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Counting the homeless 2006

South Australia

June 2009

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National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Author: Chamberlain, Chris, 1948–

Title: Counting the homeless 2006: South Australia / Chris Chamberlain, David MacKenzie.

ISBN: 9781740249164 (pbk.)

Notes: Bibliography.

Subjects: Homeless persons--South Australia--Statistics.

Homelessness--South Australia.

Homelessness--Policy.

Other Authors/Contributors:

MacKenzie, David, 1949–

Dewey Number: 305.5692099423

Suggested citation

Chamberlain C, MacKenzie D 2009. Counting the homeless 2006: South Australia. Cat. no. HOU 206. Canberra: AIHW.

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare

Board Chair Hon. Peter Collins, AM, QC

Director Penny Allbon

Published by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare

Printed by Bluestar Print Group

Please note that there is the potential for minor revisions of data in this report. Please check the online version at <www.aihw.gov.au> for any amendments.

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Chris Chamberlain and David MacKenzie (2008) *Counting the Homeless 2006*, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 2050.0.

David Mackenzie and Chris Chamberlain (2008) *Youth Homelessness in Australia 2006*, Melbourne: Counting the Homeless 2006 project.

Publications: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare

Counting the Homeless 2006: New South Wales
Counting the Homeless 2006: Victoria
Counting the Homeless 2006: Queensland
Counting the Homeless 2006: Western Australia
Counting the Homeless 2006: South Australia
Counting the Homeless 2006: Tasmania
Counting the Homeless 2006: Australian Capital Territory
Counting the Homeless 2006: Northern Territory

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PREFACE

Counting the Homeless began as a research project with the Australian Bureau of Statistics, producing one report on the national homeless population in 1996. It has since developed into a cooperatively produced national data collection, involving the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), and RMIT and Swinburne Universities. A national report was published by the ABS in September 2008, and for the first time the state and territory reports are published by the AIHW.

Funding for *Counting the Homeless 2006* was provided by the Community and Disability Services Ministers' Advisory Council and the Housing Ministerial Advisory Committee and coordinated by the Australian Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA). We are grateful to senior officers in FaHCSIA and the various state and territory departments which have facilitated this large and complex project at all stages.

The ABS has been a key partner from the outset and provided excellent in-kind support under its Australian Census Analytic Program. We thank our colleagues in the ABS for their continuing commitment to the project and for their generous advice and assistance, as well as their dedicated work in response to our many data requests.

Important supplementary information for the analysis comes from the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) National Data Collection at the AIHW. The AIHW team responded quickly to our inquiries. We have greatly appreciated their interest and support.

Hundreds of people in schools, local council services and homeless agencies have assisted us during the school census and especially during the extensive national local area fieldwork. Their local knowledge has been an invaluable input to this report.

The Council to Homeless Persons (CHP), Homelessness Australia, the National Youth Coalition for Housing (NYCH) and the Women's Services Network (WESNET) have been strong supporters of the project from the beginning and we have greatly appreciated their encouragement. Finally, we thank our editor, Estelle Tang, who provided invaluable editorial assistance.

Chris Chamberlain
David MacKenzie

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1 DEFINITION OF HOMELESSNESS

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) uses the cultural definition of homelessness to enumerate the homeless population on census night (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992). This definition distinguishes between people in primary, secondary and tertiary homelessness.

Primary homelessness describes the situation of all people without conventional accommodation, such as people living on the streets, sleeping in parks, squatting in derelict buildings, living in improvised dwellings (such as sheds, garages or cabins), and using cars or railway carriages for temporary shelter.

Secondary homelessness describes the situation of people who move frequently from one form of temporary shelter to another. On census night, all people staying in emergency or transitional accommodation provided under the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) are considered part of this category. Secondary homelessness also includes people residing temporarily with other households because they have no accommodation of their own, and people staying in boarding houses on a short-term basis, operationally defined as 12 weeks or less.

Tertiary homelessness describes the situation of 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 are homeless because their accommodation does not have the characteristics identified in the minimum community standard (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992): they 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.

2 OVERCOUNTING AND UNDERCOUNTING

Chapter 2 summarises how the national homeless count enumerated the homeless population using census and other data sets. It contains a 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 leaving homelessness, as well as people moving between different locations. The challenge is to identify patterns in the population data that might inform the policy process.

3 ACCOMMODATION ON CENSUS NIGHT

The homeless population in South Australia was distributed differently from the national homeless population (Table 1). Nationally, 20 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses on census night, whereas the comparable figure in South Australia was 17 per cent. Across Australia, 19 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation, but in South Australia the figure was 26 per cent. Forty-six per cent of the homeless in South Australia were staying with other households, compared with 45 per cent nationally. South Australia had fewer people in improvised dwellings, tents or sleepers out (11 per cent compared with 16 per cent nationally). The census was carried out in August, when people sleeping rough hide away to escape the cold, so there could have been undercounting in this category.

TABLE 1: PERSONS IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia		South Australia	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	21 596	20	1369	17
SAAP accommodation	19 849	19	2111	26
Friends and relatives	46 856	45	3634	46
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	16 375	16	848	11
	104 676	100	7962	100

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

4 AGE DISTRIBUTION

The age profile of the homeless population in South Australia was significantly younger than the age profile of the national population (Table 2). Sixty-six per cent of the homeless in South Australia were aged 34 or younger compared with the national figure of 58 per cent. One-quarter (27 per cent) of the homeless in South Australia were teenagers aged 12 to 18 (mainly on their own). Fifteen per cent of the homeless in South Australia were children under 12 who were with one or both parents. Another 11 per

cent were young adults aged 19 to 24, and 13 per cent were adults aged 25 to 34.

Altogether, 34 per cent of the homeless in South Australia were aged 35 or older, compared with the national figure of 42 per cent.

TABLE 2: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia			South Australia		
	N	%		N	%	
Under 12	12 133	12		1180	15	
12–18	21 940	21		2129	27	
19–24	10 504	10	58	863	11	66
25–34	15 804	15		1018	13	
35–44	13 981	13		981	12	
45–54	12 206	12	42	748	9	34
55–64	10 708	10		613	8	
65 or older	7400	7		430	5	
	104 676	100		7962	100	

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

5 MALES AND FEMALES

In 2006, men outnumbered women in the national homeless population 56 to 44 per cent (Table 3), and in South Australia men outnumbered women 54 to 46 per cent. In South Australia, there were more females in the 12-to-18 age group (54 to 46 per cent) and in the 19-to-24 age cohort (52 to 48 per cent). From age 35 onwards, men typically outnumbered women, about 63 to 37 per cent.

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES BY AGE GROUP

Australia

	Under 12	12–18	19–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	52	46	53	57	63	64	61	64	56
Female	48	54	47	43	37	36	39	36	44
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

South Australia

	Under 12	12–18	19–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	53	46	48	56	64	64	62	61	54
Female	47	54	52	44	36	36	38	39	46
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

6 INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

In South Australia, 1.8 per cent of people identified as Indigenous at the 2006 Census. Table 4 shows that Indigenous people made up 3.5 per cent of people staying with other households, 5.9 per cent of persons in boarding houses, 19.6 per cent of those in improvised dwellings and 24.1 per cent of people in SAAP. Indigenous people were overrepresented in all sections of the homeless population in South Australia.

TABLE 4: PERCENTAGE OF INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

	Boarding house (N=1363)	Friends or relatives (N=3634)	SAAP (N=2009)	Improvised dwellings (N=848)	All* (N=7854)
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Indigenous	94.1	96.5	75.9	80.4	89.1
Indigenous	5.9	3.5	24.1	19.6	10.9
	100	100	100	100	100

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

* Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status, except in 108 cases where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment.

7 ADELAIDE

The statistical division of Adelaide is comprised of four subdivisions: Northern, Western, Southern and Eastern. The City of Adelaide is part of the Eastern subdivision, but information on the City of Adelaide is presented separately in this report.

Table 5 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 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.

TABLE 5: 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.

* City figures are separated here from the Eastern subdivision figures.

The rate of homelessness was 35 per 10 000 in the Southern subdivision and 39 per 10 000 in the Eastern subdivision (Table 5). The rate was slightly higher in the Northern (42 per 10 000) and Western subdivisions (49 per 10 000), where there were 1498 and 1012 homeless people respectively.

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.

8 REGIONAL AND REMOTE

There are six statistical divisions covering regional South Australia, comprising 16 subdivisions spread across a large geographical area. They have a population of 405 870, and there were 2743 homeless people (Table 6). Chapter 5 investigates whether the homeless population was spread evenly across the remainder of South Australia.

The overall picture is summarised in Table 6. There were 5213 homeless people in Adelaide, where the rate of homelessness was 47 per 10 000. However, there were 2743 homeless people in regional and remote South Australia, where the rate was 68 per 10 000.

TABLE 6: HOMELESS PEOPLE AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, ADELAIDE AND REGIONAL/REMOTE SOUTH AUSTRALIA

	Adelaide	Rural and remote	Total*
Number of homeless	5213	2743	7962
Rate per 10 000	47	68	53
Caravan park residents	240	508	748
Total	5453	3251	8710
Rate per 10 000	49	80	58

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

* No geographical information on 6 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 and 80 per 10 000 in regional South Australia.

INTRODUCTION

This is one of eight state and territory reports from the national project, *Counting the Homeless 2006* (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2008). Chapters 1 and 2 include material from the national report on the definition of homelessness, methodological issues, and a summary of how the homeless enumeration was undertaken. This report introduces new information on the social characteristics of the homeless population in South Australia and the geographical distribution of homeless people. The report also includes new information on marginal caravan park dwellers and Indigenous homelessness.

The main data source for the analysis was the *ABS Census of Population and Housing 2006*. However, this data was supplemented by information from the *SAAP National Data Collection* and the third *National Census of Homeless School Students*. This data enabled us to make various technical corrections to the raw census figures and to produce the overall population estimates.

This report uses some 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 in particular communities and to understand more about what is happening on the ground. In most places, three to four people were interviewed. The report also uses qualitative data from questionnaires filled out by census collectors who enumerated the primary population in South Australia.

Each state and territory report is set out in the same way and contains a discussion of 'undercounting' and 'overcounting'. Counting errors are always an issue when enumerating the homeless population. Chapter 2 explains why some homeless people are not counted on census night ('undercounting') and why others may be counted more than once ('overcounting'). A careful consideration of such errors is important when attempting to establish the number of homeless people in particular communities.

Discrepancies due to undercounting and overcounting of homeless people tend to be masked when data is aggregated at the state or national level, but these discrepancies are 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 in a particular community than the number identified by the census.

The problem of establishing reliable figures in local communities is compounded by the fact that the homeless population changes over time. First, there will always be some people entering and leaving the homeless population. Second, homeless people are more mobile than the general population. It is common for homeless people to move from one form of temporary shelter to another. It is also common for homeless people to move both within and between states. This means that the number of homeless people in a particular community may not be the same as the number on census night. The challenge is to 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 count, as well as discussing overcounting and undercounting. Chapter 3 outlines the social characteristics of the homeless population in South Australia. Chapter 4 discusses different ways of approaching a geographical analysis, before focusing on the homeless population in Adelaide. Chapter 5 describes the homeless population in regional and remote South Australia. Chapter 6 comments on Indigenous and non-Indigenous homelessness. Chapter 7 discusses policy issues.

1 DEFINITION OF HOMELESSNESS

The ABS uses the cultural definition to enumerate the homeless population. The cultural definition contends that 'homelessness' and 'inadequate housing' are cultural concepts that only make sense in a particular community at a given historical period (Chamberlain and Mackenzie 1992). In a society where the vast majority of people live in mud huts, the community standard will be that these dwellings constitute adequate accommodation (Watson 1986, p. 10). Once this principle is recognised, then it is possible to define 'homelessness'.

First, the cultural definition identifies 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. Then, the definition identifies groups that fall below the minimum community standard.

Cultural standards are not usually stated in official documents, but 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 2006a, Ch. 8). There is a widespread view that home ownership is the most desirable form of tenure (Kemeny 1983, p. 1; Hayward 1992, p. 1; Badcock and Beer 2000, p. 96). Eighty-eight per cent of private dwellings in Australia are houses and 75 per cent of flats have two or more bedrooms (ABS 2006a, 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. However, 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, 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. They include, inter alia, people living in seminaries, elderly people in nursing homes, students in university halls of residence and prisoners.

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 and bathroom

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

Source: Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992, p. 291.

While it is true that that the concepts of 'housed' and 'homeless' constitute a continuum of circumstances, there are three situations that fall below the minimum community standard. This leads to the identification of 'primary', 'secondary' and 'tertiary' homelessness. The model (shown in Figure 1.1) also includes the concept of the 'marginally housed'.

Primary homelessness accords with the common assumption that homelessness is the same as 'rooflessness'. The category includes people living on the streets, sleeping in parks, squatting in derelict buildings, living in improvised dwellings (such as sheds, garages or cabins), and 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 separate bedrooms and living rooms; 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 terms primary, secondary and tertiary homelessness are widely used, particularly when talking about census counts. However, the profile of the homeless population looks different if you classify people on the basis of their housing histories, rather than on the basis of their accommodation on census night. In a study of 4291 homeless people in Melbourne, Chamberlain, Johnson and Theobald (2007) found that 92 per cent of their sample had moved regularly from one form of temporary accommodation to another. Nearly everyone had stayed with friends or relatives, but 85 per cent had also stayed in a boarding house, 60 per cent had been in SAAP/THM accommodation, and 50 per cent had slept rough. People show up in particular places on census night but many homeless people will be somewhere else a few weeks later. Transience is the typical pattern. Primary, secondary and tertiary homelessness are useful categories to describe people's housing situations on census night, but there are not three distinct groups of homeless people.

