

Counting the Homeless

2001



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Victoria

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P R E F A C E

Homelessness is a continuing public policy issue in Australia. Several official inquiries have been held and there are a range of programs to assist homeless people. In this context, reliable information is needed on the extent of homelessness, as well as information on the social characteristics and geographical spread of the population. *Counting the Homeless 2001* is a research program focusing on these questions.

The research was funded by: the Salvation Army; the Department of Community Services (NSW); the Department of Human Services (Vic); the Department of Families (Qld); the Department of Human Services (SA); the Department for Community Development (WA); the Department of Health and Human Services (Tas); Department of Education and Community Services (ACT); and in the Northern Territory by the Departments of Health and Community Services and Community Development, Sport and Cultural Affairs. We thank the funding bodies for their support. David Eldridge and John Dalziel from the Salvation Army have been important supporters of our work since the early 1990s. We are also grateful to senior officers in the various departments who championed the research program in their states.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics has been a key partner in the project from the outset. Invaluable in kind support was provided under the Australian Census Analytic Program (ACAP). We thank colleagues in the ABS for their commitment to the project and for their generous assistance. A special acknowledgement is due to Martin Butterfield, formerly with the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). In the early 1990s, he proposed the crucial innovations in the Census data collection that made it possible to enumerate the homeless population. Despite formidable practical and technical difficulties, Martin and his colleagues at the ABS thought it should be attempted.

The analysis of the 2001 Census is supplemented by information from the SAAP National Data Collection Agency at the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW). We are grateful to Justin Griffin from the AIHW for his advice, and to Qasim Shah and his team who provided us with much needed data.

The project also required supplementary data on homeless young people throughout Australia. This information was collected through a national census of homeless school students. We thank our research team for their hard work on this component of the project. In each state and territory, departmental officers responsible for student welfare assisted us to gain permission for the research. However, it was the work of staff in secondary schools across the country that ensured the success of the project. We are grateful for their input and the time they spent identifying homeless students in their schools.

The Australian Federation of Homelessness Organizations (AFHO) and the Council to Homeless Persons (CHP) have supported our research. Homelessness is now recognized as a 'community problem' and hundreds of people have contributed to a substantial body of policy and research, as well as important initiatives designed to assist homeless Australians. Their encouragement has sustained us over the longer term.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1 DEFINITION OF HOMELESSNESS

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) uses the cultural definition of homelessness to enumerate the homeless population. This distinguishes between primary, secondary and tertiary homelessness.

Primary homelessness is the least contentious category because it accords with the common sense assumption that homelessness is the same as 'rooflessness'. It includes all people without conventional accommodation, such as people living on the streets, sleeping in parks, squatting in derelict buildings, or using cars or railway carriages for temporary shelter. Primary homelessness is operationalised using the census category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out'.

Secondary homelessness includes people who move frequently from one form of temporary shelter to another. On census night, it includes all people staying in emergency or transitional accommodation provided under the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) and under Victoria's Transitional Housing Manager (THM) scheme. The starting point for identifying this group is the census category 'hostels for the homeless, night shelters and refuges'. Secondary homelessness also includes people residing temporarily with other households because they have no accommodation of their own. They report 'no usual address' on their census form. Secondary homelessness also includes people staying in boarding houses on a short-term basis, operationally defined as 12 weeks or less.

Tertiary homelessness refers to people who live in boarding houses on a medium to long-term basis, operationally defined as 13 weeks or longer. Residents of private boarding houses do not have a separate bedroom and living room; they do not have kitchen and bathroom facilities of their own; their accommodation is not self contained; and they do not have security of tenure provided by a lease. They are homeless because their accommodation does not have the characteristics identified in the minimum community standard.

2 OVERCOUNTING AND UNDERCOUNTING

Chapter 2 summarises how the national project enumerated the homeless population using census and other data sets. It contains a new discussion of how there can be both overcounting and undercounting of homeless people. Undercounting is most likely in the census category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out', and overcounting is more likely in boarding houses (because of misclassification).

The problem of establishing reliable figures is compounded by the fact that the homeless population changes over time. There will always be people who are entering and exiting from the homeless population and this means that the numbers will go up and down. It is common for homeless people to move between different forms of temporary accommodation within the same city, and to move both inter and intra state. The challenge is to identify patterns in the population data that might inform the policy process.

3 SEGMENTS IN POPULATION

Across Australia, 23 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses on census night, but in Victoria it was 26 per cent. Nationally, 14 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation, but in Victoria it was 25 per cent. There were fewer people staying temporarily with other households in Victoria (40 per cent compared with 49 per cent nationally), and there were fewer people in 'improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping out (9 per cent compared with 14 per cent).

Table 1: Number of persons in different sectors of the homeless population, Australia and Victoria, 2001

	Australia		Victoria	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	22,877	23	5,264	26
SAAP accommodation	14,251	14	5,146	25
Friends and relatives	48,614	49	8,024	40
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	14,158	14	1,871	9
	99,900	100	20,305	100

4 AGE BREAKDOWN

In the 1950s and 1960s, it was thought that the homeless population was disproportionately made up of middle aged and older men (de Hoog 1972; Jordan 1973/94). Table 2 shows that the population is much more diverse than in the past, with significant numbers in all age groups. Just over half (54 per cent) of the national population were aged 25 or older, including one-quarter (24 per cent) who were 45 or over. However, 36 per cent were aged 12 to 24, and another 10 per cent were children under 12 accompanying adults. In Victoria, 52 per cent of the homeless were aged 25 or older, 35 per cent were aged 12 to 24, and 13 per cent were children under 12 accompanying adults. The age profile of the homeless population in Victoria was similar to the national profile.

Table 2: Age distribution of homeless population, Australia and Victoria, 2001

	Australia		Victoria	
	N	%	N	%
Under 12	9,941	10	2,618	13
12-18	26,060	26	4,663	23
19-24	10,113	10	2,401	12
25-34	16,567	17	3,665	18
35-44	12,992	13	2,775	14
45-54	10,349	10	1,885	9
55-64	7,883	8	1,184	6
65 or older	5,995	6	1,114	5
	99,900	100	20,305	100

5 MALES AND FEMALES

Table 3 shows that in Victoria there were more females amongst 12 to 18 year olds (56 to 44 per cent), but more males in the 19 to 24 age group (52 to 48 per cent). Amongst those aged 35 or over, men outnumbered women by two to one. Nationally, 58 per cent of the homeless were men and 42 per cent were women. In Victoria, 55 per cent were men and 45 per cent were women.

Table 3: Number of males and females by age group, Australia and Victoria, 2001

Australia									
	Under 12	12-18	19-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	51	48	54	60	66	67	67	69	58
Female	49	52	46	40	34	33	33	31	42
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Victoria									
	Under 12	12-18	19-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	51	44	52	55	61	67	70	64	55
Female	49	56	48	45	39	33	30	36	45
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

6 INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

In Victoria, 0.6 per cent of people identified as Indigenous at the 2001 census. Table 4 shows that Indigenous people were 1.7 per cent of those staying with other households, 2.1 per cent of the boarding house population, 3.7 per cent of people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, and 5.2 per cent of persons in SAAP. Indigenous people were over-represented in all sections of the homeless population where we have data.

Table 4: Number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in different segments of the homeless population, Victoria, 2001*

	Boarding house (N=5,264)	Friends or relatives (N=5,119)	SAAP (N=5,146)	Improvised dwellings (N=1,871)	All (N=17,400)
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Indigenous	97.9	98.3	94.8	96.3	96.9
Indigenous	2.1	1.7	5.2	3.7	3.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

* Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status.

7 MELBOURNE

Homeless

The Melbourne statistical division comprises 16 subdivisions. This analysis groups them into four areas – the ‘City Core’, the ‘Inner City Ring’, the ‘Outer City Ring’ and the ‘Frankston-Dandenong Corridor’. The City Core is the subdivision of Inner Melbourne. It has a population of 239,000. The Inner City Ring includes five subdivisions which have a boundary with the City Core. They are Western Melbourne, Moreland, Northern Middle Melbourne, Boroondara and Southern Melbourne. The Outer City Ring includes eight subdivisions. They are Melton-Wyndham, Hume, Northern Outer Melbourne, Eastern Middle Melbourne, Eastern Outer Melbourne, the Yarra Ranges and South Eastern Outer Melbourne. The Frankston-Dandenong Corridor includes Greater Dandenong, Frankston City and the Mornington Peninsula.

Table 5: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Melbourne

	City Core	Inner City Ring	Frankston-Dandenong	Outer City Ring	Total
Number	3,552	4,774	1,587	4,159	14,072
Rate	149	36	44	29	42

Table 5 shows that there were 3,552 homeless people in Inner City Melbourne and the rate of homelessness was 149 per 10,000. The Inner City had seven per cent of Melbourne’s population, but 25 per cent of its homeless people. In the Inner City Ring, there were 4,774 homeless people and the rate was 36 per 10,000. There were 4,159 homeless people in the Outer City Ring, where the rate was 29 per 10,000. The rate was higher in the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor (44 per 10,000), where there were 1,587 homeless people.

Marginal residents of caravan parks

The national report pointed out that boarding houses are more common in capital cities and less common in regional centres and country towns. In these communities, SAAP workers sometimes refer homeless people to local caravan parks if there is no emergency accommodation available. Marginal residents of

caravan parks were defined as people who were renting caravans where there was no-one in the dwelling who had full-time employment, and they were at their usual address.

Table 6 shows that there were 1,377 marginal residents of caravan parks in Melbourne, and all were in suburban Melbourne, particularly the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor. For some policy purposes, marginal residents of caravan might be thought of as part of the tertiary population. If this is the case, then the rate of homelessness was 46 per 10,000 in Melbourne, compared with 42 per 10,000 using the ABS definition.

Table 6: Number of homeless people and number of marginal residents of caravan parks, Melbourne

	City Core	Inner City Ring	Frankston-Dandenong	Outer City Ring	Total
Homeless	3,552	4,774	1,587	4,159	14,072
Rate per 10,000	149	36	44	29	42
Caravans	0	381	589	407	1,377
Total	3,552	5,155	2,176	4,566	15,449
Rate per 10,000	149	39	60	31	46

8 WESTERN VICTORIA

There were 2,204 homeless people in Western Victoria where the rate of homelessness was 42 per 10,000, the same as in Melbourne. Overall, the rate of homelessness was the same in the three urban subdivisions (42 per 10,000), as in the eight rural subdivisions (41 per 10,000).

Table 7: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Western Victoria and Melbourne

	Three urban subdivisions	Eight rural subdivisions	Total	Melbourne
Number	1,112	1,092	2,204	14,072
Rate	42	41	42	42

There were 486 homeless people in Geelong where the rate of homelessness was 32 per 10,000. The rate was 51 per 10,000 in Ballarat, where there were 408 homeless people. In Warrnambool, the rate was 76 per 10,000, and there were 218 homeless. There were 450 marginal caravan park dwellers in Western Victoria, including 162 in Geelong, 59 in Ballarat and 24 in Warrnambool.

9 EASTERN VICTORIA

There are two statistical divisions covering Eastern Victoria. They are Gippsland and East Gippsland. There were 977 homeless people in Eastern Victoria and

the rate was 42 per 10,000, the same as in Western Victoria and metropolitan Melbourne. There were 272 homeless people in the La Trobe Valley and 259 in East Gippsland.

Table 8: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Eastern Victoria, Western Victoria and Melbourne

	Eastern Victoria	Western Victoria	Melbourne
Number	977	2,204	14,072
Rate	42	42	42

10 NORTHERN VICTORIA

There are four statistical divisions in Northern Victoria - Loddon, Goulburn, Ovens-Murray and Mallee. There were 1,180 homeless people in the four urban subdivisions – Bendigo, Shepparton, Mildura and Wodonga – where the rate of homelessness was 57 per 10,000 (Table 9). There 1,765 homeless people in the nine rural subdivisions where the rate was 56 per 10,000.

Table 9: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, urban and rural subdivisions, Northern Victoria

	Four urban subdivisions	Nine rural subdivisions	Total
Number	1,180	1,765	2,945
Rate	57	56	56

There were 3,400 marginal residents of caravan parks in Victoria and one-third of them were in Northern Victoria. There were five subdivisions which had 100 or more marginal residents of caravan parks. They were Bendigo (137), North Loddon (114), Shepparton (187), North Goulburn (159) and Mildura (240).

If marginal caravan park residents are included in the tertiary population, then the rate of homelessness in Melbourne increases from 42 to 46 per 10,000. In Northern Victoria, the rate increases from 56 to 78 per 10,000 (Table 10).

Table 10: Number of homeless people and number of marginal residents of caravan parks, Victoria

	Melbourne	Western Victoria	Eastern Victoria	Northern Victoria	Total*
Homeless	14,072	2,204	977	2,945	20,305
Rate per 10,000	42	42	42	56	44
Caravan	1,377	450	414	1,167	3,408
Total	15,449	2,654	1,391	4,112	23,713
Rate per 10,000	46	50	60	78	51

* No geographical information on 107 people

11 HOMELESSNESS IS A PROCESS

Homelessness is best understood as a process, or as a series of biographical transitions. Responding to homelessness requires a range of service types that can respond to people at different stages on the homeless career trajectory. These will include services focusing on early intervention and prevention for young people and adults, as well as services which provide support and crisis accommodation for people in the early stages of homelessness. People who have been homeless for six months or longer usually need intensive support and long-term accommodation options, before they can return to independent living. One dilemma for policy makers is what proportion of resources to allocate to various types of service provision.

12 LOCATION OF EARLY INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Early intervention involves providing assistance to people who are either at risk of losing their accommodation or in the early stages of homelessness. In the case of young people, early intervention is about facilitating family reconciliation. It involves working in schools, because most teenagers have their first experience of homelessness while they are still at school.

Early intervention to assist adults involves putting services in the 'right' geographical location. There were 3,550 homeless people in Inner Melbourne, where the rate of homelessness was 149 per 10,000. The rate of homelessness was lower in suburban Melbourne, regional cities and country towns (30 to 50 per 10,000), but they had 16,700 homeless people. Most people become homeless in outer suburbs, regional centres and country towns. The provision of early intervention services in these areas assists people in the early stages of homelessness, including those at risk, and reduces the move to the inner city.

Table 11: Length of homelessness of SAAP clients

	All clients (N=765)
	%
Less than one month	9
1 – 3 months	17
4 – 6 months	14
7 – 11 months	12
One year or longer	48
	100

} 60

Source: Chamberlain and MacKenzie (2003, p.42)

13 TEMPORAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SAAP CLIENTS

It is widely accepted that early intervention is a sensible, long-term strategy to reduce homelessness. However, policy makers have to allocate resources, bearing in mind that a majority of SAAP clients are probably 'long-term' or 'chronically' homeless (Table 11). They often have issues with drugs, alcohol

or mental health, and most are long-term unemployed. They require intensive support and this is time consuming and resource intensive. Additional resources directed towards early intervention take resources away from those who are most disadvantaged – unless there is an increase in overall funding.

14 CARAVAN PARKS

We have spoken to service providers, local officials and some caravan park managers in all states and territories. Caravan parks fall into four groups.

First, there are many high quality caravan parks in all states and territories that are used exclusively for tourist accommodation. There are also parks that cater for niche markets, such as retired people who own their caravans. There are also parks that have a mixture of tourists and owners. There are no marginal caravan dwellers in these parks.

Second, there are parks that are used for tourist accommodation in summer. In winter, park owners rent out vans to poor people. Some parks attempt to exclude homeless people, but other parks accept all prospective tenants. We were told that rents are increased in summer and marginal tenants are forced to move on. The census is carried out in winter (Southern States), when there are marginal residents in these parks.

Third, there are caravan parks which have a mixed clientele all year – tourists, owners and renters. The balance between the groups varies, with more tourists in summer. In some parks, the rented caravans are in separate areas, often ‘out the back’.

Fourth, there are a small number of parks that are used as permanent accommodation for poor people, and as crisis accommodation. These parks were described as ‘overcrowded’, with vans in ‘poor condition’. Most residents were unemployed or outside of the labour force. Some informants referred to them as ‘ghetto parks’.

The issue of how to conceptualise marginal residents of caravan parks is not resolved by this report. Before any change in the definition there needs to be an agreed position by governments on this issue, following extensive community consultation.

