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Counting the homeless 2006

Queensland

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CONTENTS

Preface 5
Executive Summary 7

Introduction 15
1 Definition of Homelessness 17
2 Overcounting and Undercounting 21
3 Social Characteristics 29
4 Brisbane 37
5 Gold Coast and Sunshine Coast 61
6 Regional and Remote 67
7 Coastal Queensland 71
8 Indigenous and Non-Indigenous 79
9 Discussion 81

References 89
Appendix 1 92
Appendix 2 94
Appendix 3 98
Appendix 4 99

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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, 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

Across Australia, 20 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses on census night; in Queensland, it was also 20 per cent (Table 1). The percentage of people staying temporarily with other households in Queensland was larger than the national figure (49 per cent compared with 45 per cent), and there were more people in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping out (19 per cent compared with 16 per cent). Nationally, 19 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation, but in Queensland it was 12 per cent.

TABLE 1: PERSONS IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia		Queensland	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	21 596	20	5438	20
SAAP accommodation	19 849	19	3233	12
Friends and relatives	46 856	45	12 946	49
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	16 375	16	5165	19
	104 676	100	26 782	100

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

4 AGE DISTRIBUTION

In Queensland, the age profile of the homeless population was older than the national profile. Forty-nine per cent of the homeless in Queensland were aged 35 or older, significantly above the national figure of 42 per cent (Table 2). More than one-third (36 per cent) of the homeless in Queensland were aged 45 or older, up from 28 per cent in 2001 (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004a, p. 27).

Nonetheless, a majority (51 per cent) of homeless people in Queensland were in the younger age groups. Sixteen per cent of the homeless were teenagers aged 12 to 18 (mainly on their own). Eleven per cent of the homeless were children under 12 who were with one or both parents. Another 10 per cent were young adults aged 19 to 24, and 14 per cent were adults aged 25 to 34.

TABLE 2: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia			Queensland		
	N	%		N	%	
Under 12	12 133	12		2914	11	
12–18	21 940	21		4469	16	
19–24	10 504	10	58	2624	10	51
25–34	15 804	15		3820	14	
35–44	13 981	13		3471	13	
45–54	12 206	12	42	3464	13	49
55–64	10 708	10		3667	14	
65 or older	7 400	7		2353	9	
	104 676	100		26 782	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 Australia's homeless population, 56 to 44 per cent (Table 3), and in Queensland men outnumbered women, 58 to 42 per cent. In this state, there were roughly equal numbers of males and females in the two youngest age cohorts, but from age 25 onwards men typically outnumbered women, about 60 to 40 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

Queensland

	Under 12	12–18	19–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	52	49	56	58	64	62	59	68	58
Female	48	51	44	42	36	38	41	32	42
	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 Queensland, 3.5 per cent of people identified as Indigenous at the 2006 Census. Table 4 shows that Indigenous people made up 3.7 per cent of people staying with other households, 8.4 per cent of persons in boarding houses, 10.2 per cent of those in the improvised dwellings category and 21.9 per cent of people in SAAP. Indigenous people were overrepresented in all sections of the homeless population in Queensland.

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

	Boarding house (N=5438)	Friends or relatives (N=12 946)	SAAP (N=3128)	Improvised dwellings (N=5165)	All** (N=26 677)
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Indigenous	91.6	96.3	78.1	89.8	91.9
Indigenous	8.4	3.7	21.9	10.2	8.1
	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 105 cases where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment.

7 BRISBANE

There were 2070 homeless people in Inner Brisbane and the rate of homelessness was 246 per 10 000 of the population (Table 5). Inner Brisbane had nine per cent of Brisbane City's population but 38 per cent of its homeless people. Homeless people often gravitate to the inner city, where services for homeless people have traditionally been located.

TABLE 5: HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, BRISBANE CITY

	Inner Brisbane	Northwest Inner	Southeast Inner	Northwest Outer	Southeast Outer	Total
Number	2070	774	616	1047	888	5395
Rate	246	44	41	33	39	56

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

In Southeast Inner and Northwest Inner Brisbane, there were 616 and 774 homeless people respectively, and the rates of homelessness were 41 and 44 per 10 000.

In Southeast Outer and Northwest Outer Brisbane there were 888 and 1047 homeless people and the rates of homelessness were lower than in the other subdivisions (39 and 33 per 10 000).

Altogether, there were 3325 homeless people in suburban Brisbane. The provision of services in suburban areas assists people in the early stages of homelessness, including those at risk, and reduces the move to the inner city.

TABLE 6: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, OUTER URBAN AREAS, BRISBANE

	Beaudesert Shire Pt A	Caboolture Shire	Ipswich City	Logan City	Pine Rivers Shire	Redcliffe City	Redland Shire	Total
Number	125	663	540	537	312	182	242	2601
Rate	30	50	39	31	22	36	19	32

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

Table 6 shows that there were 2601 homeless people in the seven subdivisions covering outer suburban Brisbane. These include traditional 'working class' areas such as Ipswich and Logan, the rural subdivision of Beaudesert, as well as the growth corridors of Caboolture and Pine Rivers.

There were 663 homeless people in Caboolture, 540 homeless people in Ipswich, 537 in Logan, and 312 in Pine Rivers (Table 6). The rate of homelessness was highest in Caboolture (50 per 10 000) and lowest in Redland (19 per 10 000). In four subdivisions (Beaudesert, Ipswich, Logan and Redcliffe) the rate was between 30 and 39 per 10 000.

8 GOLD COAST AND SUNSHINE COAST

There were 2289 homeless people on the Gold Coast and the rate of homelessness was 47 per 10 000 (Table 7). Ninety per cent of the homeless were in Gold Coast East and Gold Coast West. There were 1328 homeless people in Gold Coast East where the rate of homelessness was 77 per 10 000 and 726 homeless people in Gold Coast West where the rate was 30 per 10 000.

TABLE 7: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, GOLD COAST

	Gold Coast North	Gold Coast East	Gold Coast West	Gold Coast SD Bal	Total
Number	178	1328	726	57	2289
Rate	35	77	30	41	47

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

There were 1658 homeless people in Sunshine Coast (Table 8), where the rate of homelessness was 60 per 10 000. The rate was 50 per 10 000 in the urban subdivision of Sunshine Coast, where there were 1040 homeless people, but it was 93 per 10 000 in Sunshine Coast SD Balance, where there were 618 homeless people.

TABLE 8: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, SUNSHINE COAST

	Sunshine Coast	Sunshine Coast SD Balance	Total
Number	1040	618	1658
Rate	50	93	60

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

9 REGIONAL AND REMOTE

Chapter 6 examines three statistical divisions in western Queensland: South West, Central West and North West. Then it examines the West Moreton and Darling Downs statistical divisions which cover much of regional South East Queensland.

There were 211 homeless people in South West and 187 in Central West, although the rates of homelessness were 85 and 172 per 10 000 respectively (Table 9). In North West, there were 643 homeless people and the rate was 208 per 10 000. The main concentration was in Mount Isa where there were 356 homeless people.

TABLE 9: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, SOUTH WEST, CENTRAL WEST AND NORTH WEST

	South West	Central West	North West
Number	211	187	643
Rate	85	172	208

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

West Moreton has two statistical subdivisions: Upper West Moreton (population 18 600) and Lower West Moreton (population 50 000). Darling Downs has two subdivisions: Toowoomba (population 114 500) and Darling Downs SD Balance (population 99 300).

The rate of homelessness was 101 per 10 000 in Upper West Moreton and there were 187 homeless people (Table 10). The rate was lower in Darling Downs (63 per 10 000), but there were 623 homeless people. The rate was 48 per 10 000 in Lower West Moreton (242 homeless people) and 46 per 10 000 in Toowoomba (530 homeless people).

TABLE 10: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, WEST MORETON AND DARLING DOWNS

	Upper West Moreton	Lower West Moreton	Total	Toowoomba	Darling Downs SD Bal	Total
Number	187	242	429	530	623	1153
Rate	101	48	63	46	63	54

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

10 COASTAL QUEENSLAND

Chapter 7 investigates the distribution of the homeless population in the five statistical divisions which stretch from the Sunshine Coast to the tip of Cape York ('coastal Queensland'). Table 11 shows that coastal Queensland had 12 216 homeless people and that the rate of homelessness was 120 per 10 000. In Wide Bay-Burnett, Fitzroy and Northern the rate was about 100 per 10 000. The rate increased to 134 per 10 000 in the Far North and to 167 in the Mackay statistical division.

TABLE 11: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, COASTAL QUEENSLAND

	Wide Bay-Burnett	Fitzroy	Mackay	Northern	Far North	Total
Number	2716	1941	2506	1949	3104	12 216
Rate	107	103	167	99	134	120

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

There was also an 'urban' and a 'rural/remote' pattern. There were 5073 homeless people in the major cities, where the rate of homelessness was 91 per 10 000 (Table 12), double the rate in the Brisbane statistical division. There were 7143 homeless people in the rural/remote subdivisions

where the rate was 154 per 10 000 (Table 13), more than three times the rate in the Brisbane statistical division.

TABLE 12: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, COASTAL CITIES

	Bundaberg	Hervey Bay	Rockhampton	Gladstone	Mackay	Townsville	Cairns	Total
Number	443	426	476	316	692	1329	1391	5073
Rate	74	88	69	74	95	93	113	91

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

The rate of homelessness in each coastal city was always lower than the rate in the corresponding rural/remote subdivision, but there were also significant differences between the cities (Table 12). The rate of homelessness was 69 per 10 000 in Rockhampton and it was 74 per 10 000 in Bundaberg and Gladstone. The rate increased to about 90 per 10 000 in Hervey Bay, Townsville and Mackay, and to 113 per 10 000 in Cairns. There were 1391 homeless people in Cairns, 1329 in Townsville and 692 in Mackay, with smaller numbers in the other regional centres.

TABLE 13: NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, RURAL AND REMOTE SUBDIVISIONS

	Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal.	Fitzroy SD Balance	Mackay SD Balance	Northern SD Balance	Far North SD Balance	Total
Number	1847	1149	1814	620	1713	7143
Rate	126	150	235	116	158	154

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

In Northern SD Balance, the rate of homelessness was 116 per 10 000 and in Wide Bay-Burnett SD Balance the rate was 126 (Table 13). The rate increased to 150 per 10 000 in Fitzroy SD Balance and to 158 in Far North SD Balance. The rate was highest in Mackay SD Balance where it was 235 per 10 000.

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 Queensland 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 Queensland.

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 population, as well as discussing overcounting and undercounting. Chapter 3 outlines the social characteristics of the homeless population in Queensland. Chapter 4 discusses different ways of approaching a geographical analysis, before focusing on the homeless population in Brisbane. Chapters 5 to 7 describe the homeless population in rural and remote Queensland. Chapter 8 comments on Indigenous and non-Indigenous homelessness. Chapter 9 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 in 'improvised dwellings, tents and sleepers out', including 5165 people in this category in Queensland.

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 Brisbane 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 Queensland it was about 65 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 3233 in Queensland.

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 12 946 people in Queensland.

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 Queensland was 5438 in 2006, compared with 5346 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 Queensland. 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 had a rate of 53 per 10 000 in 2006, again similar to 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

	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 Queensland, it was 24 569 in 2001 and 26 782 in 2006. We know that the number of homeless people goes up and down, but in Queensland a typical point-in-time figure is probably about 26 750, up from about 24 500 in 2001.

3.2 NUMBER OF HOMELESS BY STATE AND TERRITORY

	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

Across Australia, 20 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses on census night; in Queensland, it was also 20 per cent (Table 3.3). The percentage of people staying temporarily with other households in Queensland was larger than the national figure (49 per cent compared with 45 per cent), and there were more people in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping out (19 per cent compared with 16 per cent). Nationally, 19 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP accommodation, but in Queensland it was 12 per cent.

3.3 PERSONS IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia		Queensland	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	21 596	20	5438	20
SAAP accommodation	19 849	19	3233	12
Friends and relatives	46 856	45	12 946	49
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	16 375	16	5165	19
	104 676	100	26 782	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 were fairly similar in 2001 and 2006 (Table 3.4). In 2006, the largest group were those staying with friends or relatives on census night (49 per cent down from 53 per cent in 2001). The proportion of people in boarding houses declined from 22 to 20 per cent, and the proportion in SAAP increased from nine to 12 per cent. The proportion in improvised dwellings went up from 16 to 19 per cent (from 3869 to 5165 people).

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

	2001		2006	
	N	%	N	%
Boarding houses	5346	22	5438	20
SAAP accommodation	2285	9	3233	12
Friends and relatives	13 069	53	12 946	49
Improvised dwellings, sleepers out	3869	16	5165	19
	24 569	100	26 782	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 Queensland.

In 2006, 58 per cent of the homeless across Australia were in the younger age groups and only 42 per cent were aged 35 or older. Twelve per cent of the homeless were children under 12. These young people were with parents on census night. Another 21 per cent of the homeless were teenagers aged 12 to 18 (mainly on their own) and 10 per cent were young adults aged 19 to 24. The age profile of the population is now much younger than 40 to 50 years ago.

3.5 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOMELESS POPULATION

	Australia			Queensland		
	N	%		N	%	
Under 12	12 133	12		2914	11	
12–18	21 940	21		4469	16	
19–24	10 504	10	58	2624	10	51
25–34	15 804	15		3820	14	
35–44	13 981	13		3471	13	
45–54	12 206	12	42	3464	13	49
55–64	10 708	10		3667	14	
65 or older	7 400	7		2353	9	
	104 676	100		26 782	100	

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

In Queensland, the age profile of the homeless population was older than the national profile. Forty-nine per cent of the homeless in Queensland were aged 35 or older, significantly above the national figure of 42 per cent. More than one-third (36 per cent) of the homeless in Queensland were aged 45 or older, up from 28 per cent in 2001 (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004a, p. 27).