In *Counting the Homeless 2001*, we also identified 'marginal residents of caravan parks'. These people were defined as renting caravans, at their usual address, with no one in the household having full-time work. Like boarding house tenants, these households have one room for eating and sleeping and communal bathroom facilities. The 2001 research found that two-thirds (67 per cent) of boarding house residents were in the capital cities whereas three-quarters (78 per cent) of marginal residents of caravan parks were in regional centres and country towns (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, Ch. 7). In some communities, there are no boarding houses and SAAP

workers send people to the local caravan park if there is no emergency accommodation available.

There is some disagreement as to whether marginal residents of caravan parks constitute a separate category. Reid, Griffin and Murdoch (2005) have examined this analysis carefully. They conclude that marginal residents of caravan parks are really part of the tertiary population. Giovanetti, Reid, Murdoch and Edwards (2007, p. 275) take a similar position:

> Marginal residents of caravan parks were categorised as belonging to the tertiary homelessness category ...

We have two reservations about this approach. First, it is difficult for the wider community to accept that some people living in caravans are part of the tertiary homeless population when most caravan dwellers are on holiday or own their own caravan. The 2006 Census found that 56 per cent of individuals in caravan parks were on holiday. The census was held in winter and this figure would have been much higher in the summer months. Another 25 per cent owned their caravan and many had made a lifestyle choice to live in a caravan, typically following retirement. Only 14 per cent were marginal residents on census night and this figure would be significantly below 10 per cent in the summer months.

Second, it is now common to find that cabins are the main type of accommodation in caravan parks, and cabins often have better facilities than caravans. A cabin usually has a separate kitchen and bathroom and often has one or more bedrooms. The census cannot distinguish between households in caravans and cabins with certainty, but in 2006 we estimated that somewhere between one-quarter and one-half of marginal residents of caravan parks were living in cabins (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2008, Ch. 7). This finding undermines the argument that marginal residents of caravan parks should be considered part of the tertiary population. It also means that our 'marginal residents' category is broader than indicated in *Counting the Homeless 2001*.

2 OVERCOUNTING AND UNDERCOUNTING

This chapter summarises how the national project enumerated the homeless population using the census and other data sets. It also contains a 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 the number of homeless people in particular communities.

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 2006b, p. 182)

First, we explain how the count was carried out. Then we estimate the number of persons in improvised dwellings (sheds, garages and cabins) and the number of persons sleeping rough (public places, derelict buildings, tents, cars etc). Finally, we point out that rough sleepers are a very mobile population and therefore the numbers identified on census night may not accord with what people 'know' on the ground.

The efficacy of the local count depends on census collectors having good local knowledge. They have to know, for example, whether there are people squatting in empty buildings in their local community, or whether there might be families living in their cars, or whether there could be people camping in the bush.

In 2006, there was a special effort to count the primary population in all states and territories. People without conventional accommodation are particularly difficult to count because they usually hide away at night to escape the cold. The 2006 Census was carried out in winter in the southern states, where night-time temperatures were generally cold. In addition, some homeless people were hostile to the idea of providing information to the government and did not want to fill out official forms. Other homeless people were hidden away in derelict buildings and census collectors were unaware of their presence. Counting the primary population is a major practical challenge.

There were a number of components to the ABS strategy. Field staff were encouraged to work closely with local service providers who might know if people were squatting in derelict buildings or sleeping rough in their community. In all states, local services provided intelligence on where people might be found sleeping rough. In some cases, census forms were handed out at these agencies. It was also widely reported that mobile food vans were a good place to hand out census forms. This strategy was used in capital cities and in some regional centres, but implementation varied across the states.

The ABS also had short census forms that could be filled out by ABS staff where personal forms were judged inappropriate. The short forms were less intimidating than the longer personal forms.

In addition, there was a procedure for filling out a substitute form when a homeless person was observed by a census collector but was not able to be interviewed. Observation is an accepted method for counting people sleeping rough. Collectors were asked to record sex, estimated age and location.

The category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out' also included overseas visitors and Australian residents who were on camping holidays. International visitors can be identified because they report a usual address overseas, and Australian holidaymakers can be identified because they report a usual address 'elsewhere in Australia'. Once both groups were removed, this left 16 375 individuals nationally in 'improvised dwellings, tents and sleepers out', including 848 people in this category in South Australia.

Next, we estimate the number of persons in improvised dwellings (sheds, garages and cabins) and the number of persons sleeping rough (public places, derelict buildings, tents, cars etc). In public discussions about homelessness, it is sometimes assumed that there are 16 375 rough sleepers. However, the category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out' includes a wide range of situations from someone sleeping in a park, to someone sheltering in a derelict building, to someone living in a shed of some kind. Sheds can vary from broken-down buildings to assembled colour-bond farm sheds and garages.

There were 16 375 people in the 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out' category, made up of 9414 households. It is not possible to quantify with certainty the number of people in improvised dwellings (sheds, garages and cabins) and the number of rough sleepers, but if we make two assumptions we can make some estimates.

First, we examined the responses of people in the 'improvised homes' category to the census question about dwelling tenure. We found that that

10 per cent were in rented dwellings and 39 per cent of households were in dwellings that were owned or being purchased. After talking with building inspectors and town planners across the country, we made the judgment that the 'owner, purchaser, renter' reply indicated that these households were usually living in improvised dwellings such as sheds, garages and shacks. In the case of owners and purchasers, this was their own property. It is also probable that people living in cars would have reported 'owning' their dwellings and this is more likely to be the case in the cities.

Second, 51 per cent of households did not answer the question about dwelling tenure and we took this to indicate that they were sleeping rough, squatting in derelict buildings, or living in other forms of temporary shelter. This assumption was in accord with other information from service providers and council staff in local areas. If both assumptions are reasonable, then we can estimate the numbers in improvised dwellings and sleeping rough, but we cannot quantify this exactly.

In the capital cities, about 75 per cent of households in the primary homelessness category were sleeping rough or squatting in derelict buildings and in Adelaide it was about 80 per cent. However, in regional Australia about 60 per cent of these households were living in sheds, garages and shacks and in regional South Australia it was about 57 per cent. Most of these dwellings were on land that was 'owned or being purchased', but about 20 per cent of the dwellings were rented. Both owners and renters were living in rural poverty.

Building inspectors and town planners across the country reported that most people living in sheds were not building houses. In many cases, the householder had laid a concrete slab and then erected a metal shed, assembled from a prefabricated kit. We were told that people in improvised dwellings had often moved into communities where it was possible to purchase cheap blocks of land and they had probably dreamed of building houses on their blocks. However, these were also communities where unemployment was high and the newcomers remained unemployed or marginally attached to the labour force. These families may have dreamed of building a house, but the dream had not been realised and they were living in rural poverty.

In the capital cities, people in the category 'improvised homes, tents and sleepers out' are usually transient and without conventional shelter. In regional and remote Australia, about 40 per cent of households in this category were transient but 60 per cent were living in improvised dwellings which they owned, rented or were purchasing. These dwellings were below the community standard, but these households were not 'rough sleepers' and they were not transient.

In the cities, 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, because the population may have changed since the time of the census. However, in inland Australia, people in improvised dwellings are more stable.

2.2 SAAP SERVICES

The starting point for counting people in accommodation provided under the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) was the census category 'hostels for the homeless, night shelters and refuges'. However, we knew that many of these dwellings were misclassified at previous censuses (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, pp. 23–24). Youth refuges and women's refuges often look like suburban houses and sometimes census collectors did not realise they were SAAP accommodation. These dwellings were mistakenly classified as 'private dwellings'. The ABS convention is to replace census figures with information from the SAAP National Data Collection if the SAAP figures are higher.

In 2006, the ABS had two strategies to count people accommodated in refuges, hostels and other forms of emergency accommodation. The 'list strategy' required the Census Management Unit (CMU) in each state/territory to consult with the relevant government department to see if the department could supply a list of all their SAAP properties. The ABS guaranteed the confidentiality of these lists. The lists were passed on to specified ABS officers to assist with confidential data processing. The lists enabled ABS staff to identify SAAP properties that had been classified as private dwellings.

All states provided lists but they were of uneven quality. Some states provided a comprehensive list of their supported accommodation. Other states provided a list but excluded women's refuges (for security reasons), while other states provided only partial lists of their SAAP properties.

The second component of the ABS approach was the 'green sticker' strategy which was first used in 2001. This involved the distribution of information to service providers offering them an alternative way to return their census forms. Service providers were advised that they could request a mail-back envelope from the census collector to ensure confidentiality. Service providers were asked to return the census forms directly to the Data Processing Centre and to attach a green sticker which facilitated the identification of SAAP accommodation.

Overall, the census strategy worked better than in 2001, but in all states (except Victoria) the census count was lower than the SAAP count. The Victorian Department provided the ABS with a full list of its SAAP addresses as well as a full list of its Transitional Housing Management (THM) properties. We followed the established convention and replaced the census data with National SAAP Data for all states and territories except Victoria. There were 19 849 people in SAAP across Australia and 2111 in South Australia.

2.3 FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

Homeless people staying temporarily with friends or relatives were identified at the question: 'What is the person's usual address?' There was an instruction on the census form that people with no usual address should write 'none' in the suburb/locality box. In 2006, the number of people staying temporarily with other households was 32 200.

The census underestimates the number of homeless young people aged 12 to 18 who are staying temporarily with friends or relatives, because people filling out the census forms often record that these teenagers have a usual address elsewhere (MacKenzie and Chamberlain 2008, Ch. 3). We corrected for undercounting in this age group using information from the third National Census of Homeless School Students.

The count of homeless school students was carried out in the same week that the ABS undertook the 2006 Census of Population and Housing. Welfare staff in secondary schools identified 7035 homeless students using the cultural definition of homelessness. This figure was used in conjunction with SAAP data on the proportion of school students accommodated in SAAP to estimate the overall homeless population aged 12 to 18. The final correction for undercounting was 14 656. The number of homeless people staying temporarily with friends and relatives was 46 856, including 3634 people in South Australia.

There was no information on how the missing 14 656 young people were distributed geographically within each state and territory. An assumption was made that they were distributed in the same way as other persons staying temporarily with friends and relatives. This assumption cannot be corroborated independently, and it could mean that homeless people in this category were overestimated in some geographical areas and underestimated 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. For example, an

Indigenous household may be unwilling to record that a relative escaping domestic violence has 'no usual address'. We have a method for estimating the undercount for those aged 12 to 18, but there is no method for estimating the undercount in other age groups or for Indigenous people.

Finally, it is important to remember that the number of people staying temporarily with friends and relatives also goes up and down, because most people stay temporarily with other households on a short-term basis.

2.4 BOARDING HOUSES

The final category is people living in boarding houses. This was the most complicated part of the count and it is explained fully in Chamberlain and MacKenzie (2008). Here the main points are summarised in three steps: a discussion of the 'basic rules', the '2001 conventions' and the '2006 conventions'.

Basic rules

The 2006 Census used 20 categories for coding non-private dwellings. The categories included 'hotel, motel, bed and breakfast' 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').

The 2006 Census identified 16 273 people in 'boarding houses and private hotels'. However, three groups had to be excluded: owners and staff members who were sleeping over on census night; guests who reported a usual address 'elsewhere in Australia'; and backpackers who reported a usual address overseas.

In addition, there are four ABS conventions to correct for the fact that census collectors sometimes misclassify 'boarding houses', 'hotels' and 'staff quarters'. After applying the 'basic rules', the number in boarding houses was 14 490 in 2006 compared with 17 972 in 2001.

2001 conventions

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, these follow-up telephone calls were discontinued and the number of dwellings in the 'other' category increased from 536 to 2784. The number of persons in those dwellings jumped from 12 938 to 54 636 and it remained at 54 000 in 2006.

The '2001 conventions' involve the application of five rules to identify boarding houses in the 'other' category (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, Ch. 3). When these rules were applied in 2006, they produced a correction of 3763.

2006 conventions

Boarding houses have been closing down in the inner suburbs of the capital cities, but new boarding houses have been opening up in some outer suburbs. These dwellings often look like suburban houses and rarely have a sign outside. Census collectors could have misclassified these boarding houses as 'private dwellings'.

In 2006, an investigation was undertaken to see whether it was possible to identify boarding houses in the 'private dwellings' category. The final stage of the investigation focused on 9000 private dwellings that had five or more unrelated adults. A small boarding house or a share household could have five or more unrelated tenants. Five criteria were devised to exclude working households, student households, housing for disabled people and dwellings that were too small to be boarding houses. After the rules were applied, there were 705 dwellings remaining with 3343 residents. These were boarding houses that had been misclassified as private dwellings.

In 2006, the total number of persons in boarding houses was 21 596 (14 490 + 3763 + 3343 = 21 596), compared with 22 877 in 2001. The number of boarding house residents in South Australia was 1369 in 2006, compared with 1438 in 2001.

The ABS conventions for identifying boarding houses are complicated and it is possible that some dwellings could have been misclassified at all three stages of the analysis. Undercounting could have occurred in some communities and overcounting in others because of misclassification. This can lead to anomalies when we examine the number of people in boarding houses in particular subdivisions.

2.5 CONCLUSION

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 the boarding house category 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.

New people become homeless and some homeless people return to secure accommodation, so the number of homeless people goes up and down.