INTRODUCTION

This is one of eight state and territory reports from the national project, *Counting the Homeless 2001*. The national report was published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (catalogue no. 2050.0), and provides a broad overview of the research findings. This report includes basic material from the national report on the definition of homelessness, methodological issues, and a summary of how the homeless count was established. However, the report introduces new information on the social characteristics of the population in Victoria, and the geographical distribution of homeless people. There is also new information on marginal caravan park dwellers and Indigenous homelessness.

In 1996, a special enumeration strategy was used to target Australia's homeless population, using the cultural definition of homelessness (Chamberlain 1999). *Counting the Homeless 2001* used the same definition of homelessness, as well as following the methodological precedents established for the 1996 analysis. The main data source for the analysis was the ABS Census of Population and Housing 2001. However, it was supplemented by data from the national SAAP data collection and the second national census of homeless school students. This enabled us to make various technical corrections to the raw census figures and to produce an overall population estimate.

This report uses a small amount of qualitative data from telephone interviews with service providers and public officials. Local informants were selected purposively, in order to check the reliability of census data and to understand more about what was happening in different communities. In most places, three to four people were interviewed.

Each state and territory report is set out in the same way and contains a new discussion of under-counting and over-counting. Counting errors are always an issue when enumerating the homeless population, because of the practical difficulties involved in enumeration and the high mobility of this group. A careful consideration of such errors is particularly important when attempting to carry out regional analyses. Discrepancies due to under-counting and over-counting of homeless people tend to be masked when data is aggregated at the state or national level, but more obvious in small area analyses. Thus it is possible that people with local knowledge may think that there are more (or less) homeless people than identified by the Census – and this may raise questions about the accuracy of the figures in local areas.

Undercounting can occur for several reasons. People may decline to write on their census form that someone in their household has 'no usual address' or census collectors may fail to identify people sleeping rough or

squatting in derelict buildings. People can also be undercounted because they are reticent to fill out official forms and hide away at census time. Homeless people are probably the most mobile group in the general population and this creates problems for the most diligent enumeration. This is also an issue regarding the enumeration of Indigenous people who are more mobile than other groups. There could also be overcounting if our operational category for boarding houses includes people in other dwelling types. The main report signalled that it was difficult to establish the boarding house population. There could also be overcounting if householders exaggerate the number of people with 'no usual address', although this is less likely.

The problem of establishing reliable figures is compounded by the fact that the homeless population changes over time. First, there will always be people entering and exiting from the population. Some people are homeless for long periods, but for others it is a short experience lasting a few weeks. This means that the numbers may go up and down in any geographical area, and the number at the present time may not be the same as the number enumerated on census night.

Second, homeless people are more mobile than the general population. It is common for homeless people to move frequently from one form of temporary shelter to another within the same geographical area. However, it is also common for people to move both inter and intra state. It is not only difficult to establish the homeless population because of over and undercounting, but the numbers go up and down because homeless people move around. Bearing this in mind, our focus is on whether we can identify patterns in the homeless population that might inform the policy process.

Chapter 1 outlines the cultural definition of homelessness which underpinned the ABS project. Chapter 2 summarises how the national report established the homeless population using census and other data sets. Chapter 3 outlines the social characteristics of the population in Victoria. Chapter 4 discusses different ways of approaching a geographical analysis, before focusing on the homeless population in Melbourne. Chapters 5 to 7 describe the homeless population in regional Victoria. Chapter 8 comments on Indigenous and non-Indigenous homelessness. Chapter 9 discusses policy issues.

1 DEFINITION OF HOMELESSNESS

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) uses the cultural definition of homelessness to enumerate the homeless population (Chamberlain and Mackenzie 1992). This definition contends that 'homelessness' and 'inadequate housing' are socially constructed, cultural concepts that only make sense in a particular community at a given historical period. Once this principle is recognised, then it is possible to define 'homelessness'. First, it is necessary to identify shared community standards about the minimum housing that people have the right to expect in order to live according to the conventions and expectations of a particular culture. Second, it is necessary to identify those groups which fall below the minimum community standard.

Cultural standards are not usually stated in official documents, but they are embedded in the housing practices of a society. These standards identify the conventions and cultural expectations of a community in an objective sense, and are recognised by most people because they accord with what they see around them. As Townsend (1979, p.51) puts it: 'A population comes to expect to live in particular types of homes ... Their environment ... create(s) their needs in an objective as well as a subjective sense'.

The vast majority of Australians live in suburban houses or self-contained flats, and 70 per cent of all households either own or are purchasing their home (ABS 2003, Ch.8). There is a widespread view - sometimes referred to as the 'Australian dream' - that home ownership is the most desirable form of tenure (Kemeny 1983, p.1; Hayward 1992, p.1; Badcock and Beer 2000, p.96). Almost 90 per cent of private dwellings in Australia are houses and 72 per cent of flats have two or more bedrooms (ABS 2003, Ch.8). The minimum community standard is a small rental flat - with a bedroom, living room, kitchen, bathroom and an element of security of tenure - because that is the minimum that most people achieve in the private rental market. The minimum is significantly below the culturally desired option of an owner occupied house.

The minimum community standard provides a cultural benchmark for assessing 'homelessness' and 'inadequate housing' in the contemporary context. However, as Chamberlain and MacKenzie (1992) point out, this benchmark should not be used in a mechanistic way. There are a number of institutional settings where people do not have the minimal level of accommodation identified by the community standard, but in cultural terms they are not considered part of the homeless population (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992). They include, amongst others, people living in seminaries, elderly people in nursing homes, students in university halls of residence, and prisoners.

While it is true that ‘housed’ and ‘homeless’ constitute a continuum of circumstances, there are three ‘groups’ that fall below the community standard. This leads to the identification of ‘primary’, ‘secondary’ and ‘tertiary’ homelessness – as well a group who are best identified as ‘marginally housed’. The model is shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 A model of homelessness based on shared community standards embodied in current housing practices

Minimum community standard – equivalent to a small rented flat with a bedroom, living room, kitchen & bathroom

<p>Culturally recognised exceptions: where it is inappropriate to apply the minimum standard – eg seminaries, gaols, student halls of residence etc</p>	<p>Marginally housed: people in housing situations close to the minimum standard</p> <p>Tertiary homelessness: people living in single rooms in private boarding houses - without their own bathroom, kitchen or security of tenure</p> <p>Secondary homelessness: people moving between various forms of temporary shelter including: friends, emergency accommodation, youth refuges, hostels and boarding houses</p> <p>Primary homelessness: people without conventional accommodation (living on the streets, in deserted buildings, improvised dwellings, under bridges, in parks etc)</p>
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Source: Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992, p.291

Primary homelessness is the least contentious category because it accords with the common sense assumption that homelessness is the same as ‘rooflessness’. It includes all people without conventional accommodation, such as people living on the streets, sleeping in parks, squatting in derelict buildings, or using cars or railway carriages for temporary shelter. Primary homelessness is operationalised using the census category ‘improvised homes, tents and sleepers out’.

Secondary homelessness includes people who move frequently from one form of temporary shelter to another. On census night, it includes all people staying in emergency or transitional accommodation provided under the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP). The starting point for identifying this group is the census category ‘hostels for the homeless, night shelters and refuges’. Secondary homelessness also includes people residing temporarily with other households because they have no accommodation of their own. They report ‘no usual address’ on their census form. Secondary homelessness also includes people staying in boarding houses on a short-term basis, operationally defined as 12 weeks or less.

Tertiary homelessness refers to people who live in boarding houses on a medium to long-term basis, operationally defined as 13 weeks or longer. Residents of private boarding houses do not have a separate bedroom and

living room; they do not have kitchen and bathroom facilities of their own; their accommodation is not self contained; and they do not have security of tenure provided by a lease. They are homeless because their accommodation does not have the characteristics identified in the minimum community standard.

The 'marginally housed' refers to people in accommodation situations close to the cultural benchmark, but not strictly homeless under the current definition. This category might include: a couple living in a single room with their own kitchen and bathroom, but without a separate room for sleeping; or a family staying with relatives on a long-term basis (doubling up); or a couple renting a caravan without security of tenure. There are groups on the margins that are difficult to classify, and some groups – such as families with children – may be seen as particularly in need of welfare support. There is also continuing argument about whether some marginal groups should be included as 'homeless'.

There is also the 'at risk' population. This includes people who are living in flats or houses, but who are at risk of losing their accommodation. The notion of 'at risk' refers to people who are in housing crisis, or facing eviction due to a breakdown in family relations. Crises can take a number of different forms, but the most common is eviction for rent arrears (Chamberlain and Johnson 2002; MacKenzie and Chamberlain 2003). People in housing crisis may be in serious need, but they are not homeless if they are living in a conventional house or flat on census night.

There is still debate about the definition of homelessness in Australia. A number of politicians and government officials have criticised the cultural definition because it includes boarding house residents. They argue that supporting people in boarding houses is a realistic welfare approach, and they should not be classified as 'homeless'. However, there has been no convincing argument that single room accommodation is close to the minimum community standard. Other people still think of homelessness as 'sleeping on the streets'. Media images continue to focus on street homelessness and this reinforces the stereotype that homelessness is the same as 'rooflessness'. Inevitably, there will be continuing debates.

In April 2001, *Parity* (the Journal of the Council to Homeless Persons) drew attention to the fact that some SAAP services refer homeless people to caravan parks when there is no other emergency accommodation available in their local community:

The Council to Homeless Persons has become increasingly concerned with reports it has been receiving ... of the increasing use of caravan parks by SAAP services ... in response to demands for crisis accommodation. (Editorial, *Parity*, April 2001)

There has also been discussion that people renting caravans are in a similar situation to boarding house residents. They have one room for eating, sleeping and cooking, and share communal bathroom facilities. Yet the cultural definition classifies boarding house residents as 'homeless' whereas caravan

park residents are 'marginally housed'.

The ABS definition stands, but we present statistical information on 'marginally housed' residents of caravan parks. The report examines the implications of drawing the definition more broadly.

2 OVERCOUNTING AND UNDERCOUNTING

This chapter summarises how the national project enumerated the homeless population using census and other data sets. It contains a new discussion of how there can be both overcounting and undercounting of homeless people. This is relevant to understanding why there can be anomalies when we examine local census data.

2.1 IMPROVISED HOMES, TENTS AND SLEEPERS OUT

The operational category for primary homelessness is 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out'. This category includes:

Sheds, tents, humpies, and other improvised dwellings, occupied on Census Night ...
It also includes people sleeping on park benches or in other 'rough accommodation'.
(ABS 2001a, p.197)

The efficacy of the local count depends on census collectors having good local knowledge. They have to know whether there are people squatting in empty buildings in their local community; or whether there might be families living in their cars; or young people sleeping rough; or persons living in improvised dwellings. There was a special effort to count this population in 2001 (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, Ch.2), but the main effort was in the inner suburbs of the major capital cities. There was almost certainly undercounting in many areas because homeless people often hide away at night for personal protection or to escape the cold. The census was carried out in winter in the Southern States when people are likely to try to escape the inclement weather. Some homeless people do not like filling out official forms and they are unlikely to have come forward. It is inevitable that some people were missed.

The category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out' also includes overseas visitors and Australian residents who were on camping holidays. International visitors can be removed because they report a usual address overseas, and Australian holidaymakers report a usual address 'elsewhere in Australia'. This left 14,158 in improvised homes, tents and sleepers out' across Australia, including 1,871 in people in Victoria.

We cannot disaggregate the category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out'. This means that in any geographical area we do not know how many were identified sleeping rough, squatting in derelict buildings, sleeping in improvised dwellings, and so on. There is also no information on the character of improvised dwellings. According to the *Group Leaders Manual*:

An improvised home may be a shed, tent or other habitation occupied on a permanent or semi-permanent basis ... It is a dwelling not considered acceptable by community standards (ABS 2001b, p.118)

These dwellings probably include makeshift shelters, humpies, sheds and other more substantial buildings, but we have no data on the quality of this accommodation.

Finally, people in 'improvised dwellings, tents and sleepers out' are a mobile population. People in certain types of improvised dwellings may be more stable, but people sleeping rough, squatting in derelict buildings, or using vehicles for shelter are likely to move from place to place. Twenty people may show up in a particular subdivision on census night, but a week later they may be somewhere else. When we carry out a local analysis there is a risk that it will not accord with what people 'know' on the ground. The primary population may have changed since the time of the census, and the number of homeless could have gone up or down.

2.2 SAAP SERVICES

The starting point for counting people in accommodation provided under the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) is the census category 'hostels for the homeless, night shelters and refuges'. However, youth refuges and women's refuges often look like suburban houses and many of these properties were misclassified as private dwellings in 1996 (Chamberlain 1999, p.20). The 1996 research team replaced the census figures with information from the National SAAP Data Collection.

In 2001, the ABS developed a special method to identify SAAP properties. The strategy worked best in Victoria where the Department of Human Services (Vic) provided the ABS with a list of their SAAP and THM properties (excluding services for women escaping domestic violence). This was used to allocate SAAP and THM properties to a separate data set for Victoria. The national SAAP data collection supplied information on people in women's refuges. There were 14,251 people in SAAP across Australia and 5,146 in Victoria.

2.3 FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

It is common for homeless people in all age groups to stay temporarily with friends or relatives. They are identified at the question which asks, 'What is the person's usual address?' Since 1996, there has been an instruction that people with no usual address should write this on the form. This makes it possible to count homeless people staying temporarily with other household. The number was 29,439 in 2001.

However, we had to make an adjustment for homeless teenagers who were missed by the census. At the same time as the Australian Bureau of Statistics was conducting the Census of Population and Housing, we carried out the second national census of homeless school students (Chamberlain and

MacKenzie 2002). The research team contacted all government and Catholic secondary schools across the country (N=1,937), and 99 per cent of schools completed a census return. Welfare staff identified 8,845 homeless students using the cultural definition of homelessness and we combined this with SAAP data to estimate the overall homeless population aged 12 to 18 (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, Ch.3).

We made a correction for undercounting that took into account the difference between our state and territory estimates based on the national census of homeless school students and the number identified in the ABS census. It also assumed that these young people were distributed across the states in the same way as other persons staying with friends and relatives. If this assumption is false, it could lead to an overestimate in some communities and an underestimate in others.

The method of estimating the number of persons staying temporarily with other households also depends on how people interpret the census question that asks for each person's usual address. Some people may decline to write on their census form that someone in their household has 'no usual address' and this could lead to undercounting. The number of people staying with friends and relatives also goes up and down – because most people stay with other households on a short-term basis.

2.4 BOARDING HOUSES

The final category is people living in boarding houses. The census has 19 coding categories for non-private dwellings including 'hotel, motel' and 'boarding house, private hotel'. This distinction draws attention to the fact that there are major differences between conventional hotels that many travellers use and boarding houses (often called 'private hotels') where it is possible to rent a single room for \$10 to \$30 per night.

The starting point for identifying people in boarding houses is the census category 'boarding house, private hotel'. However, it is necessary to begin by excluding: owners and staff members who were sleeping over on census night; backpackers who report a usual address overseas; and people who report a usual address elsewhere in Australia. The 1996 research team also established that census collectors sometimes misclassify 'boarding houses', 'hotels' and 'staff quarters'. There are three ABS conventions to correct for these errors which are outlined in the national report. These specify criteria for excluding dwellings from 'boarding house/private hotel' that appear to be either staff quarters or hotels. There are also criteria for reclassifying dwellings coded as 'hotel/motel' and 'staff quarters' that appear to be boarding houses. It is possible that there could have been both overcounting and undercounting of boarding house residents when these corrections were carried out. The number in boarding houses, replicating the 1996 analysis, was 17,972 compared with 23,300 in 1996.

There was an important change in ABS procedures in 2001 which impacted on the boarding house count. Following the 1996 census, ABS staff telephoned those dwellings where there was insufficient information to

identify dwelling type. Where additional information could be obtained a more accurate classification was entered. In 2001, the ABS discontinued this practice and the number of dwellings in the 'other' category increased from 536 to 2,784. The number of persons in those dwellings jumped from 12,938 to 54,636. The final step in the boarding house analysis was to investigate the possibility that some boarding houses might be in 'other'.