Nonetheless, a majority (51 per cent) of homeless people in Queensland were in the younger age groups. Sixteen per cent of the homeless were teenagers aged 12 to 18 (mainly on their own). Eleven per cent of the homeless were children under 12 who were with one or both parents. Another 10 per cent were young adults aged 19 to 24, and 14 per cent were adults aged 25 to 34.

3.4 MALES AND FEMALES

In 2006, men outnumbered women in Australia's homeless population, 56 to 44 per cent (Table 3.6), and in Queensland men outnumbered women, 58 to 42 per cent. In this state, there were roughly equal numbers of males and females in the two youngest age cohorts, but from age 25 onwards men typically outnumbered women, about 60 to 40 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

Queensland

	Under 12	12–18	19–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	52	49	56	58	64	62	59	68	58
Female	48	51	44	42	36	38	41	32	42
	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. In Queensland, 72 per cent of boarding house residents were male, the same as the national figure. Amongst people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, men outnumbered women 61 to 39 per cent. There were slightly more men than women staying with other households (53 to 47 per cent), and there were roughly equal numbers of men and women in SAAP (49 to 51 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

Queensland

	Boarding house (N=5438)	Friends or relatives (N=12 946)	SAAP (N=3233)	Improvised dwellings (N=5165)	All (N=26 782)
	%	%	%	%	%
Male	72	53	49	61	58
Female	28	47	51	39	42
	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 Queensland, 3.5 per cent of people identified as Indigenous at the 2006 Census. Table 3.8 shows that Indigenous people made up 3.7 per cent of people staying with other households, 8.4 per cent of persons in boarding houses, 10.2 per cent of those in improvised dwellings and 21.9 per cent of people in SAAP. Indigenous people were overrepresented in all sections of the homeless population in Queensland.

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

	Boarding house (N=5438)	Friends or relatives (N=12 946)	SAAP (N=3128)	Improvised dwellings (N=5165)	All* (N=26 677)
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-Indigenous	91.6	96.3	78.1	89.8	91.9
Indigenous	8.4	3.7	21.9	10.2	8.1
	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 105 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 write this in. 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 Queensland, we estimate that a typical point-in-time figure is about 26 750, up from about 24 500 in 2001.

In Queensland, half (49 per cent) of the homeless were staying temporarily with other households on census night and 20 per cent were in boarding houses. Nineteen per cent were in the primary population, up from 16 per cent in 2001 (3869 to 5165 people). Only 12 per cent were in SAAP.

Nationally, 56 per cent of homeless people were male and 44 per cent were female. In Queensland, men outnumbered women 58 to 42 per cent. The homeless population in Queensland was older than the homeless population in other states, with 49 per cent of the homeless aged 35 or older. In Queensland, Indigenous people were overrepresented in all sectors of the population, but particularly in improvised dwellings and SAAP.

4 BRISBANE

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

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.

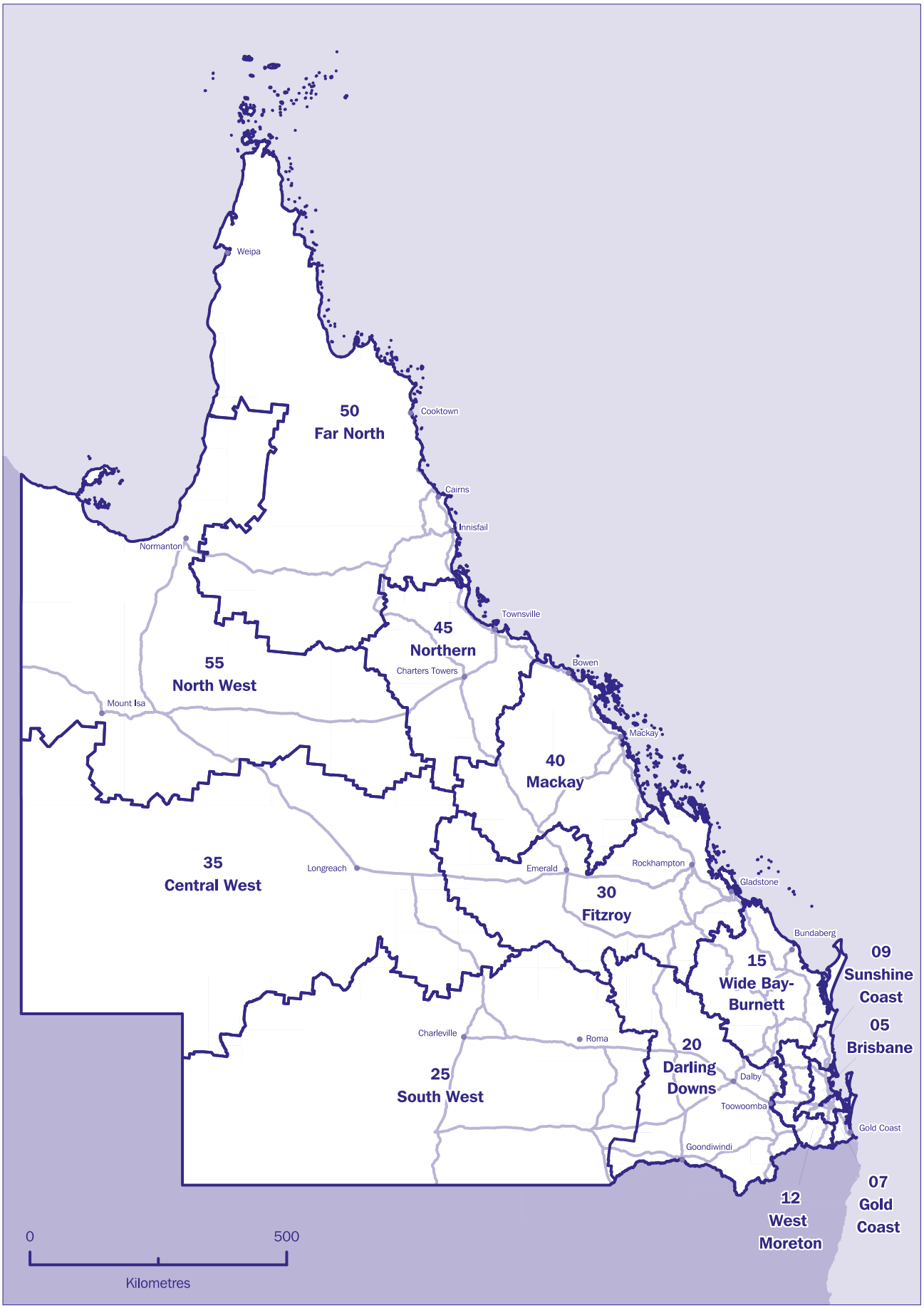
Second, homelessness can be expressed as a rate per 10 000 of the population. This statistic is required for comparing communities of different sizes. For example, the number of homeless people will always be greater in Brisbane than in Mount Isa because of the difference in population size, but the 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 Cairns quantifies the number of homeless people in relation to the Cairns population, but it does not tell us whether those people came from Cairns, other parts of Queensland or from interstate. Homeless people move around and the numbers in particular areas partly reflect the services that are available.

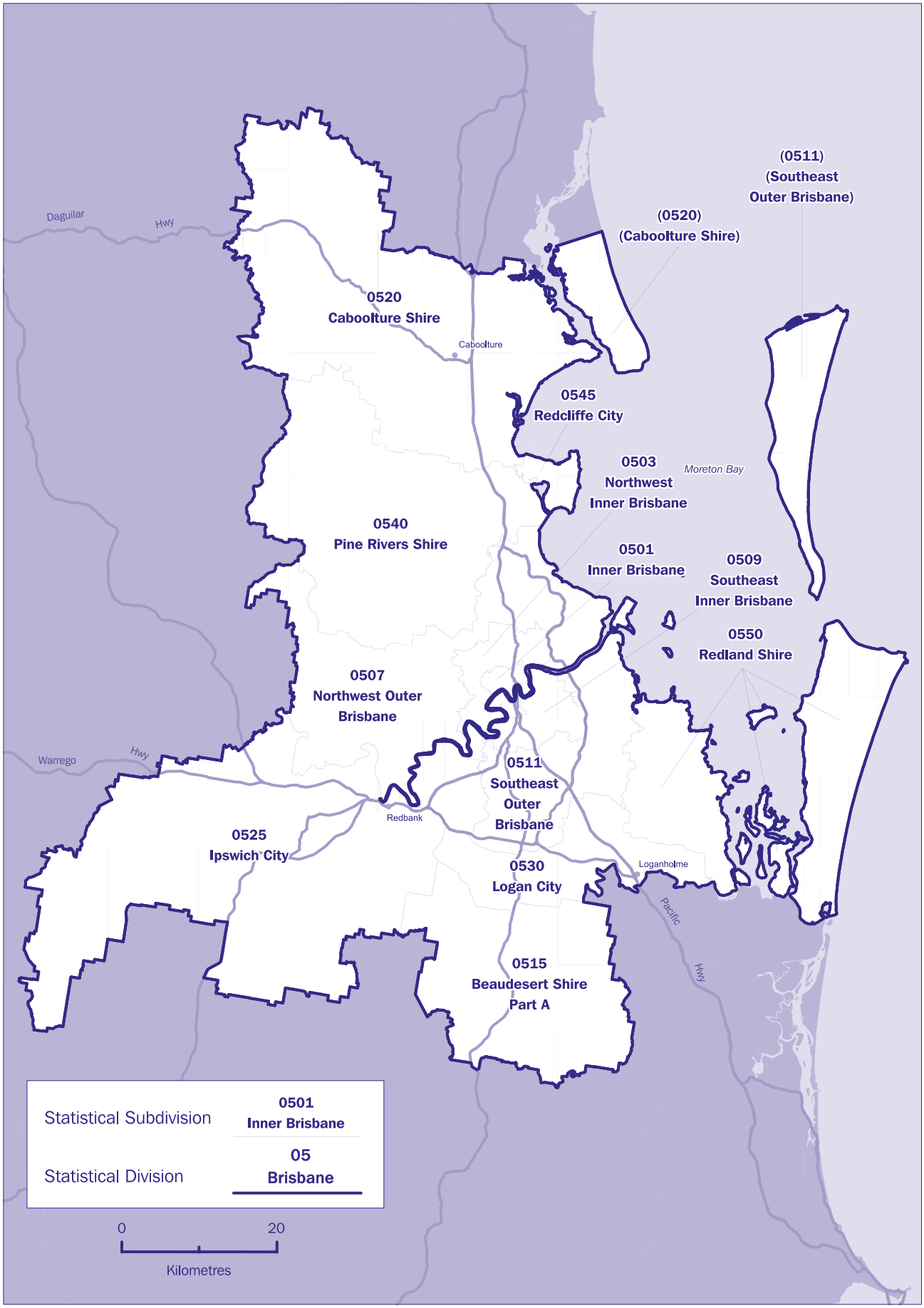
Second, it is important to be cautious when interpreting rates for geographical areas with small populations. Suppose that policy makers have the resources to fund one new SAAP service and they are evaluating the competing claims of two communities. In a small town of 2000 people the rate of homelessness 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 the rate of homelessness, as well as local intelligence about what is happening 'on the ground' in order to match services with expressed need.