It is also common for homeless people to move between different forms of temporary accommodation within the same city, and to move both within and between states. The census data was collected in August 2006, 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

This chapter describes the social characteristics of the homeless population in South Australia. First, we compare the rate of homelessness and the number of homeless people in each state and territory. Then we investigate where homeless people were staying on census night. After that we describe the age and gender characteristics of the population. Finally, we comment on the number of Indigenous people.

3.1 HOW MANY?

There are two ways of approaching the geographical spread of the homeless population and both are important. First, there is the number of homeless people in each state and territory on census night. Second, homelessness can be expressed as a rate per 10 000 of the population. This statistic is required for comparing states and territories of different sizes.

Table 3.1 shows that the rates of homelessness in each state and territory did not change much between 2001 and 2006. In New South Wales, Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory, there were 42 homeless people per 10 000 in 2006, similar to the rates recorded in those states in 2001. South Australia and Tasmania each had a rate of 53 per 10 000 in 2006, again similar to their rates in 2001. The rates of homelessness in the other states were higher. In Western Australia and Queensland, there were between 64 and 70 per 10 000 at both censuses. In the Northern Territory, there were 248 homeless people per 10 000 in 2006.

3.1 RATE OF HOMELESSNESS PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, 2001 AND 2006

	NSW	Vic	Qld	WA	SA	Tas	NT	ACT	Aust
2006	42	42	69	68	53	53	248	42	53
2001	42	44	70	64	52	52	288	40	53

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2001, 2006; SAAP Client Collection 2001, 2006; National Census of Homeless School Students 2001, 2006.

Table 3.2 shows the number of homeless people in each state and territory in 2001 and 2006. In South Australia, it was 7586 in 2001 and 7962 in 2006. We know that the number of homeless people goes up and down,

but in South Australia a typical point-in-time figure is probably about 7950, up from about 7600 in 2001.

3.2 NUMBER OF HOMELESS BY STATE AND TERRITORY, 2001 AND 2006

	NSW	Vic	Qld	WA	SA	Tas	NT	ACT	Aust
2006	27 374	20 511	26 782	13 391	7962	2507	4785	1364	104 676
2001	26 676	20 305	24 569	11 697	7586	2415	5423	1229	99 900

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2001, 2006; SAAP Client Collection 2001, 2006; National Census of Homeless School Students 2001, 2006.

3.2 ACCOMMODATION ON CENSUS NIGHT

The homeless population in South Australia was distributed differently from the national homeless population. Nationally, 20 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses on census night, whereas the comparable figure in South Australia was 17 per cent. Across Australia, 19 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation, but in South Australia the figure was 26 per cent. Forty-six per cent of the homeless in South Australia were staying with other households, compared with 45 per cent nationally. South Australia had fewer people in 'improvised dwellings, tents or sleepers out' (11 per cent compared with 16 per cent nationally). The census was carried out in August when people sleeping rough hide away to escape the cold, so there could have been undercounting in this category.

3.3 PERSONS IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia		South Australia	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	21 596	20	1369	17
SAAP accommodation	19 849	19	2111	26
Friends and relatives	46 856	45	3634	46
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	16 375	16	848	11
	104 676	100	7962	100

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

The proportions of people in various types of accommodation changed between 2001 and 2006 (Table 3.4). In 2006, the largest group (46 per cent) was those staying with friends or relatives on census night, down from 54 per cent in 2001. The proportion in boarding houses declined from 19 to 17 per cent and the number in SAAP increased from 15 to 26 per cent (from 1114 to 2111 people). Local service providers confirmed 2006

figures. The proportion in improvised dwellings declined from 12 to 11 per cent (from 897 to 848 people).

3.4 PERSONS IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 2001 AND 2006

	2001		2006	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	1438	19	1369	17
SAAP accommodation	1114	15	2111	26
Friends and relatives	4137	54	3634	46
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	897	12	848	11
	7586	100	7962	100

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2001, 2006; SAAP Client Collection 2001, 2006; National Census of Homeless School Students 2001, 2006.

The census takes a 'snapshot' of where homeless people are staying on census night, but it is important to remember that homeless people often move from one form of temporary accommodation to another. There is a high degree of permeability between the four operational categories used to count the homeless population on census night. There would have been some people living in boarding houses on a long-term basis (tertiary homelessness) and some people living permanently in improvised dwellings (primary homelessness). However, most homeless people would have been moving between different forms of temporary accommodation, including friends and relatives, SAAP accommodation, boarding houses and improvised dwellings. Transience is the typical pattern.

3.3 AGE DISTRIBUTION

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, 1994). For example, Jordan (1994, 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 the age profile of the population is now very different. First, we examine the national figures, then we look at the figures for South Australia.

The age profile of the homeless population in South Australia was significantly younger than the age profile of the national population (Table 3.5). Sixty-six per cent of the homeless in South Australia were aged 34 or

younger compared with the national figure of 58 per cent. One-quarter (27 per cent) of the homeless in South Australia were teenagers aged 12 to 18 (mainly on their own). Fifteen per cent of the homeless were children under 12 who were with one or both parents. Another 11 per cent were young adults aged 19 to 24, and 13 per cent were adults aged 25 to 34.

Altogether, 34 per cent of the homeless in South Australia were aged 35 or older, compared with the national figure of 42 per cent.

3.5 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia			South Australia		
	N	%		N	%	
Under 12	12 133	12		1180	15	
12–18	21 940	21		2129	27	
19–24	10 504	10	58	863	11	66
25–34	15 804	15		1018	13	
35–44	13 981	13		981	12	
45–54	12 206	12	42	748	9	34
55–64	10 708	10		613	8	
65 or older	7400	7		430	5	
	104 676	100		7962	100	

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

3.4 MALES AND FEMALES

In 2006, men outnumbered women in the national homeless population, 56 to 44 per cent (Table 3.6), and in South Australia men outnumbered women, 54 to 46 per cent. In South Australia, there were more females in the 12-to-18 age group (54 to 46 per cent) and in the 19-to-24 age cohort (52 to 48 per cent). From age 35 onwards, men typically outnumbered women, about 63 to 37 per cent.

3.6 PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES BY AGE GROUP

Australia

	Under 12	12–18	19–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	52	46	53	57	63	64	61	64	56
Female	48	54	47	43	37	36	39	36	44
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

South Australia

	Under 12	12–18	19–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	53	46	48	56	64	64	62	61	54
Female	47	54	52	44	36	36	38	39	46
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

Table 3.7 shows the proportion of males and females in different sectors of the homeless population on census night. Nationally, 72 per cent of boarding house residents were male, and in South Australia the figure was also 72 per cent. Amongst people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough in South Australia, men outnumbered women, 67 to 33 per cent. There were slightly more men than women staying with other households (51 to 49 per cent), but there were more women than men in SAAP (57 to 43 per cent).

3.7 PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION

Australia

	Boarding house (N=21 596)	Friends or relatives (N=46 856)	SAAP (N=19 849)	Improvised dwellings (N=16 375)	All (N=104 676)
	%	%	%	%	%
Male	72	52	47	60	56
Female	28	48	53	40	44
	100	100	100	100	100

South Australia

	Boarding house (N=1369)	Friends or relatives (N=3634)	SAAP (N=2111)	Improvised dwellings (N=848)	All (N=7962)
	%	%	%	%	%
Male	72	51	43	67	54
Female	28	49	57	33	46
	100	100	100	100	100

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

3.5 INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

In South Australia, 1.8 per cent of people identified as Indigenous at the 2006 census. Table 3.8 shows that Indigenous people made up 3.5 per cent of people staying with other households, 5.9 per cent of persons in boarding houses, 19.6 per cent of those in improvised dwellings and 24.1 per cent of people in SAAP. Indigenous people were overrepresented in all sections of the homeless population in South Australia.

3.8 PERCENTAGE OF INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

	Boarding house (N=1363)	Friends or relatives (N=3634)	SAAP (N=2009)	Improvised dwellings (N=848)	All* (N=7854)
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Indigenous	94.1	96.5	75.9	80.4	89.1
Indigenous	5.9	3.5	24.1	19.6	10.9
	100	100	100	100	100

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

* Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status, except in 108 cases where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment.

There is a risk that Indigenous people staying temporarily with other households were undercounted. The census asked for each person's usual address, and people with no usual address were asked to indicate this fact. Indigenous people interpret this question within a different cultural frame of reference.

Often, Indigenous people 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. This creates undercounting in this category.

3.6 SUMMARY

The number of homeless people fluctuates because people move in and out of homelessness. In South Australia, we estimate that a typical point-in-time figure is about 7950, up from about 7600 in 2001.

The homeless population was distributed differently in South Australia. Nationally, 20 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses on census night whereas the comparable figure was 17 per cent in South Australia. Across Australia, 19 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation, but in South Australia it was 26 per cent. The largest group in South Australia was people staying temporarily with other households. They were 46 per cent of the homeless on census night, compared with 45 per cent nationally. In South Australia, there were fewer people in 'improvised dwellings, tents or sleepers out' (11 per cent compared with 16 per cent nationally).

Nationally, 56 per cent of homeless people were male and 44 per cent were female. In South Australia, men outnumbered women, 54 to 46 per cent. The homeless population in South Australia was younger than the homeless population in other states, with 66 per cent aged 34 or younger compared with 58 per cent nationally. Indigenous people were overrepresented in all sectors of the population, but particularly in SAAP and amongst people using improvised dwellings or sleeping rough.

4 ADELAIDE

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

4.1 NUMBERS AND RATES

There are two ways of approaching 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 these figures.

Second, homelessness can be expressed as a rate per 10 000 of the population. This statistic is required for comparing communities of different sizes. For example, the number of homeless people will always be greater in Adelaide than in a regional city because of the difference in population size, but the rate of homelessness may be the same in both communities.

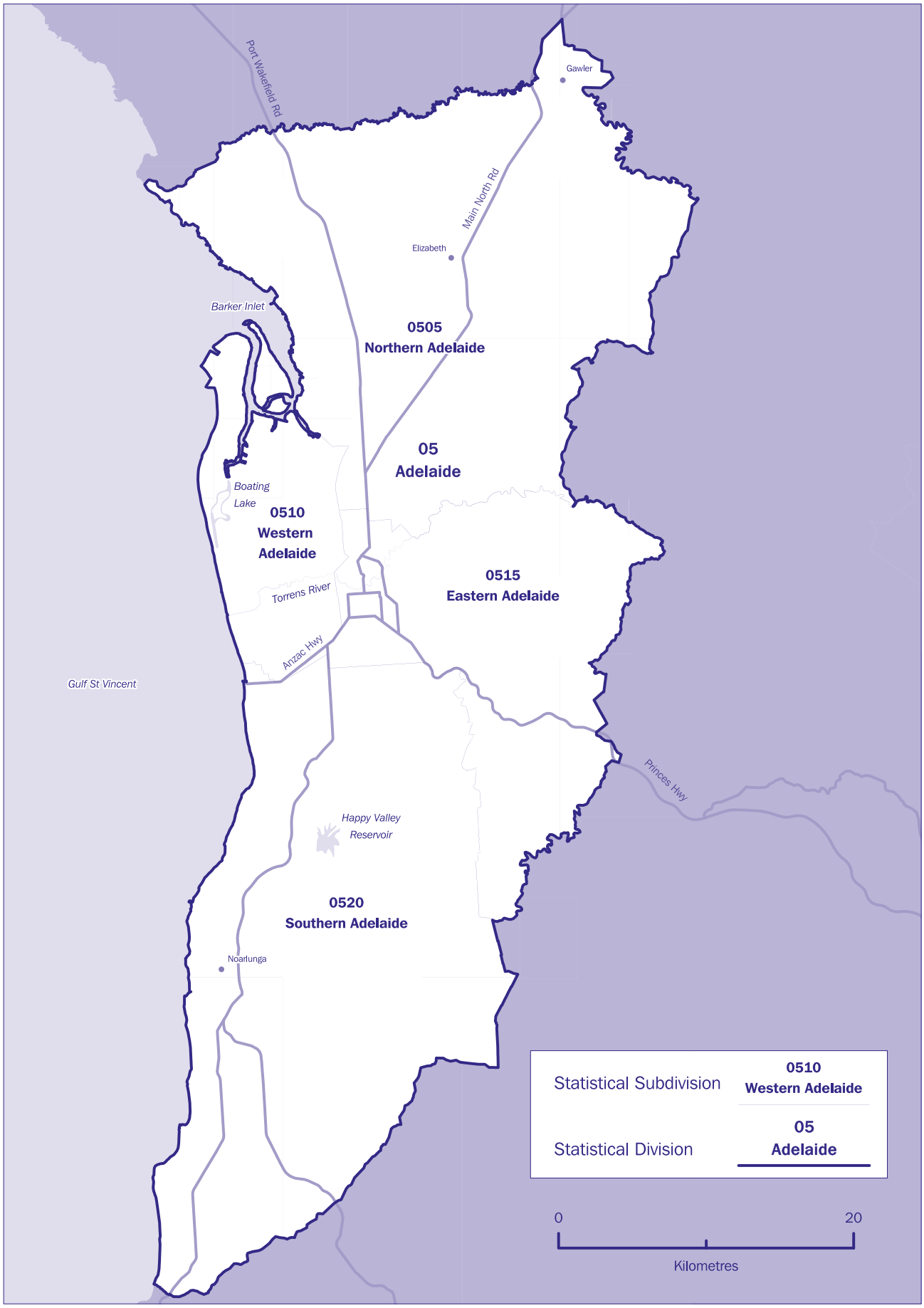
However, it is important to be cautious when interpreting rates for two reasons. First, the rate of homelessness in a particular area does not tell us how many people in that community became homeless. For example, the rate of homelessness in Whyalla quantifies the number of homeless people in relation to the Whyalla population, but it does not tell us whether those people came from Whyalla, other parts of South Australia or from interstate. Homeless people move around and the numbers in particular areas partly reflect the services that are available.