This work resulted in five rules to identify boarding houses in the 'other' category (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, Ch.3). The final figure for boarding houses in 2001 was 22,877 compared with 23,299 in 1996. The ABS conventions to identify boarding houses were complicated and it is possible that some dwellings were inappropriately classified. There could be errors distinguishing between boarding houses, staff quarters and hotels. There could be 'boarding houses' which were actually other types of welfare accommodation. These errors are not apparent at the national or state level, but it can lead to anomalies when we examine particular subdivisions.

The census provides the best data that we have on the homeless population at a point in time, but as we have seen there can be 'undercounting' and 'overcounting' of homeless people on census night. Undercounting is most likely in the census category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out', and overcounting is more likely in boarding houses (because of misclassification).

The problem of establishing reliable census figures for policy purposes is compounded by the fact that the homeless population changes over time. There will always be people who are entering and exiting from the homeless population and this means that the numbers will go up and down.

It is common for homeless people to move between different forms of temporary accommodation within the same city, and to move both inter and intra state. The census data was collected in August 2001, and it is unrealistic to expect the same number of homeless people in particular areas at the current time. The challenge is to identify patterns in the population data that might inform the policy process.

3 SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

3.1 NATIONAL PATTERN

The 1996 census found that the rate of homelessness was lower in the 'Southern States' (New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory), significantly higher in Queensland and Western Australia, and much higher in the Northern Territory. The most important finding from the 2001 national analysis was that these patterns were confirmed. Table 3.1 shows that there were between 40 and 50 homeless people per 10,000 of the population in the 'Southern States' in 2001, although New South Wales, Victoria and the ACT were at the lower end of the range (40 to 44 per 10,000), whereas South Australia and Tasmania were at the top (52 per 10,000). The rate was also between 40 and 50 per 10,000 in these states 1996.

Table 3.1: Rate of homelessness per 10,000 of the population by state and territory 1996 and 2001

	NSW	Vic	SA	Tas	ACT	Qld	WA	NT
2001	42.2	43.6	51.6	52.4	39.6	69.8	64.0	288.3
1996	49.4	41.0	48.1	43.9	40.3	77.3	71.5	523.1

The second pattern was in Western Australia and Queensland where there were between 64 and 70 per 10,000 in 2001, slightly lower than in 1996 when it was 70 to 80 per 10,000, but higher than in the Southern States. The third pattern was in the Northern Territory where the rate was 288 per 10,000. This was significantly lower than in 1996, but is explained by a change in the counting rules in remote Indigenous communities (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, Ch.3).

Table 3.2: Number of homeless people by state and territory, 1996 and 2001

	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	NT	ACT
2001	26,676	20,305	24,569	7,586	11,697	2,415	5,423	1,229
1996	29,608	17,840	25,649	6,837	12,252	2,014	9,906	1,198

Table 3.2 shows the actual number of homeless in each state and territory in 1996 and 2001. In Victoria, it was 17,840 in 1996 and 20,300 in 2001. We know that the numbers go up and down. It seems reasonable to suggest that a typical point in time figure is about 20,000

3.2 SEGMENTS IN POPULATION

Table 3.3 shows that the homeless population was distributed somewhat differently in Victoria. Across Australia, 23 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses on census night, but in Victoria it was 26 per cent. Nationally, 14 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation, but in Victoria it was 25 per cent. There were fewer people staying temporarily with other households in Victoria (40 per cent compared with 49 per cent nationally), and there were fewer people in 'improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping out (9 per cent compared with 14 per cent). The census was carried out in August when people in the primary population are likely to hide away to escape the cold, and there could be undercounting in this category.

Table 3.3: Number of persons in different sectors of the homeless population, Australia and Victoria, 2001

	Australia		Victoria	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	22,877	23	5,264	26
SAAP/THM	14,251	14	5,146	25
Friends and relatives	48,614	49	8,024	40
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	14,158	14	1,871	9
	99,900	100	20,305	100

In Victoria, the homeless population was distributed somewhat differently in 2001 (Table 3.4). The largest segment on census night were people staying with other households (40 per cent in 2001 compared with 48 per cent in 1996). Boarding house residents accounted for 26 per cent of the homeless in both 1996 and 2001. The number in SAAP was up from 19 per cent to 25 per cent, reflecting a significant expansion in Victoria's Transitional Housing Management (THM) program. The number of people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough increased from seven per cent to nine per cent.

Table 3.4: Number of persons in different sectors of the homeless population, Victoria, 1996 and 2001

	1996		2001	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	4,557	26	5,264	26
SAAP/THM	3,371	19	5,146	25
Friends and relatives	8,648	48	8,024	40
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	1,264	7	1,871	9
	17,840	100	20,305	100

In practice, homeless people often move frequently from one form of temporary accommodation to another and there is a high degree of permeability between different 'segments' of the homeless population. There

will be some people living in boarding houses on a long-term basis (tertiary homelessness) and there will be some living 'permanently' in improvised dwellings or squats (primary homelessness). However, most homeless people move between different friends, relatives, SAAP accommodation, boarding houses and sleeping rough. The largest group in the population is characterised by mobility.

3.3 AGE BREAKDOWN

In the 1950s and 1960s, it was thought that the homeless population was disproportionately made up of middle aged and older men (de Hoog 1972; Jordan 1973/94). For example, Jordan (1973/94, p.21) reported that there were few teenagers in the population and that 80 per cent of the men in his sample were aged 35 or older. De Hoog (1972) gives a similar impression in his ethnographic account of life on Sydney's skid row at the end of the 1960s.

Table 3.5 shows that age distribution of homeless people across Australia and Victoria. It is clear that the population is much more diverse than in the past, with significant numbers in all age groups. Just over half (54 per cent) of the national population were aged 25 or older, including one-quarter (24 per cent) who were 45 or over. However, 36 per cent were aged 12 to 24, and another 10 per cent were children under 12 accompanying adults.

Table 3.5: Age distribution of homeless population, Australia and Victoria, 2001

	Australia		Victoria	
	N	%	N	%
Under 12	9,941	10	2,618	13
12-18	26,060	26	4,663	23
19-24	10,113	10	2,401	12
25-34	16,567	17	3,665	18
35-44	12,992	13	2,775	14
45-54	10,349	10	1,885	9
55-64	7,883	8	1,184	6
65 or older	5,995	6	1,114	5
	99,900	100	20,305	100

In Victoria, 52 per cent of the homeless were aged 25 or older, 35 per cent were aged 12 to 24, and 13 per cent were children under 12 accompanying adults. The age profile of the homeless population in Victoria was similar to the national profile. There were 7,060 homeless young people aged 12 to 24, including 2,360 school and TAFE students (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2002, p.31). The remaining 4,700 young people aged 15 to 24 were mainly unemployed and they are a particularly mobile segment of the population.

3.4 MALES AND FEMALES

Nowadays, there are more women in the homeless population, compared with 40 years ago. Table 3.6 shows that in Victoria there were more females amongst 12 to 18 year olds (56 to 44 per cent), but more males in the 19 to 24 age group (52 to 48 per cent). Amongst those aged 35 or over, men outnumbered women by two to one. Nationally, 58 per cent of the homeless were men and 42 per cent were women. In Victoria, 55 per cent were men and 45 per cent were women.

Table 3.6: Number of males and females by age group, Australia and Victoria, 2001

Australia									
	Under 12	12-18	19-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	51	48	54	60	66	67	67	69	58
Female	49	52	46	40	34	33	33	31	42
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Victoria									
	Under 12	12-18	19-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	51	44	52	55	61	67	70	64	55
Female	49	56	48	45	39	33	30	36	45
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3.7 shows the number of males and females in different segments of the homeless population on census night. In Victoria, 69 per cent of boarding house residents were male and 31 per cent were female, similar to the national pattern. There were slightly more men than women (54 per cent to 46 per cent) staying with other households, again similar to the national pattern. Both nationally and in Victoria, men were 61 per cent of the population in improvised dwellings and sleeping rough. Nationally, women outnumbered men in SAAP by 53 to 47 per cent, whereas in Victoria women outnumbered men by 60 to 40 per cent.

Table 3.7: Number of males and females in different segments of the population, Australia and Victoria, 2001

Australia					
	Boarding house (N=22,877)	Friends or relatives (N=48,614)	SAAP (N=14,251)	Improvised dwellings (N=14,158)	All (N=99,900)
	%	%	%	%	%
Male	72	53	47	61	58
Female	28	47	53	39	42
	100	100	100	100	100

Victoria

	Boarding house (N=5,264)	Friends or relatives (N=8,024)	SAAP (N=5,146)	Improvised dwellings (N=1,871)	All (N=20,305)
	%	%	%	%	%
Male	69	54	40	62	55
Female	31	46	60	38	45
	100	100	100	100	100

3.5 INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

In Victoria, 0.6 per cent of people identified as Indigenous at the 2001 census. Table 3.8 shows that Indigenous people were 1.7 per cent of those staying with other households, 2.1 per cent of the boarding house population, 3.7 per cent of people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, and 5.2 per cent of persons in SAAP. Indigenous people were over-represented in all sections of the homeless population where we have data, but we have to estimate the Indigenous status of young people who were not counted in the census (Chapter 8).

Table 3.8: Number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in different segments of the homeless population, Victoria, 2001*

	Boarding house (N=5,264)	Friends or relatives (N=5,119)	SAAP (N=5,146)	Improvised dwellings (N=1,871)	All (N=17,400)
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Indigenous	97.9	98.3	94.8	96.3	96.9
Indigenous	2.1	1.7	5.2	3.7	3.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

* Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status.

There is also a risk that Indigenous people staying temporarily with other households were undercounted. The census asks for each person's usual address, and people with 'no usual address' are asked to write this in. Indigenous people interpret this question within a different cultural frame of reference. Often, they do not think of 'home' as a particular dwelling, because they are attached to their traditional land.

Indigenous people also have extended kinship networks and they move between dwellings belonging to extended family members. When Indigenous people leave home to escape domestic violence or other family problems, they usually move in with households that are related to them. In these circumstances, it is not culturally appropriate to record 'no usual address' on census night, because 'home' is understood in a different way.

3.7 SUMMARY

It is known that the homeless population changes because people move in and out of homelessness, and the number of homeless people goes up and down. In Victoria, we estimate a typical point in time figure is 20,000 homeless people. About 40 per cent are likely to be staying temporarily with other households, 25 per cent will be in boarding houses, another 25 per cent will be in THM/SAAP properties, and 10 per cent will be in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. However, the population is very mobile and these percentages go up and down. Many homeless people are in the secondary population and they move between different forms of temporary shelter.

There are more women in the population compared with 40 years ago. In Victoria, there were more women in the younger age groups, but men outnumbered women by about two to one from age 35 onwards. Overall, 55 per cent of the homeless were male, whereas 45 per cent were female. Indigenous people were over represented in all sectors of the population, but particularly in SAAP and amongst people using improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. Finally, the age profile of the homeless population was similar to the national pattern, with 35 per cent aged between 12 and 24, and 52 per cent aged 25 or older.

4 MELBOURNE

This chapter discusses different ways of approaching a geographical analysis. Then it focuses on the distribution of the homeless population in Melbourne.

4.1 NUMBERS AND RATES

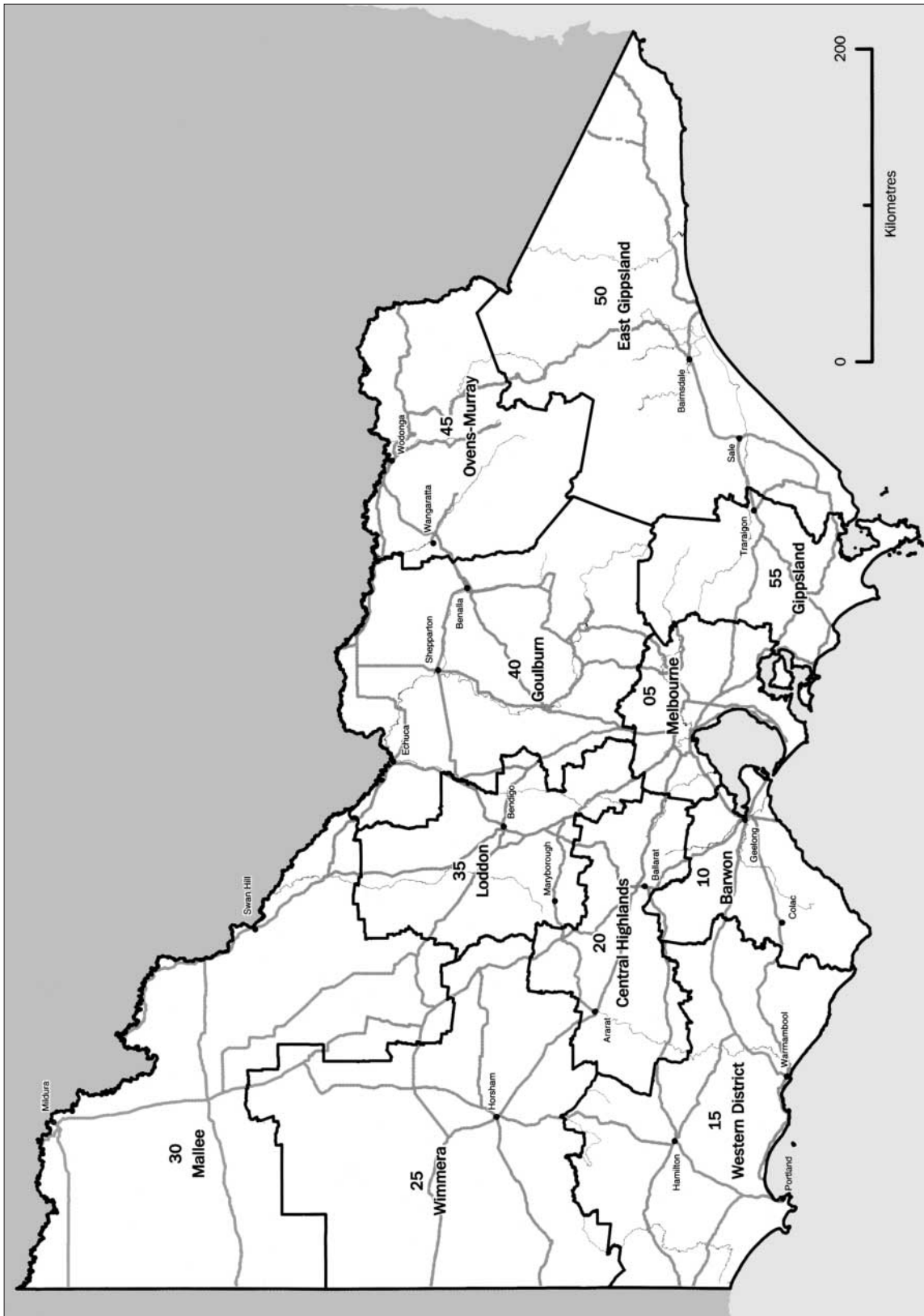
There are two ways of thinking about the geographical spread of the homeless population and both are important. First, there is the number of homeless people in particular communities on census night. This is the 'raw' count and policy makers always need to be aware of this figure.

Second, one can think about the number of homeless people expressed as a rate per 10,000 of the population. This is a fairer way to compare communities of different sizes. For example, the number of homeless people will always be greater in Melbourne than in a regional city, because of the difference in population size, but the rate of homelessness may be the same.