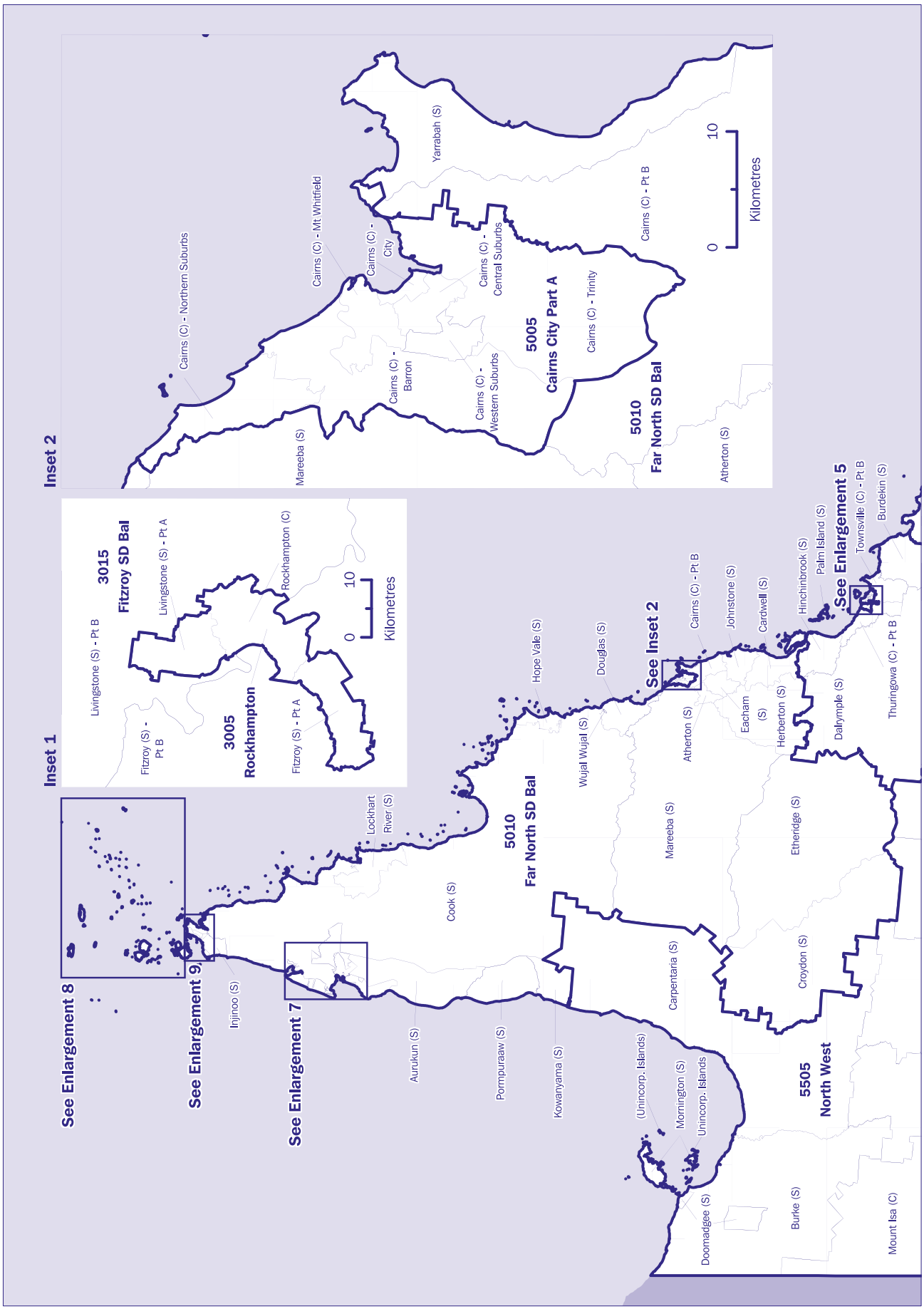
MAP 1: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Divisions



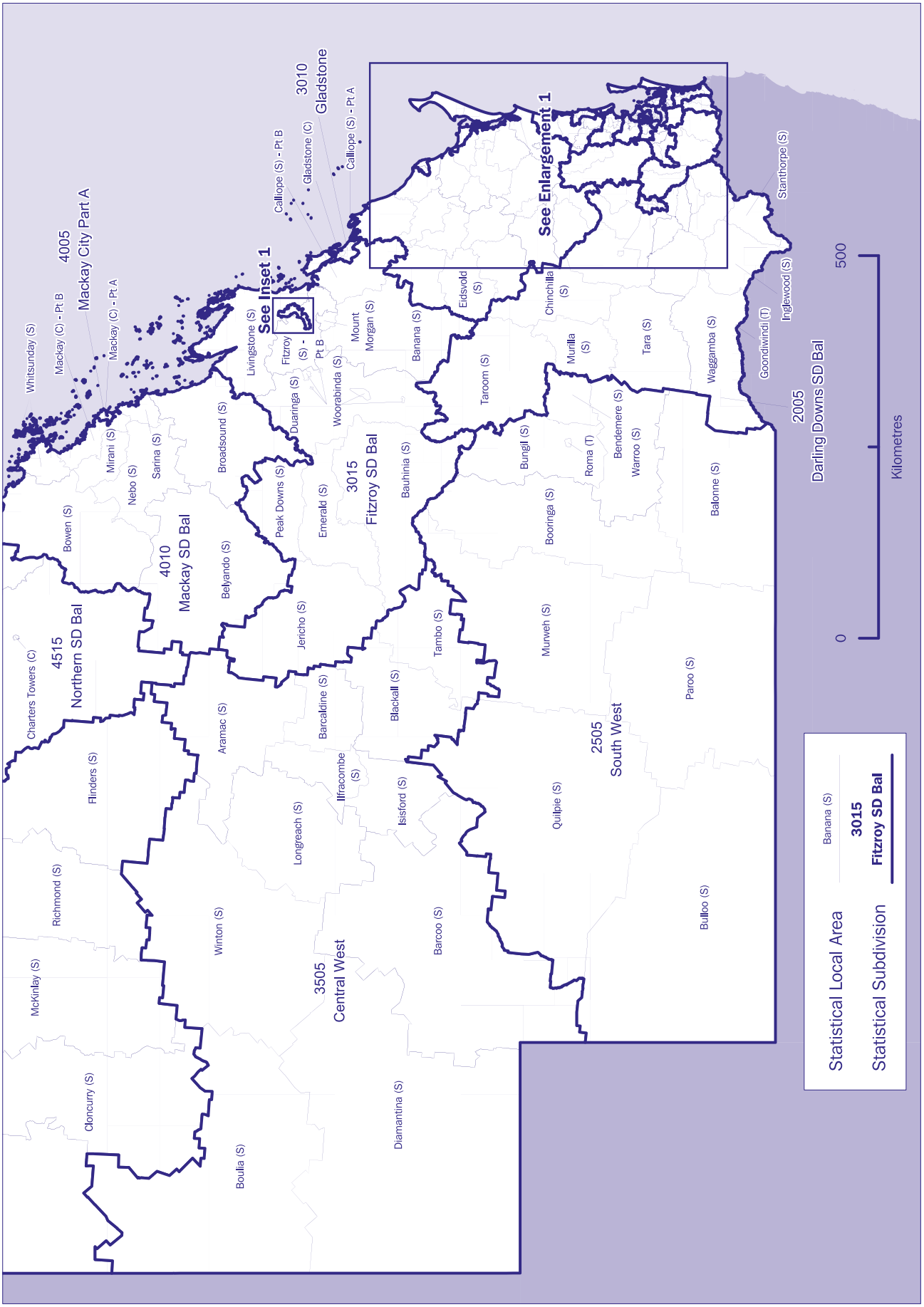
MAP 2: QUEENSLAND, Brisbane Statistical Division