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 2000 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?

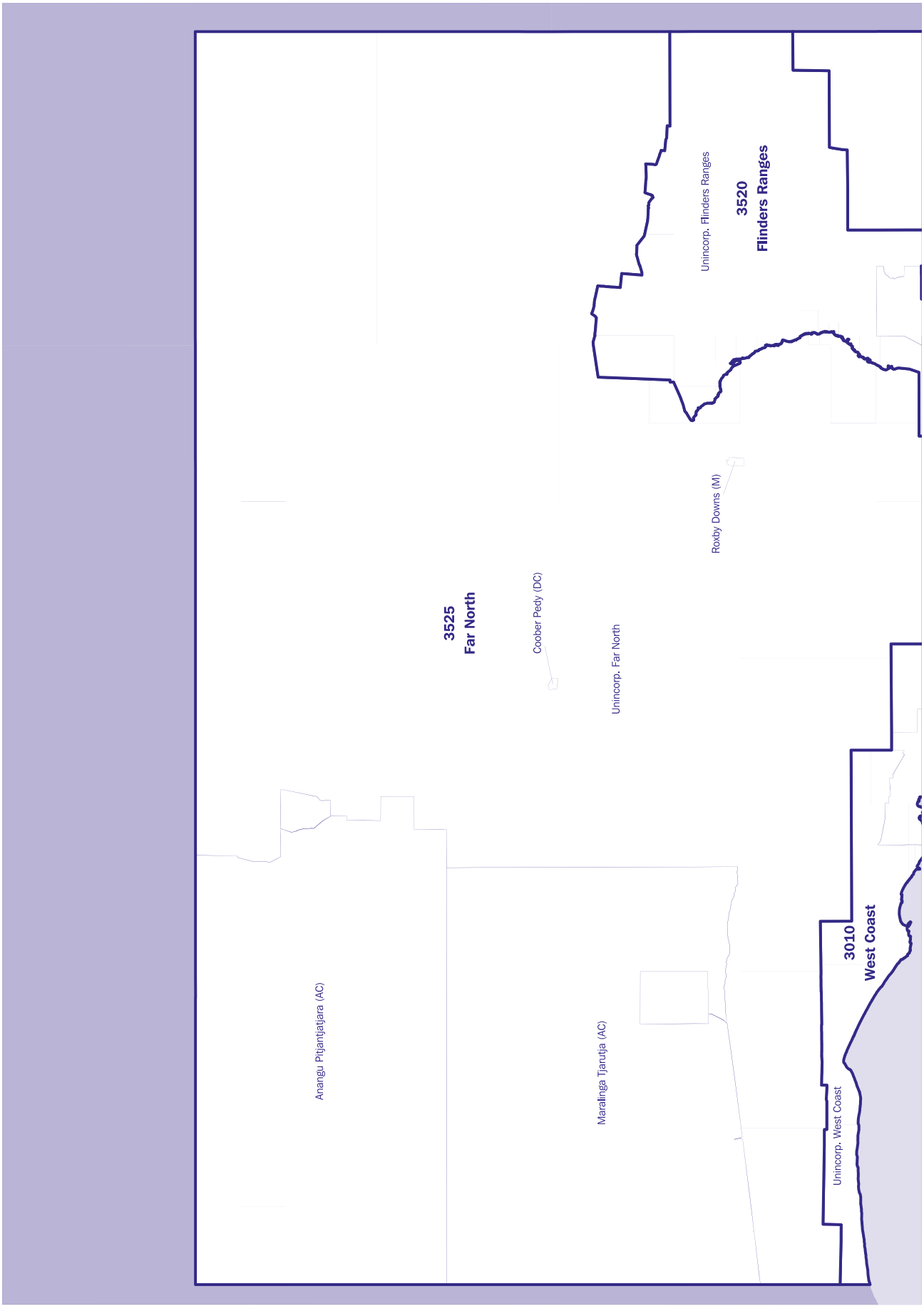
In the rural community, there would have been 20 homeless people (20 x 10 000/2000 = 100 per 10 000), whereas in the regional city there would have been 90 homeless people (90 x 10 000/30 000 = 30 per 10 000). When policy makers allocate resources, they have to consider both the number of homeless people in a community and

MAP 1: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Statistical Divisions

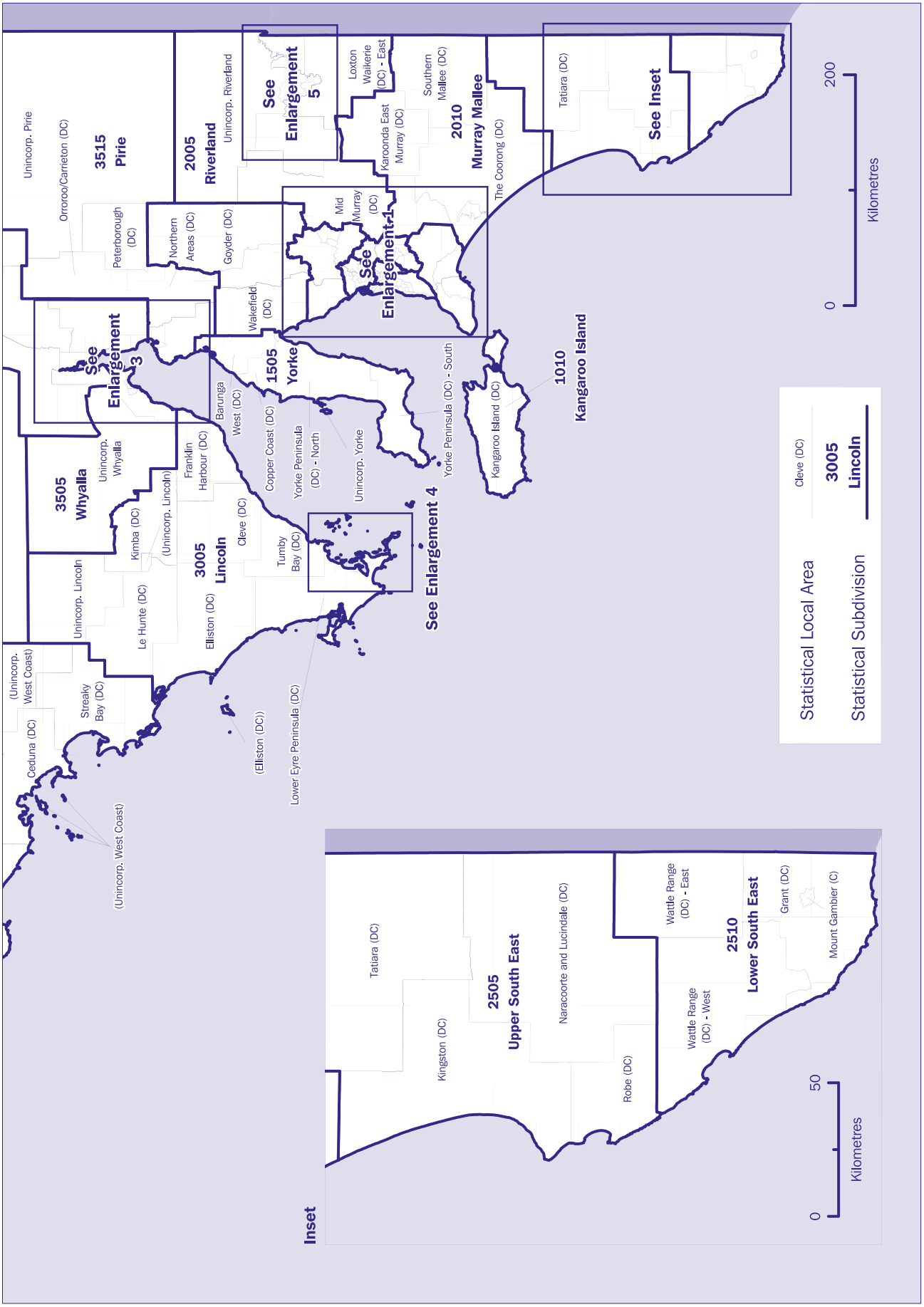
MAP 2: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Adelaide, Statistical Division



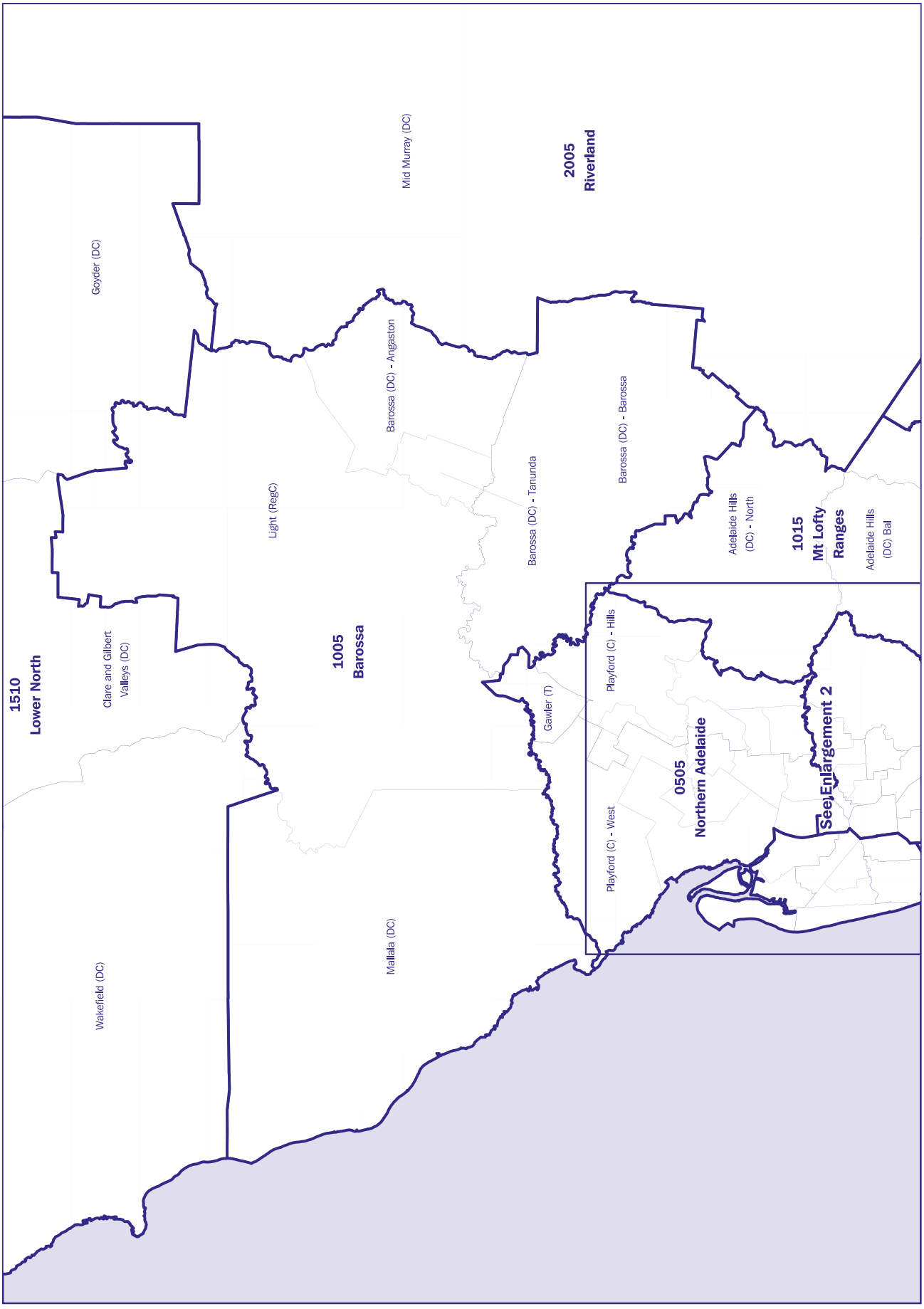
MAP 3: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas



