

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' meanings of home: a systematic scoping review

Jacek Anderst, Kate Hunter, Julieann Coombes, Alinta Trindall, Bobby Porykali, Camila Kairuz Santos & Tamara Mackean

To cite this article: Jacek Anderst, Kate Hunter, Julieann Coombes, Alinta Trindall, Bobby Porykali, Camila Kairuz Santos & Tamara Mackean (2025) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' meanings of home: a systematic scoping review, *Housing Studies*, 40:9, 1895-1921, DOI: [10.1080/02673037.2024.2389984](https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2024.2389984)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2024.2389984>



© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



[View supplementary material](#)



Published online: 01 Sep 2024.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 3418



[View related articles](#)



[View Crossmark data](#)

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' meanings of home: a systematic scoping review

Jacek Anderst^a , Kate Hunter^{a,b}, Julieann Coombes^a, Alinta Trindall^a, Bobby Porykali^a, Camila Kairuz Santos^a and Tamara Mackean^{a,b}

^aGuunu-maana (Heal) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program, The George Institute for Global Health, UNSW, Sydney, Australia; ^bCollege of Medicine and Public Health, Flinders University of South Australia, Australia

ABSTRACT

Meanings of home differ across cultures, ontologies, and geographies. Housing literature predominantly applies a Western worldview to home, with home meaning a dwelling and a site of belonging, economic value and social reproduction. First Peoples' meanings of home are largely rendered invisible and undervalued within this discourse. A systematic scoping review explored meanings of home from the perspective of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. Applying Indigenous research methodology, only records that privileged the voices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were included. A non-Aboriginal researcher was guided by the knowledges and perspectives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers to develop a culturally appropriate overview on home. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's meanings of home are relational. Home is about relationships to family, community, culture, Country, spirituality, and a sense of ontological belonging and safety. This review expands the housing studies mindset on home, centring First Peoples' meanings of home within an Indigenous framing and methodology.

Abbreviations: ACT: Australian Capital Territory; CASP: Critical Appraisal Skills Programme; NGO: Non-government organisation; NSW: New South Wales; NT: Northern Territory; QLD: Queensland; SA: South Australia; SAAP: Supported Accommodation Assistance Program; SEWB: Social and emotional wellbeing; WA: Western Australia

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 28 June 2023
Accepted 4 August 2024


KEYWORDS

Home; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; meanings of home; social and emotional wellbeing

Introduction

Meanings of home are not universal nor are they static (Meers, 2023). Home is societally and contextually constructed, subject to differences in worldview, gender,

CONTACT Jacek Anderst  janderst@georgeinstitute.org.au  Guunu-maana (Heal) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program, The George Institute for Global Health, UNSW, Sydney, Australia

 Supplemental data for this article can be accessed online at <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2024.2389984>.

© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

age, class and cultural background (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998; Easthope, 2004; Meers, 2023; Parsell, 2012; Saunders & Williams, 1988; Veness, 1993). An understanding of what home means provides the ideological and ontological backdrop to numerous fields of research (Heywood, 2005; Lashewicz *et al.*, 2021; Pohl *et al.*, 2022). These explorations of home are beneficial to understand the relationship between individuals, communities, place, environment and society (Blunt, 2006). However, theoretical debate and empirical research exploring home has primarily been from the lens of people from the settler-colonial countries of Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the USA, the colonizing country of Britain and European nations (hereafter we use the term 'Western' to indicate these states), limiting the understanding of home among groups who hold non-Western worldviews, such as First Peoples of settler-colonial countries.

Recognizing that there is not one single universal Western perspective on home, it is nevertheless important to consider how meanings of home have been narrated in the Western literature. Similarly, First People's perspectives on home are not universal, as First Peoples are not one homogenous group. However there are key divergences from the Western perspective on home, based on the literature. From a Western perspective, home has been described in a multitude of ways that underlie its importance as a socio-spatial place. Home is a physical shelter for people to live in, historically depicted as a dwelling for the heterosexual, nuclear family unit in a suburban area (Blunt, 2006; Cook *et al.*, 2016; Merriam-Webster, 2022), as well as 'an idea and an imaginary imbued with feelings... a spatial imaginary' (Blunt, 2006, p. 22). Rich debate building on Western philosophical theories of people's attachment to place explored by Heidegger (1971) and Bourdieu (1979), emphasize the social - including class and gender relations - and emotional as integral to home. Home has been explored as a site where social relations and institutions are reproduced (Giddens, 1984), and the coming together of physical housing and the social unit of the household as a social-spatial system and site of ontological security (Saunders & Williams, 1988; Somerville, 1992). Scholars of geography, psychology and housing studies have debated meanings of home as a feeling, sense of belonging and social emplacement, with the physical dwelling as the place where these feelings, belongings and social dynamics are generally emplaced (Mallett, 2004).

First People's meanings of home are imbued with connection to land and place, culturally-specific ontologies, knowledges, histories and practices that tie people to land. Underpinning First People's knowledge systems is the inseparability between people and land that is intrinsic to cultural identity and belonging. Māori people of Aotearoa describe themselves as *tangata whenua* or 'people of the land', with caring for land an integral part of home and belonging (Hay, 1998; Stats, 2021). In Australia, the term Country describes the lands, waterways and skies that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are connected to, and the energy, knowledges, life-giving force, and familial, cultural, spiritual and ancestral ties that relate to being on Country (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2022; Taylor-Bragge *et al.*, 2021). Relationship to Country comes from the Dreaming, which is an understanding of how life originally came to be, forming the rules of how to relate with Country and knowledge systems (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Country is everywhere; relationship to Country is not an experience solely of First

Nations people who live in rural, regional or remote communities, it is also experienced by those who live on Country in urban areas and major centres in Australia (Behrendt, 2006). Colonization has had a profoundly detrimental and demoralizing impact on First Peoples' connection to Country, shaping what home means (McGuire & Murdoch, 2022; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). First Peoples' have been continually excluded from Country and property rights in settler-colonial states to the benefit of White people (Norris & Nandedkar, 2022). In Australia, racist colonial legislation, policies and practices have forcibly separated Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from Country and moved to reserves, missions and stations. Child removal from families and communities, known as the Stolen Generations, dislocated Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from home (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997). The Policy of Assimilation (1961) imposed British settler's norms through housing, employment and welfare to assimilate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people into 'the same manner of living as other Australians' (Commonwealth Government, 1961, p. 1). Similarly, in Canada, assimilationist policies led to First Nations children being removed from their families and placed in residential schools in the 1940s, and with non-Indigenous families from the 1960s in what is known as the Sixties Scoop (McKenzie *et al.*, 2016). For Inuvik people of Yellowknife, Canada, the context of settler colonialism informs what home means, with home as not necessarily a house, but the security provided from living independently of the colonial state and leading a way of life on one's land according to cultural traditions (Christensen, 2013).

Internationally, there has been some explicit exploration in the literature into First Peoples' meanings of home – for example, scholars in Canada researching the connection between First Peoples' meanings of home and wellbeing (Bowra & Mashford-Pringle, 2021; Christensen, 2013) and one study in Australia about Jerrinja people's relational meanings of home (Penfold *et al.*, 2020). Two of these three studies provide a rich exploration of home from the perspective of three groups of First Nations people – Indigenous people of Inuvik and Yellowknife, Canada, and Jerrinja people, Australia. A systematic scoping review was undertaken to explore any further available evidence pertaining to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's meanings of home and identify the types of evidence available in Australia. It was conducted at the interface of two worldviews, Indigenous worldviews and Western worldviews – interface methodology – harnessing the strength of Indigenous and Western methods and methodologies of research to develop new knowledge, with neither system of knowledge considered superior over the other (Durie, 2004). We followed a Western systematic scoping review process, a Western method of research, and conducted the review within an Indigenous research paradigm and Indigenous governance structure (Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council of NSW, 2020; Wilson, 2008). Centring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' ontologies and lived experience through an Indigenous research paradigm expands the narrative on home with and for First Peoples in Australia. Given the similarities between First Peoples' experiences of ongoing colonization in other settler-colonial states, this review is of benefit to First Peoples' globally. The review was undertaken as part of a broader research project exploring the meanings of home for, and desired outcomes of, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social housing tenants

on Dharawal and Bidiagal Country (South-East Sydney), with the aim to respectfully learn from this knowledge to develop resources for, and with, tenants.