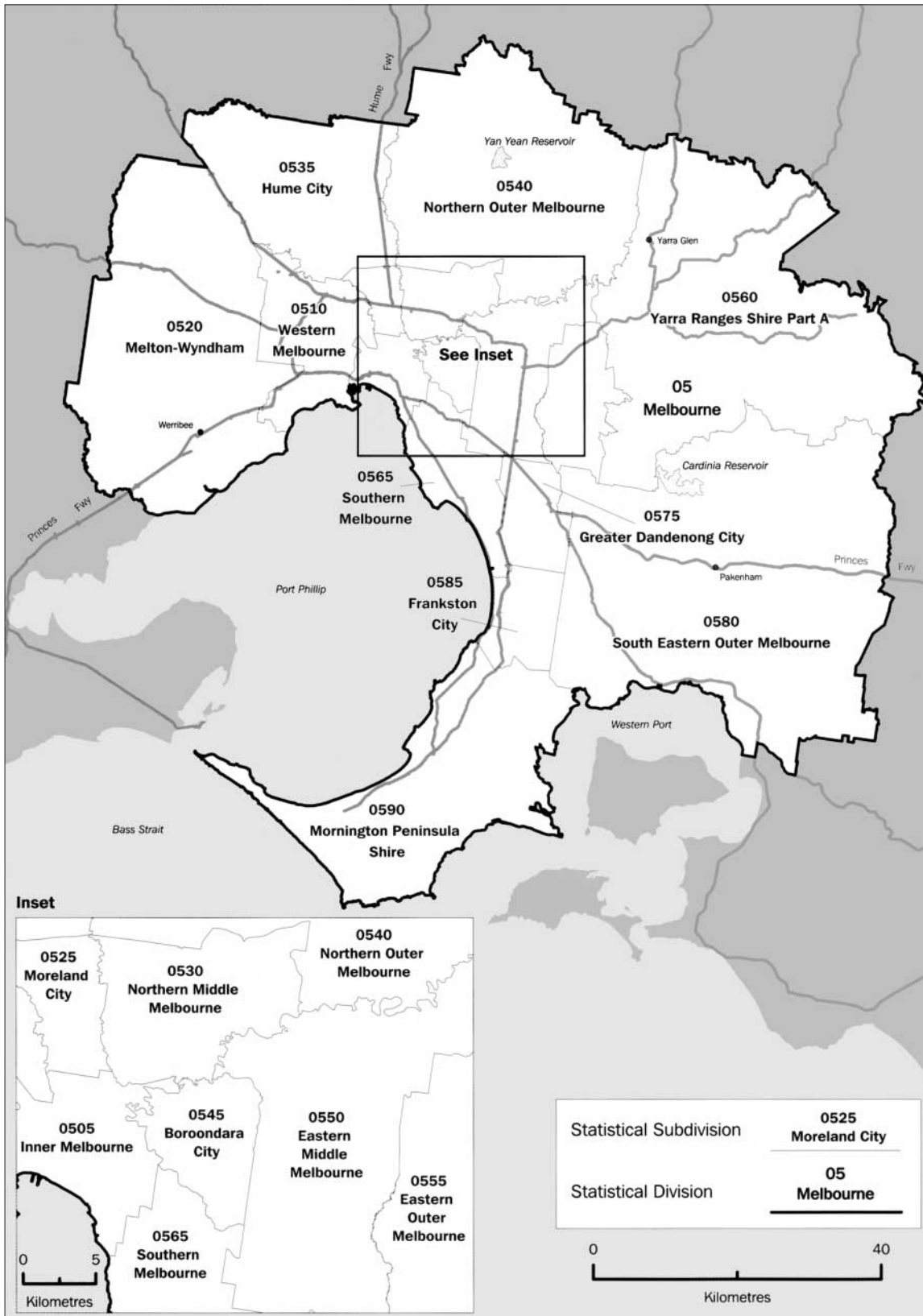
However, it is important to be cautious when interpreting rates for two reasons. First, the rate of homelessness in a particular area is not – strictly speaking – the rate of people living in that area becoming homeless. The homeless population is highly mobile both within states and between states. For example, the rate of homelessness in Ballarat quantifies the number of homeless people in relation to the Ballarat population, but it does not tell us whether those homeless people came from Ballarat, other parts of Victoria, or interstate.

Second, it is important to be cautious when interpreting rates for geographical areas with small populations. Suppose that policy makers have the resources to fund one new SAAP service and they are evaluating the competing claims of two communities. In a small town of 2,000 people the rate of homelessness was 100 per 10,000, whereas in a regional city of 30,000 it was 30 per 10,000. Should the resources go to the rural community or to the regional city? In the rural community, there would have been 20 homeless people ($20 \times 10,000/2,000 = 100$ per 10,000), whereas in the regional city there would have been 90 homeless people ($90 \times 10,000/30,000 = 30$ per 10,000). When policy makers allocate resources, they have to consider both the number of homeless people in a community and the rate of homelessness, as well as local intelligence about what is happening 'on the ground' in order to match services with expressed need.

VICTORIA—STATISTICAL DIVISIONS, 2001 EDITION

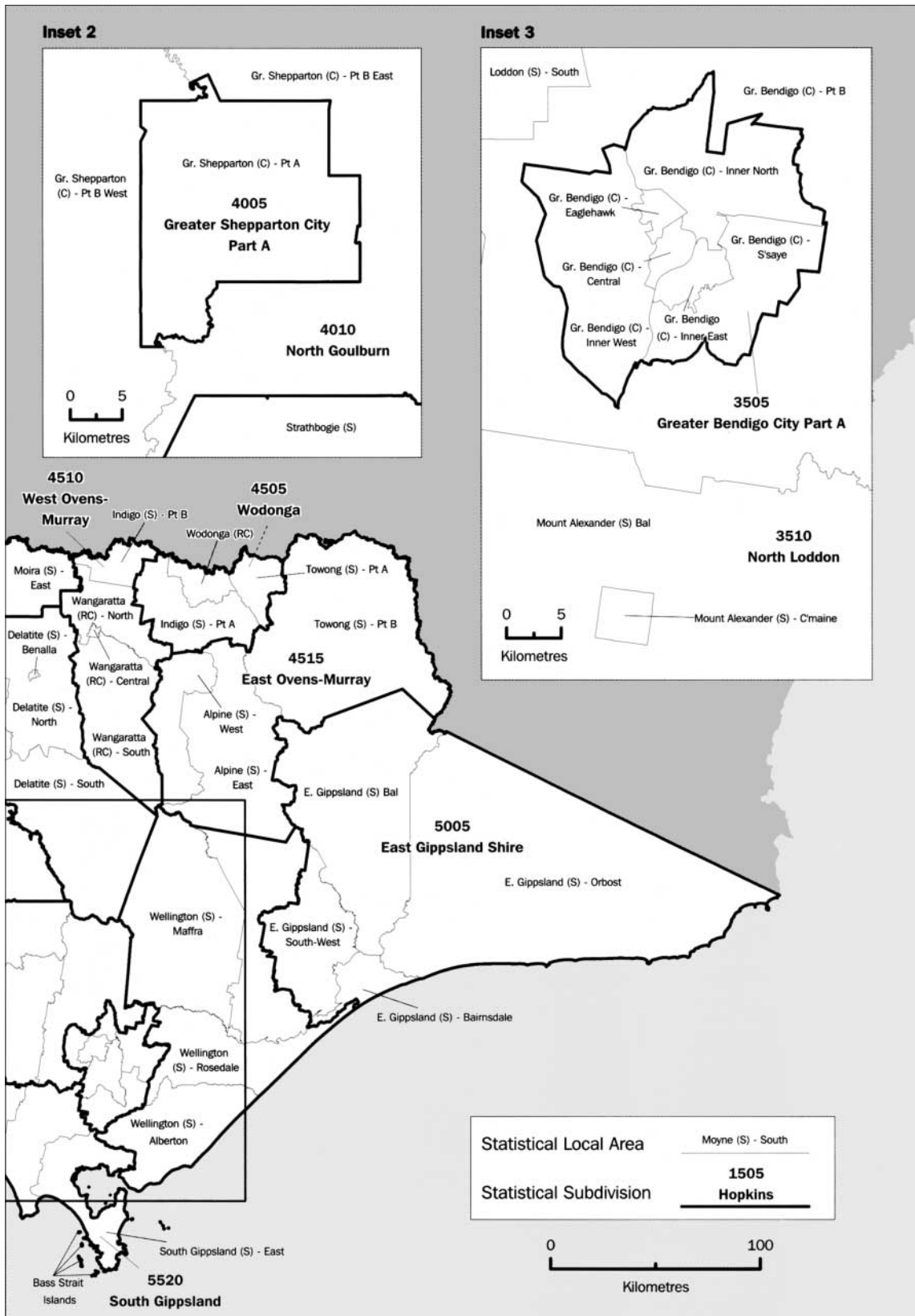


VICTORIA—MELBOURNE STATISTICAL DIVISION, 2001 EDITION



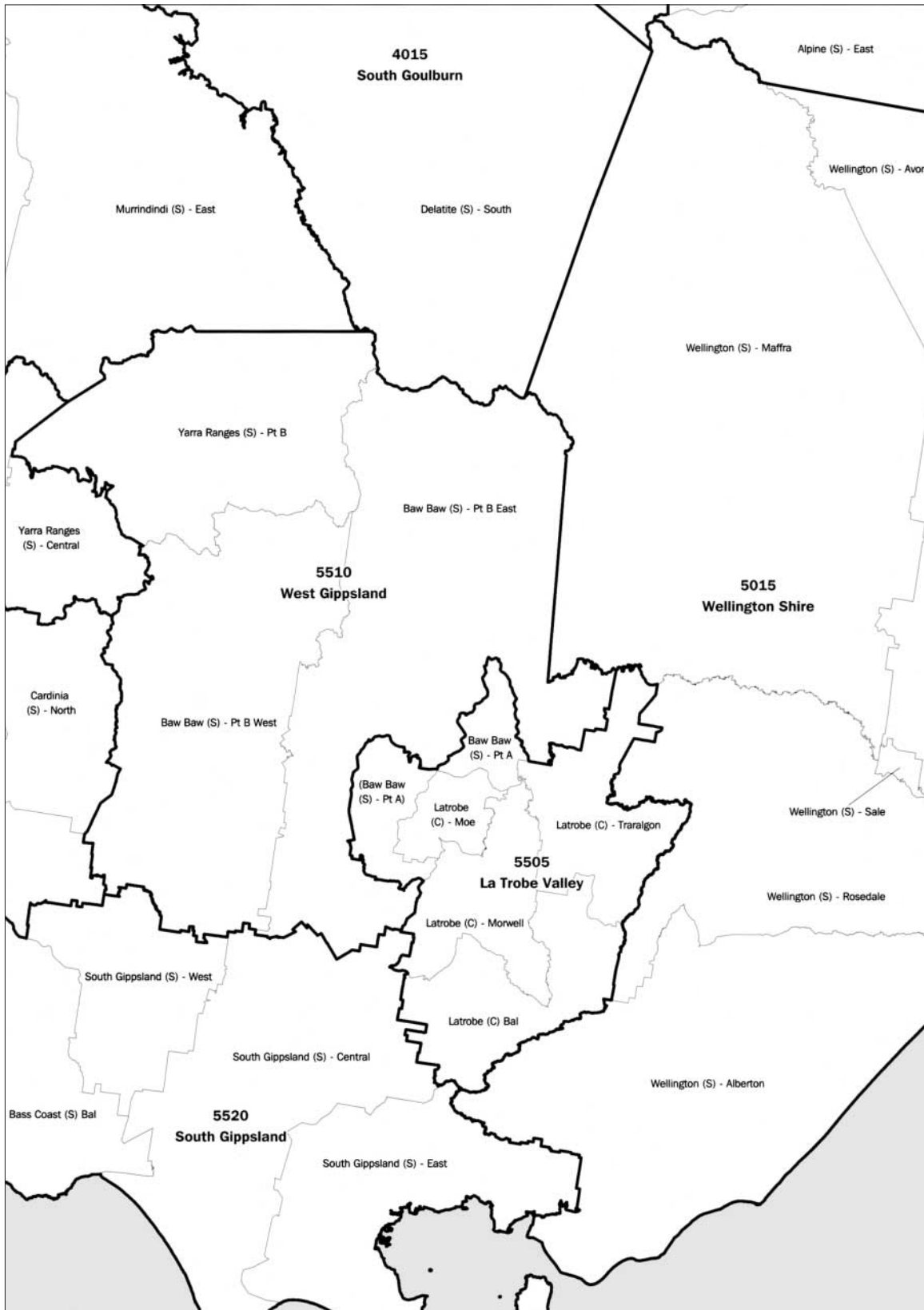
VICTORIA—STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS AND STATISTICAL LOCAL AREAS, 2001 EDITION



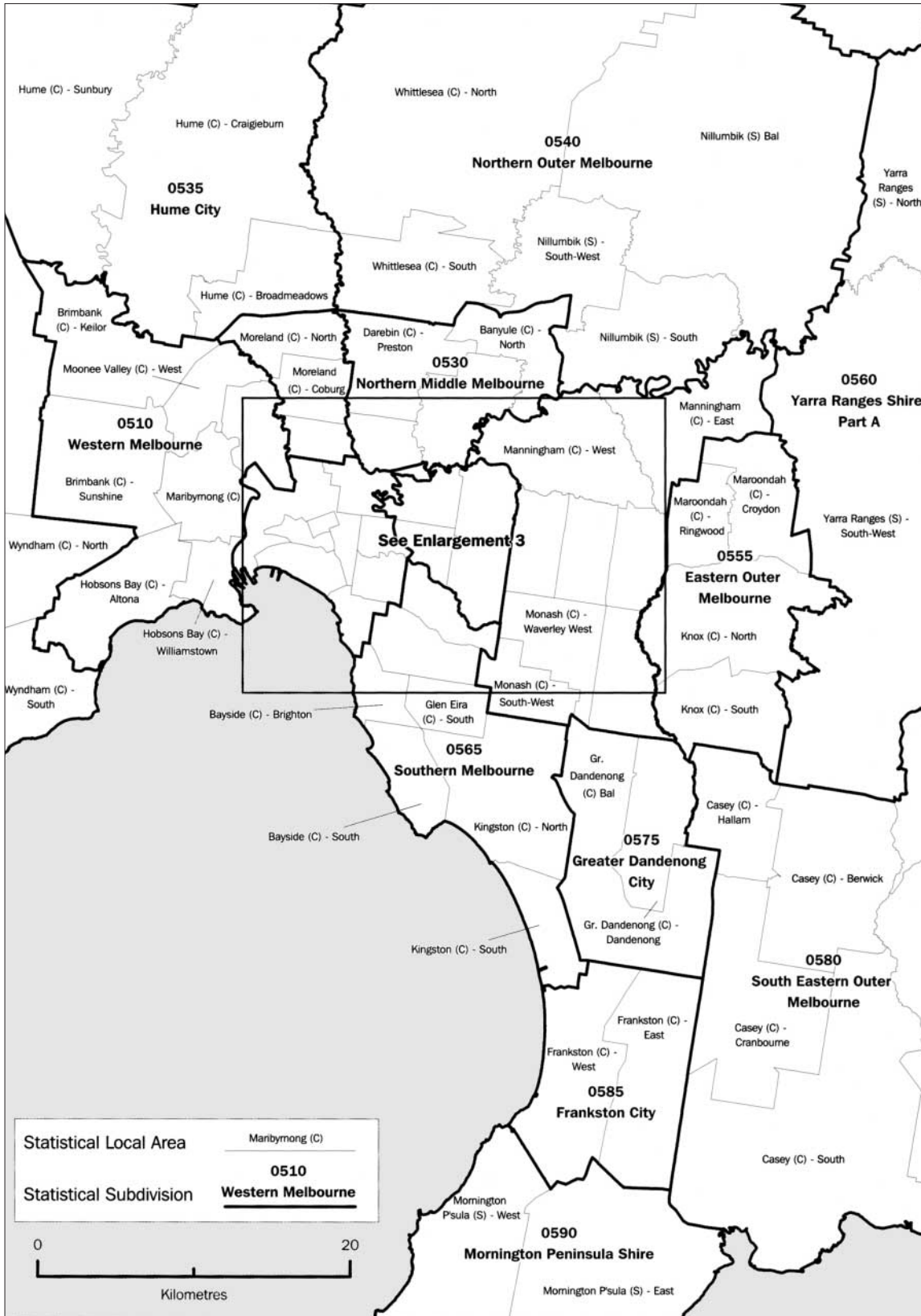


VICTORIA—STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS AND STATISTICAL LOCAL AREAS, 2001 EDITION
ENLARGEMENT 1