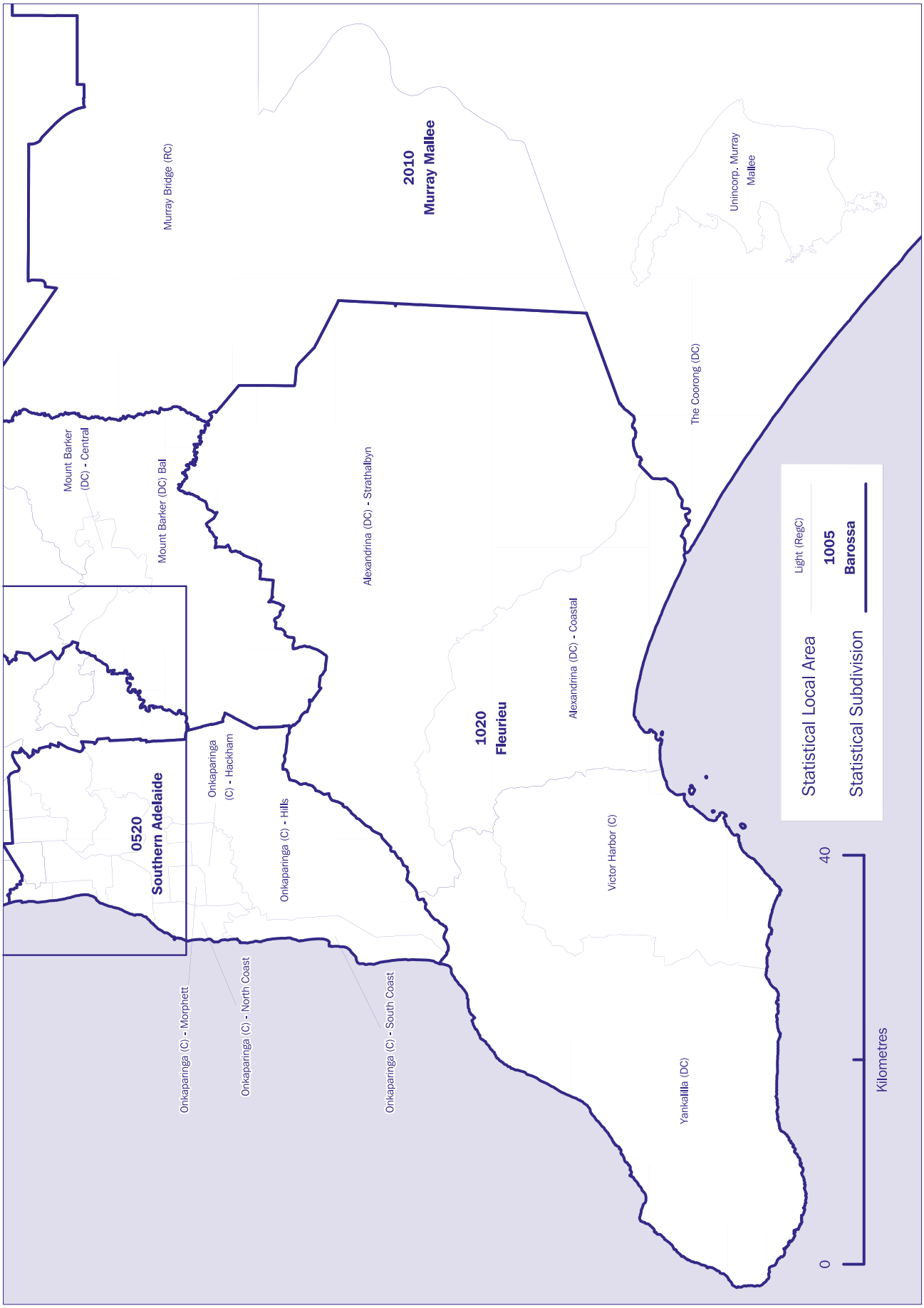
MAP 3: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas



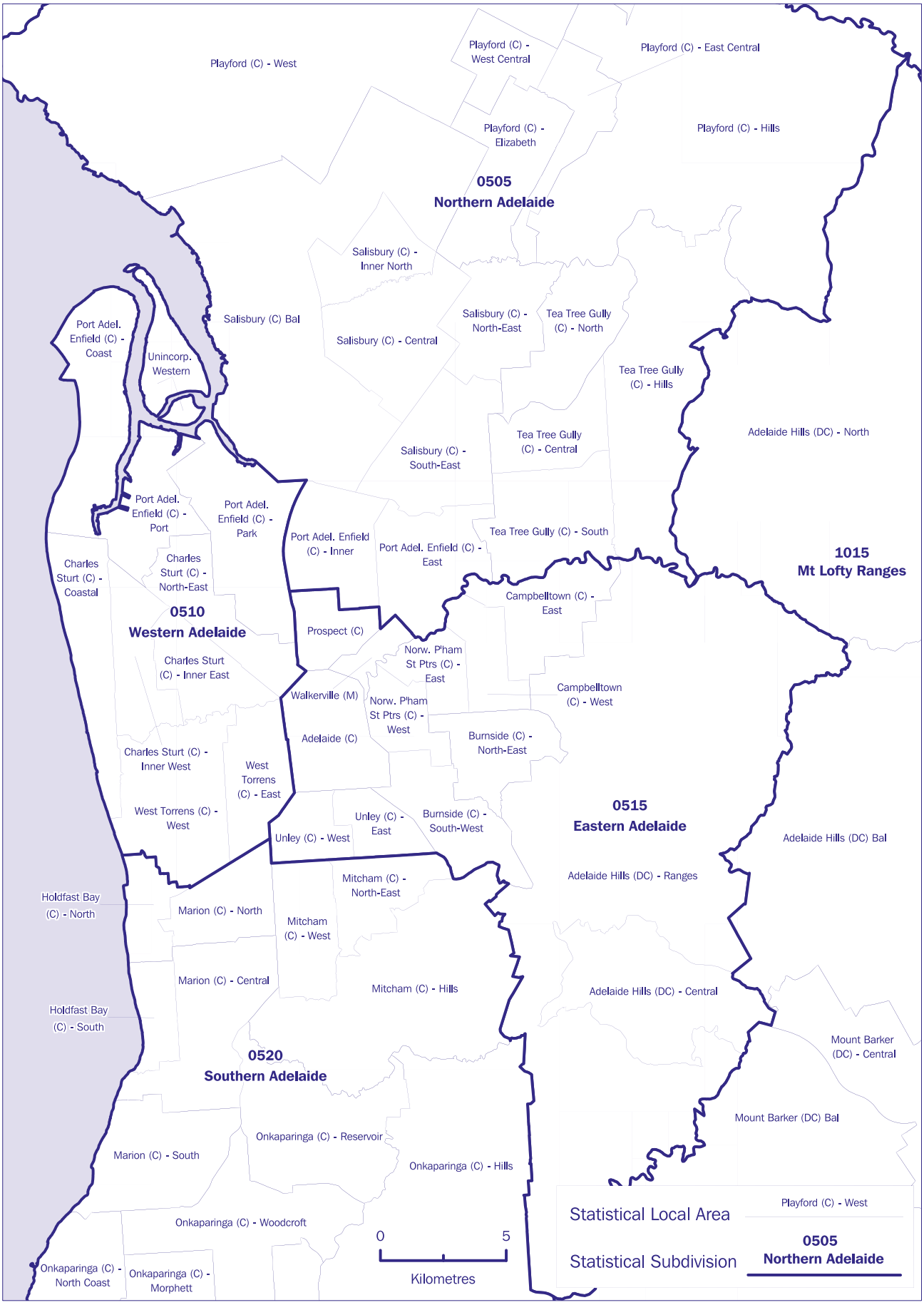
MAP 4: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 1



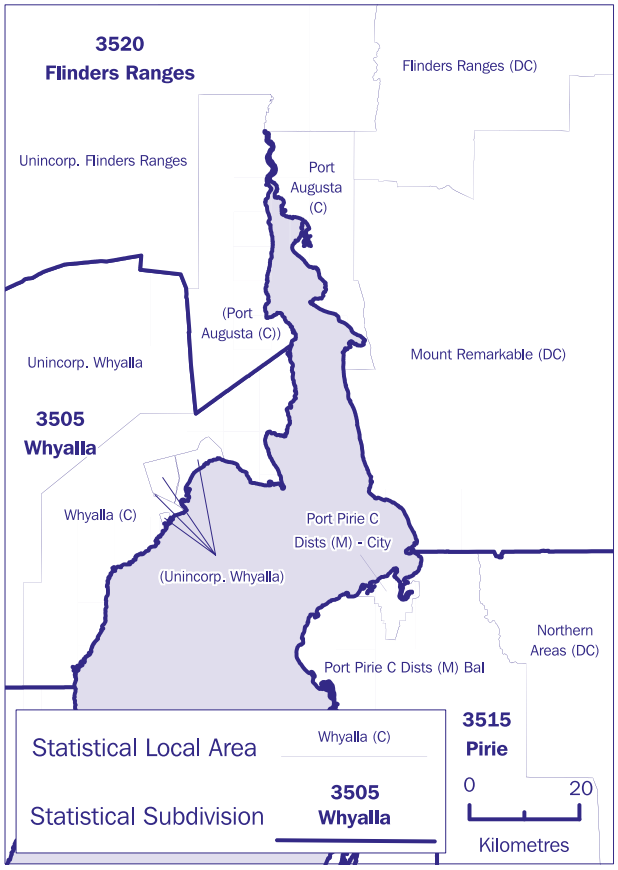
MAP 4: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 1



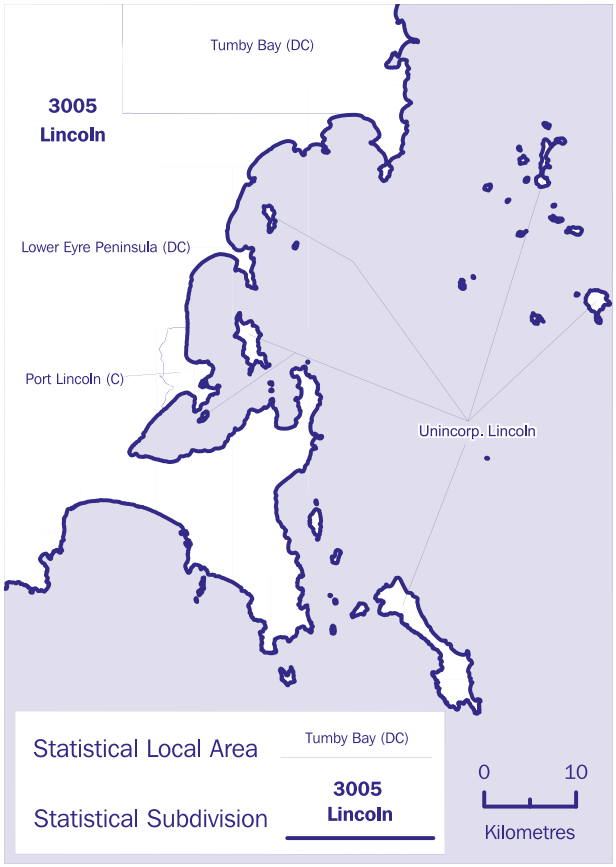
MAP 5: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 2



MAP 6: SOUTH AUSTRALIA, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargements

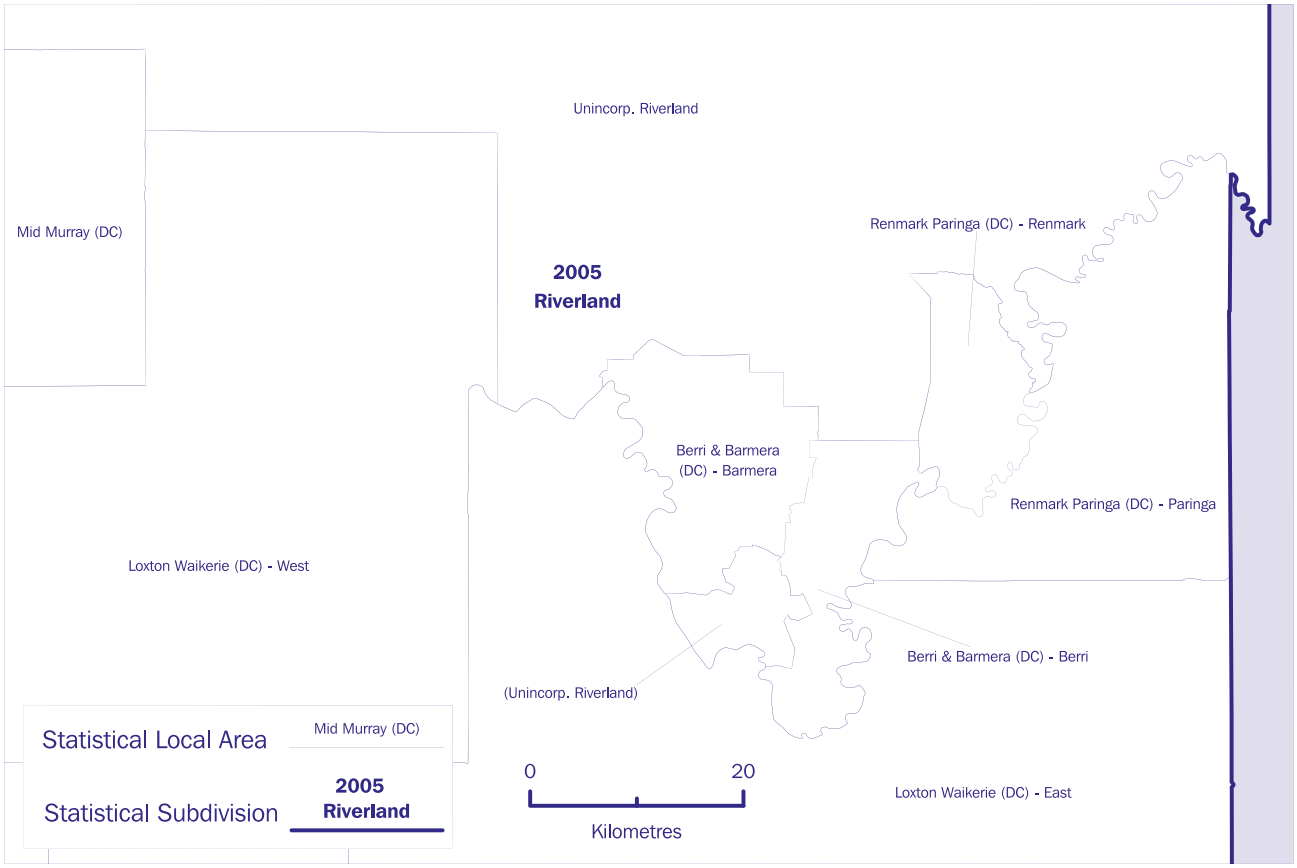


Enlargement 3



Enlargement 4

Enlargement 5



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.