MAP 3: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas

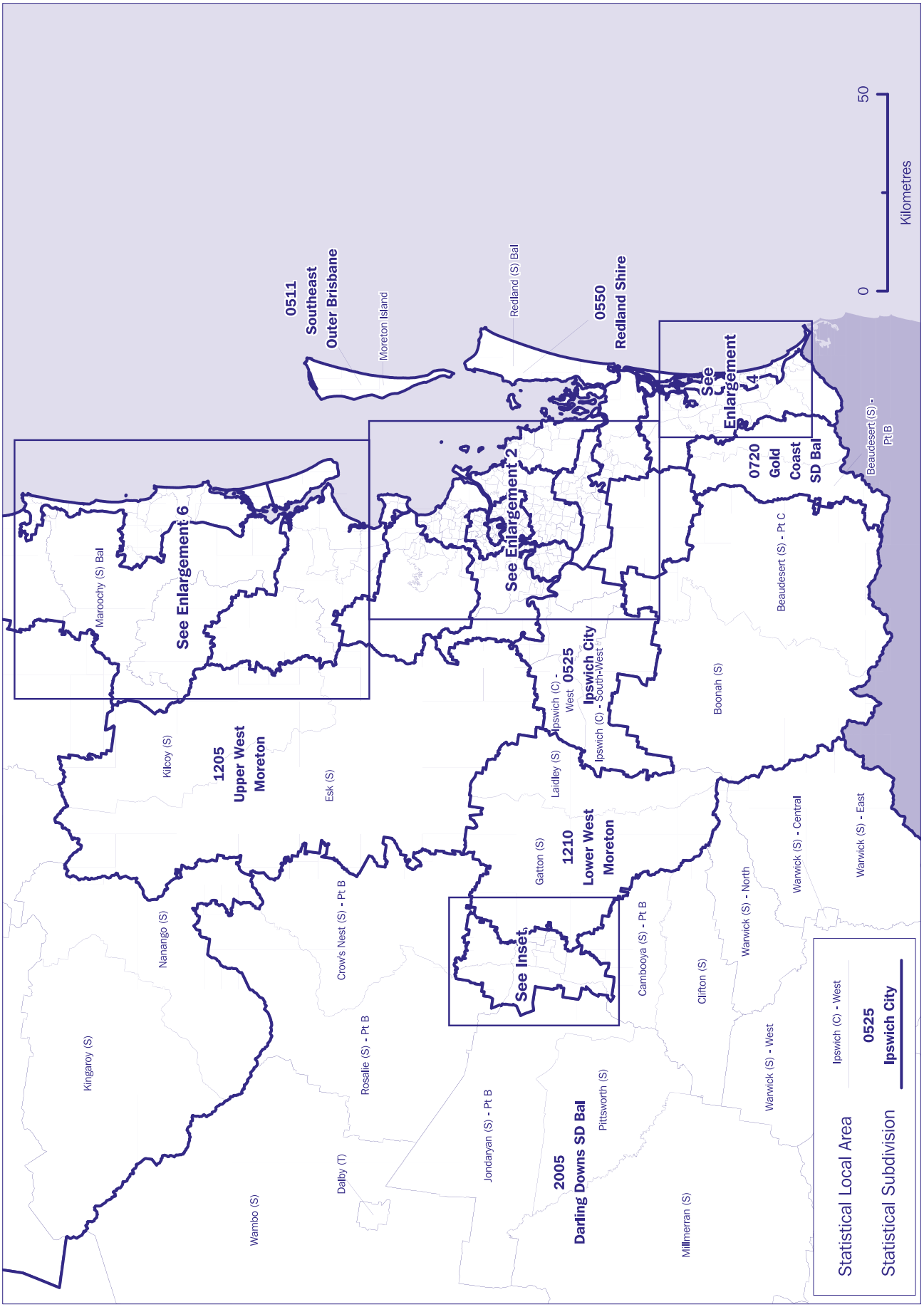


MAP 3: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas

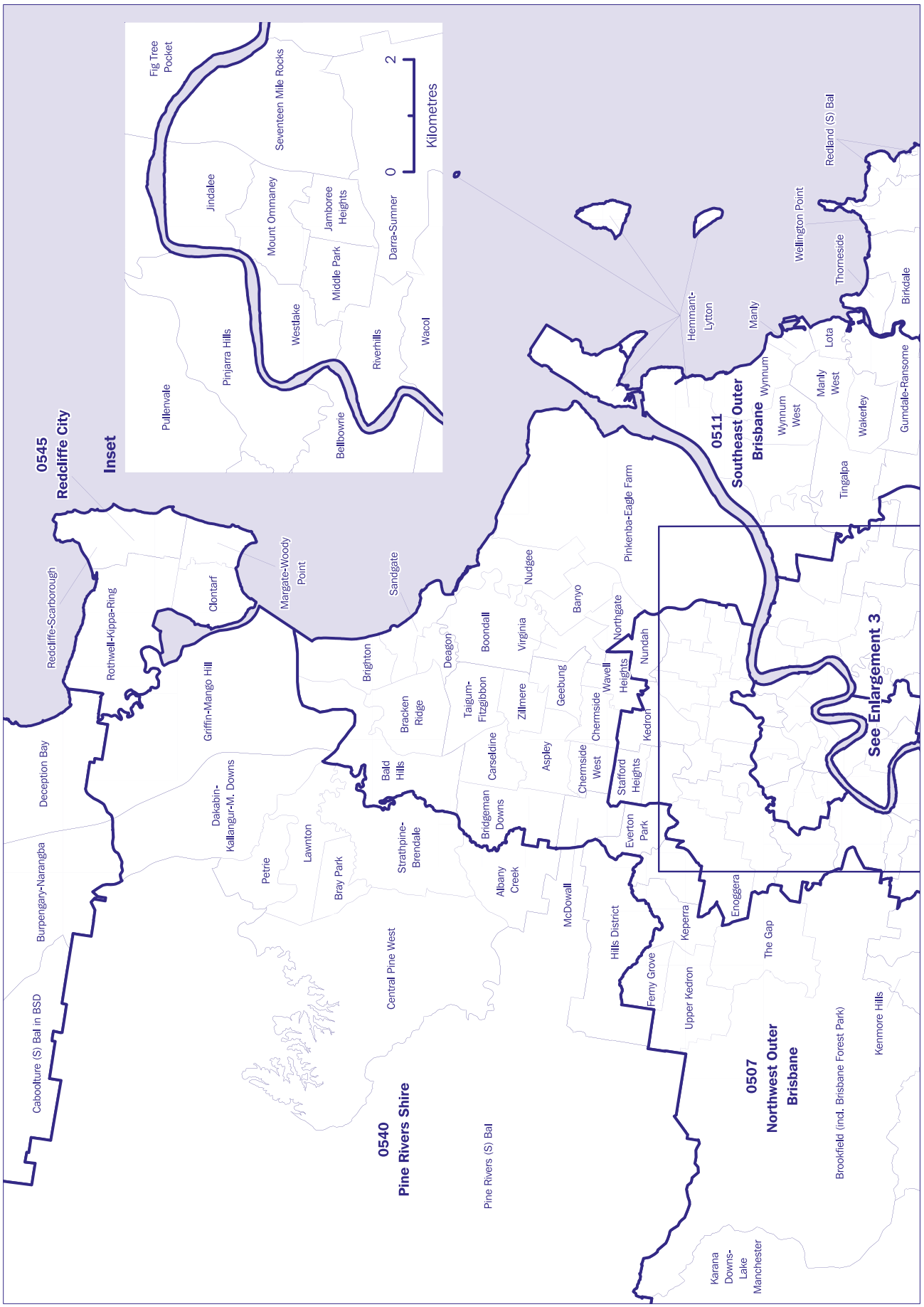


MAP 4: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 1

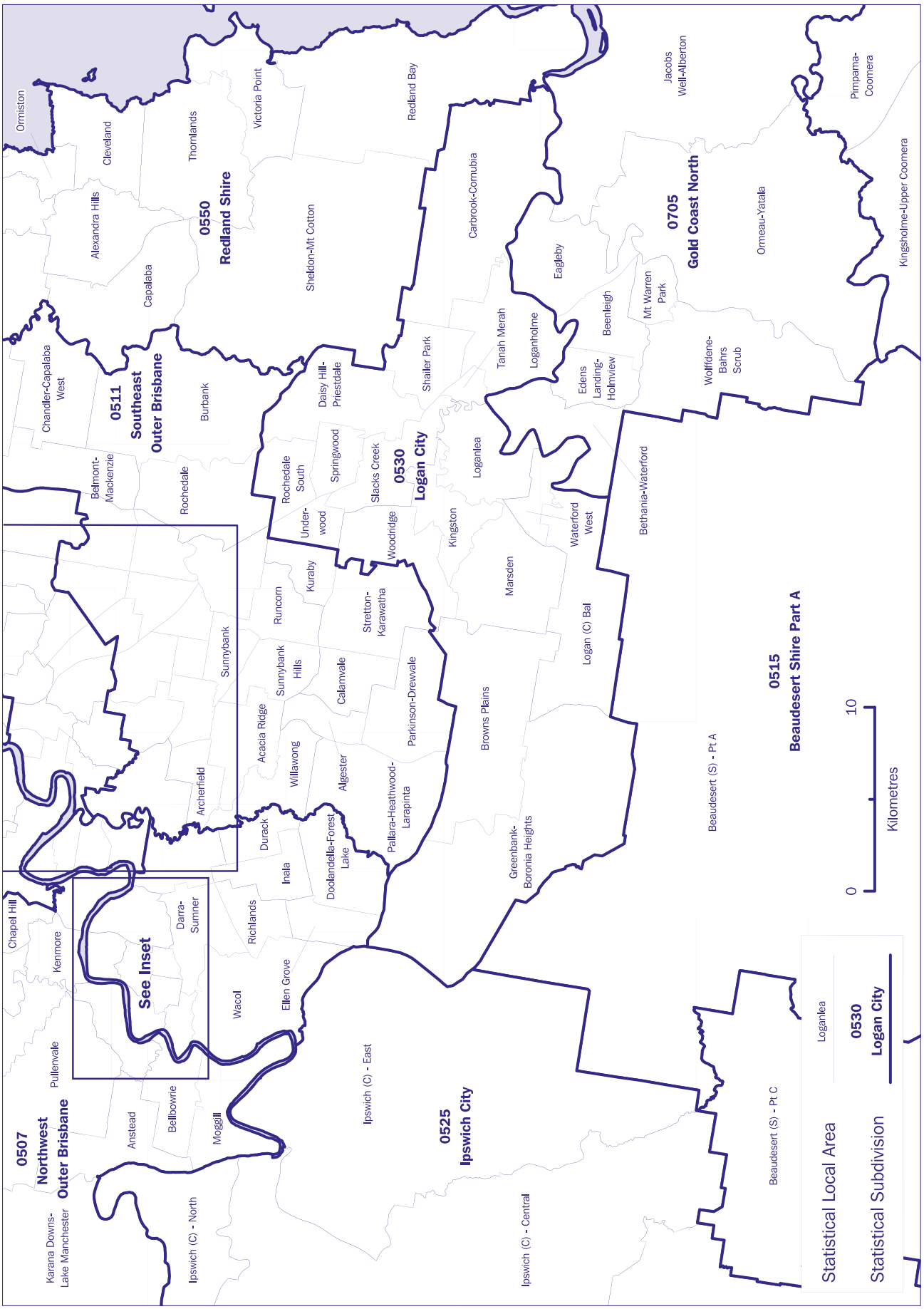
MAP 4: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 1



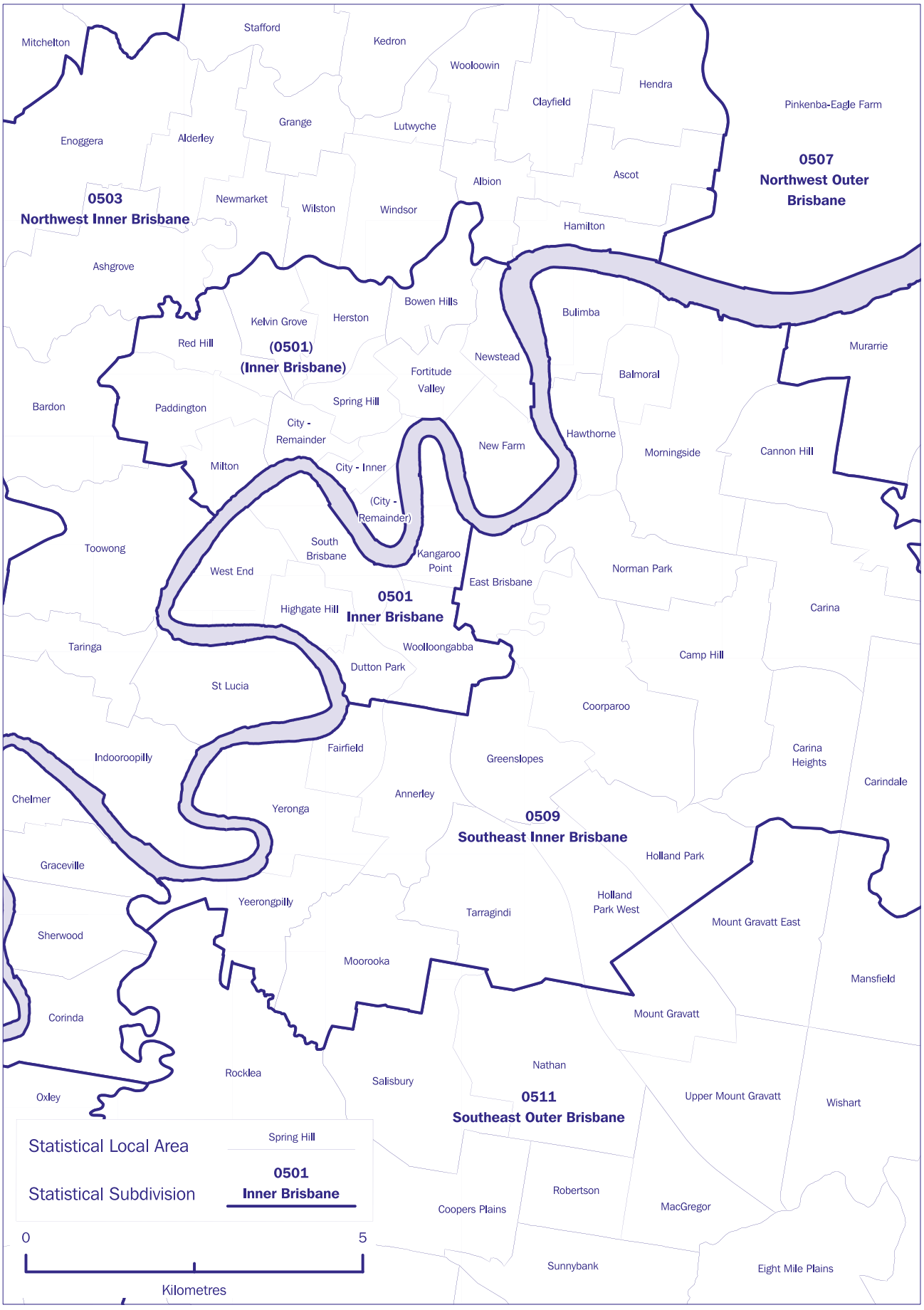
MAP 5: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 2



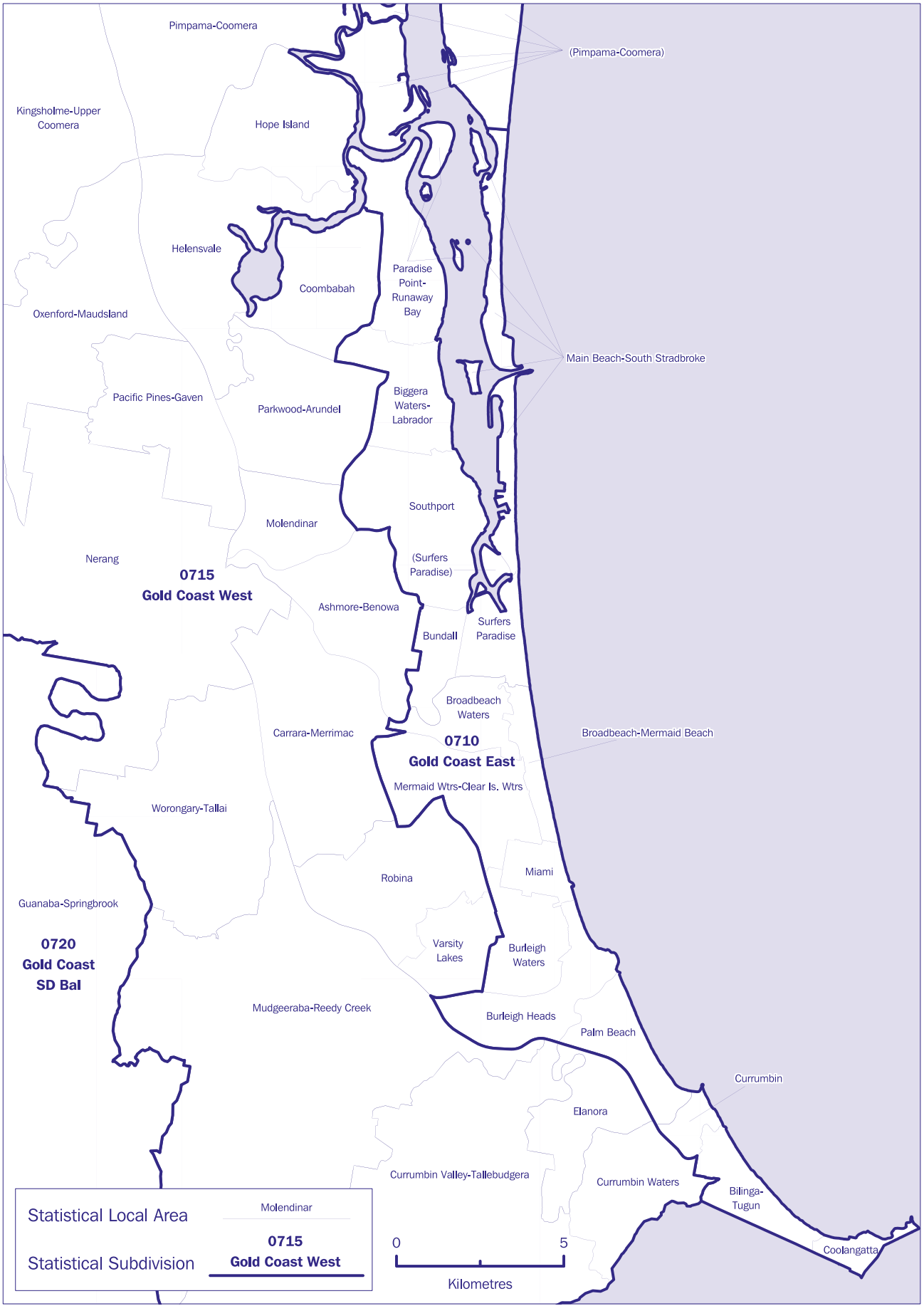
MAP 5: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 2



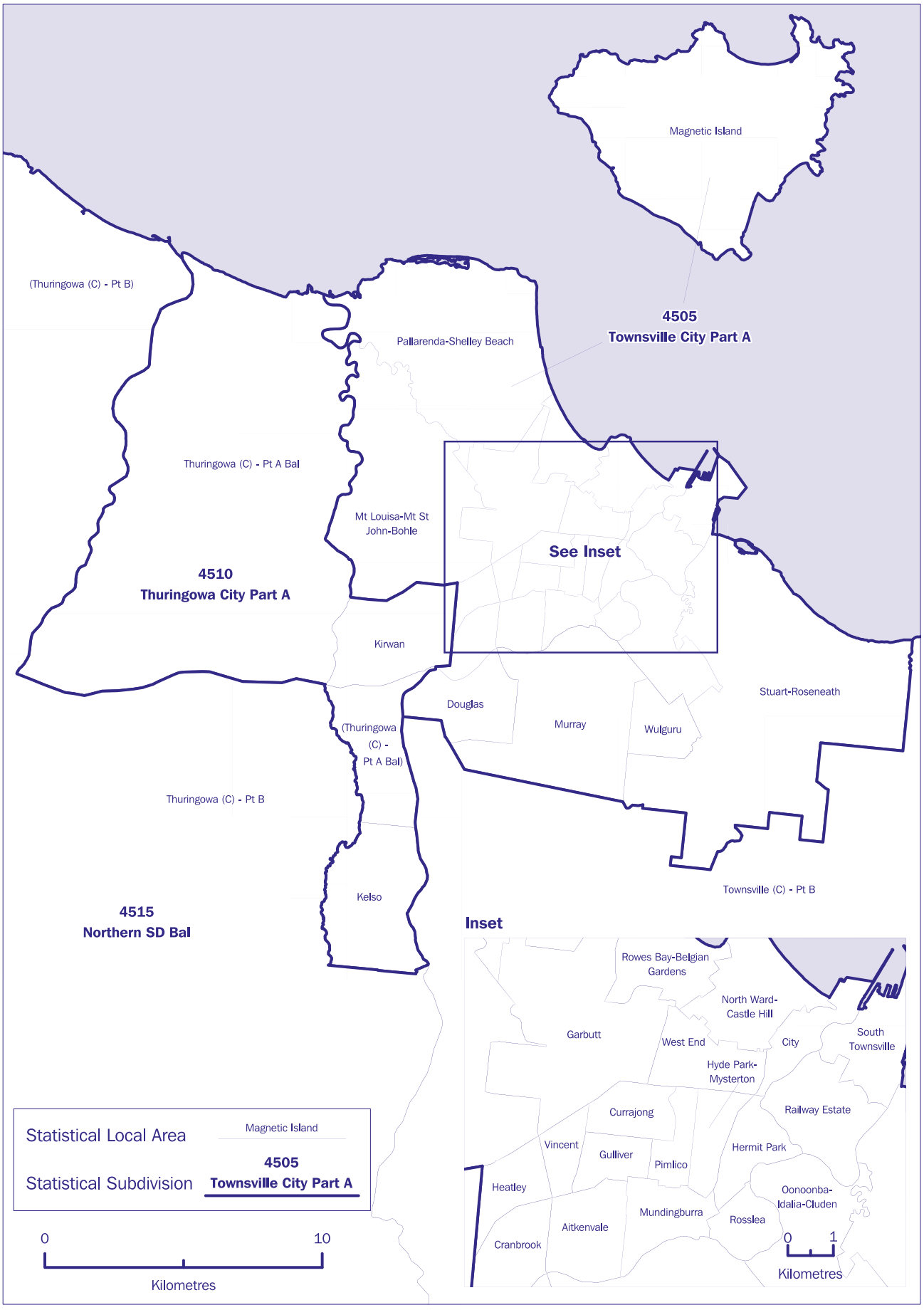
MAP 6: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 3