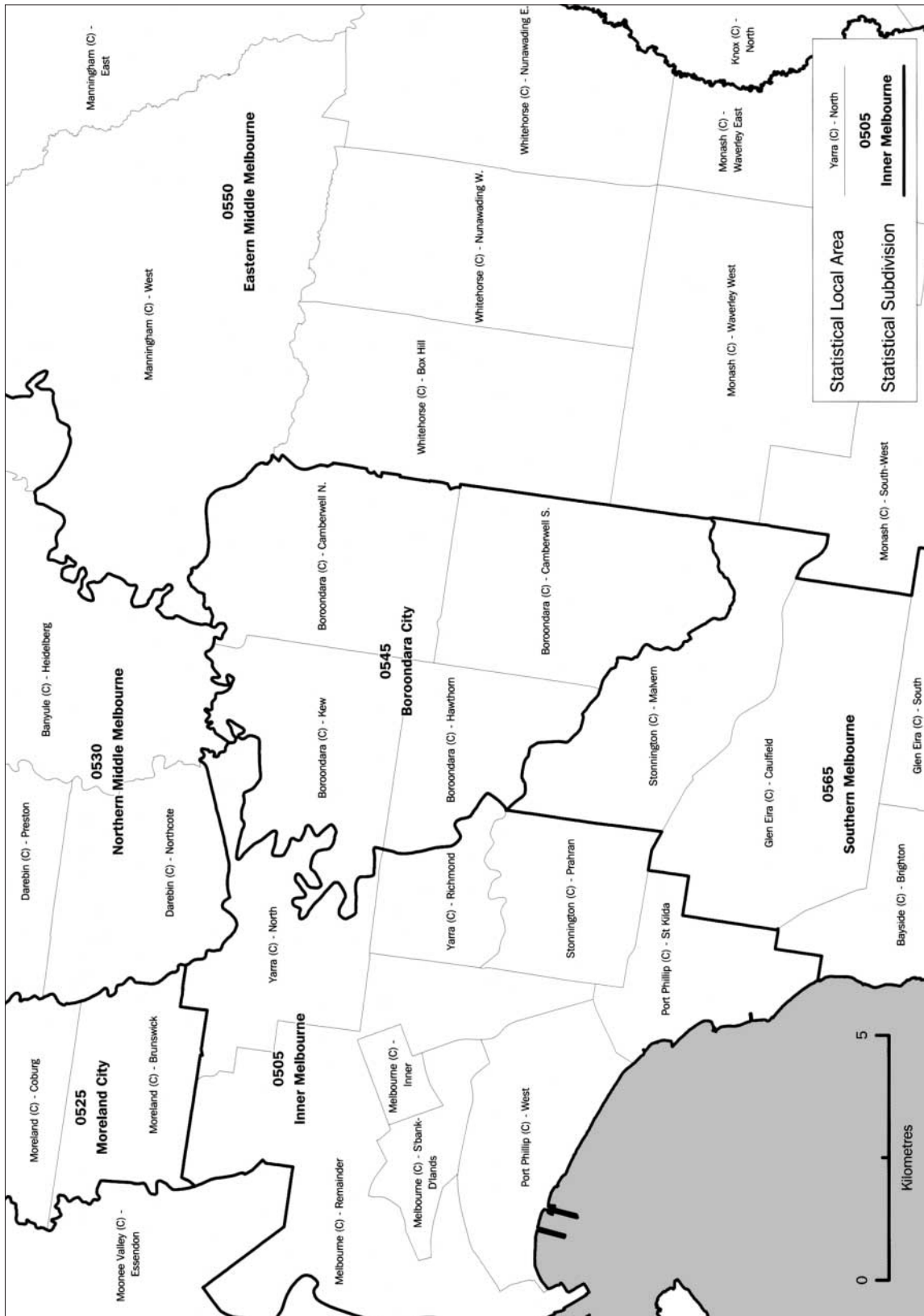




VICTORIA—STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS AND STATISTICAL LOCAL AREAS, 2001 EDITION
ENLARGEMENT 2



VICTORIA—STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS AND STATISTICAL LOCAL AREAS, 2001 EDITION
ENLARGEMENT 3



4.2 GEOGRAPHICAL CATEGORIES

There are a number of ways of approaching a geographical analysis. The Australian Bureau of Statistics uses the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC) for the collection and dissemination of geographically organised statistics (ABS 2001c). The ASGC provides seven hierarchies of geographical areas which are designed for different practical purposes. This report uses the 'Main Structure' which covers the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps. The Main Structure comprises five hierarchical levels: census districts, statistical local areas, statistical subdivisions, statistical divisions and states and territories. However, we focus on statistical divisions and subdivisions in Victoria, because we are looking for general patterns in the population.

According to the ABS, statistical divisions should be 'delimited on the basis of socio-economic criteria and should, where possible, embrace contiguous whole local government areas' (2001c, p.15). In each state and territory, the capital city is treated as a statistical division. This covers the greater metropolitan area including any anticipated growth corridors for at least 20 years. The statistical division 'represents the city in a wider sense' (ABS 2001c, p.15). The statistical divisions outside of the capital cities 'should be defined as a relatively homogeneous region characterised by identifiable ... links between the inhabitants and between the economic units within the region' (ABS 2001c, p.15).

Victoria is divided into 11 statistical divisions (excluding off shore and migratory). They are Melbourne, Barwon, Western District, Central Highlands, Wimmera, Mallee, Loddon, Goulburn, Ovens-Murray, East Gippsland and Gippsland. The statistical divisions are divided into 45 subdivisions. Statistical subdivisions are defined as 'socially and economically homogeneous regions characterised by identifiable links between the inhabitants' (ABS 2001c, p.13).

Melbourne is divided into 16 statistical subdivisions. The three largest are Western Melbourne (population 411,500), Eastern Middle Melbourne (population 407,000) and Southern Melbourne (population 378,500). Two subdivisions (Northern Middle Melbourne and Eastern Outer Melbourne) have 240,000 people. There are nine subdivisions with between 110,000 and 175,000 people.

There are also statistical subdivisions which correspond to major regional population centres, defined as urban areas with populations of 25,000 or more. There are 35 of these across the country, including eight in Victoria. They are Geelong, Warrnambool, Ballarat, Mildura, Bendigo, Shepparton, Wodonga and the La Trobe Valley.

Other statistical subdivisions cover non-urban areas. These are defined as rural areas which do not include cities with populations of 25,000 or above. These non-urban areas are said to have 'identifiable links between economic units within the region', and there may be the 'unifying influence' of one or more country towns.

4.3 OVERVIEW: VICTORIA

Three-quarters (72 per cent) of the population of Victoria lives in Greater Melbourne and this is where we would expect to find the largest concentration of homeless people. Table 4.1 shows that the census identified 14,072 homeless people in Melbourne and the rate of homelessness was 42 per 10,000. This is similar to the rate of homelessness in other capital cities such as Sydney (39 per 10,000) and Adelaide (44 per 10,000). There were 6,126 homeless people in regional Victoria where the rate was 48 per 10,000. This chapter focuses on the distribution of the homeless population in Melbourne. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss regional Victoria.

Table 4.1: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Melbourne and regional Victoria

	Melbourne	Regional	Victoria
Number	14,072	6,126	20,305*
Rate	42	48	44

* No geographical information on 107 people

4.4 MELBOURNE

The Melbourne statistical division comprises 16 subdivisions. This analysis groups them into four areas which we refer to as the 'City Core', the 'Inner City Ring', the 'Outer City Ring' and the 'Frankston-Dandenong Corridor'.

The City Core is the subdivision of Inner Melbourne. It has a population of 239,000 and includes the central business district, Southbank, the City of Port Phillip (St Kilda, Port Melbourne, Albert Park), the City of Yarra (Richmond), and part of the City of Stonnington (Prahran). We also refer to this as the 'Inner City'.

The Inner City Ring includes five subdivisions which have a boundary with the City Core. They are Western Melbourne, Moreland, Northern Middle Melbourne, Boroondara and Southern Melbourne. They have a combined population of 1.3 million. Western Melbourne includes Sunshine, Altona, and Maribyrnong. Moreland is based on Brunswick and Coburg. Northern Middle Melbourne covers Preston, Northcote and Heidelberg. Boroondara covers the suburbs of Camberwell, Hawthorn and Kew. Southern Melbourne includes the cities of Bayside, Glen Eira and Kingston.

The Outer City Ring includes eight subdivisions with a population of 1.45 million. They are: Melton-Wyndham which covers the outer Western growth corridor; Hume covering the outer Northern suburbs (Broadmeadows, Sunbury); Northern Outer Melbourne focusing on the Cities of Whittlesea and Nillumbik; Eastern Middle Melbourne and Eastern Outer Melbourne; the Yarra Ranges; and South Eastern Outer Melbourne.

The Frankston-Dandenong Corridor includes the Greater Dandenong, Frankston City and the Mornington Peninsula. It has 364,000 people.

Table 4.2: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Melbourne

	City Core	Inner City Ring	Frankston-Dandenong	Outer City Ring	Total
Number	3,552	4,774	1,587	4,159	14,072
Rate	149	36	44	29	42

Table 4.2 shows that there were 3,552 homeless people in Inner City Melbourne and the rate of homelessness was 149 per 10,000. The Inner City had seven per cent of Melbourne's population, but 25 per cent of its homeless people. It is usual to find a higher rate of homelessness in the inner suburbs of capital cities. This is the case in Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth. Homeless people gravitate towards those areas where services are available for them, especially if they are coming from inter or intra state.

In the Inner City Ring, there were 4,774 homeless people and the rate was 36 per 10,000. There were 4,159 homeless people in the Outer City Ring, where the rate was 29 per 10,000. The rate was higher in the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor (44 per 10,000), where there were 1,587 homeless people.

There were 10,500 homeless people in suburban Melbourne compared with 3,550 in the City Core. The rate of homelessness was lower in the suburbs, but the number of homeless people was substantial. People often become homeless in country areas or outer suburbs, but they migrate to the inner city where services for the homeless have traditionally been located. The provision of services in suburban areas assists people in the early stages of homelessness, including those at risk, and reduces the move to the inner city.

Table 4.3: Number of people in different segments of the homeless population, Melbourne

	Percentage				
	City Core (N=3,552)	Inner City Ring (N=4,774)	Frankston-Dandenong (N=1,587)	Outer City Ring (N=4,159)	Total (N=14,072)
	%	%	%	%	%
Boarding house	59	23	30	14	30
SAAP/THM	15	34	21	29	27
Friends/relatives	20	39	39	52	38
Improvised dwell. sleepers rough	6	4	10	5	5
	100	100	100	100	100

	Number				
	City Core	Inner City Ring	Frankston-Dandenong	Outer City Ring	Total
Boarding house	2,080	1,122	469	589	4,260
SAAP/THM	538	1,621	334	1,222	3,715
Friends/relatives	728	1,845	622	2,165	5,360
Improvised dwell. sleepers rough	206	186	162	183	737
	3,552	4,774	1,587	4,159	14,072

Table 4.3 shows the proportion of people in different segments of the homeless population. In the Inner City, 59 per cent of homeless people were staying in boarding houses, 20 per cent were with friends or relatives and 15 per cent were in supported accommodation (SAAP or THM). There were 200 people (six per cent) in the primary population, mainly in squats or sleeping rough.

In the Inner City Ring, 39 per cent of homeless people were staying with other households, 34 per cent were in SAAP/THM accommodation, and 23 per cent were in boarding houses. There were 186 people (four per cent) in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, including 68 in Western Melbourne and 60 in Moreland City.

In the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor, the proportion of people staying with other households was the same as the Inner City (39 per cent). However, in Frankston-Dandenong, there were fewer people in SAAP/THM accommodation (21 per cent) and more people in boarding houses (30 per cent). There were 162 people (10 per cent) in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, including 70 in Frankston and 58 in Dandenong. We talked to a number of local service providers in the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor who confirmed these figures. They knew of people sleeping in tents, on the foreshore, under railway bridges, and living in cars.

In the Outer City Ring, half (52 per cent) of the homeless were staying with other households (2,165 people), 29 per cent were in SAAP and 14 per cent were in boarding houses. There were 183 people (five per cent) in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough.

Altogether, 30 per cent of the homeless in Melbourne were staying in boarding houses (4,260 people). Half (49 per cent) of all boarding house residents were in the City Core, and another 26 per cent were in the Inner City Ring. Thirty-eight per cent of the homeless (5,360 people) were staying with other households and they were mainly in suburban Melbourne. There were 3,718 people in SAAP/THM accommodation and three-quarters (76 per cent) were in the Inner and Outer Ring. There were 737 people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, spread more evenly across the city.

4.5 MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS

The national report pointed out that boarding houses are more common in capital cities and less common in regional centres and country towns. In these

communities, SAAP workers sometimes refer homeless people to the local caravan parks if there is no emergency accommodation available. It is possible to identify 'marginal residents' of caravan parks. These were defined as people who were renting caravans where there was no-one in the dwelling who had full-time employment, and they were at their usual address.

Across Australia, there were 144,000 people in caravan parks (excluding overseas visitors) on census night, including 22,870 people who were renting their caravan where there was no-one in the dwelling who had full-time work. These were 'marginal residents' of caravan parks.

Table 4.4: Spatial distribution of persons in boarding houses and marginal residents of caravan parks, Victoria

	Boarding house (N=5,264)	Caravan (N=3,408)
	%	%
Melbourne	81	40
Remainder of Victoria	19	60
	100	100

Two-thirds (67 per cent) of boarding house residents across the country were in capital cities, whereas four-fifths (78 per cent) of marginal caravan park residents were in regional centres or country towns. Table 4.4 shows that in Victoria 81 per cent of boarding house residents were in Melbourne, whereas 60 per cent of marginal caravan park dwellers were outside of Melbourne. In some communities, SAAP workers send homeless people to the local caravan park if there is no SAAP accommodation available. Caravan parks may also house some people on a longer-term basis who are unable to re-enter the private rental market.

Table 4.5: Number of homeless people and number of marginal residents of caravan parks, Melbourne

	City Core	Inner City Ring	Frankston- Dandenong	Outer City Ring	Total
Homeless	3,552	4,774	1,587	4,159	14,072
Rate per 10,000	149	36	44	29	42
Caravans	0	381	589	407	1,377
Total	3,552	5,155	2,176	4,566	15,449
Rate per 10,000	149	39	60	31	46

Table 4.5 shows that there were 1,377 marginal residents of caravan parks in Melbourne, and all were in suburban Melbourne, particularly the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor. Informants in the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor knew of caravan parks being used as emergency accommodation, and they divided them into two groups.

First, there are caravan parks which are used by tourists in the summer, as well as people who own their caravans. In the winter, permanent residents remain, but the number of tourists declines. Some owners close their parks, but others rent out vans to poor people. Some parks attempt to exclude homeless people, but others accept all prospective tenants. We were told that rents are increased in the summer and marginal tenants are forced to move on.

Second, there are caravan parks which are used as permanent accommodation for poor people, and as emergency accommodation. Local informants in the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor told us that there are a number of these in their community. One was described in a report as a 'ghetto of homeless people and poverty' (Kliger 2003, p.24). Another was called 'unattractive and horribly overcrowded'. The vans in these parks are rented and most tenants are unemployed or outside of the labour force. The parks provide 'permanent accommodation for older people and crisis ... accommodation especially for people with an addiction', as well as accommodation for some families with children (Kliger 2003, p.24).

The issue of whether marginal caravan park residents are included in the homeless population is a difficult one. In some areas caravan parks are used for tourist accommodation, and by people who own their caravans. In other areas, they double as emergency accommodation in the winter months. There are also caravan parks which provide permanent accommodation for marginalised people, and crisis accommodation. For some policy purposes, marginal residents of caravan might be thought of as part of the tertiary population. If this is the case, then the rate of homelessness was 46 per 10,000 in Melbourne, compared with 42 per 10,000 using the ABS definition.

5 WESTERN VICTORIA

5.1 OVERVIEW

There are four statistical divisions in Western Victoria. They are Barwon, Central Highlands, Western District and Wimmera. Barwon has a population of 245,000 and includes three subdivisions. Geelong is the major regional centre with a population of 153,000. East Barwon includes Queenscliff, Greater Geelong Part B and the Surf Coast. West Barwon is a rural community with a population of 38,000.

The Central Highlands has a population of 137,000. The major regional centre is Ballarat (population 81,000). There are two rural subdivisions - East Central Highlands and West Central Highlands.

The Western District has three subdivisions: the major urban area is Warrnambool with a population of 28,000; Glenelg includes Portland and Hamilton; and Hopkins is a rural subdivision.

The Wimmera includes North and South Wimmera (populations 14,000 and 35,000 respectively). In some country areas there are small numbers of homeless people spread across large geographical areas. There can be high rates of homelessness in these communities, but relatively few homeless people.