Materials and methods

A systematic scoping review was deemed an appropriate method, as the objectives and review questions are broad, the review aims to map information relating to a concept, i.e. in this case, the concept of home, and provides an overview of evidence that is heterogenous in both method and discipline (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Tricco *et al.*, 2018). This review applies interface methodology, using the strengths of Western and Indigenous research methods and worldviews (Durie, 2005). Indigenous worldviews, and thus ways of knowing, being and doing, are grounded in relationships, emphasizing a way of seeing that is holistic and relational and a belief in multiple truths (Wilson, 2008). Western worldviews, particularly in Western sciences, emphasize objectivity and positivism, aiming to capture a singular truth, and is a way of knowing that dominates research institutions worldwide (Smith, 1999). Western social sciences have moved away from objectivism and towards subjectivism, through an interpretivist research paradigm, for example. However interpretivism is distinct from Indigenous ways of knowing. Indigenous and Western ways of knowing are weaved throughout this review, producing new knowledge by bringing together the strengths of both knowledge systems as per interface methodology (Durie, 2005). In terms of Western ways of knowing, this review was conducted in the traditional Western method of a systematic scoping review (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005), and it was led by a non-Aboriginal researcher. Indigenous ways of knowing were applied to the review by grounding it within an Indigenous research paradigm (Wilson, 2008). This means it was situated within an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander governance structure, the team acknowledged ongoing colonization, actively privileged First People's lived experiences and worldviews, took a strengths-based approach, appropriately positioned the lead author, and data analysis occurred in a cyclical, iterative and collective cycle of with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council of NSW, 2020; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). The review was conducted within an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander governance structure that underpins the broader research project. Three Dharawal and Bidiagal community members with lived experience as social housing tenants guide the overall project and are in control of decisions relating to the research, including idea generation, question development, and ways of working in a culturally appropriate and beneficial way (Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council of NSW, 2020). The non-Aboriginal first author and the three Dharawal and Bidiagal community members have a strong relationship built through trust, listening and respect for one another, a relational way of working that facilitates genuine partnership and community engagement. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers within the Guunu-maana (Heal) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program at The George Institute for Global Health, Aboriginal supervisors (JC & TM) and cultural mentors provide additional guidance. The governance structure is the backbone for how the broader research project and this scoping review are conducted. Scoping review questions were developed under the direction of three Dharawal and Bidiagal community

members (LR, MM and LT). Exploring meanings of home was considered a foundational element to the broader research project and aligned with community priorities, namely improved housing outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in urban Sydney (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2020). Question development was also supported by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers (JC, TM, BP and AT) and a non-Aboriginal researcher (KH).

An Indigenous research paradigm is crucial grounding for a study relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, as colonization facilitates Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia to be 'researched on' by non-Aboriginal people, causing harm through ongoing disempowerment and deficit-based representations and narratives (Geia *et al.*, 2013; Sherwood, 2010). The authors of this review acknowledge the negative impacts of the continual colonization of Australia and purposefully designed the research to counteract colonial narratives. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' lived experiences, ways of knowing, voices and knowledges are privileged (Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008) and the review is purposefully strengths-based (Fogarty *et al.*, 2018; Geia *et al.*, 2013).

The review applies Indigenous standpoint theory (Moreton-Robinson, 2013) and reflexivity (Etherington, 2004). The lead author (JA) is a non-Aboriginal queer, non-binary trans person who acknowledges their socially, culturally and politically privileged standpoint as a White, Eastern European settler living on Gadigal Country, Sydney (Moreton-Robinson, 2013). Throughout the research process JA engaged in reflexivity, keeping a journal to note how their standpoint as a White settler with a Western upbringing impacted the search strategy, record selection, data extraction, interpretation of data and analysis, quality assessment and write-up, and discussed their reflections in bimonthly yarns with senior Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Aboriginal researchers to ensure Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's views were centred (Jootun *et al.*, 2009; Meers, 2023).

The review purposefully privileged Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's voices in its eligibility criteria, a choice made as the study was underpinned theoretically within an Indigenous research methodology and paradigm. Eligibility criteria were records that included information on Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples' meanings of home, derived from the voices of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples, and set in Australia in any urban, rural or remote location. Records were limited to those with direct firsthand quotes from Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people, were written by, or the information was clearly derived from, the voices of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples. A flow on effect of the criteria was that yarning, storytelling and interviews would likely be the methods used. This also aligned with an Indigenous research methodology, as yarning and storytelling are Indigenous methods and methodologies that honour First People's ways of knowing (Archibald *et al.*, 2019). For example, yarning is a relaxed, informal conversation, a culturally appropriate way to pass on knowledge, and a learning process (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010; Geia *et al.*, 2013). Storytelling is also an Indigenous method used to gather knowledge organically, a way of knowing that aligns with Indigenous ontologies (Kovach, 2009).

The search strategy was developed by all authors, and supported by a non-Aboriginal university librarian, see [Table 1](#) Search Strategy. The search was conducted in seven

Table 1. Search Strategy.

1. *noft(Aborigin* OR 'Torres Strait Island*' OR Indigen* OR 'First Nations')*
2. *(noft(meaning* NEAR/2 home*) OR noft(concept* NEAR/2 home*) OR noft(idea* NEAR/2 home*) OR noft(perspective* NEAR/2 home*) OR noft(notion* NEAR/2 home*))*
3. 1 AND 2

Note: Table 1 shows the ProQuest search conducted 12 January 2022. Search strategies for remaining databases are the same or similar in structure and search terms.

databases; ProQuest, PubMed, Scopus, Google Scholar, Google (Advanced search), Australian Indigenous HealthInfoNet and The Lowitja Institute (Australia's national institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research). Search results from PubMed, Scopus and Proquest were imported into EndNote and screened in Covidence, a systematic review management website. The searches in Google Advanced and Google Scholar included 'Aboriginal', 'Torres Strait Islander' in the field 'All these words' and included the phrases 'meaning of home', 'notion of home', 'idea of home' and 'concept of home', in separate searches. The Australian Indigenous HealthInfoNet is a database that generates content on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia. This search involved searching within 'titles and abstracts' and used the term 'home*' in the field 'contains some'.

ProQuest, PubMed and Scopus database results were imported to EndNote, and duplicates removed. The results of each separate Google search were copied to a spreadsheet and duplicates identified manually. The number of search results and removal of duplicates was documented methodically in a spreadsheet with the exception of results from HealthInfoNet. Due to the high volume of search results and limited capabilities of the HealthInfoNet search engine, only potentially eligible results were documented in a spreadsheet and duplicates were manually identified against the existing list of all search results. The search was restricted to texts published in the previous fifty-year period. Each Google Scholar and Google (Advanced search) search was limited to the first 20 pages.

Three researchers (JA, CK and AT) screened titles and abstracts, full texts, and extracted data from the final eligible records. The titles and abstracts, and full texts, of all search results were screened by JA, and a separate independent screen took place by a second researcher (CK and AT) on a random sample (10%) of results. Discrepancies were resolved through discussion. Any record type, research design or method was considered. Records were limited to the English language.

Data from the final records were extracted by JA, and a second researcher (CK) conducted data extraction of 10% of the records to ensure consistency. Disagreements were resolved through consensus. The final extracted data were coded in Nvivo version 12 and thematically analysed by the first author. Initial themes were discussed with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers (JC, TM, BP, AT), and a non-Aboriginal researcher (KH).

All records were quality assessed. The purpose of quality assessment generally is to indicate the methodological rigor of papers included in a review. This allows for readers to situate the findings and ascertain their methodological strength. Quality assessment of all records ascertained the extent that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander values and ethics were applied to the included records. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Quality Appraisal Tool was used to assesses all records from

an Indigenous perspective (Harfield *et al.*, 2020). Records on this topic were primarily conducted within a Western research paradigm and thus it is particularly important to ascertain their strength according to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research principles. Records were quality assessed by three authors (JA, JC and AT). The tool requires researchers to answer fourteen questions, across topics of community consultation, Indigenous governance, leadership, respect for community protocols, two-way learning and benefit, with the option to answer 'Yes', 'No', 'Partially' or 'Unclear'. For this review, a 'Yes' response indicated explicit evidence, and 'No' indicated sufficient evidence that the record did not apply the related principles or actions. As there are varied interpretations of benefit, a 'Yes' response indicated explicit statement of benefit to communities, either as reimbursement of participants or a tangible outcome resulting from the research, or a statement was made about the research providing benefit.

Given that the data in this review relies heavily on the voices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people generated from qualitative, Indigenous and multi methods research, journalism, NGO program work, and a government plan, it is crucial to assess methodological rigor to appropriately situate the findings of this review. Qualitative studies were assessed against the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) Qualitative Studies Checklist (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme, 2022), a tool endorsed by the Cochrane Qualitative and Implementation Methods Group (Long *et al.*, 2020). The CASP checklist was only used to assess studies that explicitly applied qualitative methodologies. Mixed methods studies were assessed using the Mixed Methods Appraisal tool 2018 (Hong *et al.*, 2018). News articles and content produced by NGOs were considered separately.