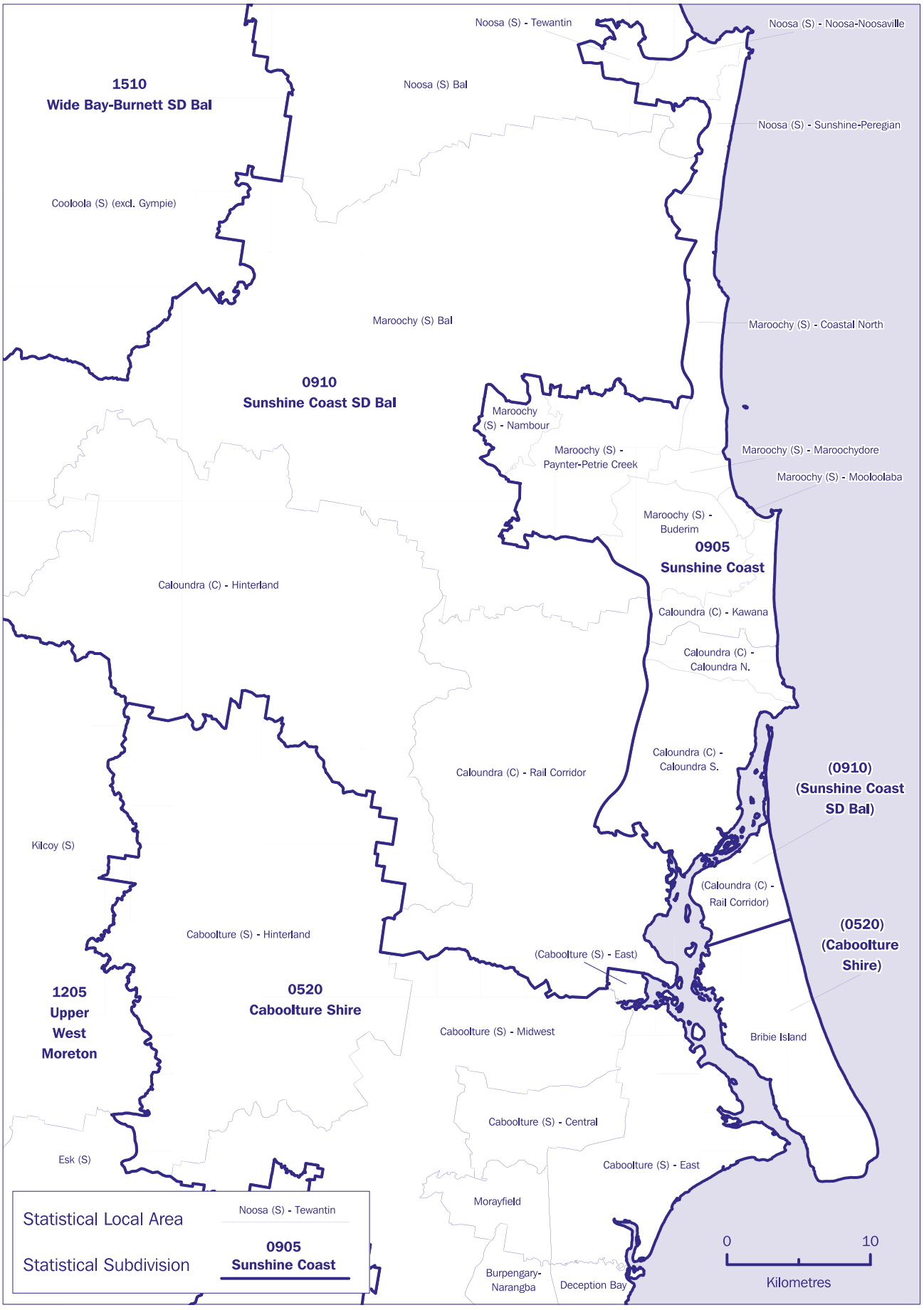
MAP 7: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 4



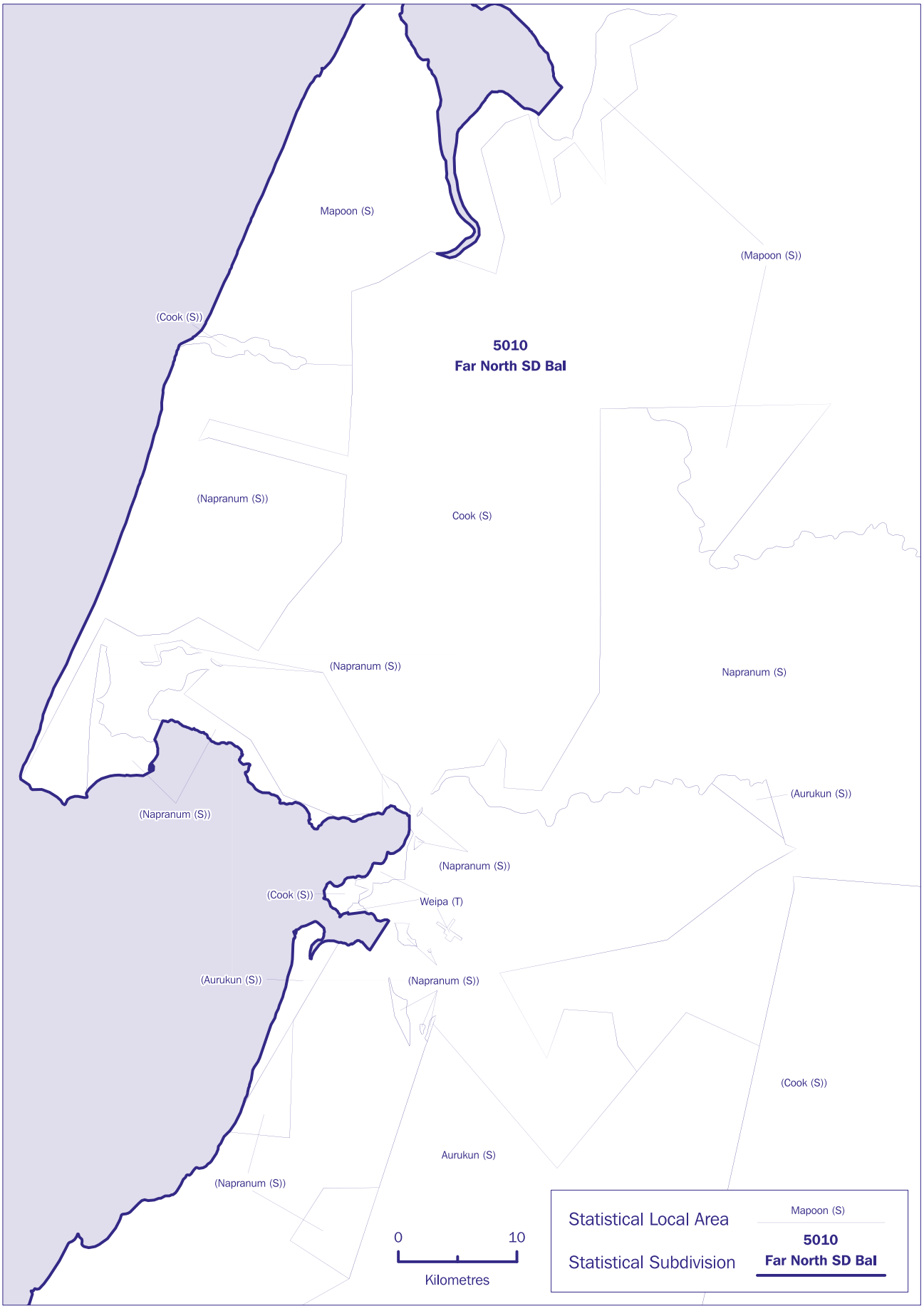
MAP 8: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 5



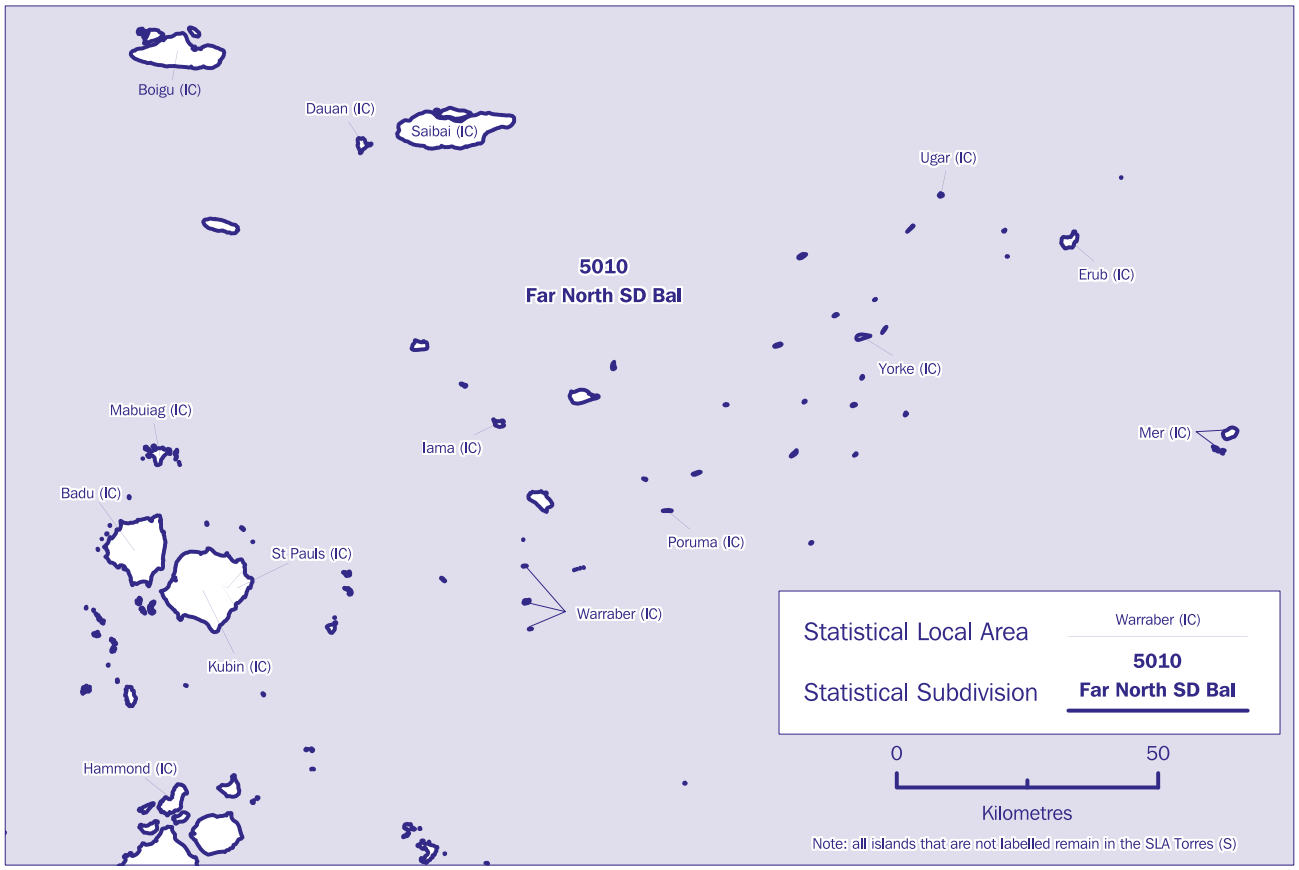
MAP 9: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 6