Table 5.1: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Western Victoria and Melbourne

	Three urban subdivisions	Eight rural subdivisions	Total	Melbourne
Number	1,112	1,092	2,204	14,072
Rate	42	41	42	42

Table 5.1 compares the rate of homelessness in Western Victoria and Melbourne. There were 2,204 homeless people in Western Victoria where the rate of homelessness was 42 per 10,000, the same as in Melbourne. Overall, the rate of homelessness was the same in the three urban subdivisions (42 per 10,000), as in the eight rural subdivisions (41 per 10,000). However, there were some important differences within urban and rural communities.

5.2 URBAN

There were 486 homeless people in Geelong where the rate of homelessness was 32 per 10,000 (Table 5.1). The rate was 51 per 10,000 in Ballarat, where there were 408 homeless people. In Warrnambool, the rate was 76 per 10,000, and there were 218 homeless.

Table 5.2: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Geelong, Ballarat and Warrnambool

	Geelong	Ballarat	Warrnambool	Total
Number	486	408	218	1,112
Rate	32	51	76	42

There was also variation in the proportion of people in different segments of the population (Table 5.3). In Geelong, 50 per cent of the homeless were staying with friends or relatives, 30 per cent were in SAAP/THM accommodation and 12 per cent were in boarding houses.

In Warrnambool, 47 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP/THM accommodation, 34 per cent were with other households, and 18 per cent were in a boarding house.

In Ballarat, 40 per cent were in boarding houses, 29 per cent were with other households, and 29 per cent were in SAAP/THM accommodation. Warrnambool had a higher rate of homelessness than Geelong or Ballarat, partly because it had more SAAP/THM accommodation.

Table 5.3: Number of people in different segments of the homeless population, Geelong, Ballarat, and Warrnambool

Percentage				
	Geelong (N=486)	Ballarat (N=408)	Warrnambool (N=218)	Total (N=1,112)
	%	%	%	%
Board house	12	40	18	23
SAAP/THM	30	29	47	33
Friends	50	29	34	40
Improvised dwelling	8	2	1	4
	100	100	100	100

Number				
	Geelong	Ballarat	Warrnambool	Total
Board house	58	162	38	258
SAAP/THM	144	117	102	363
Friends	245	121	75	441
Improvised dwelling	39	8	3	50
	486	408	218	1,112

5.2 RURAL

There was variation in the number of homeless people in the eight rural subdivisions (Table 5.4). There were 41 homeless people in North Wimmera where the rate was 28 per 10,000. The number was highest in West Barwon where there were 215 homeless and the rate was 57 per 10,000. In most rural subdivisions, there were between 100 and 200 homeless people.

Table 5.4: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, rural subdivisions, Western Victoria

	Barwon		Central Highlands		Western District		Wimmera		Total
	East	West	East	West	Hopkins	Glenelg	South	North	
Number	138	215	193	97	98	163	147	41	1,092
Rate	26	57	51	54	30	45	42	28	41

Table 5.5 shows the proportion in different segments of the population. Once again, there is variation across the subdivisions but three points stand out. First, nearly half (44 per cent) of the homeless were staying with other households. Second, in rural subdivisions, just over one-fifth (22 per cent) of the homeless were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, compared with four per cent in urban areas. Third, there were small numbers of people in SAAP/THM accommodation in most communities.

Table 5.5: Number of people in different segments of the homeless population, rural subdivisions, Western Victoria**Percentage**

	Barwon		Central Highlands		Western District		Wimmera		Total (N=1,092)
	East (N=138)	West (N=215)	East (N=193)	West (N=97)	Hopkins (N=98)	Glenelg (N=163)	South (N=147)	North (N=41)	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
B. house	11	0	26	49	21	9	25	27	18
THM	0	19	7	3	11	35	33	7	16
Friends	76	44	34	39	37	48	30	46	44
Improvised dwelling	13	37	33	9	31	8	12	20	22
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Barwon		Central Highlands		Western District		Wimmera		Total
	East	West	East	West	Hopkins	Glenelg	South	North	
B. house	15	0	51	47	21	14	37	11	196
THM	0	42	13	3	11	57	49	3	178
Friends	105	94	66	38	36	79	44	19	481
Improvised dwelling	18	79	63	9	30	13	17	8	237
	138	215	193	97	98	163	147	41	1,092

5.3 MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS

Table 5.6 shows that there were 450 marginal caravan dwellers in Western Victoria, including 162 in Geelong and 205 in rural communities. There were 42 homeless people per 10,000 of the population using the ABS definition of homelessness, but 50 per 10,000 if marginal caravan park dwellers are included.

Table 5.5: Number of homeless people and number of marginal residents of caravan parks, Geelong, Ballarat, Warrnambool and rural Western Victoria

	Geelong	Ballarat	Warrnambool	Rural	Total
Homeless	486	408	218	1,092	2,204
Rate per 10,000	32	51	76	41	42
Caravan	162	59	24	205	450
Total	648	467	242	1,297	2,654
Rate per 10,000	42	58	84	49	50

6 EASTERN VICTORIA

6.1 OVERVIEW

There are two statistical divisions covering Eastern Victoria. They are Gippsland and East Gippsland.

Gippsland has a population of 154,000 and there are three subdivisions. The La Trobe Valley (population 72,000) is the only major urban area. It includes the cities of Traralgon, Morwell and Moe. South Gippsland and West Gippsland are predominantly rural communities with populations of 50,000 and 32,000 respectively.

Gippsland East stretches from the Gippsland Lakes to the New South Wales border. Wellington Shire (population 40,000) includes Sale. East Gippsland includes Bairnsdale and Orbost.

Table 6.1 compares the rate of homelessness in Eastern Victoria, Western Victoria and Melbourne. There were 977 homeless people in Eastern Victoria and the rate was 42 per 10,000, the same as in Western Victoria and metropolitan Melbourne.

Table 6.1: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Eastern Victoria, Western Victoria and Melbourne

	Eastern Victoria	Western Victoria	Melbourne
Number	977	2,204	14,072
Rate	42	42	42

6.1 EASTERN VICTORIA

There were 600 homeless people in Gippsland and the rate of homelessness was 39 per 10,000 (Table 6.2). The rate was similar in each of the subdivisions, but there were 270 homeless people in the La Trobe Valley which has a larger population.

In East Gippsland, the rate of homelessness was 48 per 10,000, but there were 260 homeless people in East Gippsland Shire (rate 68 per 10,000) compared with 120 in Wellington Shire (rate 30 per 10,000).

Table 6.3 shows the proportion of people in different segments of the homeless population. In Gippsland, just under half (47 per cent) were staying with friends or relatives. One-quarter (24 per cent) were in SAAP/THM accommodation, although this rises to 36 per cent on the La Trobe Valley. In South and West Gippsland, 30 per cent of the homeless were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough.

Table 6.2: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Gippsland and East Gippsland subdivisions

	Gippsland				East Gippsland		
	La Trobe Valley	West Gippsland	South Gippsland	Total	East Gippsland	Wellington Shire	Total
Number	272	124	203	599	259	119	378
Rate	38	39	41	39	68	30	48

In East Gippsland, just under half (44 per cent) of the homeless were with other households, one-quarter (24 per cent) were in improvised dwellings, and one fifth (21 per cent) were in SAAP/THM accommodation.

Table 6.3: Number of people in different segments of the homeless population, Gippsland and East Gippsland subdivisions**Percentage**

	Gippsland				East Gippsland		
	La Trobe Valley	West Gippsland	South Gippsland	Total	East Gippsland	Wellington Shire	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
B. house	12	6	10	10	10	13	11
SAAP/THM	36	14	12	24	23	15	21
Friends	45	53	46	47	39	54	44
Improvised dwelling	7	27	32	19	28	18	24
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Gippsland				East Gippsland		
	La Trobe Valley	West Gippsland	South Gippsland	Total	East Gippsland	Wellington Shire	Total
B. house	33	7	20	60	25	16	41
SAAP/THM	99	18	24	141	60	18	78
Friends	122	66	93	281	102	64	166
Improvised dwelling	18	33	66	117	72	21	93
	272	124	203	599	259	119	378

6.2 MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS

There were 600 homeless people in Gippsland and 240 marginal residents of caravan parks (Table 6.4). If both groups are included in the homeless count, then there were 69 homeless people per 10,000 in West Gippsland, and 50 per 10,000 in the La Trobe Valley.

There were 378 homeless people in East Gippsland and 173 marginal residents of caravan parks. The rate was highest in East Gippsland Shire (107 per 10,000) where there were 259 homeless people and 150 marginal caravan park dwellers.

Table 6.4: Number of homeless people and number of marginal residents of caravan parks, Gippsland and East Gippsland subdivisions

	Gippsland				East Gippsland		
	La Trobe Valley	West Gippsland	South Gippsland	Total	East Gippsland	Wellington Shire	Total
Homeless	272	124	203	599	259	119	378
Rate per 10,000	38	39	41	39	68	30	48
Caravan	89	93	59	241	150	23	173
Total	361	217	262	840	409	142	551
Rate per 10,000	50	69	52	55	107	35	71

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7 NORTHERN VICTORIA

7.1 OVERVIEW

There are four statistical divisions in Northern Victoria. They are Loddon, Goulburn, Ovens-Murray and Mallee.

Loddon has a population of 161,000 and includes three subdivisions. Bendigo is the major regional centre with a population of 77,000. North Loddon (population 48,000) includes Maryborough and Castlemaine. South Loddon covers the Macedon Ranges, including Kyneton and Romsey.

Goulburn (population 187,500) has four subdivisions. Shepparton (population 43,000) is the major urban centre. North Goulburn covers Echuca, Kyabram and Rochester. South Goulburn includes Benalla and South West Goulburn is rural.

Ovens-Murray covers the North-East corner of the state. Wodonga (population 43,000) is the major regional centre. West Ovens-Murray includes the City of Wangaratta and East Ovens-Murray covers the Victorian Alps.

The Mallee covers a huge area of North Western Victoria. Mildura (population 43,500) is the main regional centre. East Mallee (population 32,000) includes Swan Hill, and West Mallee is rural.

Table 7.1: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Victoria

	Melbourne	Western Victoria	Eastern Victoria	Northern Victoria	Total*
Number	14,072	2,204	977	2,945	20,305
Rate	42	42	42	56	44

* No geographical information on 107 people

There were 2,945 homeless people in Northern Victoria where the rate of homelessness was 56 per 10,000 (Table 7.1). This was higher than in other regions of Victoria where the rate was 42 per 10,000.

Table 7.2 shows that there were 1,180 homeless people in the four urban subdivisions – Bendigo, Shepparton, Mildura and Wodonga – where the rate of homelessness was 57 per 10,000. There 1,765 homeless people in the nine rural subdivisions where the rate was 56 per 10,000.

Table 7.2: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, urban and rural subdivisions, Northern Victoria

	Four urban subdivisions	Nine rural subdivisions	Total
Number	1,180	1,765	2,945
Rate	57	56	56

7.2 URBAN

There were some important differences between urban communities. There were 213 homeless people in both Shepparton and Wodonga where the rate of homelessness was 48 per 10,000 (Table 7.3). In Bendigo, there were 422 homeless people and the rate was 55 per 10,000. The rate was highest in Mildura (76 per 10,000) where there were 336 homeless people, including 61 people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. This figure was confirmed by local informants who told us about young people sleeping rough, itinerant workers camping on the banks of the Murray, a woman with children living in a shed, and a man with mental health issues sleeping under a tarpaulin.

Table 7.3: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, Bendigo, Shepparton, Wodonga and Mildura

	Bendigo	Shepparton	Wodonga	Mildura	Total
Number	422	212	214	332	1,180
Rate	55	49	48	76	57

There was also variation in the proportion of people in different segments of the population (Table 7.4). In Shepparton and Wodonga, 40 per cent of the homeless were staying with friends or relatives and another 40 per cent were in SAAP/THM accommodation. About 10 per cent were in boarding houses.

In Bendigo, 44 per cent were staying with other households, one-third (32 per cent) were in THM accommodation, and 15 per cent were in boarding houses. In Mildura, 53 per cent were with other households, 18 per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, and 17 per cent were in SAAP/THM properties. Mildura had the highest rate of homelessness, but the lowest proportion of person in THM accommodation.

Table 7.4: Number of people in different segments of the homeless population, Bendigo, Shepparton, Wodonga and Mildura

Percentage					
	Bendigo (N=422)	Shepparton (N=212)	Wodonga (N=214)	Mildura (N=332)	Total (N=1,180)
	%	%	%	%	%
Board house	15	12	9	12	12
SAAP/THM	32	39	38	17	30
Friends	44	41	38	53	45
Improvised dwelling	9	8	15	18	13
	100	100	100	100	100

Number					
	Bendigo	Shepparton	Wodonga	Mildura	Total
Board house	62	26	19	39	146
SAAP/THM	133	83	81	56	353
Friends	187	86	82	176	531
Improvised dwelling.	40	17	32	61	150
	422	212	214	332	1,180

7.3 RURAL

There was variation in the number of homeless people in the nine rural subdivisions (Table 7.5). There were 67 homeless people in the West Mallee where the rate was 59 per 10,000. The number was highest in North Goulburn where there were 354 homeless people, although the rate was 48 per 10,000. In four rural subdivisions, there were 200 or more homeless people – North Loddon, East Ovens-Murray, North Goulburn and South West Goulburn.

Table 7.5: Number of homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, rural subdivisions, Northern Victoria

	Loddon		Goulburn			Ovens-Murray		Mallee		Total
	North	South	North	South	S. West	West	East	West	East	
Number	263	112	354	197	236	126	252	67	158	1,765
Rate	55	31	48	67	58	43	152	59	49	56

The rate of homelessness was highest in East Ovens-Murray (152 per 10,000), which includes Bright, Myrtleford and Mount Beauty, and the alpine resorts of Falls Creek and Mount Hotham. There were 250 homeless people, including 117 in boarding houses. The figure for boarding houses is much higher than in neighbouring subdivisions, and we made extensive inquiries to check this point.

Local informants told us that there are poor families who have moved into the area on a permanent basis, and there are also seasonal workers who come to work on local tobacco farms. However, none of our informants knew of boarding houses where marginal households might find cheap accommodation. They reported that there are over 100 tobacco growers still registered in the area, and on these farms it is common to find share-farmer cottages or huts clustered together. These are used to provide basic amenities for casual workers at certain times of the year. At other times, such as when the census was carried out, these dwellings are used as low cost rental accommodation. When these huts are clustered together, it is possible that they were classified as non-private dwellings and show up in our figures as 'boarding houses'. If we assume that the '117' identified in boarding houses was an error, then the rate of homelessness in East Ovens Murray was 82 per 10,000.

Table 7.6: Number of people in different segments of the homeless population, rural subdivisions, Northern Victoria

Percentage

	Loddon		Goulburn			Ovens-Murray		Mallee		Total (N=1,765)
	North (N=263)	South (N=112)	North (N=354)	South (N=197)	S. West (N=236)	West (N=126)	East (N=252)	West (N=67)	East (N=158)	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
B. house	2	5	22	26	10	4	47	0	10	17
THM	8	30	5	6	18	36	1	0	24	12
Friends	52	35	44	36	28	41	47	82	42	43
Improvised dwelling	38	30	29	32	44	19	5	18	24	28
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Loddon		Goulburn			Ovens-Murray		Mallee		Total
	North	South	North	South	S. West	West	East	West	East	
B. house	6	6	76	52	25	5	117	0	16	303
THM	20	33	19	11	42	45	3	0	38	211
Friends	138	39	157	71	66	52	119	55	67	764
Improvised dwelling	99	34	102	63	103	24	13	12	37	487
	263	112	354	197	236	126	252	67	158	1,765

Table 7.6 shows the proportion in different segments of the population in all rural subdivisions. There is variation across the subdivisions but four points stand out. First, 43 per cent of the homeless were staying with friends or relatives, and in most subdivisions the figure was between 35 and 50 per cent. Second, in rural subdivisions 28 per cent of the homeless were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, compared with 13 per cent in urban areas. Third in most communities, there were small numbers in boarding house. The figures were highest in Goulburn, but lower in Loddon, Ovens-Murray and Mallee. Fourth, the proportion in THM accommodation varied across the subdivisions. It was between 30 and 35 per cent in South Loddon and West Ovens-Murray, but less than 10 per cent in North and South Goulburn, North Loddon, East Ovens-Murray and West Mallee.

