the rate of homelessness, as well as local intelligence about what is happening 'on the ground' in order to match services with expressed need.

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 2006c). The ASGC provides seven interrelated classification structures 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. This analysis uses statistical divisions and statistical subdivisions as the main geographical categories, because patterns can be identified more easily if larger geographical categories are used.

In each state and territory, the capital city is treated as a statistical division which includes the greater metropolitan area and any anticipated growth corridors for at least the next 20 years. The statistical division 'represents the city in a wider sense' (ABS 2006c, p. 15). Statistical divisions outside of the capital cities are 'relatively homogeneous region(s) characterised by identifiable ... links between the inhabitants and between the economic units within the region, under the unifying influence of one or more major towns or cities' (ABS 2006c, p. 15).

South Australia is divided into seven statistical divisions (excluding off-shore and migratory areas). They are Adelaide, Outer Adelaide, Yorke and Lower North, Murray Lands, South East, Eyre and Northern. The seven statistical divisions are divided into 20 subdivisions.

Statistical subdivisions are defined as 'socially and economically homogeneous regions characterised by identifiable links between the inhabitants' (ABS 2006c, p. 14). Adelaide is divided into four statistical subdivisions. There are also statistical subdivisions which correspond to major regional population centres. There are 44 of these across the country, but none in South Australia.

In other cases, statistical subdivisions cover non-urban areas. These are defined as 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' (ABS 2006c, p. 14) and there may be the 'unifying influence' of one or more country towns. These regional and remote subdivisions have small populations, and sometimes they have high rates of homelessness but few homeless people.

4.3 OVERVIEW: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Three-quarters (73 per cent) of the population of South Australia live in Adelaide and this is where we find the largest concentration of homeless people. Table 4.1 shows that the census identified 5213 homeless people in Adelaide and the rate of homelessness was 47 per 10 000. This was identical to the rate in Perth, but higher than the rate in Sydney (39 per 10 000) and Melbourne (41 per 10 000).

4.1 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, ADELAIDE AND REGIONAL AND REMOTE SOUTH AUSTRALIA

	Adelaide	Regional and remote	Total
Number	5213	2743	7962*
Rate	47	68	52.6

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2006, SAAP Client Collection 2006, National Census of Homeless School Students 2006.

The rate of homelessness was 68 per 10 000 in regional and remote South Australia where there were 2743 homeless people. This chapter focuses on the distribution of the homeless population in Adelaide. Chapter 5 discusses regional and remote South Australia.

4.4 ADELAIDE

The statistical division of Adelaide comprises four subdivisions (Map 2). Northern Adelaide has a population 354 000 and includes Playford, Salisbury and Tea Tree Gully. Western Adelaide has 205 000 people and includes Port Adelaide-Enfield, Charles Sturt and West Torrens. Southern Adelaide (population 324 000) includes Marion, Mitcham and Onkaparinga. Eastern Adelaide (population 223 000) includes Burnside, Campbelltown and Unley. The City of Adelaide is part of the Eastern subdivision, but information on the City of Adelaide is presented separately in this report.

Table 4.2 shows that the rate of homelessness was 457 per 10 000 in the City of Adelaide, where there were 762 homeless people. The City of Adelaide had 1.5 per cent of Adelaide's population, but 15 per cent of its homeless people. It is usual to find a higher rate of homelessness in the inner suburbs of the capital cities. This is the case in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and Hobart. People often gravitate to the inner city, where services for homeless people have traditionally been located.

^{*} No geographical information on 6 people.

4.2 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, ADELAIDE STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS

	City*	Eastern	Northern	Western	Southern	Total
Number	762	798	1498	1012	1143	5213
Rate	457	39	42	49	35	47

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2006, SAAP Client Collection 2006, National Census of Homeless School Students 2006.

The rate of homelessness was 35 per 10 000 in the Southern subdivision and 39 per 10 000 in the Eastern subdivision (Table 4.2). The rate was slightly higher in the Northern subdivision (42 per 10 000) and the Western subdivision (49 per 10 000), where there were 1498 and 1012 homeless people.