Results

The search was conducted in January 2022. A total of 1710 results were generated. At title and abstract screening stage, 1,449 records were screened, and 1,408 were excluded. Forty-one ($n=41$) records remained for full text screening. These 41 records were assessed for eligibility and 20 were excluded. Twenty-one ($n=21$) records met the inclusion criteria. See [Figure 1](#) for the search flowchart.

Types of evidence

Of the 21 included records, there were eight reports, four research journal articles, two news articles, two theses, one article published on an NGO website, one book chapter, one essay published in a peer-reviewed journal, one government discussion paper, and one government housing action plan, see [Table 2](#) for a full list of included records and their characteristics. Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people were the primary focus of 18 of 21 records. Fourteen of 21 records were developed for the purposes of research and ten were peer-reviewed. Qualitative and Indigenous methodologies and methods were mainly used across the records. One article used a household survey with quantitative and qualitative components, however only the qualitative data were used in this review. Direct quotes were available in 19 of 21 records. Of the two records that did not include quotes, one involved semi-structured

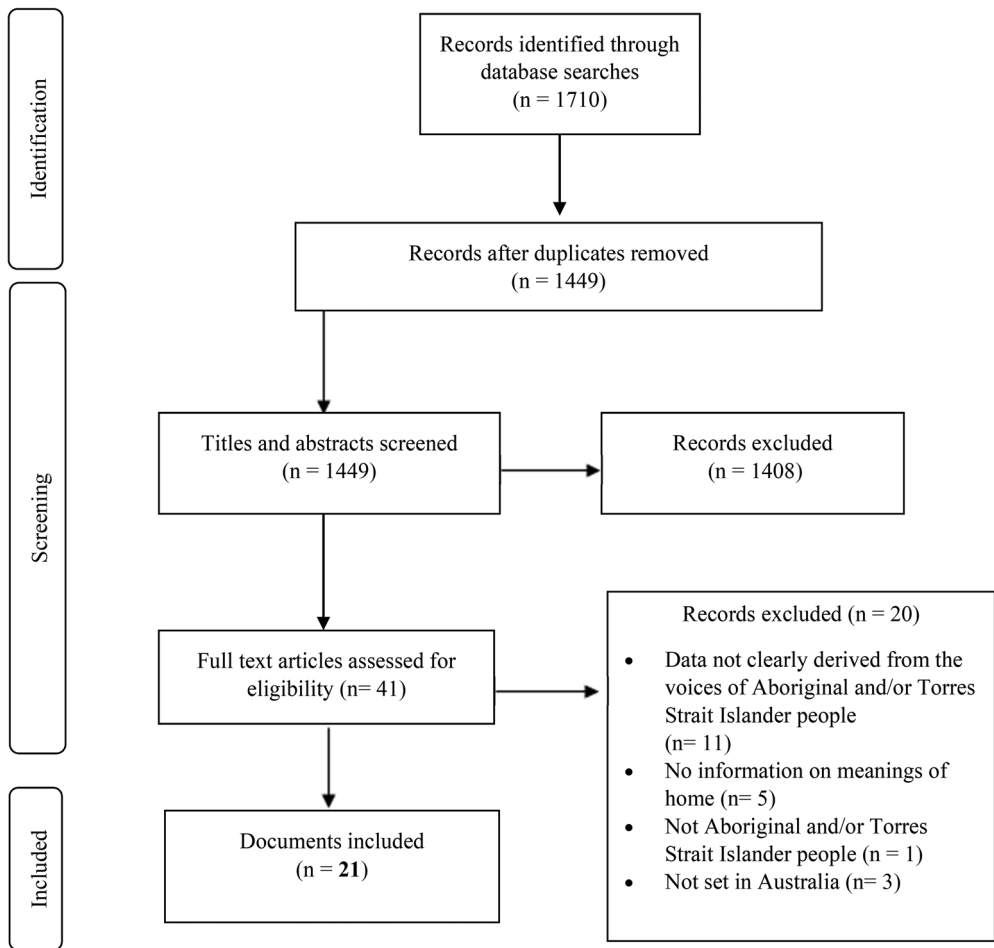


Figure 1. Search flowchart.

discussions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people about concepts of ‘home’ and ‘homelessness’, with authors reporting they ‘endeavoured to report the information as heard without bias’ (Commonwealth of Australia, 2013). Another record provided a narrative summary of a household survey on home ownership on communal title lands in four Aboriginal community settlements in Queensland (Moran *et al.*, 2002).

Quality assessment

Assessing against the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Quality Appraisal Tool, two studies exemplified evidence on all 14 questions and seven scored moderately (4–8 ‘Yes’), see [Supplementary Table 1](#). Nine records scored poorly (1–3 ‘Yes’), as they did not provide sufficient evidence on priorities, community engagement, management and control of intellectual and cultural property, learning opportunities, capacity building, and benefit. Three records showed no evidence on any of the 14 questions. Overall, records scored highly on a strengths-based approach,

Table 2. Included record characteristics.

Author, Year	Title	Type of record	Peer-reviewed	Record developed for the purpose of research	Location: rural, remote or metropolitan	Aim	Are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people centred?	Method/s (as described in each record)	Sample size	Participants or sources of information
Anglicare Australia, 2017	The Meaning of Home State of the Family Report 2017	Report	No	No	NT; remote. WA; unspecified	Provide reflections and portraits from Anglicare network members across Australia	No	Public survey on the meaning of home and interviews	NA	A young man from Gumbalanga, Northern Territory, and a mother living in Western Australia
Behrendt, 2009	Home: The importance of place to the dispossessed	Essay published in journal	Yes	No	Unspecified	Personal reflections and analysis on the concept of home and place, and future implications for Australian government policy in relation to Aboriginal people	Yes	First-person account	NA	Kamilaroi and Yualawuy woman
Birdsall-Jones & Corunna, 2008	The housing careers of Indigenous urban households	Report	Yes	Yes	Perth, Broome and Carnarvon WA; rural and metropolitan	An analysis of the Indigenous housing experience conceptualized as 'housing careers'	Yes	Ethnographic unstructured interviews	51	Indigenous Western Australians
Bryce, 2019	The Aboriginal women who fought homelessness and stereotypes to take control of their money	News article	No	No	WA	Depict the story of one Aboriginal woman's journey from homelessness to home ownership	Yes	Interview for news	1	Ngoonooru-Wadjari woman
Clark, 2012	Beyond Political Ideology – The Mainstreaming of Aboriginal Public Housing Policy	Report	No	Yes	Adelaide and Southern Region SA; metropolitan and rural	Reignite discussion on the impacts of mainstreaming public housing policies and service delivery and illustrate that mainstreaming is a poor fit with evidence-based, culturally appropriate knowledge relating to Aboriginal housing needs and aspirations	Yes	Qualitative; Focus groups and interviews	800	Aboriginal people

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

Author, Year	Title	Type of record	Peer-reviewed	Record developed for the purpose of research		Location; rural, remote or metropolitan	Are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people centred?	Method/s (as described in each record)	Sample size	Participants or sources of information
				Yes	No					
Commonwealth of Australia, 2013	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Perspectives on Homelessness	Discussion Paper	No	Yes	NSW, NT, QLD	To understand Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's concepts of home and homelessness	Yes	Qualitative; Semi-structured discussions	Unspecified	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people
Cooper & Morris, 2005	Sustainable tenancy for Indigenous families	Report	No	Yes	Brisbane and Darwin and surrounds QLD; metropolitan and remote	To examine pathways into homelessness and between homelessness and sustainable tenancy	Yes	Qualitative; Semi-structured interviews	104	Indigenous women and their children in temporary housing, camps, or staying with family and friends
Greenop & Memmott, 2016	'We are good-hearted people, we like to share': Definitional dilemmas of crowding and homelessness in urban Indigenous Australia	Book chapter	Yes	Yes	Mount Isa and Inala, QLD; rural	To understand the factors determining crowding as an experience of stress in Indigenous communities	Yes	Qualitative; Interviews	351; 210 people in Mount Isa; 141 people in Inala	Indigenous household residents
Judd <i>et al.</i> , 2003	Housing options and independent living: sustainable outcomes for older people who are homeless	Report	No	Yes	NSW, VIC, SA; metropolitan, rural	To understand older homeless people	No	Qualitative; Questionnaire survey (self-administered), and semi-structured interviews	114; 40 agency workers, 15 managers, 59 clients	Agency workers, managers and clients of the Assistance with Care and Housing for the Aged (ACHA) program, of which 7 were described as Indigenous