* No geographical information on 6 people.

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.

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.

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

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

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.

* No geographical information on 6 people.

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

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.

5 REGIONAL AND REMOTE

There are six statistical divisions covering regional South Australia, comprising 16 subdivisions spread across a large geographical area (Map 3). They have a population of 405 870, and there were 2743 homeless people. Four of the divisions (Yorke and Lower North, Murray Lands, South East and Eyre) have populations of less than 70 000. These are areas where there can be high rates of homelessness but relatively few homeless people. This chapter investigates whether the homeless population was spread evenly across the remainder of South Australia.

5.1 OUTER ADELAIDE

The Outer Adelaide statistical division has a population of 123 000. It includes three predominantly rural subdivisions which have a number of small towns. The subdivisions are Barossa with a population of 40 800, Mount Lofty Ranges (population 41 750), Fleurieu (population 36 900) and Kangaroo Island (population 4250).

5.1 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, Outer Adelaide

	Barossa	Mt Lofty Ranges	Fleurieu	Kangaroo Island	All
Number	106	111	153	37	407
Rate	26	27	41	87	33

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

Table 5.1 shows that the rate of homelessness was 33 per 10 000 in Outer Adelaide where there were 407 homeless people. There were 153 homeless people in the Fleurieu subdivision, 111 in the Mount Lofty Ranges and 106 in the Barossa.Valley. The rate of homelessness was highest on Kangaroo Island (87 per 10 000), but there were only 37 homeless people.

In Barossa, Mount Lofty Ranges and Fleurieu, roughly 70 to 80 per cent of the homeless were staying with other households and 10 to 24 percent were in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping out (Table 5.2). There were two or three small boarding houses in Fleurieu, probably in Victor Harbour or Goolwa, and there was a SAAP service in the Barossa Valley.

5.2 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, OUTER ADELAIDE

Percentage

	Barossa	Mt Lofty Ranges	Fleurieu	Kangaroo Island	Total
Boarding house	0	7	16	22	10
SAAP	6	0	0	0	1
Friends/relatives	84	69	68	59	72
Improvised dwellings	10	24	16	19	17
	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Barossa	Mt Lofty Ranges	Fleurieu	Kangaroo Island	Total
Boarding house	0	8	24	8	40
SAAP	6	0	0	0	6
Friends/relatives	89	76	104	22	291
Improvised dwellings	11	27	25	7	70
	106	111	153	37	407

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

For some policy purposes, marginal residents of caravan parks might be thought of as part of the tertiary population. This is particularly the case in rural communities where there are fewer boarding houses than in the cities. Table 5.3 shows that there were 70 marginal caravan park residents in the Barossa, but only 24 and 27 in Mount Lofty Ranges and Fleurieu, and none on Kangaroo Island.

5.3 HOMELESS PEOPLE AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, OUTER ADELAIDE

	Barossa	Mt Lofty Ranges	Fleurieu	Kangaroo Island	Total
Number of homeless	106	111	153	37	407
Rate per 10 000	26	27	41	87	33
Caravan park residents	70	24	27	0	121
Total	176	135	180	37	528
Rate per 10 000	43	32	49	87	43

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

5.2 YORKE AND LOWER NORTH

Yorke and Lower North covers a large area (Map 1). The Yorke subdivision has a population of 25 200 and Lower North has a population of 18 700. There were 88 homeless people on the Yorke Peninsula and 107 in Lower North (Table 5.4). The rates of homelessness were 35 and 57 per 10 000 respectively. Seventy per cent of the homeless were staying with other households and 15 per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. There were a couple of small boarding houses in Lower North and 12 people in SAAP accommodation.

5.4 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, YORKE AND LOWER NORTH

	Yorke	Lower North	Total
Number	88	107	195
Rate	35	57	44

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

5.3 SOUTH EAST

South East is a predominantly rural area which borders Victoria. It has two subdivisions: Upper South East (population 19 000) and Lower South East (population 43 200).

Table 5.5 shows that the rates of homelessness were 37 per 10 000 in the Upper South East where there were 71 homeless people, and 58 per 10 000 in the Lower South East where there were 252 homeless people.

5.5 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, SOUTH EAST

	Upper South East	Lower South East	Total
Number	71	252	323
Rate	37	58	52

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

The homeless population was distributed somewhat differently in the two subdivisions (Table 5.6). In Upper South East, most of the homeless were either with other households or in the improvised dwellings category. There were no people in SAAP accommodation.

In Lower South East, 47 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP and 39 per cent were staying temporarily with other households. Another 28 people were in boarding houses and eight were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough.

Seventy-two per cent of the homeless (181 people) in Lower South East were in Mount Gambier, where there were 117 people in SAAP accommodation and 53 with other households. In Mount Gambier, the number of people in SAAP accommodation had increased from 69 in 2001 to 117 in 2006. We spoke with local service providers and these conversations confirmed that local services had sufficient capacity to accommodate 117 people, including children.

5.6 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, SOUTH EAST

Percentage

	Upper South East	Lower South East	Total
Boarding house	13	11	11
SAAP	0	47	36
Friends/relatives	63	39	45
Improvised dwellings	24	3	8
	100	100	100

Number

	Upper South East	Lower South East	Total
Boarding house	9	28	37
SAAP	0	117	117
Friends/relatives	45	99	144
Improvised dwellings	17	8	25
	71	252	323

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

There were few marginal caravan park dwellers in either subdivision (17 in 'Upper' and 35 in 'Lower'). The total number of homeless and marginally housed people was 88 in the Upper South East. In Lower South East, the total number was 287, of whom 70 per cent were in Mount Gambier.

5.4 MURRAY LANDS

Murray Lands covers a large area (Map 1). The Riverland subdivision has a population of 40 000 and includes the towns of Barmera, Berri and Renmark. Murray Mallee has a population of 26 600 and includes Murray Bridge.

5.7 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, MURRAY LANDS

	Riverland	Murray Mallee	Total
Number	434	186	620
Rate	108	70	93

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

There were 434 homeless people in Riverland where the rate of homelessness was 108 per 10 000 (Table 5.7). The rate was 70 per 10 000 in Murray Mallee where there were 186 homeless people.

Table 5.8 shows that 40 per cent of the homeless in Murray Mallee were staying temporarily with other households and 30 per cent were in the improvised dwellings category (56 people). Another 30 per cent were in SAAP accommodation, probably in Murray Bridge.

In Riverland, 55 per cent of the homeless (241 people) were staying with friends or relatives. Another 24 per cent (103 people) were in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping rough and eighteen per cent were in SAAP.

Local service providers in Riverland and in Murray Mallee confirmed the numbers in SAAP accommodation. They also knew of people sleeping rough. In Riverland, several local informants described how itinerant workers arrive when the fruit picking season begins. Some gain employment but others do not. People sleep rough on the banks of the Murray or erect primitive dwellings.

The census data for Riverland and Murray Mallee also indicated that there were people in improvised dwellings that were either owned, being purchased or rented. These were mainly families and they were living in sheds or garages. One service provider knew of people living in shacks who intended to build houses. Under the cultural definition of homelessness, someone living in an improvised dwelling is homeless, even if they hope to

have a conventional house in the future – but the policy implications of this kind of homelessness are different.

5.8 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, MURRAY LANDS

Percentage

	Riverland	Murray Mallee	Total
Boarding house	3	0	2
SAAP	18	30	21
Friends/relatives	55	40	51
Improvised dwellings	24	30	26
	100	100	100

Number

	Riverland	Murray Mallee	Total
Boarding house	11	0	11
SAAP	79	55	134
Friends/relatives	241	75	316
Improvised dwellings	103	56	159
	434	186	620

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

5.5 EYRE

Eyre stretches from the Gulf of St Vincent to the West Australian border. It covers a huge area but has a tiny population. The Lincoln subdivision has 27 300 people and West Coast has 6000 people.

Table 5.9 shows that the rate of homelessness was 103 per 10 000 in Lincoln and 200 per 10 000 in West Coast, but Lincoln had 282 homeless whereas West Coast had 121.

5.9 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, EYRE

	Lincoln	West Coast	Total
Number	282	121	403
Rate	103	200	121

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

Half (49 per cent) of the homeless in West Coast were staying with friends or relatives, 26 per cent (31 people) wåere in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, and 25 per cent (30 people) were in SAAP accommodation (Table 5.10). Local service providers in Ceduna confirmed the SAAP figure and thought there could 'easily be 35 to 40 people sleeping rough'. Indigenous people come to town from their homelands and they 'bed down in the scrub on the outskirts of town'.

5.10 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, EYRE

Percentage

	Lincoln	West Coast	Total
Boarding house	4	0	3
SAAP	39	25	35
Friends/relatives	31	49	37
Improvised dwellings	26	26	25
	100	100	100

Number

	Lincoln	West Coast	Total
Boarding house	12	0	12
SAAP	110	30	140
Friends/relatives	88	60	148
Improvised dwellings	72	31	103
	282	121	403

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

In Lincoln, 39 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP, 31 per cent were staying with friends or relatives and 26 per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. The number of people in SAAP had increased from 28 in 2001 to 110 in 2006. Service providers corroborated the figure of 110. They reported 'lots of couch surfing in Port Lincoln' and described 'people sleeping under bridges' and 'out in the national park'. However, the census data indicated that three-quarters of the primary population (15 households) were in improvised dwellings that were either owned, being purchased or rented. They were probably in shacks on the outskirts of town or in the bush.

5.6 NORTHERN

The Northern statistical division covers a vast area of South Australia, much of which is uninhabited. There are four subdivisions. Whyalla has a population of 21 600 and most (99 per cent) live in the City of Whyalla. Pirie has a population of 24 900 and just over half are in Port Pirie. The Flinders Ranges has a population of 19 500 and 71 per cent are in Port Augusta. The Far North has a population of 9900 and the main centres are Coober Pedy and Roxby Downs.

5.11 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, NORTHERN

	Whyalla	Pirie	Flinders Ranges	Far North	Total
Number	133	199	241	222	795
Rate	62	80	123	225	105

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

Table 5.11 shows that the rate of homelessness was 105 per 10 000 in the Northern division, but the rates differed between subdivisions. The rate was 62 per 10 000 in Whyalla, 80 per 10 000 in Pirie, 123 per 10 000 the Flinders Ranges, and 225 in the Far North.

5.12 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, NORTHERN

Percentage

	Whyalla	Pirie	Flinders Rangers	Far North	Total
Boarding house	0	20	8	7	9
SAAP	56	44	50	0	36
Friends/relatives	44	28	27	22	29
Improvised dwellers	0	8	15	71	26
	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Whyalla	Pirie	Flinders Rangers	Far North	Total
Boarding house	0	40	18	15	73
SAAP	75	87	120	0	282
Friends/relatives	58	56	66	50	230
Improvised dwellers	0	16	37	157	210
	133	199	241	222	795

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

Table 5.12 shows that in Whyalla 56 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation and 44 per cent were staying with other households. The number of people in SAAP had increased from 13 in 2001 to 75 in 2006. Local service providers reported major changes in the provision of services and the number in SAAP was confirmed. Service providers also reported that young people sleep rough in Whyalla, but these teenagers were not counted in the census.

In Pirie, there were 199 homeless people, including 87 in SAAP, 56 with other households and 16 in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping rough. There are five SAAP services in Port Pirie and these can easily accommodate 87 people.

In the Flinders Ranges, 50 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP and all of these were in Port Augusta. Twenty-seven per cent were staying with other households and 15 per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. The number in SAAP had increased from 41 in 2001 to 120 in 2006. There are five SAAP services in Port Augusta and the largest can accommodate 44 people. Four services account for the remaining 76 people.

In the Far North, 71 per cent (157 people) were in the improvised dwellings category. Just over half were Indigenous people who were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough in their traditional homelands. The remainder were non-Indigenous people in the Unincorporated Far North who were probably miners living in shacks. Another 22 per cent of the homeless (50 people) were staying temporarily with other households, mainly in Coober Pedy and Roxby Downs.

5.13 HOMELESS PEOPLE AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, NORTHERN

	Whyalla	Pirie	Flinders Ranges	Far North	Total
Number of homeless	133	199	241	222	795
Rate per 10 000	62	80	123	225	105
Caravan park residents	5	32	25	89	151
Total	138	231	266	311	946
Rate per 10 000	64	93	136	315	125

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

There were 5 marginal caravan park dwellers in Whyalla, 25 in the Flinders Ranges, 32 in Pirie and 89 in the Far North (Table 5.13). If marginal residents of caravan parks are included in the homeless population, then the rate of homelessness in the Northern statistical division increases from

105 to 125 per 10 000. In the Far North, the rate increases from 225 to 315 per 10 000.

5.7 SUMMARY

The overall picture is summarised in Table 5.14. There were 5213 homeless people in Adelaide where the rate of homelessness was 47 per 10 000. However, there were 2743 homeless people in regional and remote South Australia, where the rate was 68 per 10 000.

5.14 HOMELESS PEOPLE AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, ADELAIDE AND REGIONAL AND REMOTE SOUTH AUSTRALIA

	Adelaide	Rural and remote	Total*
Number of homeless	5213	2743	7962
Rate per 10 000	47	68	53
Caravan park residents	240	508	748
Total	5453	3251	8710
Rate per 10 000	49	80	58

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

* No geographical information on 6 people.

