent payments: Unincorporated ACT: \$450/wk | Aus: \$375/wk
 - o Rental stress:⁴⁶ Unincorporated ACT: 23% | Aus: 32.2%
 - o Rental affordability: For a household on the Unincorporated ACT LGA's median annual income (approx. \$119,000), the Rental Affordability Index rates as "moderately unaffordable".⁴⁷
- Homelessness⁴⁸
 - o In 2021-22, 2,641 people accessed Specialist Homelessness Services in the Unincorporated ACT, equating to 0.58% of the population, or 58 per 10,000⁴⁹
 - o 1,089 of these were men (29 per 10,000) and 1,552 were women (39 per 10,000)



MENTAL HEALTH

- Mental health conditions (any):⁵⁰ Unincorporated ACT: 10 % | Aus: 8.8%
- Suicide rate for Statistical Area 4 (SA4) ACT, in which the Unincorporated ACT sits:⁵¹
 - o 283 deaths from 2017-2021
- The age-standardised rate per 100,000 population for SA4 ACT (in which the Unincorporated ACT sits and which includes the ACT) and Australia

Area	SA4 ACT	Australia
Age-standardised suicide rate per 100,000 population	12.6	12.6
Rate for males	18.9	19.2
Rate for females	6.6	6.1

⁴⁴ These rankings come from the ABS Local Government Area Indexes, available here: <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/2033.0.55.0012016?OpenDocument>

⁴⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, data was sourced from here: <https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/LGA89399>

⁴⁶ Refers to the percentage of households with rental payments exceeding 30% of household income

⁴⁷ Interactive map available here: <https://sgsep.com.au/projects/rental-affordability-index>

⁴⁸ Data cube: SHSC geographical location of client - LGA. Available here: <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/homelessness-services/shsc-data-cubes/contents/specialist-homelessness-services-collection-shsc-data-cubes>

⁴⁹ *The recorded total number of people who accessed homelessness services and the divisions between sex were the same for both the Unincorporate ACT and the ACT

⁵⁰ <https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/8>

⁵¹ All suicide rate stats come from Data table: 2021 National Mortality Database - Suicide, available at: <https://www.aihw.gov.au/suicide-self-harm-monitoring/data/data-downloads>





GENDER EQUALITY

- Lone parent status
 - 13.9% one-parent families, of which 77.7% are female-led for both the Unincorporated ACT (LGA)⁵²
- Mothers' Index (measured at the state level)⁵³
 - ACT ranked 1 out of 8 state/territory, where 1 is the best place in Australia for a mother to live. It is therefore ranked as the best place for a mother to live in Australia.
- Unpaid work⁵⁴
 - Unpaid domestic work: 113,233 women did more than 5 hours of unpaid domestic work per week, compared to 81,138 men
 - Unpaid care: 25,944 women provided unpaid assistance to a person with a disability, health condition, or due to old age, compared to 18,447 men
 - Unpaid childcare: 58,945 women provided unpaid childcare, compared to 46,069 men
- Violence against women⁵⁵
 - There were 325 victims of sexual assault recorded in the ACT in 2022, a decrease of 5% (16 victims) from the previous year. This is a rate of 71.5 per 100,000 (the national rate of 121 per 100,000 in 2021 is indicative only as it is drawn from different data)⁵⁶
 - Over a third (34%) of the sexual assaults were family and domestic violence related (111 victims)
 - 87% of sexual assault victims were female
 - 48% of general assault victims were female

52 <https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/8>

53 *No LGA rankings available as ACT has only one LGA. The Mothers' Index consists of composite scores from five different indicators relating to maternal wellbeing (maternal health, children's wellbeing, educational status, economic status and socio-economic disadvantage), with each indicator given equal weighting. Scores were sorted from low to high and ranked from 1 to 8 (1 being the best place for a mother to live) to give the overall Mothers' Index rank for all states /territories of Australia. Full table available at <https://apo.org.au/node/63692>, pp. 8, 9 & 15

54 ABS General Community Profile for Unincorporated ACT, Tables G24-G26, <https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/community-profiles/2021/LGA89399> and ABS General Community Profile for ACT, Tables G24-G26 <https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/community-profiles/2021/8>

55 <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/recorded-crime-victims/latest-release#australian-capital-territory>

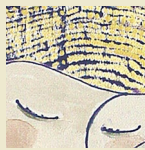
56 <https://www.abs.gov.au/media-centre/media-releases/sexual-assaults-increase-tenth-year-row>

**DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**⁵⁷

	Unincorporated ACT (LGA)	Australia
Median age	35	38
Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander	2%	3.2%
Both parents born in Australia	45.4%	45.9%
Non-English language used in household	27.1%	24.8%
With university education	43%	26.3%
Year 10 as highest qualification	6.1%	10.0%
Labour force participation	69.6%	61.1%
Working part-time	27.6%	31.2%
Unemployment	3.8%	5.1%
Median weekly personal income	\$1,204	\$805
Median weekly household income	\$2373	\$1746
Rate of people on Disability Support Pension per 10,000 population ⁵⁸	188	296

⁵⁷ Unless otherwise indicated all data from this table comes from: <https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/LGA89399>

⁵⁸ <https://data.gov.au/data/dataset/dss-payment-demographic-data>; calculated by dividing number of DSP recipients listed in March 2021 spreadsheet by population of LGA (<https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/LGA89399>), Territory (<https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/8>) and Australia (<https://abs.gov.au/census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/AUS>) multiplied by 10,000



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