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

Author, Year	Title	Type of record	Peer-reviewed	Record developed for the purpose of research	Location; rural, remote or metropolitan	Aim	Are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people centred?	Method/s (as described in each record)	Sample size	Participants or sources of information
Keys Young, 1999	Homelessness in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander context and its possible implications for the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP)	Report	No	Yes	Sydney, NSW; Townsville, QLD; Alice Springs, NT; Kununurra and Wyndham, WA, Brisbane and Normanton, QLD; metropolitan, rural and remote	To identify the cultural context of homelessness among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Yes	Qualitative; In-depth semi-structured interviews	Unspecified	A total of 120 agencies (Indigenous community organizations, Indigenous service providers and policy-makers in health, welfare, housing and accommodation, services funded by SAAP, and homeless people)
Knox, 2006	Designing and developing Aboriginal service organizations: a journey of consciousness	Thesis (PhD)	Yes	Yes	Mount Druitt, Sydney, NSW; metropolitan	To explore how a service for homeless Aboriginal youth should be designed and developed	Yes	Qualitative; Group interviews	33	Aboriginal young people aged 16–20 living in Mount Druitt, NSW
Lowell <i>et al.</i> , 2018	The 'invisible homeless' - challenges faced by families bringing up their children in a remote Australian Aboriginal community	Research article	Yes	Yes	NT; remote (described as 500kms from nearest city)	To explore the strengths and challenges related to early childhood in a remote community in the Northern Territory	Yes	Qualitative; video ethnography, in-depth interviews with 6 families and participant observation of other community members	6 families and 30 community members	Yolngu community members

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

Author, Year	Title	Type of record	Peer-reviewed	Record developed for the purpose of research	Location; rural, remote or metropolitan	Aim	Are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people centred?	Method/s (as described in each record)	Sample size	Participants or sources of information
Moran <i>et al.</i> , 2002	Indigenous Home Ownership and Community Title Land: A Preliminary Household Survey	Research article	Yes	Yes	Palm Island, Cherbourg, Kowanyama and Lockhart River, QLD; remote	To inform the development a Queensland government home ownership schemes	Yes	Household survey, both qualitative and quantitative questions	75	Aboriginal householders living in four remote community settlements
Memmott <i>et al.</i> , 2009	Indigenous homeownership on communal title lands	Report	Yes	Yes	Nguiu, NT, Cherbourg and Dajarra, QLD, Carnavon (Mungallah), WA, and Sydney, NSW; metropolitan, rural and remote	To investigate the applicability of home ownership to Indigenous people living on communal title lands, and understanding differences between understandings of home ownership among Aboriginal people on communal vs non-communal title land	Yes	Survey questionnaire	86	Aboriginal people living on communal or non-communal title lands in Australia
Penfold, 2017	Indigenous Geographies of Home at Orient Point, NSW	Thesis (Honours)	Yes	Yes	Jerrinja Country (Orient Point), NSW; rural	To contribute to understandings of Indigenous senses of house-as-home	Yes	Indigenous research methods and methodology; Situated conversation, talking circle, follow-up conversation, audio-photographic diaries and semi-structured interviews	Unspecified	Jerrinja people

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

Author, Year	Title	Type of record	Peer-reviewed	Record developed for the purpose of research	Location; rural, remote or metropolitan	Aim	Are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people centred?	Method/s (as described in each record)	Sample size	Participants or sources of information
Penfold <i>et al.</i> , 2020	Indigenous relational understandings of the house-as-home: embodied co-becoming with Jerrinja Country	Research article	Yes	Yes	Jerrinja Country (Orient Point), NSW; rural	To better understand Jerrinja people's meanings of house-as-home to support architectural design to align with Jerrinja ontology	Yes	Indigenous research methods and methodology; Storytelling, veranda yarnning sessions and talking circles	30	Elderly Jerrinja people living on and off Country
Queensland government, 2019	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Housing Action Plan 2019–2023	Government housing action plan	No	No	Mt Isa, Cherbourg, Brisbane, Ipswich, Cairns, Yarrabah, Palm Island and Townsville, QLD; metropolitan, rural and remote	To create a shared vision, principles and approach to improving housing outcomes for First Nations Queenslanders	Yes	Indigenous research methods and methodology; Yarning circles	>200	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Queenslanders
Sadik, 2014	Canberra Close Up: John Paul Janke - AIATSIS	News article	No	No	Unspecified	Interview profiling an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander man	Yes	Interview for news	1	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander man
The Australian Centre for Housing Innovation, 2019	Summary of Lived Experience Workshops	Report	No	No	SA;	To share the experience and knowledge of people with lived experience of housing challenges to inform the South Australian Housing Authority's Housing, Homelessness and Support Strategy.	No	Lived experience workshops	93	People with the experience of housing and homelessness, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people
Salvation Army, 2021	Art reflects Tanita's heart for Country	NGO website article	No	No	SA	Interview telling an Anangu woman's story of Country and art	Yes	Interview	1	Anangu woman
Watkin Lui, 2012	My island home representing Torres Strait Islanders living outside the Torres Strait	Research article	Yes	Yes	Torres Strait Islands and the mainland	To explore how Torres Strait Islanders negotiate and understand the contemporary Mainlander experience	Yes	Qualitative; Narrative inquiry	25	Three generations of Torres Strait Islander people

with 17 records acknowledging colonization and imposition of Western value systems and/or used positive images and language about people and culture. An Indigenous research paradigm underlay five records. Eight records engaged a diverse range of stakeholders for community consultation, or clearly demonstrated appropriate inclusivity through consultation with representative organizations. Seven records were led or co-led by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people, demonstrating leadership, and First Nations research governance was clear in six records, evident in the establishment of Aboriginal Reference Groups or Steering Committees.

Ten qualitative research records were identified and appraised, see [Supplementary Table 2](#). Studies were of moderate quality according to CASP criteria. Aims and findings were stated clearly and qualitative methodology was appropriate in all records, and eight of nine studies were valuable in terms of the contribution made to existing knowledge. Six studies provided sufficient evidence of appropriate research design and considered the relationship between researchers and participants. However, few studies (3 of 9) reported consideration of ethical issues and five lacked rigor in data analysis. The two mixed methods studies both had clear research questions, and their data allowed the questions to be adequately addressed. There was not, however, adequate rationale provided for use of mixed methods. Different components of the data were sufficiently integrated to address the research questions, but it was unclear whether outputs were adequately interpreted, and divergences between qualitative and quantitative data were not addressed.

Considering the quality of news articles and content produced by NGOs requires looking beyond pre-determined tools and instead considering authors' standpoint and values. Two news articles were published in the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, a public service broadcaster with a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) that commits to respecting Indigenous people and culture in its content. Both articles were strengths-based, with positive stories and imagery, and notably, the Bryce article (2019) was by a journalist descending from the Barkindji people. The Anglicare Australia article did not perpetuate harmful views and their RAP commitments include building respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures.

Context

The voices of people included in this review are varied and are indicative of the diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals and communities. Meanings of home are informed by people's cultures, gender, age, tenure, geographies, experiences of homelessness, experiences of Stolen Generations survivors, and connections to family, culture, Country, and spirituality. Experiences span across public and community housing, private rental, and/or private home ownership in urban, rural and remote locations across States and Territories of Australia. Records include the voices of people in NSW ($n=5$), QLD ($n=8$), WA ($n=4$), NT ($n=4$), SA ($n=3$), ACT ($n=1$) and nationally ($n=2$). It was not feasible to map the findings according to geographic area and Country as some quotes were from people who did not specify their location.

Meanings of home

Based on the voices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the 21 records, meanings of home were found to be relational, culturally-specific and more than a shelter. Connection to family, community, culture, land and Country, and spirituality were what made home. With these connections, home was imbued with a sense of belonging, security, identity and permanence.

Home as family and community connection

Home was overwhelmingly described as family and community, evident in 19 of 21 records. Being with family or with loved ones was consistently considered to be home by multiple people. Hosting family and being together with people and community were integral to home. Home as family was further evidenced through descriptions of home as connection to one's bloodline. The following quotes are examples of home meaning family, togetherness and being with people:

Aboriginal people, it's more to do with togetherness and people, there's not so much value placed on material things, on having a TV or a bed – Indigenous SAAP worker (Keys Young, 1999).

Home for me is family. But I have to call housing to report if I have family staying. They don't understand our ways – First Nations person, Kaurua Country (The Australian Centre for Housing Innovation, 2019).

Home is not necessarily a physical structure, but an attachment to a home area or a home group – Indigenous government officer (Keys Young, 1999).

The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare survey (2019a) of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's perspectives on home and homelessness found that home is family and kinship which provide a connection to culture and access to resources. Greenop & Memmott (2016), Judd *et al.* (2003) and Penfold *et al.* (2020) show the importance of multiple generations living together as intergenerational family connection is a part of continuing culture. In Queensland, a study of Indigenous home ownership on communal title lands described how First People's preferred to own a house in Cherbourg – a former mission, today under Aboriginal community control – because of family and community connection:

*Community – it's home, family and culture; tried living outside [of Cherbourg] – not the same – First Nations person, Queensland (Memmott *et al.*, 2009).*

Being able to host family or community was an important aspect of home, at times described as a cultural obligation, with sharing of resources being a source of pride, and a part of making a house a home. Community connection in the urban context was evident in Behrendt's (2009) description of Aboriginal Sydney's community organizations – women's legal services, a First Nations radio station and childcare centres – as political, cultural and spiritual homes and sites of collective identity and pride.