There is also the issue of whether marginal residents of caravan parks should be included in the tertiary population. 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 and 80 per 10 000 in regional South Australia.

6 INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

In South Australia, 95 per cent of people answered the census question: 'Is the person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait islander origin?' and 1.8 per cent identified as Indigenous. However, there was no information on the Indigenous status of the homeless young people staying temporarily with friends or relatives, who were not counted in the census. We use census data on homeless people staying with other households (the 'usual address' question) to estimate how many Indigenous young people were missed by the census.

There is a risk of underestimation, 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. This creates underreporting in this category.

6.1 NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATES PER 10 000, 2001 AND 2006

	2001			2006		
	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Total*	Non- Indigenous	Indigenous	Total**
Number	6958	544	7586	6996	858	7962
Rate	48	226	52	47	320	53

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2001, 2006; SAAP Client Collection 2001, 2006; National Census of Homeless School Students 2001, 2006.

* Figures were adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status, except in 84 cases where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment.

** Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status, except in 108 cases where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment.

The research found there were 858 homeless Indigenous people in South Australia on census night (Table 6.1). The rate was 320 per 10 000 of the population compared with a rate of 226 in 2001. The rate of homelessness for non-Indigenous people was 47 per 10 000, compared with 48 per 10 000 in 2001. Indigenous people were overrepresented in the homeless population in all states and territories in 2006, but the rate of Indigenous homelessness has increased in South Australia since 2001.

In Adelaide, there were 416 homeless Indigenous people (Table 6.2), including 43 people sleeping rough (36 in the central city). There were 76 staying temporarily with other households in the four suburban subdivisions, 233 in SAAP (spread across the city), and 64 in boarding houses.

6.2 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS HOMELESS PEOPLE

	Non-Indigenous		Indigenous	
	N	%	N	%
Adelaide	4738	68	416	49
Northern	520	7	250	29
Eyre	302	4	98	11
Murray Lands	563	8	53	6
Other	873	13	41	5
	6996	100	858	100

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

There were four other statistical divisions with over 50 homeless Indigenous people (Table 6.2). In the Northern statistical division, there were 250 homeless Indigenous people, including 100 in the Flinders Ranges and 99 in the Far North. Eyre had 98 homeless Indigenous people and Murray Lands had 53. There were 38 Indigenous people who were marginal residents of caravan parks, spread thinly across the state.

7 DISCUSSION

The Australian Government's White Paper on homelessness has proposed two ambitious goals: 'to halve homelessness by 2020' and to provide 'supported accommodation to all rough sleepers who need it', along with interim targets for 2013. The Commonwealth, state and territory governments will work together to achieve the targets specified in the White Paper. This chapter makes some comments on the White Paper's targets, on the basis of the 2006 statistical data on homelessness.

The White Paper highlights three strategies to achieve its goals. The first strategy is 'turning off the tap', which relates to the provision of services focusing on early intervention and prevention (Homelessness Taskforce 2008, Ch. 3). The second strategy is 'improving and expanding services to end homelessness', which focuses on providing services that assist people into 'stable long-term housing, employment and training' or other forms of community participation (Homelessness Taskforce 2008, Ch. 4). The third strategy is 'breaking the cycle', whereby homeless people can 'move quickly through the crisis system to stable housing with the support they need so that homelessness does not reoccur' (Homelessness Taskforce 2008, Ch. 5).

The White Paper was accompanied by a significant financial commitment of $1.2 billion over five years, with $800 million allocated for prevention and early intervention services, and a further $400 million to increase the supply of 'affordable and supported housing for people who would otherwise be homeless'. Since the White Paper, the government has announced a further $6.6 billion to be spent on the construction of 20 000 homes for public housing, the largest expansion of public housing for many years.

The aim of the government is to reduce the number of homeless people from 105 000 in 2006 to 50 000 by 2020. The White Paper is not a detailed plan, but it does provide a policy framework for the national response to homelessness and foreshadows significant funded initiatives to achieve targeted social goals. However, the international economic environment is now far more problematic than it was prior to 2008, and the global economic recession may create additional pressures that exacerbate homelessness.

7.1 HOMELESS STATISTICS

There are three main sources of statistical data that inform policy. The first is the ABS Census of Population and Housing undertaken every five years. The 2001 Census reported 99 900 homeless people and the 2006 census reported 104 676. At both censuses the rate of homelessness was 53 persons per 10 000 of the population. On census night 2006, 16 375 people were counted in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping rough (primary homelessness), 46 856 people were staying temporarily with other households (secondary homelessness), 19 849 were in SAAP (secondary homelessness), and 21 596 were in boarding houses (tertiary homelessness).

The profile of the homeless population looks different if people are classified on the basis of their housing histories, rather than their accommodation on census night. In a study of 4291 homeless people in Melbourne, Chamberlain, Johnson and Theobald (2007) found that 92 per cent of their sample had moved regularly from one form of temporary accommodation to another. Nearly everyone had stayed with friends or relatives, but 85 per cent had also stayed in boarding houses, 60 per cent had been in SAAP/THM accommodation, and 50 per cent had slept rough. Homeless people show up in particular places on census night, but many of them will be somewhere else a few weeks later.

The second source of data is the National SAAP Data Collection which gathers information on all persons assisted by the SAAP program. The National SAAP Data Collection provides important information on the needs and social characteristics of people who use these services. Between 1 July 2005 and 30 June 2006, 106 500 homeless adults and 54 700 accompanying children were assisted, making a total of 161 200 persons in SAAP (AIHW 2007, p. xi). It would be possible to estimate the annual homeless population if we knew what proportion of homeless people use SAAP services, but we do not have this statistic.

The third source of statistical data is research surveys of different subgroups within the homeless population. These samples are usually drawn from service users. However, findings from this kind of research can be used to make inferences about the homeless population. In 2001, Chamberlain and MacKenzie (2003) contacted all SAAP services in census week and were provided with 812 case studies. The research found that 48 per cent of SAAP clients had been homeless for one year or longer (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003, p. 42). In a study of 630 SAAP clients, Eardley, Thompson, Cass and Dadich (2008, Ch. 5) found that 65 per cent had been homeless on two or more occasions and one-quarter had received help from SAAP for between one and five years; and in a study of 4291

people, Chamberlain, Johnson and Theobald (2007, p. 25) found that 64 per cent had been homeless for one year or longer. The findings suggest that a significant proportion of the homeless population have long-term housing problems. Making good use of the available statistical data necessarily means making reasoned inferences from the different data sources.

7.2 REDUCING HOMELESSNESS: OVERVIEW

Homelessness is a process including stages of becoming homeless, being homeless and at some point recovering from homelessness. In Australia, thinking about homelessness as a process is well-established and metaphors such as the 'homeless career' (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1998) and 'homeless pathways' are widely used to refer to these transitions (Clapham 2003; Johnson, Gronda and Coutts 2008). The homeless population consists of diverse groups: single men and women, families with children, and young people on their own. For some people, homelessness is a short-lived experience, while for others homelessness lasts more than one year, and some people experience repeated episodes of homelessness.

People become homeless for diverse reasons. Teenagers typically experience homelessness following a breakdown in their family situation. Some families become homeless as debt mounts and they are evicted from their housing. For other people, it is a breakdown in their conjugal relationship, often involving domestic violence, that results in one partner (usually a woman with children) losing their accommodation. Mental health issues or drug and alcohol abuse may be directly implicated in some people becoming homeless, but other people develop these issues in the homeless population (Chamberlain, Johnson and Theobald 2007).

It is known that some groups are particularly vulnerable to homelessness, such as young people who have been through the care and protection system (Johnson and Chamberlain 2008a). Also, it is known that Indigenous people are more vulnerable to becoming homeless than non-Indigenous Australians.

Reducing the size of the homeless population will require a significant investment in early intervention and applying appropriate intervention models for different subgroups in the population. There will also be a need for improved services to support people who are homeless and follow-up support to ensure that formerly homeless people can maintain their accommodation. Finally, a major investment in affordable housing, including public and community housing, will be needed over the next decade.

7.3 ROUGH SLEEPERS

The White Paper prioritises reducing the number of people sleeping rough and 'offering supported accommodation to all rough sleepers who need it' (Homelessness Taskforce 2008, p. 17). This is a commendable priority, but three points need to be borne in mind.

First, providing people with emergency accommodation can be justified on both moral and practical grounds, but moving rough sleepers into supported accommodation will not reduce the overall number of homeless people.

Second, it is important to recognise that most people do not sleep rough on a permanent basis. Chamberlain, Johnson and Theobald (2007) found that only two per cent of their sample was consistently without shelter, but 49 per cent of the sample had slept rough occasionally.

Third, the census identified 16 375 people in the 'improvised dwellings' category. However, this category includes a wide range of situations from sleeping in a park and sheltering in a derelict building, to living in a shed or garage of some kind. There is no simple way of disaggregating the category, but in 2006 we conducted further research. We examined census data, then we held many discussions with building inspectors, town planners and service providers across the country. This provided the basis for estimating the number of persons in improvised dwellings (sheds, garages and cabins) and the number of persons sleeping rough (for example, in public places, derelict buildings, cars and tents).

In Chapter 2, we estimated that in the capital cities about 75 per cent of households in the 'primary homeless' category were sleeping rough. However, in regional Australia the situation was different. About 60 per cent of households in this category were living in sheds, garages or shacks, most of which were owned or being purchased. Their living arrangements were below the community standard used to define homelessness, and in the main they were low-income households, but they were not transient and some were employed in local communities.

People sleeping rough or squatting in derelict buildings were more likely to be on their own, whereas people in improvised dwellings were more likely to be in families or group households. Overall, we estimate about 9900 persons in improvised dwellings across the country and about 6500 rough sleepers, although the latter group was undercounted.

7.4 YOUNG PEOPLE

Youth homelessness has been a major policy focus since the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's 1989 report, *Our Homeless Children*, and in 2008 there was a National Youth Commission report, *Australia's Homeless Youth*. Youth refers to young people aged 12 to 24. However, a distinction is often drawn between teenagers aged 12 to 18 and young adults aged 19 to 24.

There have been important initiatives to assist homeless teenagers and their families. The establishment of the Reconnect program in 1999 was a major early intervention initiative by the Australian Government to reduce youth homelessness. Reconnect was implemented in phases and was not fully operational until 2003. Twenty-nine services were funded in December 1999 (DFaCS 2003, p. 22). By 2003, there were 98 Reconnect services across the country. The most recent evaluation of Reconnect (DFaCS 2003, p. 8) found that the program had achieved positive outcomes for young people and their families.

In addition, several states implemented new programs such as the Youth Support Coordinators Program in Queensland and the Family Reconciliation and Mediation Program in Victoria. Some SAAP youth agencies also undertake early intervention with recently homeless young people. Since the late 1990s, several state and territory governments have expended additional funds to increase the number of welfare staff in schools and to improve assistance to young people and families in crisis.

7.1 CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION

	2001	2006	% change
Families with children	22 944	26 790	+16.8
Youth aged 12 to 18 (alone)	22 600	17 891	–20.8
Adults (singles and couples)	54 356	59 995	+10.4
	99 900	104 676	+4.8

Source: Census of Population and Housing 2001, 2006; SAAP Client Collection 2001, 2006; National Census of Homeless School Students 2001, 2006.

Table 7.1 shows that the number of homeless youth aged 12 to 18 decreased from 22 600 in 2001 to 17 891 in 2006, a decrease of 20.8 per cent. This is compelling evidence that these early intervention initiatives have been effective. There are currently 98 Reconnect services across the country, but it has been estimated that 50 per cent of communities do not have a Reconnect program (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004, p. 41–43). At any point in time, there are 15 000 students across the country at risk

of becoming homeless (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004b, p. 42). Youth homelessness could be further reduced by expanding Reconnect to have national coverage.

In a study of 1642 homeless adults and young adults, Johnson and Chamberlain (2008a) found that 42 per cent of their sample had been in the state care and protection system. Young people who have been in state care are at greater risk of becoming homeless than most teenagers, and they are at much greater risk of making the transition from youth to adult homelessness. Targeted intervention and a reformed care and protection system are important components of an effective early intervention strategy for youth. In addition, such initiatives will have a flow-on effect by reducing the number of homeless teenagers moving into the adult homeless population.

7.5 FAMILIES

Another group for whom early intervention is a crucial issue is families. The number of persons in family households on census night increased from 22 944 in 2001 to 26 790 in 2006, an increase of 16.8 per cent (Table 7.1). Families make up 28 per cent of SAAP users (AIHW 2007, p. 37). In 2005–06, the number of children accompanying parents in SAAP was 54 700 (AIHW 2007, p. 15).

Most commonly, families become homeless because of a housing crisis or domestic violence. Adults in families experiencing a housing crisis are typically unemployed or outside of the labour force. These families are usually poor and often have accumulated debts. In most cases, the family is facing eviction because of rent arrears.

Early intervention with families experiencing a housing crisis involves providing families with assistance before they lose their accommodation, including family counselling to resolve relationship difficulties, financial advice, some funds to settle debts, and assistance with applications for public housing. There is a small national program providing this kind of response. In 2001, a pilot program of eight services known as the Family Homelessness Prevention Project (FHPP) was launched with a single service in each jurisdiction. From 1 July 2004, the program continued under a new name as the Household Organisational Management Expenses (HOME) Advice Program.