MAP 10: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargement 7

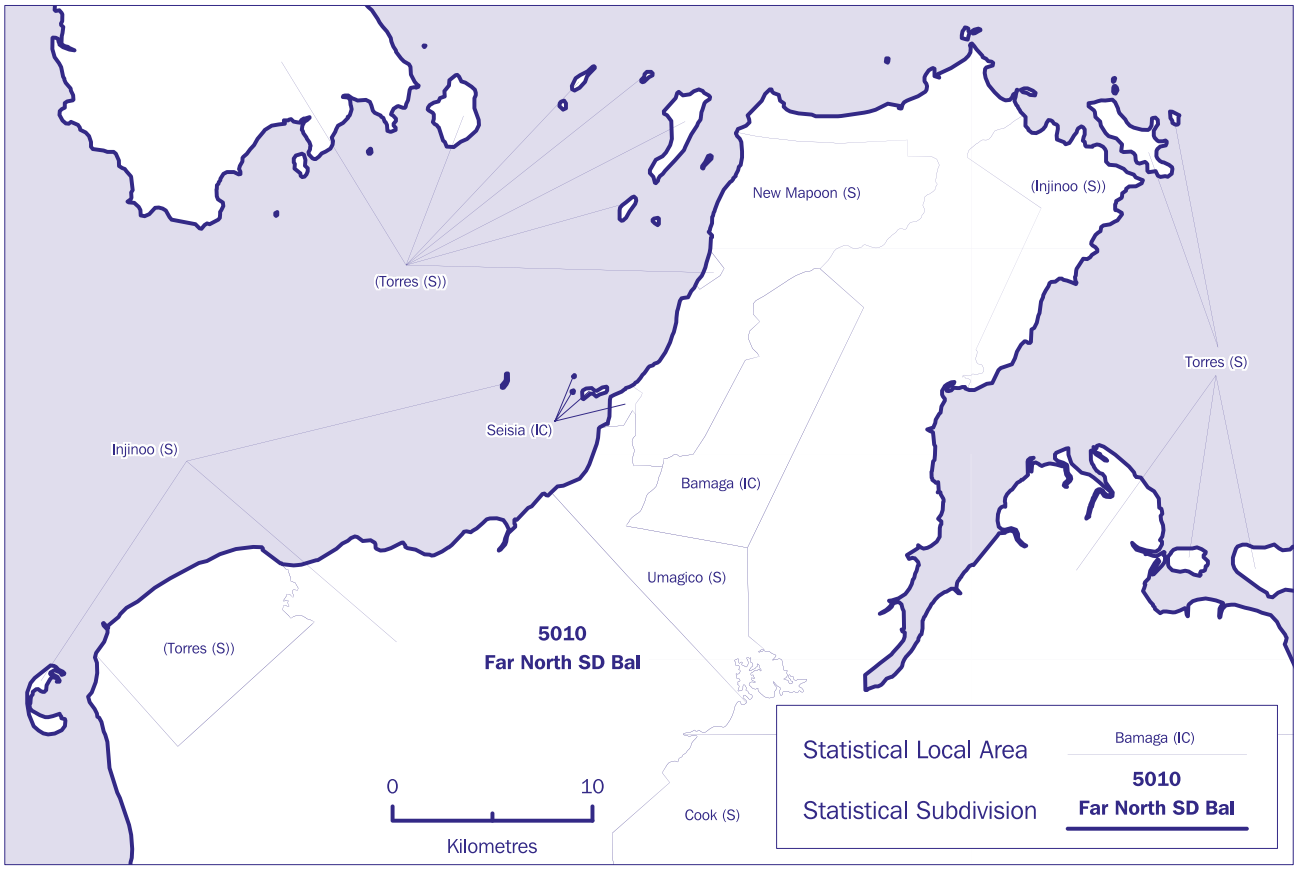


MAP 11: QUEENSLAND, Statistical Subdivisions and Statistical Local Areas: Enlargements



Enlargement 8

Enlargement 9



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).

The number of statistical divisions in Queensland was increased from 11 in 2001 to 13 in 2006, following a major re-drawing of the boundaries in South East Queensland. This makes comparisons between 2001 and 2006 difficult. The 2006 statistical divisions are shown in Map 1. They are Brisbane, Gold Coast, Sunshine Coast, West Moreton, Wide Bay-Burnett, Darling Downs, South West, Fitzroy, Central West, Mackay, Northern, Far North and North West.

Statistical subdivisions are defined as 'socially and economically homogeneous regions characterised by identifiable links between the inhabitants' (ABS 2006c, p. 14). Brisbane is divided into 12 statistical subdivisions. There are also statistical subdivisions which correspond to major regional population centres. There are 44 of these across the country, including 13 in Queensland. They are Bundaberg, Cairns, Gladstone, Gold Coast North, Gold Coast East, Gold Coast West, Hervey Bay, Mackay, Rockhampton, Sunshine Coast, Thuringowa, Toowoomba and Townsville.

In other cases, statistical subdivisions cover non-urban areas. These are defined as rural areas which do not include cities with populations of 25 000 or above. These non-urban areas are said to have 'identifiable links between economic units within the region' and there may be the 'unifying influence' (ABS 2006c, p. 14) of one or more country towns. These rural/

remote subdivisions have small populations, and sometimes they have high rates of homelessness but few homeless people.

4.3 OVERVIEW: QUEENSLAND

Just under half (45 per cent) of the population of Queensland lives in the Brisbane statistical division and this is where we find the largest concentration of homeless people. Table 4.1 shows that the census identified 7996 homeless people in Brisbane and the rate of homelessness was 45 per 10 000. This is similar to the rate of homelessness in other capital cities such as Melbourne (41 per 10 000), Adelaide (47 per 10 000) and Perth (47 per 10 000).

4.1 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, BRISBANE AND REMAINDER OF QUEENSLAND

	Brisbane	Remainder	Queensland
Number	7996	18 786	26 782
Rate	45	88	69

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

There were 18 786 homeless people outside of Brisbane, where the rate of homelessness was 88 per 10 000 (Table 4.1). In most states, a majority of homeless people are in the capital city, but in Queensland 70 per cent of the homeless were in regional centres and country towns. Chapters 5 to 8 describe rural, regional and remote Queensland.

This chapter focuses on the distribution of the homeless population in Brisbane. We divide the Brisbane statistical division into two parts which we call 'Brisbane City' and the 'outer suburbs and growth corridors'.

'Brisbane City' covers five subdivisions: Inner Brisbane, Northwest Inner Brisbane, Northwest Outer Brisbane, Southeast Inner Brisbane and Southeast Outer Brisbane. Brisbane City is discussed first.

The 'outer suburbs and growth corridors' cover Beaudesert Shire (Part A), Caboolture Shire, Ipswich City, Logan City, Pine Rivers Shire, Redcliffe City and Redland Shire. These subdivisions are discussed second.

4.4 BRISBANE CITY

There were 2070 homeless people in Inner Brisbane and the rate of homelessness was 246 per 10 000 of the population (Table 4.2). Inner Brisbane had nine per cent of Brisbane City's population but 38 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,

Perth, Adelaide, Hobart and Canberra. Homeless 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, BRISBANE CITY

	Inner Brisbane	Northwest Inner	Southeast Inner	Northwest Outer	Southeast Outer	Total
Number	2070	774	616	1047	888	5395
Rate	246	44	41	33	39	56

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

In Southeast Inner and Northwest Inner Brisbane, there were 616 and 774 homeless people respectively and the rates of homelessness were 41 and 44 per 10 000.

In the Southeast Outer and Northwest Outer Brisbane there were 888 and 1047 homeless people and the rates of homelessness were lower than in the other subdivisions (39 and 33 per 10 000).

Altogether, there were 3325 homeless people in suburban Brisbane. The provision of services in suburban areas assists people in the early stages of homelessness, including those at risk, and reduces the move to the inner city.

Table 4.3 shows the proportion of people in different sectors of the homeless population. In Inner Brisbane, 64 per cent of homeless people were staying in boarding houses, 14 per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough, 13 per cent were with other households, and nine per cent were in SAAP. Census collectors reported 'people sleeping in the bushes in parks', 'on park benches', 'living under bridges' and 'camping behind buildings'.

In contrast, about 40 per cent of homeless people in Southeast Inner Brisbane and Northwest Inner Brisbane were staying with other households, between 30 and 38 per cent were in boarding houses, and roughly one-quarter were in SAAP. Only three per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough.

4.3 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, BRISBANE CITY

Percentage

	Inner Brisbane	Northwest Inner	Southeast Inner	Northwest Outer	Southeast Outer	Total
Boarding house	64	38	30	12	23	40
SAAP	9	22	26	31	20	19
Friends/relatives	13	37	41	54	55	34
Improvised dwellings	14	3	3	3	2	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Inner Brisbane	Northwest Inner	Southeast Inner	Northwest Outer	Southeast Outer	Total
Boarding house	1325	294	185	122	209	2135
SAAP	190	168	158	327	175	1018
Friends/relatives	267	284	254	564	486	1855
Improvised dwellings	288	28	19	34	18	387
	2070	774	616	1047	888	5395

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

In Southeast Outer Brisbane and Northwest Outer Brisbane, there were more people staying with other households (55 and 54 per cent), smaller numbers in boarding houses (23 and 12 per cent), and a substantial minority in SAAP (20 and 31 per cent).

Altogether, 40 per cent of the homeless in Brisbane City were in boarding houses (2135 people), and they were disproportionately in the inner city (Table 4.3). Another 34 per cent of the homeless were staying with other households (1855 people), mainly in suburban Brisbane. There were 1018 people in SAAP, distributed more evenly across the city. Finally, there were 387 people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. Most (74 per cent) were in Inner Brisbane and they were either squatting or sleeping rough.

4.5 OUTER SUBURBS AND GROWTH CORRIDORS

There were 2601 homeless people in the seven subdivisions covering outer suburban Brisbane. These include traditional 'working class' areas such as Ipswich and Logan, the rural subdivision of Beaudesert, as well as the growth corridors of Caboolture and Pine Rivers.

Table 4.4 shows there were 663 homeless people in Caboolture, 540 homeless people in Ipswich, 537 in Logan City, and 312 in Pine Rivers. The rate of homelessness was highest in Caboolture (50 per 10 000) and lowest

in Redland (19 per 10 000). In four subdivisions (Beaudesert, Ipswich, Logan and Redcliffe) the rate was between 30 and 39 per 10 000.

4.4 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, OUTER URBAN AREAS, BRISBANE

	Beaudesert Shire Pt A	Caboolture Shire	Ipswich City	Logan City	Pine Rivers Shire	Redcliffe City	Redland Shire	Total
Number	125	663	540	537	312	182	242	2601
Rate	30	50	39	31	22	36	19	32

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

Table 4.5 shows that 66 per cent of homeless people in the outer suburbs were staying with friends or relatives (1715 people), 16 per cent were in SAAP (432 people), 10 per cent were in boarding houses (250 people), and eight per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough.

4.5 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, OUTER URBAN AREAS, BRISBANE

Percentage

	Beaudesert Shire Pt A	Caboolture Shire	Ipswich City	Logan City	Pine Rivers Shire	Redcliffe City	Redland Shire	Total
Boarding house	3	8	22	7	1	5	9	10
SAAP	0	23	28	17	6	3	5	16
Friends/relatives	74	60	44	72	80	90	79	66
Improvised dwel.	23	9	6	4	13	2	7	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Beaudesert Shire Pt A	Caboolture Shire	Ipswich City	Logan City	Pine Rivers Shire	Redcliffe City	Redland Shire	Total
Boarding house	4	56	120	37	3	9	21	250
SAAP	0	152	151	92	20	5	12	432
Friends/relatives	93	396	236	385	249	164	192	1715
Improvised dwel.	28	59	33	23	40	4	17	204
	125	663	540	537	312	182	242	2601

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

There were some differences between the subdivisions. In Redcliffe, nearly all the homeless were staying temporarily with other households, as were about 80 per cent of the homeless in Pine Rivers and Redland and 74 per cent of the homeless in Beaudesert.

In Caboolture, Ipswich and Logan, there were more people in SAAP than in the other subdivisions. They accounted for 17 per cent of the homeless in Logan, 23 per cent of the homeless in Caboolture and 28 per cent of the homeless in Ipswich.

Ipswich was the only subdivision where a significant proportion of the homeless (22 per cent) were in boarding houses. Ipswich also had a smaller proportion (44 per cent) of people staying temporarily with other households, compared with the other subdivisions.

Overall, eight per cent of the homeless were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough with 59 people counted in Caboolture and smaller numbers in the other subdivisions.

4.6 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 regional and country areas, 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.

Seventy per cent of boarding house residents across the country were in capital cities and 30 per cent were in regional centres and country towns. In Queensland, 39 per cent of boarding house residents were in Brisbane City (Table 4.6) and 61 per cent were in regional centres across the state.

4.6 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN BOARDING HOUSES AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, QUEENSLAND

	Boarding house (N=5438)	Caravan (N=6385)
	%	%
Brisbane City (five subdivisions)	39	11
Remainder of QLD	61	89
	100	100

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

Nationally, 71 per cent of marginal caravan park residents were outside of the capital cities, and in Queensland 89 per cent of marginal caravan park dwellers were outside of Brisbane (Table 4.6). 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 who are unable to re-enter the private rental market.

Table 4.7 shows that there were 1694 marginal residents of caravan parks in the Brisbane statistical division, and most were in Northwest Outer Brisbane (317 people), Southeast Outer Brisbane (350 people) and the growth corridors (992 people).