Home as connection to Country, culture and spirituality

Thirteen records evidenced home to mean Country, which in turn connected people to culture and spirituality. The term 'home' was often used interchangeably with

Country or traditional land or seas. One Jerrinja Elder voiced that he would ‘love to come back home’ (Penfold, 2017), referring to Jerrinja Country. Connection to Country was described by Jerrinja people as an ancestral tie to the land, with one Jerrinja Elder voicing that connection to Country was a spiritual feeling that provided a sense of home:

Wherever we live we’ve got to have this freedom of our spirit. And it’s a strong spiritual feeling but it’s also a physical feeling. We have to have that space [that is the connection that comprises Country] – Jerrinja Elder (Penfold et al., 2020).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in four other records described Country as a connection to ancestors and spirituality, with one woman saying:

I feel a spiritual connection to this place [island of origin] because of my ancestor’s connection, especially out the back here, you can feel it – Torres Strait Islander woman (Watkin Lui, 2012).

Clark (2012) and Penfold (2017); Penfold et al. (2020) described traditional lands and community as inseparable. In consultations with First People’s for Shelter South Australia, home was described to mean:

...traditional lands where community and landscape come together to create an unqualified sense of union – Workshop participant, Kurna Country (Clark, 2012).

Country to Jerrinja people was described as home, as Country is where one’s people and knowledge are. Jerrinja people experienced Country as an entity, and a relationship was said to be fostered with not only people but also with Country, showing how relationality is about the human as well as non-human (Penfold, 2017; Penfold et al., 2020).

While home was at times described as a physical place where one lives, with a bed and facilities (Commonwealth of Australia, 2013; Cooper & Morris, 2005; Knox, 2006), home was also conceptualized as both a dwelling and as Country or traditional lands. One person living on Kurna Country said:

For me the meaning of home has many layers. There is home, which are my traditional lands, where I feel safe... But my house where I live in Adelaide is my home because it is where my family comes and it is our safe haven from a sometimes hostile world – First Nations person (Clark, 2012).

A sense of belonging and safety through connection to people and country

Connection to Country and community were said to provide a sense of belonging to place and/or people in 12 records. Home, Country and community were considered intrinsically linked to culture, cultural practices and ontologies in seven records, with an example in the following quote:

A real home for me is back to my tradition. I would like to go bush and do the traditional ways for a while. With my kids and re-teach, re-learn and then maybe come back into society – First Nations woman (Cooper & Morris, 2005).

In the following excerpt, a young mother described her first visit to Jaru Country, and the deep sense of belonging and identity this visit provided:

It was an amazing feeling for me to stay on my traditional lands for the first time. I tried to absorb everything: every flower, tree, hill, termite mound, sand colour, etc. I felt a solid sense of self as I knew where I come from and what my ancestral lands look like. I can take that with me wherever I go, that I will always have a home in this land – Indigenous mother, Western Australia (Anglicare Australia, 2017).

An Aboriginal woman from the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) lands described the interconnection between Country, culture, and lore and how it links to identity and belonging:

As [an] Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, Country is the most important thing, and everything else falls into place around that. From Country comes culture and lore. It is literally part of our identity, and people have to respect and take care of our lands and waters, no matter what their race, because at the end of the day, if you are damaging Country, you are damaging people's identity – Tanita Paige, Anangu woman, South Australia (Salvation Army, 2021).

Home was also said to be about safety, and associated with Country, togetherness and family. Clark (2012), Cooper & Morris (2005), Keys Young (1999) and Knox (2006) showed evidence of home described as safety from physical or emotional harm.

Fracturing of home

Colonial legislation, policies and practices, including the racist practice of assimilation resulting in the Stolen Generations, means some people are not able to return to their traditional lands or Country, and subsequently lose connection to homeland or people. These experiences were described in Watkin Lui (2012), Penfold (2017) and Keys Young (1999) as a loss of home. A loss of home was considered in some instances to be distinct from the Western concept of homelessness, as First Peoples can lose their home, i.e. their Country, through dispossession, while homelessness often refers to the loss of a shelter (Keys Young, 1999; Penfold, 2017). Homelessness was the focus of one third ($n=7$) of the records, three of which explored spiritual homelessness, a category of homelessness that relates to a state of being when separated from traditional land, family or kinship networks (Keys Young, 1999). A young Aboriginal person in Knox's study highlights the strong meaning of home tied to connection to family, identity, and place of origin, and shows how child removal policies have led to a fracturing of home:

I mean homelessness for me is not just being without a home or a house to live in. It's not having a real strong connection with your family members or with anybody who you want to have strong connections with who know your family members, who know where you come from, who know if you're a 'stolen generation' child for instance and nobody knows where you're from, then you feel homeless because you can't get a grasp of who you are or where you are coming from or where you are going. – Aboriginal person, Dharug Country, Mt Druitt, Sydney (Knox, 2006).

A Stolen Generations survivor in one study said:

I had wonderful foster parents, but there was something missing. I never felt at home – First Nations person (Keys Young, 1999).

While accounts of what home means to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were commonly about positive relationships to family, community, Country, culture and spirituality, some descriptions of home were not always connected to these elements. Colonialism, housing shortages and legislation resulting in the Stolen Generations have contributed to home and family relationships having negative connotations. For example, Lowell *et al.* (2018), Birdsall-Jones & Corunna (2008) and Memmott *et al.* (2009) evidenced home as wanting to be away from family. In Lowell *et al.* (2018), the urge to be away from family related to the challenge of living in households with large numbers of family members, which in rural and remote contexts may be attributed to systemic housing shortages and thus the inability to have one's own house to comfortably reside.

Discussion

This review offers an important expansion of the mindset on home by drawing from the perspective of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia. It highlights how home is rooted in relationships with the physical and non-physical. A focus on the positive and life-giving understandings of what makes up home provides an opportunity to value First People's lived experiences, ontologies and context that shape meanings of home. This review is an active valuing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's ways of living, considering what home means to the colonized, beyond the Western lens. In *Our Voices: Indigeneity and Architecture*, Palawa woman and architectural practitioner Sarah Lynn Rees states, 'We tend to assume most people live the same way we do' (Kiddle, 2018, p. 180). These assumptions render whole ways of being invisible. However, this review is not about inclusivity and visibility for the sake of it, rather, it is a meaningful invitation to expand the Western mindset, and to value perspectives and lived experiences that are beyond Western worldviews. This is particularly important given the settler-colonial context whereby First Peoples have been forcibly displaced from Country (home).

This review emphasizes home as relational and the importance of culture and spiritual and ancestral connection to Country for First Peoples in Australia. Some attention has been dedicated in the housing literature to truly valuing the ontologically specific importance of family, community and Country as home, from First Peoples' perspectives (Bowra & Mashford-Pringle, 2021; Christensen, 2013; Coleman, 2000; Dawson, 2008; Penfold, 2017; Penfold *et al.*, 2020; Thistle, 2017). Our findings align with previously published literature, with Métis-Cree scholar Jesse Thistle (2017), for example, describing home to Indigenous people as 'a holistic metaphysical understanding of emplacement, rather than a built environment' and 'as a web of relationships and responsibilities involving connections to human kinship networks relationships with animals, plants, spirits and elements; relationships with the Earth, lands, animals, waters and territories; and connection to traditional stories, songs, teachings, names and ancestors'. Similarly, Country is at the centre of the relational human and non-human web for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, as described by Lauren Tynan (2021), a Trawlwulwuy woman: 'Country sits at the heart of coming to know and understand relationality as it is the web that connects

humans to a system of Lore/Law and knowledge that can never be human-centric'. Family structures in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures are extended, rather than nuclear, with complex systems of kinship that structure where people belong, and family often including people who are not blood relations (Queensland Government, 2019). Studies on mobility among Noongar people and Aboriginal people of Yamatji Country show that they are at home when with family - importantly, this includes extended networks - described by Penfold as 'kinship-as-home' (Birdsall-Jones & Corunna, 1988; Penfold *et al.*, 2020; Prout, 2009).