An evaluation of the HOME program found that if families at risk of homelessness were reached with assistance before losing their accommodation, 86 per cent of those families remained in adequate housing or improved their housing situation during the period of support

(MacKenzie, Desmond and Steen 2007). The evaluation highlighted two key success factors: the availability of brokerage funds and a capacity to work through issues on a needs basis. The effects of this assistance were found to be sustainable for a majority of families in the 12 months after support.

The HOME Advice program was a small-scale initiative and had only a small impact on the overall population of at-risk families. Family homelessness could be reduced by expanding the HOME project to have national coverage. Preliminary estimates indicate the need for between 100 and 250 services.

Some families become homeless as a result of family breakdown involving domestic violence. There has been a considerable investment in changing community attitudes towards domestic violence (Carrington and Phillips 2006), but it is not clear to what extent early intervention strategies have been implemented to assist women experiencing domestic violence. One impediment to implementing early intervention is that many women do not request assistance until they have left the family home.

One form of early intervention is family counselling to help couples work through their relationship issues, and another form of intervention is to remove the perpetrator of violence from the family home. Otherwise, 'early intervention' for victims of domestic violence means assisting them to move quickly to alternative, secure accommodation. The number of people using these services may not decrease, but if their time spent in homelessness services is minimised, then the number of families in the point-in-time census count will decrease over time. The current lack of affordable housing affects homeless families escaping domestic violence, by prolonging their homelessness and increasing the number of homeless people on census night.

7.6 ADULTS WITHOUT CHILDREN

There were 59 995 homeless adults without children on census night, up from 54 356 in 2001, an increase of 10.4 per cent (Table 7.1). Two-thirds of these adults were men and one-third were women. Adults without children are the largest group of service users and many have been homeless for extended periods of time or have moved in and out of homelessness. In general, early intervention strategies are not the issue for single adults with a history of homelessness, although over time early intervention for teenagers will stem the flow into the adult homeless population. The lack of affordable and appropriate housing is a major issue for this group.

Some 21 000 people live in boarding houses, and these properties are often in poor condition with issues of health and safety for the residents. Greater regulation to improve the living conditions in boarding houses and legislation to improve security of tenure would be stop-gap measures, but most people in boarding houses want affordable self-contained accommodation.

About one-quarter of the adults without children were aged 55 or older (15 000 people). An appropriate aged-care response could provide more adequate long-term accommodation for people who currently reside in boarding houses or take up places in the homelessness service system.

A significant proportion of the people with a long-term housing problem have substance abuse issues and/or mental health issues, which complicates their exit from homelessness (Johnson and Chamberlain 2008b). Most of the adults who were homeless on census night needed assistance to find appropriate, affordable housing, and long-term support to maintain that accommodation.

The main policy imperatives for this group are the creation of sufficient affordable housing stock, continuing support for individuals with complex housing needs, and sufficient levels of support to assist people who have experienced long-term homelessness to live in the community.

7.7 CONCLUSION

The White Paper proposes a long-term effort to halve homelessness by 2020. Achieving the right mix of interventions is one challenge. About 50 per cent of the homeless population could be assisted directly by the early intervention measures discussed above. The other component of a balanced response is the need for a steep increase in the stock of affordable housing, combined with policies that guarantee access for the most disadvantaged, and sufficient long-term, case-managed support to prevent homelessness reoccurring. At this point, it is unclear whether sufficient resources have been deployed to fund the programs that are needed.

A second challenge is to recognise that it will take several years before an assessment can be made about the effectiveness of the White Paper's initiatives. It takes time to put new services in place and for those services to have their full impact. It will also take time to increase the supply of affordable housing, and other low-income people will be competing for the new housing stock.

The White Paper sets out interim targets for 2013, including an overall reduction in homelessness of 21 000 people (Homelessness Taskforce 2008, p. 18). In 2013, homeless figures from the 2011 census will become available,

but it is unlikely that the impact from the new initiatives will be apparent in 2011. The findings from the 2016 census will be of more relevance for assessing whether the White Paper's targets have been achieved.

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Appendix 1: Number of homeless people in South Australia by statistical division and subdivision, 2006

	Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10 000	Group 5 Caravan	Total (incl. caravan)	Rate (incl. caravan)
Adelaide	**251**	**2368**	**1174**	**1420**	**5213**	**1 105 842**	**47**	**240**	**5453**	**49**
Northern Adelaide	53	740	120	585	1498	353 698	42	86	1584	45
Western Adelaide	26	487	249	250	1012	205 238	49	19	1031	50
Eastern Adelaide	152	451	683	274	1560	223 312	70	23	1583	71
Southern Adelaide	20	690	122	311	1143	323 594	35	112	1255	39
Outer Adelaide	**70**	**291**	**40**	**6**	**407**	**123 699**	**33**	**121**	**528**	**43**
Barossa	11	89	0	6	106	40 814	26	70	176	43
Kangaroo Island	7	22	8	0	37	4258	87	0	37	87
Mt Lofty Ranges	27	76	8	0	111	41 744	27	24	135	32
Fleurieu	25	104	24	0	153	36 883	41	27	180	49
Yorke and Lower North	**30**	**137**	**16**	**12**	**195**	**43 879**	**44**	**41**	**236**	**54**
Yorke	16	66	6	0	88	25 178	35	29	117	46
Lower North	14	71	10	12	107	18 701	57	12	119	64
Murray Lands	**159**	**316**	**11**	**134**	**620**	**66 806**	**93**	**94**	**714**	**107**
Riverland	103	241	11	79	434	40 156	108	53	487	121
Murray Mallee	56	75	0	55	186	26 650	70	41	227	85
South East	**25**	**144**	**37**	**117**	**323**	**62 217**	**52**	**52**	**375**	**60**
Upper South East	17	45	9	0	71	18 966	37	17	88	46
Lower South East	8	99	28	117	252	43 251	58	35	287	66
Eyre	**103**	**148**	**12**	**140**	**403**	**33 341**	**121**	**49**	**452**	**136**
Lincoln	72	88	12	110	282	27 287	103	32	314	115
West Coast	31	60	0	30	121	6054	200	17	138	228
Northern	**210**	**230**	**73**	**282**	**795**	**75 928**	**105**	**151**	**946**	**125**
Whyalla	0	58	0	75	133	21 624	62	5	138	64
Pirie	16	56	40	87	199	24 883	80	32	231	93
Flinders Ranges	37	66	18	120	241	19 545	123	25	266	136
Far North	157	50	15	0	222	9876	225	89	311	315
Missing data	0	0	6	0	6	2625		0	6	
Total	**848**	**3634**	**1369**	**2111**	**7962**	**1 514 337**	**53**	**748**	**8710**	**58**

Selected SLAs

	Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10 000	Group 5 Caravan	Total (incl. caravan)	Rate (incl. caravan)
Mount Gambier	0	53	11	117	181	23 493	77	19	200	85
Port Lincoln	4	51	0	110	165	13 602	121	3	168	124
Whyalla	2	51	0	75	128	21 416	60	8	136	64
Port Pirie C – City	0	25	0	87	112	13 614	82	16	128	94
Port Augusta	20	43	0	120	183	13 874	132	15	198	143

Appendix 2: Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people by statistical division and selected subdivisions, 2006*

		Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10 000	Group 5 Caravan	Total (incl. caravan)	Rate (incl. caravan)
Adelaide	**Non-Indig**	**208**	**2292**	**1110**	**1128**	**4738**	**1 092 786**	**43**	**230**	**4968**	**45**
	Indig	**43**	**76**	**64**	**233**	**416**	**13 056**	**319**	**10**	**426**	**326**
Northern Adelaide	Non-Indig	46	695	114	442	1297	347 631	37	86	1383	40
	Indig	7	45	6	110	168	6067	277	0	168	277
Western Adelaide	Non-Indig	26	467	230	187	910	202 148	45	19	929	46
	Indig	0	20	19	58	97	3090	314	0	97	314
Eastern Adelaide	Non-Indig	16	408	247	90	761	205 714	37	17	778	38
	Indig	0	0	14	18	32	937	342	6	38	406
Southern Adelaide	Non-Indig	20	679	119	266	1084	320 815	34	108	1192	37
	Indig	0	11	3	34	48	2779	173	4	52	187
City	Non-Indig	100	43	400	143	686	16 478	416	0	686	416
	Indig	36	0	22	13	71	183	3880	0	71	3880

		Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends/rel	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10 000	Group 5 Caravan	Total (incl. caravan)	Rate (incl. caravan)
Outer Adelaide	**Non-Indig**	**70**	**291**	**37**	**6**	**404**	**122 619**	**33**	**112**	**516**	**42**
	Indig	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**	**1080**	**28**	**9**	**12**	**111**
Yorke & Lwr Nth	**Non-Indig**	**27**	**132**	**16**	**12**	**187**	**43 128**	**43**	**41**	**228**	**53**
	Indig	**3**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**8**	**751**	**107**	**0**	**8**	**107**
Murray Lands	**Non-Indig**	**159**	**302**	**11**	**91**	**563**	**64 662**	**87**	**84**	**647**	**100**
	Indig	**0**	**14**	**0**	**39**	**53**	**2144**	**247**	**10**	**63**	**294**
South East	**Non-Indig**	**25**	**134**	**37**	**86**	**282**	**61 406**	**46**	**52**	**334**	**54**
	Indig	**0**	**10**	**0**	**20**	**30**	**811**	**370**	**0**	**30**	**370**
Eyre	**Non-Indig**	**89**	**137**	**12**	**64**	**302**	**31 310**	**96**	**43**	**345**	**110**
	Indig	**14**	**11**	**0**	**73**	**98**	**2031**	**483**	**6**	**104**	**512**

* Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status, except in 108 cases where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment.

Appendix 2 (continued): Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people by statistical division and selected subdivisions, 2006

		Group 1 Imp. dwell	Group 2 Friends/rel	Group 3 Board Hse	Group 4 SAAP	Total	Usual Res. Population	Rate per 10 000	Group 5 Caravan	Total (incl. caravan)	Rate (incl. caravan)
Northern	**Non-Indig**	**104**	**220**	**59**	**137**	**520**	**68 951**	**75**	**148**	**668**	**97**
	Indig	**106**	**10**	**14**	**120**	**250**	**6977**	**358**	**3**	**253**	**363**
Whyalla	Non-Indig	0	58	0	43	101	20 808	49	5	106	51
	Indig	0	0	0	30	30	816	368	0	30	368
Pirie	Non-Indig	16	56	34	68	174	24 333	72	29	203	83
	Indig	0	0	6	15	21	550	382	3	24	436
Flinders Ranges	Non-Indig	17	61	18	26	122	16 616	73	25	147	88
	Indig	20	5	0	75	100	2929	341	0	100	341
Far North	Non-Indig	71	45	7	0	123	7194	171	89	212	295
	Indig	86	5	8	0	99	2682	369	0	99	369
Total	**Non-Indig**	**682**	**3508**	**1282**	**1524**	**6996**	**1 484 862**	**47**	**710**	**7706**	**52**
	Indig	**166**	**126**	**81**	**485**	**858**	**26 850**	**320**	**38**	**896**	**334**
Missing data		0	0	6	102	108	2625		0	108	
Total		**848**	**3634**	**1369**	**2111**	**7962**	**1 514 337**	**53**	**748**	**8710**	**58**

Appendix 3: Percentage of homeless people by statistical division and subdivision, 2006

	Number	Percentage
Adelaide	**5213**	**65.5**
Northern Adelaide	1498	28.8
Western Adelaide	1012	19.4
Eastern Adelaide	798	15.3
Southern Adelaide	1143	21.9
City	762	14.6
Outer Adelaide	**407**	**5.1**
Barossa	106	1.3
Kangaroo Island	37	0.5
Mt Lofty Ranges	111	1.4
Fleurieu	153	1.9
Yorke and Lower North	195	2.4
Yorke	**88**	**1.1**
Lower North	107	1.3
Murray Lands	**620**	**7.8**
Riverland	434	5.5
Murray Mallee	186	2.3
South East	**323**	**4.0**
Upper South East	71	0.9
Lower South East	252	3.1
Eyre	**403**	**5.1**
Lincoln	282	3.6
West Coast	121	1.5
Northern	**795**	**10.0**
Whyalla	133	1.7
Pirie	199	2.5
Flinders Ranges	241	3.0
Far North	222	2.8
Missing data	6	0.01
Total	**7962**	**100.00**

Appendix 4: Percentage of homeless people and marginal caravan park residents by statistical division and subdivision, 2006

	Number	Percentage
Adelaide	**5453**	**62.6**
Northern Adelaide	1584	29.0
Western Adelaide	1031	18.9
Eastern Adelaide	821	15.1
Southern Adelaide	1255	23.0
City	762	14.0
Outer Adelaide	**528**	**6.1**
Barossa	176	2.0
Kangaroo Island	37	0.4
Mt Lofty Ranges	135	1.6
Fleurieu	180	2.1
Yorke and Lower North	**236**	**2.7**
Yorke	117	1.3
Lower North	119	1.4
Murray Lands	**714**	**8.2**
Riverland	487	5.6
Murray Mallee	227	2.6
South East	**375**	**4.3**
Upper South East	88	1.0
Lower South East	287	3.3
Eyre	**452**	**5.2**
Lincoln	314	3.6
West Coast	138	1.6
Northern	**946**	**10.8**
Whyalla	138	1.6
Pirie	231	2.6
Flinders Ranges	266	3.0
Far North	311	3.6
Missing data	6	0.1
Total	**8710**	**100.00**