4.7 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND NUMBER OF MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, BRISBANE STATISTICAL DIVISION

	Inner Brisbane	Northwest Inner	Southeast Inner	Northwest Outer	Southeast Outer	Growth corridors	Total
Homeless	2070	774	616	1047	888	2601	7996
Rate per 10 000	246	44	41	33	39	32	45
Caravan	0	22	13	317	350	992	1694
Total	2070	796	629	1364	1238	3593	9690
Rate per 10 000	246	45	42	43	54	45	55

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

Caravan parks in Queensland fall into four groups. First, there are many caravan parks in all states and territories that are used exclusively for tourist accommodation. There are also parks that cater for retired people who own their caravans. There are no marginal caravan dwellers in these parks.

Second, there are parks that are used for tourist accommodation in summer, but vans are rented out to poor people in winter. Before summer, however, rents are increased, and marginal tenants are forced to move on.

Third, there are caravan parks which have a mixed clientele all year: tourists, owners and renters. In some of these parks, the rented caravans are in separate areas, often 'out the back'.

Finally, there are a small number of parks that are used as permanent accommodation for poor people and as crisis accommodation. These parks are often overcrowded with vans in poor condition.

For some policy purposes, marginal residents of caravan parks might be thought of as part of the tertiary population. If the broader definition is employed this makes no difference to the rate of homelessness in the inner suburbs of Brisbane (Table 4.7) However, in Northwest Outer Brisbane the

rate increases from 33 to 43 per 10 000 and in Southeast Outer Brisbane it increases from 39 to 54 per 10 000. In the growth corridors the rate increases from 32 to 45 per 10 000.

5 GOLD COAST AND SUNSHINE COAST

Regional Queensland covers a huge geographical area stretching 1500 kilometres from the New South Wales border to the tip of Cape York. It has a population of 2.141 million and 35 per cent were in the Gold Coast and Sunshine Coast statistical divisions.

The Gold Coast has a population of 482 000 and is the most rapidly growing population centre in Australia, as well as one of the most visited tourist locations. The Gold Coast comprises four statistical subdivisions. The first is Gold Coast East (population 173,000) which includes Surfers Paradise, Southport and other tourist destinations abutting the ocean. Gold Coast West is inland from the ocean and has a population of 243 000. Gold Coast North has a boundary with Logan City and a population of 51 000. Gold Coast SD Balance is a rural subdivision with 14 000 people.

The Sunshine Coast subdivision has a population of 276 000 and is another popular tourist destination. Sunshine Coast comprises two statistical subdivisions. The first is Sunshine Coast which has a population of 210 000 and includes tourist resorts such as Noosa, Maroochydore and Caloundra. The second is Sunshine Coast SD Balance. This is a large, rural subdivision with a population of 66 000.

We describe the homeless population in Gold Coast first, followed by the Sunshine Coast.

5.1 GOLD COAST

There were 2289 homeless people on the Gold Coast and the rate of homelessness was 47 per 10 000 (Table 5.1), similar to the rate of homelessness in Brisbane (45 per 10 000). Ninety per cent of the homeless were in Gold Coast East and Gold Coast West. There were 1328 homeless people in Gold Coast East where the rate of homelessness was 77 per 10 000 and 726 homeless people in Gold Coast West where the rate was 30 per 10 000.

5.1 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, GOLD COAST

	Gold Coast North	Gold Coast East	Gold Coast West	Gold Coast SD Bal	Total
Number	178	1328	726	57	2289
Rate	35	77	30	41	47

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

Table 5.2 shows the number of people in different sectors of the homeless population on census night.

In Gold Coast East, 53 per cent of the homeless (701 people) were staying temporarily with other households and local informants told us there was 'lots of couch surfing'. Another 24 per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses (323 people). One local service provider said, 'There are quite a few boarding houses around here. There are four that accommodate about 40 people, another takes 10'. Thirteen per cent of the homeless were in SAAP.

5.2 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, GOLD COAST

Percentage

	Gold Coast North	Gold Coast East	Gold Coast West	Gold Coast SD Bal	Total
Boarding house	7	24	6	14	17
SAAP	34	13	9	0	13
Friends/relatives	59	53	75	65	61
Improvised dwellings	0	10	10	21	9
	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Gold Coast North	Gold Coast East	Gold Coast West	Gold Coast SD Bal	Total
Boarding house	12	323	48	8	391
SAAP	61	171	65	0	297
Friends/relatives	105	701	542	37	1385
Improvised dwellings	0	133	71	12	216
	178	1328	726	57	2289

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

Ten per cent of the homeless (133 people) in Gold Coast East were recorded in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. One informant knew of a 'number of young people sleeping in parks, using cars, or sleeping at the beach'. Another service provider had been involved in the census count. She told us, 'Lots of people were not counted in the national park … they were sleeping rough but it was not safe [for census officials] to go there'. Another informant said 'squatting is common'.

In Gold Coast West the pattern was different. 75 per cent of the homeless were staying temporarily with friends or relatives. There were 71 people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough (10 per cent), nine per cent were in SAAP and six per cent were in boarding houses.

There were only small numbers of homeless people in Gold Coast North and Gold Coast SD Balance. Most were staying with other households, but in Gold Coast North 34 per cent (61 people) were in SAAP. Local informants confirmed these figures.

There were 650 marginal residents of caravan parks in Gold Coast (Table 5.3), including 433 in Gold Coast West and 148 in Gold Coast East. There are a number of large caravan parks in Gold Coast West and local informants described some of them. Some are 'mainly tourist parks', but one was described as a 'black hole'. Our informant said this park was 'very run down' and mainly used as emergency accommodation. If marginal residents of caravan parks are included in the population, then the rate of homelessness increases in all the subdivisions, notably from 77 to 85 per 10 000 in Gold Coast East and from 30 to 48 per 10 000 in Gold Coast West.

5.3 NUMBER OF HOMELESS AND NUMBER OF MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, GOLD COAST

	Gold Coast North	Gold Coast East	Gold Coast West	Gold Coast SD Balance	Total
Number of homeless	178	1328	726	57	2289
Rate per 10 000	35	77	30	41	47
Caravan	46	148	433	23	650
Total	224	1476	1159	80	2939
Rate per 10 000	44	85	48	57	61

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

5.2 SUNSHINE COAST

There were 1658 homeless people in Sunshine Coast (Table 5.4) where the rate of homelessness was 60 per 10 000, somewhat higher than the rate in Gold Coast (47 per 10 000). The rate was 50 per 10 000 in the urban subdivision of Sunshine Coast where there were 1040 homeless people, but 93 per 10 000 in Sunshine Coast SD Balance where there were 618 homeless people.

Table 5.5 shows that the population was distributed somewhat differently in the two subdivisions. In Sunshine Coast, about three-quarters (76 per cent) of the homeless were staying temporarily with friends and relatives, 14 per cent were in SAAP and eight per cent were in boarding houses.

5.4 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, SUNSHINE COAST

	Sunshine Coast	Sunshine Coast SD Balance	Total
Number	1040	618	1658
Rate	50	93	60

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

The picture was different in Sunshine Coast SD Balance. Fifty-six per cent were staying temporarily with other households, and 40 per cent were in the primary population. Some people in the primary population were sleeping rough or living in cars. However, many were living in improvised dwellings that were owned or being purchased. These were probably self-assembled garages or large metal sheds out in the bush. Some of these people would have intended to build a conventional house, but most were on low incomes and this dream had not been realised.

5.5 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, SUNSHINE COAST

Percentage

	Sunshine Coast	Sunshine Coast SD Bal.	Total
Boarding house	8	4	7
SAAP	14	0	9
Friends/relatives	76	56	68
Improvised dwelling	2	40	16
	100	100	100

Number

	Sunshine Coast	Sunshine Coast SD Balance	Total
Boarding house	89	23	112
SAAP	142	0	142
Friends/relatives	787	347	1134
Improvised dwelling	22	248	270
	1040	618	1658

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

The other issue in the Sunshine Coast statistical division is the large number of marginal residents of caravan parks. Table 5.6 shows that there were 484 marginal residents of caravan parks in Sunshine Coast and 245 marginal residents in Sunshine Coast SD Balance.

In the Sunshine Coast, there were 112 people in boarding houses (Table 5.5) but 729 marginal residents of caravan parks (Table 5.6). This is one of a number of areas across the country where caravans are used as an alternative to boarding houses.

5.6 NUMBER OF HOMELESS AND NUMBER OF MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, SUNSHINE COAST

	Sunshine Coast	Sunshine Coast SD Balance	Total
Number of homeless	1040	618	1658
Rate per 10 000	50	93	60
Caravan	484	245	729
Total	1524	863	2387
Rate per 10 000	73	129	86

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

If marginal residents of caravan parks are included in the homeless population, then the rate of homelessness in Sunshine Coast increases from 50 to 73 per 10 000, and in Sunshine Coast SD Balance the rate increases from 93 to 129 per 10 000.

6 REGIONAL AND REMOTE

This chapter starts with an examination of three statistical divisions in western Queensland: South West, Central West and North West. These divisions cover a huge geographical area from the Gulf of Carpentaria to the New South Wales border (Map 1). They have a combined population of 66 500 people.

Then we examine the West Moreton and Darling Downs statistical divisions which cover much of regional South East Queensland.

6.1 SOUTH WEST, CENTRAL WEST AND NORTH WEST

South West has a population of 24 800 and Central West has a population of 10 800. North West has 30 900 people. Divisions with small populations sometimes record high rates of homelessness but have few homeless people.

Table 6.1 shows that there were 211 homeless people in South West and 187 in Central West, although the rates of homelessness were 85 and 172 per 10 000 respectively. There were 63 homeless people in Longreach and 57 in Roma. Most people were staying temporarily with other households or in SAAP accommodation. There were no other geographical concentrations.

6.1 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, SOUTH WEST, CENTRAL WEST AND NORTH WEST

	South West	Central West	North West
Number	211	187	643
Rate	85	172	208

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

In North West, there were 643 homeless people and the rate was 208 per 10 000. The main concentration was in Mount Isa where there were 356 homeless people. Mount Isa is a mining city with a population of 19 660. In Mount Isa, there were 67 people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough and 41 of these were Indigenous. There were 162 people staying temporarily with friends or relatives and most (90 per cent) were non-Indigenous. Another 98 people were staying in boarding houses (24 per

cent Indigenous) and 29 were in SAAP. Altogether, about one-quarter (26 per cent) of the homeless in Mount Isa were Indigenous.

6.2 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND NUMBER OF MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, SOUTH WEST, CENTRAL WEST AND NORTH WEST

	South West	Central West	North West
Number of homeless	211	187	643
Rate per 10 000	85	172	208
Caravan	34	6	67
Total	245	193	710
Rate per 10 000	99	178	229

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

There were few marginal residents of caravan parks in these statistical divisions. The number was 67 in North West (Table 6.2), of whom 44 were in Mount Isa; 34 in South West; and six in Central West.

6.2 WEST MORETON AND DARLING DOWNS

West Moreton includes two statistical subdivisions: Upper West Moreton (population 18 600), which includes the shires of Esk and Kilcoy, and Lower West Moreton (population 50 000), which includes Gatton and Laidley.

Darling Downs has two subdivisions: Toowoomba (population 114 500) and Darling Downs SD Balance (population 99 300), which includes Dalby and Goondiwindi.

The rate of homelessness was 101 per 10 000 in Upper West Moreton and there were 187 homeless people (Table 6.3). The rate was lower in Darling Downs (63 per 10 000), but there were 623 homeless people. The rate was 48 per 10 000 in Lower West Moreton (242 homeless people) and 46 per 10 000 in Toowoomba (530 homeless people).

6.3 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, WEST MORETON AND DARLING DOWNS

	Upper West Moreton	Lower West Moreton	Total	Toowoomba	Darling Downs SD Bal	Total
Number	187	242	429	530	623	1153
Rate	101	48	63	46	63	54

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

Table 6.4 shows that there were few people in SAAP accommodation or in boarding houses in the three rural subdivisions. Most people were either staying with other households or were in the primary population. Some people in the primary population were sleeping rough, but most were purchasing blocks of land and living in improvised dwellings 'out in the bush'.

In Toowoomba, 39 per cent of the homeless were staying with other households, 35 per cent were in boarding houses and 25 per cent were in SAAP. Local informants reported that boarding houses were often in poor condition, that 'couch surfing is common' and that 'few people sleep rough'.

6.4 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, WEST MORETON AND DARLING DOWNS

Percentage

	Upper West Moreton	Lower West Moreton	Total	Toowoomba	Darling Downs SD Bal	Total
Boarding house	14	10	12	35	11	22
SAAP	0	3	2	25	1	12
Friends/relatives	30	43	37	39	45	42
Improvised dwell.	56	44	49	1	43	24
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Upper West Moreton	Lower West Moreton	Total	Toowoomba	Darling Downs SD Bal	Total
Boarding house	26	25	51	183	65	248
SAAP	0	8	8	132	7	139
Friends/relatives	57	104	161	208	281	489
Improvised dwell.	104	105	209	7	270	277
	187	242	429	530	623	1153

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

Table 6.5 shows that there were 66 marginal residents of caravan parks in Upper West Moreton and 72 in Lower West Moreton. If marginal residents of caravan parks are included in the homeless population, the rate increases from 101 to 136 per 10 000 in Upper West Moreton and from 48 to 63 in Lower West Moreton. In Darling Downs SD Balance, the rate increases from 63 to 82 per 10 000.