The Western housing literature has extensively explored meanings of home that, upon first glance, overlap with the findings of this review. While the purpose was not to compare Western and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's meanings of home, there is value in emphasizing two key differences in relation to Country and family. According to scholars from the UK (Somerville, 1989; Watson & Austerberry, 1986) home is understood as material condition and shelter, as the container for the heart, i.e. loving social relations and family, as emotional and physical wellbeing, or hearth, as control and privacy, and as a source of one's identity and roots. One major divergence between our findings and the overarching story of what home means according to the Western literature is that to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, home is Country, and peoples belong to Country. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are sovereign and ontologically bound to Country, a relationship and sense of belonging that comes from the Dreaming and knowledge system (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). This depth of cultural, spiritual and ancestral belonging to Country is not understood nor experienced by non-Aboriginal people; it is outside of the scope of the Western understanding and experience of home.

Family and loving relations are considered in the Western literature as an important part of home (Gurney & Studies, 1990; Mallett, 2004; Somerville, 1989). However, digging deeper, family connection to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people diverges beyond the emotionally positive experience of being with family and constructing home through family. Family for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is strongly linked to a source of cultural connection, knowing one's belief systems, and ultimately one's place in the ontologically specific world of one's culture. In the context of a White settler colonial society that actively disconnects Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from their own peoples and thus culture, one's family is a source of connection to place in the world and continuation as a peoples (Ristevski *et al.*, 2020). Family and togetherness is strongly tied to care, Black love, looking out for one another and survival (Watego, 2021). Shelter is an important resource bringing family together however it is not just a physical sheltering but an emotional sheltering from the hostilities of White society (Clark, 2012).

While connection to Country, culture, family and kinship is integral to home to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's, it is worth noting that home ownership, provision of physical shelter, preventing homelessness and reducing overcrowding continue to be the primary focus of the housing literature and policy relating to First Peoples in Australia (Australian Government, 2020; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2019b, 2021). This focus on the physical dwelling is unsurprising given the emphasis of home ownership and property acquisition

in Australia. It also indicates the reality of housing options for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, with housing shortages and racial discrimination in the private rental market (Andersen *et al.*, 2018; Moskos *et al.*, 2022) leading to disproportionate rates of overcrowding and homelessness (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2023; Davidson & Livsey, 2017). Home ownership is the desirable form of tenure in settler-colonial states, providing stability, freedom, control, supportive of emotional, social and financial health, and an avenue to reduce housing costs in retirement and to accrue wealth (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013; Fox, 2007; Norris & Nandedkar, 2022; Winter & Stone, 1998). Owning one's own home is a material benefit that can lead to improved health and wellbeing (Munford, Fichera, & Sutton, 2020). However, it is important to challenge the centring of home ownership and property acquisition in housing scholarship, as it is common of settler-colonial contexts where the unlawful acquisition of land and the removal of property rights is part of the Western colonial projects and White possessive logics (Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Norris & Nandedkar, 2022). Solely focusing on home ownership, provision of housing stock and physicality of home obfuscates relational and culturally significant aspects of home for First Peoples, such as relationship to Country, spirituality, connection to family and community, supporting sense of belonging and feeling of safety. A dual emphasis on physical shelter as well as relationality in home could be beneficial, rather than solely focusing policy efforts on the physical aspects of home. For example, Penfold's study with Jerrinja people explored how relationship to family, community and Country could be practically embedded into housing design to facilitate Jerrinja Elders moving back to Country and support wellbeing (Penfold *et al.*, 2020).

Lastly, the findings of this review support Christensen's notion that there is a disjunct between First People's meanings of home and housing policies, and highlights the invisibility and de-valuing of First Peoples' lived experience, ontologies and context with regards to home (Christensen, 2016). Christensen demonstrates how public housing policies in the Canadian north – particularly a two-week time limit for guests – clash with First Nations peoples' ways of living, with family and sharing of resources a central part of making home (Christensen, 2016). Similarly, in the Australian social housing context, tenants are offered limited timeframes for visitors to stay, preventing social and cultural needs of caring for one another to be met. This review evidenced Aboriginal people voicing a disconnect between social housing providers' requirements regarding visitors' short length of stay, and cultural ways of Aboriginal people to provide a place to stay for family and community members in need (Cooper & Morris, 2005; Keys Young, 1999; Moskos *et al.*, 2022; The Australian Centre for Housing Innovation, 2019). Christensen suggests embedding First Nations' ontologies into Canadian public housing policy to reduce First Nations homelessness (Christensen, 2016). Similarly in Australia there is an opportunity to meaningfully consider how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's relational ontologies and lived experiences in relation to home could be embedded into housing policy and housing design.

Lastly, the heterogenous nature of evidence of this review, with a substantial proportion of grey literature, shows the importance of widening the scope beyond

peer-reviewed articles to understand Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's position on a subjective and culturally-specific concept such as home. As a consequence, the rigor and quality of some records is unclear or lacking.

Strengths and limitations

A key strength is the eligibility criteria centring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's voices, and the research governance structure providing culturally appropriate guidance and interpretation of findings. The review is beneficial as it provides a unique perspective on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' meanings of home and exemplifies housing research conducted at the interface of Indigenous and Western worldviews and research paradigms. Other strengths include the identification of records using Indigenous research methodologies and thus the quality of evidence from these records centring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of knowing, being and doing. Eighteen of the 21 records focused on Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people, a positive aspect as the evidence is largely drawn from records specific to the groups of interest. The terminology used for this scoping review, particularly the term 'home', is an English term. There may be other terms that are connected to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's concepts of home that may not have been captured in the search strategy. However, this systematic scoping review was not intended to be exhaustive, rather it was to identify and summarize the meanings of home, directly generated from the voices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia. Only ten of 21 records were peer-reviewed, potentially limiting the quality of the evidence.

Conclusion

Relationality and the interconnectedness between self, Country, culture and people are at the core of meanings of home to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. This review offers a positive expansion of the mindset on home, beyond colonial, Eurocentric concepts and beyond the deficit scope of homelessness to one of strengths, wholism and collectivity. The paper's strengths are aided by an Indigenous research methodology, centring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices and lived experience in the generation of evidence. It is crucial for housing scholarship to meaningfully consider and value relational concepts of home beyond Eurocentric norms, as these meanings are ontologically significant for First Nations people who are systemically disadvantaged in housing systems in settler-colonial states. Valuing relational meanings of home is of benefit to housing systems and peoples globally.

Acknowledgments

We acknowledge the guidance of Lola Ryan, Melinda Moore and Lee Timbery, Dharawal and Bidiagal community members, who guide the *Healthy Housing* research project and the lead author's PhD, *Housing, home and health*. We also acknowledge the contribution of Courtney Ryder, Narungga woman and Senior Lecturer in Public Health at Flinders University and Keziah

Bennett-Brook, Torres Strait Islander woman and Head of Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program at The George Institute for Global Health, UNSW.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This research was undertaken as part of the first author's PhD, supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship and a George Institute for Global Health Top-up Scholarship, InfoEd Ref: RG213529.

Notes on contributors

Jacek Anderst is a PhD Candidate with Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program at The George Institute. Guided by Dharawal and Bidiagal community members, Jacek's PhD aims to support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tenants' experience of the social housing system.

Kate Hunter is a Senior Research Fellow with Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program at The George Institute for Global Health and conjoint senior lecturer at the University of NSW and Flinders University. She is an elected Executive member of the Australasian Injury Prevention Network (2019-current) and was elected chair of Kidsafe NSW (2018–2022).

Julieann Coombes is a Gumbaynggirr woman with connections to Gamilaraay country where she grew up. Julieann is a Senior Research Fellow for Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program at The George Institute for Global Health and has extensive experience in social and cultural determinants of health research, Indigenous methodologies and applies decolonizing methods to all her research projects.

Alinta Trindall is a Thunghutti and Gamilaroi woman and is originally from the Mid-North Coast of NSW. She is a Research Assistant at Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health program at The George Institute.

Bobby Porykali is a Research Fellow at Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program at The George Institute and holds an NHMRC Early Career Research Fellowship.

Camila Kairuz Santos is a General Practitioner from Colombia with experience in primary health and community care. She is a Research Associate at Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program at The George Institute where she focuses on health inequalities and the impact of colonization and intergenerational trauma on the health and wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

Tamara Mackean is a Waljen woman and Fellow of the Australasian Faculty of Public Health Medicine. Associate Professor Mackean holds a conjoint appointment in research at Guunu-maana (Heal), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Program, George Institute for Global Health and the College of Medicine and Public Health, Flinders University of South Australia where she leads a body of research focussed on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander public health and wellbeing.