Altogether, there were 4451 homeless people in suburban Adelaide compared with 762 in the inner city. 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.

4.3 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, ADELAIDE STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS

Percentage

	City	Eastern	Northern	Western	Southern	Total
Boarding house	55	33	8	25	11	23
SAAP	21	14	39	25	27	27
Friends/relatives	6	51	49	48	60	45
Improvised dwellings	18	2	4	2	2	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	City	Eastern	Northern	Western	Southern	Total
Boarding house	422	261	120	249	122	1174
SAAP	161	113	585	250	311	1420
Friends/relatives	43	408	740	487	690	2368
Improvised dwellings	136	16	53	26	20	251
	762	798	1498	1012	1143	5213

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2006, SAAP Client Collection 2006, National Census of Homeless School Students 2006.

Table 4.3 shows the proportion of people in different segments of the homeless population. In the City of Adelaide, 55 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses, 21 per cent were in SAAP and 18 per cent were

^{*} City figures are separated from the Eastern subdivision figures in all tables.

in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping rough. A census collector in the parklands 'found people sleeping in structures against trees using tarps for overhead cover'. Another collector reported 'a few people in doorways and someone in a tent down by the Torrens'. A third collector saw 'an Indigenous man camped in a car' and a fourth counted 'people sleeping under a veranda'.

In suburban Adelaide, only two to four per cent of the homeless were in the improvised dwellings category. Instead, between 48 and 60 per cent were staying with other households. Between one-quarter and one-third of the homeless were in boarding houses in the Eastern and Western subdivisions, but this figure dropped to about 10 per cent in Northern and Southern Adelaide. One-quarter of the homeless (27 per cent) were in SAAP, but this proportion was higher in the Northern subdivision (39 per cent).

Overall, the rate of homelessness was higher in the inner city where three-quarters (73 per cent) of the homeless were in boarding houses or the primary population. In suburban Adelaide, half of the homeless were staying with other households and the remainder were in SAAP or boarding houses.

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 local caravan parks if there is no emergency accommodation available. Marginal residents of caravan parks were defined as people who were renting caravans or cabins, living at their usual address, and with no one in the dwelling having full-time employment.

4.4 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE IN BOARDING HOUSES AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

	Boarding house* (N=1369)	Caravan (N=748)		
	%	%		
Adelaide	86	32		
Remainder of SA	14	68		
	100	100		

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2006, SAAP Client Collection 2006, National Census of Homeless School Students 2006.

Seventy per cent of boarding house residents across the country were in the capital cities, and in South Australia 86 per cent of boarding house

^{*} No geographical information on 6 people.

residents were in Adelaide (Table 4.4). Nationally, 71 per cent of marginal caravan park residents were outside of the capital cities and in South Australia this figure was 68 per cent (Table 4.4). In some communities, local SAAP workers send homeless people to the local caravan park if there is no alternative accommodation available. Caravan parks may also house some people on a longer-term basis because they are unable to re-enter the private rental market.

The issue of whether to include marginal residents of caravan parks as part of the homeless population is particularly important for policy makers in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia, because 93 per cent of marginal residents of caravan parks were in those states. The issue is less important for policy makers in South Australia.

4.5 HOMELESS PEOPLE AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, ADELAIDE STATISTICAL SUBDIVISIONS

	City	Eastern	Northern	Western	Southern	All
Number of homeless	762	798	1498	1012	1143	5213
Rate per 10 000	457	39	42	49	35	47
Caravan park residents	0	23	86	19	112	240
Total	762	821	1584	1031	1255	5453
Rate per 10 000	457	40	45	50	39	49

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2006, SAAP Client Collection 2006, National Census of Homeless School Students 2006.

Table 4.5 shows that there were 240 marginal caravan park dwellers in Adelaide, and most were in Southern Adelaide (112 people) or Northern Adelaide (86 people). For some policy purposes, marginal residents of caravan parks might be thought of as part of the tertiary population. If these residents are included, then the rate of homelessness was 49 per 10 000 in Adelaide, compared with 47 per 10 000 using the ABS definition.