7.4 MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS

There were 3,400 marginal residents of caravan parks in Victoria and one-third of them were in Northern Victoria. There were five subdivisions which had 100 or more marginal residents of caravan parks (Table 7.7). They were Bendigo (137), North Loddon (114), Shepparton (187), North Goulburn (159) and Mildura (240). We contacted local service providers and public officials in Mildura and Shepparton to investigate this issue.

Table 7.7: Number of homeless people and number of marginal residents of caravan parks, selected subdivisions, Northern Victoria

	Bendigo	North Loddon	Shepparton	North Goulburn	Mildura	Total
Homeless	422	263	212	354	332	2,945
Rate per 10,000	55	55	49	48	76	56
Caravan	137	114	187	159	240	1,167
Total	559	377	399	513	572	4,112
Rate per 10,000	73	79	92	69	132	78

There are three caravan parks in Shepparton, but they cater mainly for tourists. There are also caravan parks outside of Shepparton that were originally designed to provide accommodation for itinerant workers who came for fruit picking. The parks were often established close to local orchards. As the industry mechanised, so the demand for casual labour has declined. These days the parks are filled with low income households, although some people still work casually as fruit pickers. One informant lived near a caravan park on the outskirts of town. She knew families in the park and talked about the difficulties of their children at the local school. Another informant said that at one stage the council had set up a children's centre at one of the parks, although this had now closed.

In Mildura, our respondents distinguished between 'up market' caravan parks from those that specialise in low income households. One respondent

named four caravan parks that are used by poor people. He said they are full of 'unemployed people looking for work and single parents'. Another said that the 'up market' parks take other people in the off-season, but 'they kick them out once the tourists start flooding in'.

Table 7.7: Number of homeless people and number of marginal residents of caravan parks, Victoria

	Melbourne	Western Victoria	Eastern Victoria	Northern Victoria	Total*
Homeless	14,072	2,204	977	2,945	20,305
Rate per 10,000	42	42	42	56	44
Caravan	1,377	450	414	1,167	3,408
Total	15,449	2,654	1,391	4,112	23,713
Rate per 10,000	46	50	60	78	51

* No geographical information on 107 people

Table 7.7 shows that there were 380 to 400 homeless and marginally housed people in North Loddon and Shepparton, about 500 in North Goulburn, and 565 in Bendigo and Mildura. The rate (including caravans) was between 70 and 80 per 10,000 in North Goulburn, North Loddon and Bendigo, 92 per 10,000 in Shepparton, and 132 per 10,000 in Mildura.

If marginal caravan park residents are included in the tertiary population, then the rate of homelessness in Melbourne increases from 42 to 46 per 10,000. In Northern Victoria, the rate increases from 56 to 78 per 10,000 (Table 7.8).

8 INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

It is important to estimate the number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people in different parts of the state. In Victoria, 96 per cent of people answered the census question, 'Is the person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait islander origin?' and 0.6 per cent identified as Indigenous. However, there was no information on the Indigenous status of homeless young people not counted in the census. They were staying temporarily with friends or relatives. We use census data on homeless people staying with other households (the 'usual address' question) to estimate the Indigenous status of young people missed by the census.

There is a risk of under-estimation, because many Indigenous people make sense of the 'usual address' question within a different cultural frame of reference. When Indigenous people leave home to escape domestic violence or other family problems, they often move in with members of their extended family. In these circumstances, it is not culturally appropriate to record 'no usual address' on census night, because 'home' is understood in a different way. There is under-reporting in this category.

Table 8.1: Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people and rate per 10,000 of the population, 2001

	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Total*
Number	19,634	564	20,305
Rate	42	217	44

* No geographical information on 107 people

Bearing this qualification in mind, there were 564 homeless Indigenous people in Victoria on census night. The rate was 217 per 10,000 of the population (Table 8.1). There were 19,634 non-Indigenous homeless people and the rate was 42 per 10,000. In all states and territories, Indigenous people were over-represented in the homeless population.

In Melbourne, there were 315 homeless Indigenous people (Table 8.2), including 147 in SAAP, 79 in boarding houses, 54 with other households and 35 in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. Two-thirds (68 per cent) were in the Inner City Ring or the City Core.

Table 8.2: Geographical distribution of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people, 2001

	Non-Indigenous		Indigenous	
	N	%	N	%
Melbourne	13,757	70	315	56
Northern Victoria	2,793	14	152	27
Western Victoria	2,135	11	69	12
Eastern Victoria	949	5	28	5
	19,634	100	564	100

The other 'concentration' was in Northern Victoria where there were 152 homeless Indigenous people. There were 57 in Mallee, 43 in Goulburn, 30 in Loddon and 22 in Ovens-Murray. This included 35 people in Mildura, 21 in Bendigo and 16 in Shepparton.

There were 69 homeless Indigenous people in Western Victoria. The Central Highlands had 29, the Western District had 16, Barwon had seven and the Wimmera had nine. Eastern Victoria had 28 homeless Indigenous people – 14 in both Gippsland and East Gippsland.

There were 141 Indigenous people who were marginal residents of caravan parks, including 74 in Northern Victoria, 37 in Melbourne and 15 in both Western Victoria and Gippsland.

9 DISCUSSION

9.1 HOMELESSNESS IS A PROCESS

Homelessness is best understood as a process, or as a series of biographical transitions. We have referred to this as the homeless 'career process' (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1998). The 'homeless career' draws attention to the fact that most people pass through 'stages' before they develop a self-identity as a homeless person. In *Homeless Careers*, we argued that there are three fundamental career paths, amid an enormous diversity and complexity of individual cases in the homeless population.

The first typology is the 'youth' career that focuses on teenagers forced to leave their family home prior to securing an independent income or position in the labour market. The ideal-typical model traces a 'career' from young people at risk to chronic homelessness. The first tangible indicator of 'homelessness' is when a young person leaves home for at least one night without their parent's permission. Others begin to leave home on a regular basis. This is the 'in and out' stage and typically these young people stay with friends in their community of origin.

Most young people who experience homelessness have their first experience while still at school (O'Connor 1989; Crane and Brannock 1996; MacKenzie and Chamberlain 1995). Students who drop out of school are likely to become involved in the homeless sub-culture. Some make the 'transition to chronicity' where homelessness becomes a 'way of life' (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1994; Visano, 1990). Early intervention is about facilitating family reconciliation and it involves working with parents as well as young people.

There are three pathways into adult homelessness. The first is the 'housing crisis career'. This draws attention to the fact that for many adults it is poverty – and accumulating debt – that underpins the slide into homelessness. There is no 'in and out' stage in the housing crisis career. Once adults lose their accommodation there is a sharp break and their problems usually get worse. Many move into the homeless population for a sustained period of time and some adapt to homelessness as a 'way of life'. An obvious site for early intervention is Centrelink, because most people in housing crisis are receiving a government pension.

The second career path into the adult population focuses on family breakdown. This can occur for many reasons, but it is often a result of domestic violence. This career trajectory has some similarities with the youth career, because it involves an 'in and out' stage. However, it is more difficult to deliver early intervention, because many victims do not request assistance until they are forced to leave. Women escaping domestic violence may return to the family home a number of times to try to resolve family issues. In this context,

early intervention involves family counselling to help couples work through their difficulties. Alternatively, early intervention might involve assisting women to plan their departure in ways that prevent them becoming homeless. There are prevention programs that take the form of public campaigns promoting the unacceptability of domestic violence. Between broad prevention campaigns and crisis intervention, there appears to be a service gap where early intervention should fit. This is underdeveloped because there is no obvious site for early intervention, such as schools or Centrelink. However, there are opportunities to assist women who visit their GP, seek treatment at a hospital, or contact police. Building an early intervention capacity in response to domestic violence means supporting service providers in a wide range of community agencies to identify domestic violence and then to respond appropriately.

The third point of entry into the adult population is the transition from youth to adult homelessness. This is not a separate career typology, but a continuation of the youth homeless career into adult homelessness. MacKenzie and Chamberlain (2003, pp.45-51) found that half of the young adults (aged 19 to 24) in their sample had become homeless in their early to mid teens. They report that these young adults often had issues with drugs, alcohol and mental health, and a significant minority had contact with the juvenile justice system. They were unemployed, extremely poor and highly marginalised. At this stage, intensive support is required. This can take a long time and is resource intensive. It is far more costly than early intervention, and the rate of success is lower.

Responding to homelessness requires a range of service types that can respond to people at different stages on the homeless career trajectory. These will include services focusing on early intervention and prevention for young people and adults, as well as services which provide support and crisis accommodation for people in the early stages of homelessness. People who have been homeless for six months or longer usually need intensive support and long-term accommodation options, before they can return to independent living. One dilemma for policy makers is what proportion of resources to allocate to various types of service provision.

9.2 LOCATION OF EARLY INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Early intervention involves providing assistance to people who are either at risk of losing their accommodation or in the early stages of homelessness. In the case of young people, early intervention is about facilitating family reconciliation. It involves working with parents as well as teenagers, particularly when the young person is in the 'in and out' stage. Early intervention to assist young people involves working in schools, because most teenagers have their first experience of homelessness while they are still at school.

In the case of adults who are experiencing family breakdown, it is difficult to know where to locate early intervention services. People who leave home because of domestic violence – or family disputes – often do not request assistance until after they are forced to leave. There is no universal site for early intervention and the development of early intervention strategies is more complex.

In the case of adults who are experiencing a housing crisis, early intervention involves providing assistance to households that are at risk. Once adults lose their accommodation there is a sharp break and their problems get worse. Early intervention can include financial counselling, emergency relief or assistance with public housing applications. Most people also need financial assistance to avoid eviction or to secure alternative accommodation. Unfortunately, some people do not approach agencies until they are facing imminent eviction. This is why Centrelink is an obvious site for the delivery of early intervention services, because most people who experience a housing crisis are also receiving a government pension.

Early intervention to assist adults involves putting services in the 'right' geographical location. There were 3,550 homeless people in Inner Melbourne, where the rate of homelessness was 149 per 10,000. The rate of homelessness was lower in suburban Melbourne, regional cities and country towns (30 to 50 per 10,000), but they had 16,700 homeless people. Most people become homeless in outer suburbs, regional centres and country areas. The provision of early intervention services in these areas assists people in the early stages of homelessness, including those at risk, and reduces the move to the inner city.

9.3 COUNTING AT A POINT IN TIME

There will always be more homeless people over a year than there are at a point in time, but it is difficult to estimate the annual figure. In Australia, the national SAAP data collection gathers information on all persons who are assisted by SAAP services. Overall, 95,600 clients were assisted between 1 July 2001 and 30 June 2002 (AIHW 2002, p.9). It would be possible to estimate the annual homeless population if we knew what proportion of homeless people go to SAAP services, but we have no reliable information on this at the present time.

The relationship between the annual figure and the census figure is mediated by the length of time that people remain in the homeless population. For example, if 200,000 people become homeless this year, and each person remains homeless for six months, then a census count will reveal 100,000 homeless people ($200,000 \times 6/12 = 100,000$). However, if each person remains homeless for three months, then a census count will reveal 50,000 people ($200,000 \times 3/12 = 50,000$). From the point of view of policy makers, the important figure is always the census count, because this provides an indicator of demand for services on a daily basis. The census count needs to be combined with information on the temporal characteristics of the homeless population at a point in time.

Unfortunately, the census does not collect information on 'length of homelessness'. However, there is information on the temporal characteristics of SAAP clients. We contacted all SAAP services in census week and they provided us with 812 case studies. There was information on length of homelessness in 94 per cent of cases.

Table 9.1: Length of homelessness of SAAP clients

	All clients (N=765)
	%
Less than one month	9
1 – 3 months	17
4 – 6 months	14
7 – 11 months	12
One year or longer	48
	100

Source: Chamberlain and MacKenzie (2003, p.42)

This was a non-random sample, so the findings need to be treated with caution. Table 9.1 shows that nine per cent of SAAP clients had been homeless for less than a month and 31 per cent had been homeless for one to six months. However, 60 per cent had been homeless for seven months or longer.

It is widely accepted that early intervention is a sensible, long-term strategy to reduce homelessness. However, policy makers have to allocate resources, bearing in mind that a majority of SAAP clients are probably 'long-term' or 'chronically' homeless. They often have issues with drugs, alcohol or mental health, and most are long-term unemployed. They require intensive support and this is time consuming and resource intensive. Additional resources directed towards early intervention take resources away from those who are most disadvantaged – unless there is an increase in overall funding.

9.4 CARAVAN PARKS

The issue of whether marginal residents of caravan parks are 'marginally housed' or part of the 'tertiary population' cannot be resolved in this report. Here we summarise the main arguments.

The first argument is that people who rent caravans are in a similar situation to boarding house residents. Advocates argue that caravan park residents have one room for eating, sleeping and cooking, and share communal bathroom and laundry facilities. In our view, the accommodation situation of caravan park residents is marginally better than boarding house tenants. Caravans have a small kitchen. Caravans are also self-contained – they have a 'front door' - although many households will share the ablutions block.

The second argument contends that caravans are used as an alternative to boarding houses in regional centres and country towns. Nationally, 67 per cent of boarding house residents were in the major capital cities and 33 per cent were in regional centres or country towns. In contrast, 78 per cent of marginal caravan park dwellers were in regional centres and country towns, and 22 per cent were in capital cities. The argument of service providers is that caravans are used as an alternative to boarding houses in some communities.

The third argument is that it is common for families to spend their holidays in a caravan. Caravans are 'acceptable accommodation'. We have

spoken to service providers, local officials and some caravan park managers in all states and territories. Caravan parks fall into four groups.

First, there are many high quality caravan parks in all states and territories that are used exclusively for tourist accommodation. There are also parks that cater for niche markets, such as retired people who own their caravans. There are also parks that have a mixture of tourists and owners. There are no marginal caravan dwellers in these parks.

Second, there are parks that are used for tourist accommodation in summer. In winter, park owners rent out vans to poor people. Some parks attempt to exclude homeless people, but other parks accept all prospective tenants. We were told that rents are increased in summer and marginal tenants are forced to move on. The census is carried out in winter (Southern States), when there are marginal residents in these parks.

Third, there are caravan parks which have a mixed clientele all year – tourists, owners and renters. The balance between the groups varies, with more tourists in summer. In some parks, the rented caravans are in separate areas, often ‘out the back’.

Fourth, there are a small number of parks that are used as permanent accommodation for poor people, and as crisis accommodation. These parks were described as ‘overcrowded’, with vans in ‘poor condition’. Most residents were unemployed or outside of the labour force. Some informants referred to them as ‘ghetto parks’.

9.5 ALLOCATING RESOURCES

There are many factors that policy makers have to consider when they allocate funding to different communities, including the proficiency of local service providers. It is not necessary for the distribution of funding to reflect the distribution of the homeless population on census night. There may be minority groups that have special needs, or policy makers may have local knowledge that should bear upon the decision making process. Policy makers may also consider the expressed needs of certain groups, such as women escaping domestic violence or homeless teenagers in their community.

Nonetheless, information on the distribution of homeless people is relevant to policy making. Here we present the geographical information in two ways. First, we examine the distribution of the homeless population using the cultural definition of homelessness. Then we examine the distribution of homeless people, including marginal residents of caravan parks as part of the tertiary population. We focus on Melbourne and major regional cities to illustrate the analysis. More detailed geographical breakdowns are provided in Appendices 3 and 4.

Table 9.2 uses the ABS definition. It shows that 69 per cent of homeless people were in Melbourne, including 23.5 per cent in the Inner Ring and 17.5 per cent in the City Core. Most regional cities had between one and two per cent of homeless people – Geelong had 2.4 per cent, Bendigo had 2.1, Mildura had 1.6, and so on. Altogether, 12.7 per cent of the homeless were in regional cities. Another 17.4 per cent were in non-urban subdivisions, defined as rural areas without cities of 25,000 or more people.