ORCID

Jacek Anderst  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0342-2968>

References

- Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council of NSW (2020) *AH&MRC Ethical Guidelines: Key Principles (2020) V2.0*. Surry Hills, Sydney. Available at <https://www.ahmrc.org.au/publication/ahmrc-guidelines-for-research-into-aboriginal-health-2020/>.
- Andersen, M. J., Williamson, A. B., Fernando, P., Eades, S. & Redman, S. (2018) 'They took the land, now we're fighting for a house': Aboriginal perspectives about urban housing disadvantage, *Housing Studies*, 33, pp. 635–660.
- Anglicare Australia (2017) *State of the Family report 2017 The Meaning of Home*. (accessed) Canberra: <https://www.anglicare.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/sof-design-with-spine.pdf>.
- Archibald, J.-A., Lee-Morgan, J., De Santolo, J. & Smith, L. T. (2019) *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (London: ZED Books Ltd.).
- Arksey, H. & O'Malley, L. (2005) Scoping studies: towards a methodological framework, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8, pp. 19–32.
- Australian Government (2020) *National Agreement on Closing the Gap*. Canberra: Partnership Agreement on Closing the Gap. Available at https://www.closingthegap.gov.au/sites/default/files/2021-03/national-agreement-ctg-mar-21_0.pdf.
- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (2020) *AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies).
- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (2022) Welcome to Country. *What is Country?* <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/welcome-country#toc-what-is-country->
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2013). *Housing strategies that improve Indigenous health outcomes. Resource sheet no. 25 for the Closing the Gap Clearinghouse*. Canberra: <https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/cff298b-726d-477d-bf31-69f5052b6b04/ctgc-rs25.pdf.aspx?inline=true>.
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2019a) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people: A focus report on housing and homelessness* (Canberra: AIHW).
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2019b) *National Social Housing Survey 2018*. Canberra: Available at <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/housing-assistance/national-social-housing-survey-2018-key-results>.
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2021) *Indigenous Housing* Canberra: AIHW. Available at <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/australias-welfare/indigenous-housing>.
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2023) *Housing circumstances of First Nations people*. Canberra: Australian Government. Available at <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/australias-welfare/indigenous-housing>.
- Behrendt, L. (2006) The Urban Aboriginal Landscape. Available at https://www.westernsydney.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/6928/Behrendt_Final.pdf.
- Behrendt, L. (2009) Home: the importance of place to the dispossessed, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 108, pp. 71–85.
- Bessarab, D. & Ng'andu, B. (2010) Yarning about yarning as a legitimate method in indigenous research, *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 3, pp. 37–50.
- Birdsall-Jones, C. & Corunna, V. (2008) *The housing careers of Indigenous urban households*. Available at https://www.ahuri.edu.au/sites/default/files/migration/documents/AHURI_Final_Report_No112_The_housing_careers_of_Indigenous_urban_households.pdf.
- Birdsall, C. (1988) All one family. In I. Keen (Ed.), *Being Black: Aboriginal cultures in 'settled' Australia* (1st ed. ed., Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press).
- Blunt, A. (2006) *Home* (London: Routledge).
- Bourdieu, P. (1979) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (T. b. R. Nice, Trans., London: Cambridge University Press).
- Bowra, A. & Mashford-Pringle, A. (2021) More than a structure: Exploring the relationship between indigenous homemaking practices and wholistic wellbeing, *Wellbeing, Space and Society*, 2, pp. 100007.

- Bryce, B. (2019) The Aboriginal women who fought homelessness and stereotypes to take control of their money. *ABC*. Available at <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-17/the-indigenous-women-taking-charge-of-their-financial-futures/10908274?nw=0&r=HtmFragment>.
- Christensen, J. (2013) Our home, our way of life': spiritual homelessness and the sociocultural dimensions of indigenous homelessness in the Northwest Territories (NWT), Canada, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 14, pp. 804–828.
- Christensen, J. (2016) Indigenous housing and health in the Canadian North: Revisiting cultural safety, *Health & Place*, 40, pp. 83–90.
- Clark, A. (2012) *Beyond political ideology - the mainstreaming of Aboriginal public housing*. Adelaide: Available at <https://shelter.org.au/site/wp-content/uploads/Shelter-S-A-Beyond-Political-Ideology-the-Mainstreaming-of-Aboriginal-Housing.pdf>.
- Coleman, A. (2000) *Five star motels: Spaces, places and homelessness in Fortitude Valley, Brisbane*.
- Commonwealth Government (1961) *The Policy of Assimilation*. Canberra: A. J Arthur, Commonwealth Government Printer. Available at https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue_resources/18801.pdf.
- Commonwealth of Australia (1997) *Bringing them home. Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (Sydney: Commonwealth of Australia).
- Commonwealth of Australia (2013) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Perspectives on Homelessness*. (ABS Catalogue No. 4735.0. Canberra, Australia: Australian Bureau of Statistics).
- Cook, N. T., Davison, A. & Crabtree, L. (2016) *Housing and home unbound: intersections in economics, environment and politics in Australia* (New York, NY: Routledge).
- Cooper, L. & Morris, M. (2005) *Sustainable Tenancy for Indigenous Families: What Services and Policy Supports are Needed?* Available at Melbourne: https://www.ahuri.edu.au/sites/default/files/migration/documents/AHURI_Final_Report_No81_Sustainable_tenancy_for_Indigenous_families.pdf.
- Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (2022) *CASP Qualitative Checklist*. Available at https://casp-uk.net/images/checklist/documents/CASP-Qualitative-Studies-Checklist/CASP-Qualitative-Checklist-2018_fillable_form.pdf.
- Davidson, H. & Livsey, A. (2017) We are begging for housing': the crisis in Indigenous communities. *The Guardian*. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/aug/20/we-are-begging-for-housing-the-crisis-in-indigenous-communities>.
- Dawson, P. C. (2008) Unfriendly architecture: Using observations of inuit spatial behavior to design culturally sustaining houses in arctic Canada, *Housing Studies*, 23, pp. 111–128.
- Dupuis, A. & Thorns, D. C. (1998) Home, home ownership and the search for ontological security, *The Sociological Review (Keele)*, 46, pp. 24–47.
- Durie, M. (2004) Understanding health and illness: research at the interface between science and indigenous knowledge, *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 33, pp. 1138–1143.
- Durie, M. (2005) Indigenous knowledge within a global knowledge system, *Higher Education Policy*, 18, pp. 301–312.
- Easthope, H. (2004) A place called home, *Housing, Theory, and Society*, 21, pp. 128–138.
- Etherington, K. (2004) *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher: Using Our Selves in Research* (Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers).
- Fogarty, W., Bulloch, H., McDonnell, S. & Davis, M. (2018) *Deficit Discourse and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Policy: Summary Report*. Available at Melbourne: <https://www.lowitja.org.au/content/Document/PDF/deficit-discourse-summary-report.pdf>.
- Fox, L. (2007) *Conceptualising Home: Theories, Laws and Policies* (Oxford, UK: Hart Publishing).
- Geia, L. K., Hayes, B. & Usher, K. (2013) Yarning/aboriginal storytelling: Towards an understanding of an indigenous perspective and its implications for research practice, *Contemporary Nurse*, 46, pp. 13–17.

- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Greenop, K. & Memmott, P. (2016) “We Are Good-Hearted People, We Like to Share”: Definitional Dilemmas of Crowding and Homelessness in Urban Indigenous Australia, In *Indigenous Homelessness: Perspectives from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press).
- Gurney, C. & Studies, U. o. B. S. f. A. U. (1990) *The Meaning of Home in the Decade of Owner Occupation: Towards an Experiential Perspective* (Bristol, England: School for Advanced Urban Studies).
- Harfield, S., Pearson, O., Morey, K., Kite, E., Canuto, K., Glover, K., Gomersall, J. S., Carter, D., Davy, C., Aromataris, E. & Braunack-Mayer, A. (2020) Assessing the quality of health research from an indigenous perspective: The aboriginal and torres strait islander quality appraisal tool, *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 20, pp. 79.
- Hay, R. (1998) A rooted sense of place in cross-cultural perspective, *Canadian Geographies / Géographies Canadiennes*, 42, pp. 245–266.
- Heidegger, M. (1971) Building, Dwelling, Thinking, in: T. A. Hofstadter (Ed.) *Poetry, Language and Thought* (New York: Harper and Row).
- Heywood, F. (2005) Adaptation: Altering the house to restore the home, *Housing Studies*, 20, pp. 531–547.
- Hong, Q. N., Pluye, P., Fàbregues, S., Bartlett, G., Boardman, F., Cargo, M., ... Nicolau, B. J. R. O C (2018) Mixed methods appraisal tool (MMAT), version 2018. 1148552
- Jootun, D., McGhee, G. & Marland, G. R. (2009) Reflexivity: Promoting rigour in qualitative research, *Nursing Standard*, 23, pp. 42–46.
- Judd, B., Kavanagh, K., Morris, A. & Naidoo, Y. (2003) *Housing options and independent living: Sustainable outcomes for older people who are homeless* (Final Report No. 62). Available at Melbourne: https://www.ahuri.edu.au/sites/default/files/migration/documents/AHURI_Final_Report_No62_Housing_options_and_independent_living.pdf.
- Keys Young (1999) *Homelessness in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander context and its possible implications for the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP)* (Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care).
- Kiddle, R. (2018) *Our Voices: Indigeneity and Architecture* (First edition). [San Francisco Bay Area] (San Francisco Bay Area: ORO Editions).
- Knox, K. J. (2006) *Designing and developing Aboriginal service organisations: a journey of consciousness* (Doctor of Philosophy). University of Western Australia, Perth.
- Kovach, M. (2009) *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Lashewicz, B., Noshin, R., Boettcher, N. & Tiifu, F. (2021) Meanings of home: An illustration of insideness and outsideness for two adults with developmental disabilities, *Housing Studies*, 36, pp. 1729–1749.
- Long, H. A., French, D. P. & Brooks, J. M. (2020) Optimising the value of the critical appraisal skills programme (CASP) tool for quality appraisal in qualitative evidence synthesis, *Research Methods in Medicine & Health Sciences*, 1, pp. 31–42.
- Lowell, A., Maypilama, L., Fasoli, L., Guyula, Y., Guyula, A., Yunupingu, M., Godwin-Thompson, J., Gundjarranbuy, R., Armstrong, E., Garrutju, J. & McEldowney, R. (2018) The ‘invisible homeless’ - challenges faced by families bringing up their children in a remote Australian aboriginal community, *BMC Public Health*, 18, pp. 1382–1382.
- Mallett, S. (2004) Understanding home: A critical review of the literature, *The Sociological Review*, 52, pp. 62–89.
- McGuire, M. M. & Murdoch, D. J. (2022) (In)-justice: An exploration of the dehumanization, victimization, criminalization, and over-incarceration of indigenous women in Canada, *Punishment & Society*, 24, pp. 529–550.
- McKenzie, H. A., Varcoe, C., Browne, A. J. & Day, L. (2016) Disrupting the continuities among residential schools, the sixties scoop, and child welfare: An analysis of colonial and neocolonial discourses, *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 7, 4.