Table 9.2: Proportion of homeless people in selected subdivisions, using the ABS definition of homelessness

	Number	Percentage
Melbourne	14,072	69.3
City Core	3,552	17.5
Inner City Ring	4,774	23.5
Frankston-Dandenong	1,587	7.8
Outer City Ring	4,159	20.5
Regional cities	2,564	12.7
Geelong	486	2.4
Warrnambool	218	1.1
Ballarat	408	2.0
Mildura	332	1.6
Bendigo	422	2.1
Shepparton	212	1.0
Wodonga	214	1.1
La Trobe Valley	272	1.4
Non-urban subdivisions	3,562	17.4
Missing data	107	0.6
	20,305	100.0

Table 9.3: Proportion of homeless people and marginal caravan park residents in selected subdivisions

	Number	Percentage
Melbourne	15,449	65.2
City Core	3,552	15.0
Inner City Ring	5,155	21.7
Frankston-Dandenong	2,176	9.2
Outer City Ring	4,566	19.3
Regional cities	3,490	14.7
Geelong	648	2.7
Warrnambool	242	1.0
Ballarat	467	2.0
Mildura	572	2.4
Bendigo	559	2.4
Shepparton	399	1.7
Wodonga	242	1.0
La Trobe Valley	361	1.5
Non-urban subdivisions	4,667	19.7
Missing data	107	0.4
	23,713	100.0

Table 9.3 includes marginal residents of caravan parks as part of the tertiary population. As a result, Melbourne's share of the homeless population drops from 69.3 to 65.2 per cent, implying a re-distribution of resources to regional cities and country towns. Using the broader definition, the following areas would have claims for more resources: the Frankston-Dandenong Corridor which increases its share of the homeless population from 7.8 to 9.2 per cent; Shepparton (from 1.0 to 1.7 per cent); Mildura (from 1.6 to 2.4 per cent); Geelong (2.4 to 2.7 per cent); and Bendigo (2.1 to 2.4 per cent). The major losers would be the Inner City Ring and the City Core, which have few caravans, but many boarding house rooms.

The issue of how to conceptualise marginal residents of caravan parks is not resolved by this report. Before any change in the definition, there needs to be an agreed position by governments on this issue, following extensive community consultation.

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Appendix 1: Number of homeless people in Victoria by statistical division and subdivision, 2001

	Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends/rels	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP/THM	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10,000	Caravan	Rate (incl caravan)
Melbourne	737	5,360	4,260	3,715	14,072	3,367,169	42	1,377	46
Inner Melbourne	206	728	2,080	538	3,552	239,012	149	0	149
Western Melbourne	68	521	419	538	1,546	411,451	38	122	41
Melton-Wyndham	14	187	12	69	282	137,419	21	79	26
Moreland City	60	218	95	214	587	131,597	45	106	53
Northern Middle Melb	37	388	196	339	960	238,701	40	0	40
Hume City	12	220	35	151	418	131,778	32	65	37
Northern Outer Melb	32	196	106	142	476	173,265	27	0	27
Booroondara City	5	192	302	84	583	151,308	39	0	39
Eastern Middle Melb	16	598	240	443	1,297	407,200	32	3	32
Eastern Outer Melbourne	15	366	128	180	689	241,010	29	68	31
Yarra Ranges Shire Part A	66	234	23	95	418	138,632	30	95	37
Southern Melbourne	16	526	110	446	1,098	378,129	29	153	33
Greater Dandenong City	58	151	213	192	614	124,400	49	97	57
South Eastern Outer Melb	28	364	45	142	579	223,218	26	97	30
Frankston City	70	226	63	78	437	111,118	39	264	63
Mornington Penin. Shire	34	245	193	64	536	128,931	42	228	59
Barwon	136	444	73	186	839	244,987	34	217	43
Greater Geelong Part A	39	245	58	144	486	153,399	32	162	42
East Barwon	18	105	15	0	138	54,056	26	27	31
West Barwon	79	94	0	42	215	37,532	57	28	65
Western District	46	190	73	170	479	97,232	49	72	57
Warrambool City	3	75	38	102	218	28,645	76	24	84
Hopkins	30	36	21	11	98	32,296	30	22	37
Glenselg	13	79	14	57	163	36,291	45	26	52
Central Highlands	80	225	260	133	698	136,767	51	139	61
Ballarat City	8	121	162	117	408	80,756	51	59	58
East Central highlands	63	66	51	13	193	38,170	51	73	70
West Central Highlands	9	38	47	3	97	17,841	54	7	58

Appendix 1 (continued): Number of homeless people in Victoria by statistical division and subdivision, 2001

	Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends/rels	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP/THIM	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10,000	Caravan	Rate (incl caravan)
Wimmera	25	63	48	52	188	49,778	38	22	42
South Wimmera	17	44	37	49	147	35,374	42	15	46
North Wimmera	8	19	11	3	41	14,404	28	7	33
Mallee	110	298	55	94	557	87,055	64	346	104
Mildura Rural City Pt A	61	176	39	56	332	43,426	76	240	132
West Mallee	12	55	0	0	67	11,311	59	22	79
East Mallee	37	67	16	38	158	32,318	49	84	75
Loddon	173	364	74	186	797	161,037	50	263	66
Greater Bendigo City Pt A	40	187	62	133	422	76,825	55	137	73
North Loddon	99	138	6	20	263	47,958	55	114	79
South Loddon	34	39	6	33	112	36,254	31	12	34
Goulburn	285	380	179	155	999	187,504	53	457	78
Greater Shepp. City Pt A	17	86	26	83	212	43,247	49	187	92
North Goulburn	102	157	76	19	354	73,888	48	159	69
South Goulburn	63	71	52	11	197	29,614	67	51	84
South West Goulburn	103	66	25	42	236	40,755	58	60	73
Ovens-Murray	69	253	141	129	592	90,057	66	101	77
Wodonga	32	82	19	81	214	44,313	48	28	55
West Ovens-Murray	24	52	5	45	126	29,211	43	58	63
East Ovens-Murray	13	119	117	3	252	16,533	152	15	161
East Gippsland	93	166	41	78	378	78,146	48	173	71
East Gippsland Shire	72	102	25	60	259	38,118	68	150	107
Wellington Shire	21	64	16	18	119	40,028	30	23	35
Gippsland	117	281	60	141	599	154,048	39	241	55
La Trobe Valley	18	122	33	99	272	72,363	38	89	50
West Gippsland	33	66	7	18	124	31,581	39	93	69
South Gippsland	66	93	20	24	203	50,104	41	59	52
Missing data	0	0	0	107	107	(7,211)		0	
Total	1,871	8,024	5,264	5,146	20,305	4,660,991	44	3,408	51

Appendix 2: Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people by statistical division and selected subdivisions, 2001*

		Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Total	Usual Res.	Rate per	Caravan
		Imp. dwell	Friends/rels	Board Hse	SAAP/THIM		Population	10,000	
Melbourne	Non-Indig	702	5,306	4,181	3,568	13,757	3,354,742	41	1,340
	Indig	35	54	79	147	315	12,427	253	37
City Core	Non-Indig	188	722	2,057	516	3,483	238,150	146	0
	Indig	18	6	23	22	69	862	800	0
Inner City Ring	Non-Indig	176	1,821	1,075	1,558	4,630	1,306,922	35	369
	Indig	10	24	47	63	144	4,264	338	12
Frankston-Dandenong	Non-Indig	155	622	464	322	1,563	362,276	43	576
	Indig	7	0	5	12	24	1,723	139	13
Outer City Ring	Non-Indig	183	2,141	585	1,172	4,081	1,447,394	28	395
	Indig	0	24	4	50	78	5,578	140	12
Barwon	Non-Indig	133	444	73	179	829	243,445	34	208
	Indig	3	0	0	7	10	1,542	65	9
Greater Geelong	Non-Indig	36	245	58	137	476	152,278	31	153
	Indig	3	0	0	7	10	1,121	89	9
SD Balance	Non-Indig	97	199	15	42	353	91,167	39	55
	Indig	0	0	0	0	0	421	0	0
Western District	Non-Indig	46	190	73	154	463	96,394	48	72
	Indig	0	0	0	16	16	838	191	0
Warrnambool City	Non-Indig	3	75	38	93	209	28,343	74	24
	Indig	0	0	0	9	9	302	298	0
SD Balance	Non-Indig	43	115	35	61	254	68,051	37	48
	Indig	0	0	0	7	7	536	131	0
Central Highlands	Non-Indig	80	217	245	127	669	135,676	49	133
	Indig	0	8	15	6	29	1,091	266	6
Ballarat City	Non-Indig	8	113	154	112	387	79,990	48	59
	Indig	0	8	8	5	21	766	274	0
SD Balance	Non-Indig	72	104	91	15	282	55,686	51	74
	Indig	0	0	7	1	8	325	246	6
Wimmera	Non-Indig	25	58	48	43	174	49,374	35	22
	Indig	0	5	0	9	14	404	347	0

* Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status

Appendix 2 (continued): Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people by statistical division and selected subdivisions, 2001

		Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Total	Usual Res.	Rate per	Caravan
		Imp. dwell	Friends/rels	Board Hse	SAAP/THIM		Population	10,000	
Mallee	Non-Indig	101	273	55	71	500	84,920	59	323
	Indig	9	25	0	23	57	2,135	267	23
Mildura Rural City Pt A	Non-Indig	52	166	39	40	297	42,335	70	231
	Indig	9	10	0	16	35	1,091	321	9
SD Balance	Non-Indig	49	107	16	31	203	42,585	48	92
	Indig	0	15	0	7	22	1,044	211	14
Loddon	Non-Indig	173	343	71	180	767	159,807	48	244
	Indig	0	21	3	6	30	1,230	244	19
Greater Bendigo	Non-Indig	40	171	62	128	401	76,073	53	125
	Indig	0	16	0	5	21	752	279	12
SD Balance	Non-Indig	133	172	9	52	366	83,734	44	119
	Indig	0	5	3	1	9	478	188	7
Goulburn	Non-Indig	274	380	167	135	956	184,563	52	429
	Indig	11	0	12	20	43	2,941	146	28
Greater Shepparton Pt A	Non-Indig	17	86	17	76	196	41,828	47	163
	Indig	0	0	9	7	16	1,419	113	24
SD Balance	Non-Indig	257	294	150	59	760	142,735	53	266
	Indig	11	0	3	13	27	1,522	177	4
Ovens-Murray	Non-Indig	69	244	138	119	570	89,438	64	97
	Indig	0	9	3	10	22	619	355	4
Wodonga	Non-Indig	32	82	19	75	208	43,937	47	28
	Indig	0	0	0	6	6	376	160	0
SD Balance	Non-Indig	37	162	119	44	362	45,501	80	69
	Indig	0	9	3	4	16	243	658	4
East Gippsland	Non-Indig	89	166	38	71	364	76,768	47	170
	Indig	4	0	3	7	14	1,378	102	3
Gippsland	Non-Indig	117	276	60	132	585	152,704	38	229
	Indig	0	5	0	9	14	1,344	104	12
La Trobe Valley	Non-Indig	18	122	33	94	267	71,586	37	84
	Indig	0	0	0	5	5	777	64	5
SD Balance	Non-Indig	99	154	27	38	318	81,118	39	145
	Indig	0	5	0	4	9	567	159	7

Appendix 2 (continued): Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people by statistical division and selected subdivisions, 2001

	Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends/rels	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP/THIM	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10,000	Caravan
Total								
Non-Indig	1,809	7,897	5,149	4,779	19,634	4,627,831	42	3,267
Indig	62	127	115	260	564	25,949	217	141
Missing data	0	0	0	107	107	(7,211)		0
Total	1,871	8,024	5,264	5,146	20,305	4,660,991	44	3,408

Appendix 3: Percentage of homeless people by statistical division and subdivision, 2001

	Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage
Melbourne	14,072	69.3	Wimmera	188	0.9
Inner Melbourne	3,552	17.5	South Wimmera	147	0.7
Western Melbourne	1,546	7.6	North Wimmera	41	0.2
Melton-Wyndham	282	1.4	Mallee	557	2.7
Moreland City	587	2.9	Mildura Rural City Pt A	332	1.6
Northern Middle Melb	960	4.7	West Mallee	67	0.3
Hume City	418	2.1	East Mallee	158	0.8
Northern Outer Melb	476	2.3	Loddon	797	3.9
Booroondara City	583	2.9	Greater Bendigo City Pt A	422	2.1
Eastern Middle Melb	1,297	6.3	North Loddon	263	1.3
Eastern Outer Melbourne	689	3.4	South Loddon	112	0.5
Yarra Ranges Shire Part A	418	2.1	Goulburn	999	4.9
Southern Melbourne	1,098	5.4	Shepparton City Pt A	212	1.0
Greater Dandenong City	614	3.0	North Goulburn	354	1.7
South Eastern Outer Melb	579	2.9	South Goulburn	197	1.0
Frankston City	437	2.2	South West Goulburn	236	1.2
Mornington Penin. Shire	536	2.6	Ovens-Murray	592	2.9
Barwon	839	4.1	Wodonga	214	1.1
Greater Geelong Part A	486	2.4	West Ovens-Murray	126	0.6
East Barwon	138	0.7	East Ovens-Murray	252	1.2
West Barwon	215	1.0	East Gippsland	378	1.9
Western District	479	2.4	East Gippsland Shire	259	1.3
Warrambool City	218	1.1	Wellington Shire	119	0.6
Hopkins	98	0.5	Gippsland	599	3.0
Gleneilg	163	0.8	La Trobe Valley	272	1.4
Central Highlands	698	3.5	CWest Gippsland	124	0.6
Ballarat City	408	2.0	South Gippsland	203	1.0
East Central highlands	193	1.0	Missing data	107	0.5
West Central Highlands	97	0.5	Total	20,305	100.0

Appendix 4: Percentage of homeless people and marginal caravan park residents by statistical division and subdivision, 2001

	Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage
Melbourne	15,449	65.2	Wimmera	210	0.9
Inner Melbourne	3,552	15.0	South Wimmera	162	0.7
Western Melbourne	1,668	7.0	North Wimmera	48	0.2
Melton-Wyndham	361	1.5	Mallee	903	3.8
Moreland City	693	2.9	Mildura Rural City Pt A	572	2.4
Northern Middle Melb	960	4.0	West Mallee	89	0.4
Hume City	483	2.0	East Mallee	242	1.0
Northern Outer Melb	476	2.0	Loddon	1,060	4.5
Booroondara City	583	2.5	Greater Bendigo City Pt A	559	2.4
Eastern Middle Melb	1,300	5.5	North Loddon	377	1.6
Eastern Outer Melbourne	757	3.2	South Loddon	124	0.5
Yarra Ranges Shire Part A	513	2.2	Goulburn	1,456	6.2
Southern Melbourne	1,251	5.3	Shepparton City Pt A	399	1.7
Greater Dandenong City	711	3.0	North Goulburn	513	2.2
South Eastern Outer Melb	676	2.9	South Goulburn	248	1.0
Frankston City	701	3.0	South West Goulburn	296	1.3
Mornington Penin. Shire	764	3.2	Ovens-Murray	693	2.9
Barwon	1,056	4.4	Wodonga	242	1.0
Greater Geelong Part A	648	2.7	West Ovens-Murray	184	0.8
East Barwon	165	0.7	East Ovens-Murray	267	1.1
West Barwon	243	1.0	East Gippsland	551	2.3
Western District	551	2.3	East Gippsland Shire	409	1.7
Warrambool City	242	1.0	Wellington Shire	142	0.6
Hopkins	120	0.5	Gippsland	840	3.5
Gleneelg	189	0.8	La Trobe Valley	361	1.5
Central Highlands	837	3.5	West Gippsland	217	0.9
Ballarat City	467	2.0	South Gippsland	262	1.1
East Central highlands	266	1.1	Missing data	107	0.5
West Central Highlands	104	0.4	Total	23,713	100.0

Appendix 5: Number of homeless people by Department of Human Services' regions, 2001

	Number of homeless	Population	Rate per 10,000	% of homeless population
Melbourne				
Western Metropolitan	2,583	599,662	43	12.7
Northern Metropolitan	3,433	742,045	46	16.9
Eastern Metropolitan	2,987	938,150	32	14.7
Southern Metropolitan	5,070	1,087,312	47	25.0
Regional Victoria				
Barwon South-West	1,234	327,615	38	6.1
Grampians	970	201,149	48	4.8
Loddon-Mallee	1,460	283,241	52	7.2
Hume	1,485	242,412	61	7.3
Gippsland	977	232,154	42	4.8
Missing data	107	7,251		0.5
Total	20,305	4,660,991	44	100.0

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