- Meers, J. (2023) 'Home' as an essentially contested concept and why this matters, *Housing Studies*, 38, pp. 597–614.
- Memmott, P., Moran, M., Birdsall-Jones, C., Fantin, S., Kreutz, A., Godwin, J., ... Sheppard, L. (2009) *Indigenous home-ownership on communal title lands* (Final Report No. 139). Available at Melbourne: https://www.ahuri.edu.au/sites/default/files/migration/documents/AHURI_Final_Report_No139_Indigenous-home-ownership-on-communal-title-lands.pdf.
- Memmott, P., Moran, M. B.-J., Christina, Fantin, S., Kreutz, A., Godwin, J., Burgess, A., Sheppard, L. ... (2009) *Indigenous home-ownership on communal title lands* (Final Report No. 139). Available at Melbourne: https://www.ahuri.edu.au/sites/default/files/migration/documents/AHURI_Final_Report_No139_Indigenous-home-ownership-on-communal-title-lands.pdf.
- Merriam-Webster (2022) Home. Available at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/home>.
- Moran, M., Memmott, P., Long, S., Stacy, R. & Holt, J. (2002) Indigenous home ownership and community title land: A preliminary household survey, *Urban Policy and Research*, 20, pp. 357–370.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2013) Towards an Australian indigenous women's standpoint theory, *Australian Feminist Studies*, 28, pp. 331–347.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2015) *The White possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (Minneapolis London: Minneapolis London University of Minnesota Press).
- Moskos, M., Isherwood, L., Dockery, A. M., Baker, E. & Pham, N. T. A. (2022) 'What works' to sustain Indigenous tenancies in Australia. Melbourne: Available at <https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/374>.
- Munford, L. A., Fichera, E. & Sutton, M. (2020) Is owning your home good for your health? Evidence from exogenous variations in subsidies in England, *Economics and Human Biology*, 39, pp. 100903.
- Norris, A. N. & Nandedkar, G. (2022) Ethnicity, racism and housing: Discourse analysis of New Zealand housing research, *Housing Studies*, 37, pp. 1331–1349.
- Parsell, C. (2012) Home is where the house is: The meaning of home for people sleeping rough, *Housing Studies*, 27, pp. 159–173.
- Penfold, H. (2017) Indigenous Geographies of Home at Orient Point, NSW. (Human Geography (Honours)). University of Wollongong, Wollongong. Available at <https://ro.uow.edu.au/thss/14>.
- Penfold, H., Waitt, G., McGuirk, P. & Wellington, A. (2020) Indigenous relational understandings of the house-as-home: Embodied co-becoming with jerrinja country, *Housing Studies*, 35, pp. 1518–1533.
- Pohl, L., Genz, C., Helbrecht, I. & Dobruskin, J. (2022) Need for shelter, demand for housing, desire for home: A psychoanalytic reading of home-making in vancouver, *Housing Studies*, 37, pp. 1650–1668.
- Prout, S. (2009) Vacuums and veils: Engaging with statistically 'invisible' indigenous population dynamics in yamatji country, Western Australia, *Geographical Research*, 47, pp. 408–421.
- Queensland Government (2019) The meaning of family in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures. *Child Safety Practice Manual*. Available at <https://cspm.csyw.qld.gov.au/practice-kits/safe-care-and-connection/working-with-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander/seeing-and-understanding/the-meaning-of-family-in-aboriginal-and-torres-str>.
- Ristevski, E., Thompson, S., Kingaby, S., Nightingale, C. & Iddawela, M. (2020) Understanding aboriginal peoples' cultural and family connections can help inform the development of culturally appropriate cancer survivorship models of care, *J Clin Oncol Global Oncology*, 6, pp. 124–132.
- Salvation Army (Producer). (2021) Art reflects Tanita's heart for Country. Available at <https://www.salvationarmy.org.au/about-us/news-and-stories/stories/art-reflects-tanitas-heart-for-country/>.

- Saunders, P. & Williams, P. (1988) The constitution of the home: Towards a research agenda, *Housing Studies*, 3, pp. 81–93.
- Sherwood, J. (2010) *Do No Harm: Decolonising Aboriginal health research*. (PhD). University of New South Wales, Sydney.
- Smith, L. T. (1999) *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (New York: Zed Books).
- Somerville, P. (1989) Home sweet home: A critical comment on Saunders and Williams, *Housing Studies*, 4, pp. 113–118.
- Somerville, P. (1992) Homelessness and the meaning of home: Rooflessness or rootlessness?, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16, pp. 529–539.
- Stats, N. Z. (2021) *Te Pā Harakeke: Māori housing and wellbeing 2021*. Wellington, New Zealand: Available at <https://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/te-pa-harakeke-maori-housing-and-wellbeing-2021>.
- Taylor-Bragge, R. L., Whyman, T. & Jobson, L. (2021) People needs country: The symbiotic effects of landcare and wellbeing for aboriginal peoples and their countries, *Australian Psychologist*, 56, pp. 458–471.
- The Australian Centre for Housing Innovation (2019) *Summary of Lived Experience Workshops*. South Australia: Available at https://www.housing.sa.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/124157/Summary-of-Lived-Experience-Workshops-TACSI.pdf.
- Thistle, J. (2017) *Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada*. Toronto: Available at <https://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/COHIndigenousHomelessnessDefinition.pdf>.
- Tricco, A. C., Lillie, E., Zarin, W., O'Brien, K. K., Colquhoun, H., Levac, D., Moher, D., Peters, M. D. J., Horsley, T., Weeks, L., Hempel, S., Akl, E. A., Chang, C., McGowan, J., Stewart, L., Hartling, L., Aldcroft, A., Wilson, M. G., Garritty, C., Lewin, S., Godfrey, C. M., Macdonald, M. T., Langlois, E. V., Soares-Weiser, K., Moriarty, J., Clifford, T., Tunçalp, Ö. & Straus, S. E. (2018) PRISMA extension for scoping reviews (PRISMA-ScR): Checklist and explanation, *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 169, pp. 467–473.
- Tynan, L. (2021) What is relationality? Indigenous knowledges, practices and responsibilities with kin, *Cultural Geographies*, 28, pp. 597–610.
- Veness, A. R. (1993) Neither homed nor homeless: Contested definitions and the personal worlds of the poor, *Political Geography*, 12, pp. 319–340.
- Watego, C. (2021) For the love of Blackfullas, *The Sunday Paper*.
- Watkin Lui, F. (2012) My island home: Re-presenting identities for torres strait islanders living outside the torres strait, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 36, pp. 141–153.
- Watson, S. & Austerberry, H. (1986) *Housing and Homelessness: A Feminist Perspective* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).
- Wilson, S. (2008) *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Pub).
- Winter, I. & Stone, W. (1998) *Social polarisation and housing careers: Exploring the interrelationship of labour and housing markets in Australia*. Melbourne.