6.5 NUMBER OF HOMELESS AND NUMBER OF MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, WEST MORETON AND DARLING DOWNS

	Upper West Moreton	Lower West Moreton	Total	Toowoomba	Darling Downs SD Balance	Total
No. of homeless	187	242	429	530	623	1153
Rate per 10 000	101	48	63	46	63	54
Caravan	66	72	138	64	195	259
Total	253	314	567	594	818	1412
Rate per 10 000	136	63	83	52	82	66

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

7 COASTAL QUEENSLAND

This chapter investigates the distribution of the homeless population in the five statistical divisions which stretch from the Sunshine Coast to the tip of Cape York (Map 1). We refer to them as 'coastal Queensland'. The five divisions have a combined population of 1.02 million people and 26 per cent of the Queensland population lives here. Each statistical division contains either one or two major urban centres and a rural hinterland.

The Wide Bay-Burnett statistical division has a population of 255 000 and includes the cities of Bundaberg (population 60 000) and Hervey Bay (population 48 000). There is also a large rural hinterland called Wide Bay-Burnett SD Balance with a population of 147 000.

The Fitzroy statistical division includes the major regional centre of Rockhampton (population 69 000) and the industrial city of Gladstone (population 43 000). Fitzroy SD Balance has a population of 77 000 and includes the mining town of Mount Morgan.

The port city of Mackay (population 73 000) is the major urban area in the Mackay statistical division. It handles the output from the Central Queensland Coalfields. Mackay SD Balance (population 77 000) includes the sugar towns of Proserpine and Sarina.

The Northern Statistical Division has a population of 196 000. It includes Townsville and the satellite city of Thuringowa. They are both statistical subdivisions but they are contiguous urban locations and we treat them as one city (Townsville, population 143 000). Northern SD Balance has a population of 53 000.

Cairns is the major urban area in the Far North statistical division (population 123 000). Far North SD Balance covers a huge area of remote North Queensland (population 108 000).

7.1 OVERVIEW

In Brisbane, there were 7 996 homeless people and the rate of homelessness was 45 per 10 000. Table 7.1 shows that the five coastal divisions had 12 216 homeless people and the rate of homelessness was 120 per 10 000. In Wide Bay-Burnett, Fitzroy and Northern the rate was about 100 per 10 000. The rate increased to 134 per 10 000 in the Far North and to 167 in the Mackay statistical division.

7.1 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, COASTAL QUEENSLAND

	Wide Bay-Burnett	Fitzroy	Mackay	Northern	Far North	Total
Number	2716	1941	2506	1949	3104	12 216
Rate	107	103	167	99	134	120

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

There was also an 'urban' and a 'rural/remote' pattern. Table 7.2 shows that there were 5073 homeless people in the major cities where the rate of homelessness was 91 per 10 000, double the rate in the Brisbane statistical division. There were 7143 in the rural/remote subdivisions where the rate was 154 per 10 000, more than three times the rate in Brisbane.

First, we examine the seven coastal cities, then we examine the rural/remote subdivisions.

7.2 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000, COASTAL CITIES AND RURAL/REMOTE SUBDIVISIONS

	Seven major coastal cities	Five rural/remote subdivisions
Number of homeless	5073	7143
Rate per 10 000	91	154

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

7.2 COASTAL CITIES

The rate of homelessness in each coastal city was always lower than the rate in the corresponding rural/remote subdivision, but there were also significant differences between the cities. Table 7.3 shows that the rate of homelessness was 69 per 10 000 in Rockhampton and 74 per 10 000 in Bundaberg and Gladstone. The rate increased to about 90 per 10 000 in Hervey Bay, Townsville and Mackay, and to 113 per 10 000 in Cairns. There were 1391 homeless people in Cairns, 1329 in Townsville and 692 in Mackay, with smaller numbers in the other regional centres.

7.3 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, COASTAL CITIES

	Bundaberg	Hervey Bay	Rockhampton	Gladstone	Mackay	Townsville	Cairns	Total
Number	443	426	476	316	692	1329	1391	5073
Rate	74	88	69	74	95	93	113	91

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

In all cities, there were substantial numbers of people staying temporarily with friends or relatives, including 637 in Townsville and 653 in Cairns (Table 7.4). In Bundaberg, Rockhampton, Mackay, Townsville and Cairns, between 45 and 48 per cent of the homeless were staying with other households, and in Gladstone and Hervey Bay it was about 60 per cent. Service providers reported 'lots of couch surfing'.

7.4 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, COASTAL CITIES

Percentage

	Bundaberg	Hervey Bay	Rockhampton	Gladstone	Mackay	Townsville	Cairns	Total
B. house	21	3	29	14	20	35	34	27
SAAP	29	11	8	6	19	11	13	13
Friends/rels	45	60	45	58	46	48	47	48
Improv. dwell.	5	26	18	22	15	6	6	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Bundaberg	Hervey Bay	Rockhampton	Gladstone	Mackay	Townsville	Cairns	Total
B. house	94	15	138	43	138	470	478	1376
SAAP	126	45	40	18	128	138	181	676
Friends/rels	200	254	215	184	319	637	653	2462
Improv. dwell.	23	112	83	71	107	84	79	559
	443	426	476	316	692	1329	1391	5073

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

A significant proportion of the homeless were in boarding houses in Bundaberg (21 per cent), Rockhampton (29 per cent), Mackay (20 per cent), Townsville (35 per cent) and Cairns (34 per cent). Overall, there were 1376 people in boarding houses, including 478 in Cairns and 470 in Townsville. Service providers in Cairns and Townsville knew of 'lots of

boarding houses', including some that can accommodate 'more than 50 people'. Others reported that 'backpackers' lodgings are sometimes used as boarding houses'.

Overall, 13 per cent of the homeless were in SAAP, but the proportion ranged from six per cent of the homeless in Gladstone to 29 per cent of the homeless in Bundaberg.

In all cities except Bundaberg, there were a significant number of people in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. There were between 79 and 84 people in the primary population in Rockhampton, Townsville and Cairns. In Mackay and Hervey Bay, the number in improvised dwellings was 107 and 112 respectively. People in the primary population accounted for 11 per cent of the homeless.

Local service providers in Townsville reported that 'sleeping out happens all the time'. There are signs in major parks indicating that they are closed at night but 'the council does not enforce these rules'. Another informant commented that people in boarding houses 'sleep rough occasionally'. In Cairns, 'you see people in the parks at night and there are a number of camps around town'. In Cairns and Townsville, about half of those sleeping rough were Indigenous.

In Rockhampton, Gladstone, Mackay and Hervey Bay, the situation was different. In these communities, a minority of the primary population were sleeping rough or using vehicles as temporary shelter. The majority were in improvised dwellings that were either owned or being purchased. Most were living in sheds or cabins on bush blocks outside of town. Some were building conventional houses ('blockies'), but others were on low incomes and this dream had not been realised.

7.3 RURAL AND REMOTE

This section examines the number of homeless people in the rural/remote subdivisions. In Northern SD Balance, the rate of homelessness was 116 per 10 000 (Table 7.5) and in Wide Bay-Burnett SD Balance the rate was 126 (Table 7.5). The rate increased to 150 per 10 000 in Fitzroy and to 158 in Far North SD Balance. The rate was highest in Mackay SD Balance where it was 235 per 10 000.

7.5 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND RATE PER 10 000 OF THE POPULATION, RURAL AND REMOTE SUBDIVISIONS

	Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal.	Fitzroy SD Balance	Mackay SD Balance	Northern SD Balance	Far North SD Balance	Total
Number	1847	1149	1814	620	1713	7143
Rate	126	150	235	116	158	154

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

In all rural/remote subdivisions except Mackay SD Balance, less than eight per cent of the homeless were in boarding houses (Table 7.6), and in all subdivisions except Fitzroy SD Balance, less than eight per cent were in SAAP. Forty-four per cent of the homeless were staying with other households (3154 people) and 40 per cent were in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough (2874 people).

There are some patterns in rural/remote subdivisions that need to be analysed. First, we investigate the accommodation of those in 'improvised dwellings and sleeping rough'. Then we ask why the rate of homelessness was so much higher in Mackay SD Balance.

7.6 PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE HOMELESS POPULATION, RURAL AND REMOTE SUBDIVISIONS

Percentage

	Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal.	Fitzroy SD Balance	Mackay SD Balance	Northern SD Balance	Far North SD Balance	Total
B. house	4	6	22	7	6	10
SAAP	7	17	1	4	3	6
Friends/rels	37	36	44	61	52	44
Improv. dwell.	52	41	33	28	39	40
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Number

	Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal.	Fitzroy SD Balance	Mackay SD Balance	Northern SD Balance	Far North SD Balance	Total
B. house	72	67	393	44	106	682
SAAP	131	200	20	27	55	433
Friends/rels	675	408	800	377	894	3154
Improv. dwell.	969	474	601	172	658	2874
	1847	1149	1814	620	1713	7143

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

The ABS category 'improvised dwellings, tents and sleepers out' includes people sleeping rough, as well as people in huts, sheds, garages and humpies. In the five rural/remote subdivisions, most people in this category were not sleeping rough. About 60 per cent were in improvised dwellings that were owned or being purchased and another 10 per cent were in improvised dwellings that were rented. People living in improvised dwellings fell into three groups.

First, there were people who were building houses on land that they owned or were purchasing, but living in improvised dwellings ('blockies'). One census collector encountered 'several homes where the residents were living in sheds or caravans whilst building on the block'. Another shed had 'electricity connected but no running water' and one family was 'living in a shipping container whilst building'. 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 are different in respect to this type of homelessness.

Second, there were households that may have intended to build houses on land they owned or were purchasing but were living in rural poverty. Census collectors in Wide Bay-Burnett SD Balance also encountered 'homes where the residents were living permanently in sheds and there was no sign of building going on'. Local informants in Wide Bay-Burnett SD Balance also reported that were 'lots of shacks and sheds' out in the bush. One informant said that families had moved into the area to buy cheap land with the intention of building houses, but 'lots of people are on benefits' and in many cases this dream had not been achieved.

Finally, 10 per cent in 'improvised dwellings, tents and sleepers out' were in rented accommodation. Most of this group were unemployed and nearly everyone was poor.

Overall, we can make two generalisations. First, in the inner suburbs of the capital cities, most people in the 'improvised dwellings' category were sleeping rough, living in cars or squatting in empty buildings. Second, in rural subdivisions people in this category were more likely to be in improvised dwellings, often living in rural poverty.

Next, we investigate why the rate of homelessness was so much higher in Mackay SD Balance (Table 7.5). Table 7.6 showed that in this subdivision there were 800 people staying with other households, 601 people living in improvised dwellings, tents and sleeping out, and 393 people in boarding houses, but hardly anyone in SAAP (Table 7.6).

There has been a major mining boom in the rural hinterland behind Mackay in the past few years and large numbers of workers have flooded

into the area to work in the mines and in the construction industry. The population in the Mackay statistical division has increased by 17 600 since the 2001, an increase of 13 per cent. This has put acute pressure on the housing market and many people are living in temporary accommodation.

Local service providers talked about 'donga villages' where 'containers have been decked out as accommodation' for transient workers. In other places relocatable units are used as temporary accommodation. Another informant talked about 'hot-bedding' where a unit is used by a worker when he is on site, but someone else takes his place when he has days off. Lots of people were staying temporarily with other households. Some people were camping out and others were living in improvised dwellings out in the bush. Local service providers talked about people coming to look for work but having nowhere to stay. Transience and housing shortages explain the higher rate of homelessness in Mackay SD Balance.

7.4 MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS

The other issue in Coastal Queensland was the large number of marginal residents of caravan parks. Table 7.4 showed that there were 1376 boarding house residents in the major regional cities of Coastal Queensland. There were also 1376 marginal residents of caravan parks in these cities: 84 in Townsville, 125 in Gladstone, between 232 and 253 in Cairns, Bundaberg and Hervey Bay, and 265 in Mackay (Table 7.7).

7.7 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND NUMBER OF MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, COASTAL CITIES

	Bundaberg	Hervey Bay	Rockhampton	Gladstone	Mackay	Townsville	Cairns	Total
Homeless	443	426	476	316	692	1329	1391	5073
Rate per 10 000	74	88	69	74	95	93	113	91
Caravan	245	252	172	125	265	84	233	1376
Total	688	678	648	441	957	1413	1624	6449
Rate per 10 000	115	141	94	103	131	99	132	115

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

If marginal residents of caravan parks are included in the homeless population, then the rate of homelessness increases significantly: from 69 to 94 per 10 000 in Rockhampton, from 95 to 131 per 10 000 in Mackay, and from 88 to 141 per 10 000 in Hervey Bay.

7.8 NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE AND NUMBER OF MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, RURAL AND REMOTE SUBDIVISIONS

	Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	Fitzroy SD Balance	Mackay SD Balance	Northern SD Balance	Far North SD Balance	Total
Homeless	1847	1149	1814	620	1713	7143
Rate per 10 000	126	150	235	116	158	154
Caravan	312	284	398	79	359	1432
Total	2159	1433	2212	699	2072	8575
Rate per 10 000	147	187	286	131	191	185

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

The issue of marginal residents of caravan parks is also important in the rural and remote subdivisions. Table 7.6 showed that there were 682 boarding house residents in these subdivisions. In addition, there were 1432 marginal residents of caravan parks (Table 7.8). There were 312 marginal residents of caravan parks in Wide Bay-Burnett and 359 in Far North SD Balance, and nearly 400 marginal residents of caravan parks in Mackay SD Balance. In these subdivisions, caravans are used as an alternative to boarding houses.

If marginal residents are included in the homeless population, then the rate of homelessness in Wide Bay-Burnett SD Balance increases from 126 to 147 per 10 000; in Fitzroy SD Balance, the rate of homelessness increases from 150 to 187 per 10 000; and in Mackay SD Balance, it increases from 235 to 286 per 10 000.

7.9 HOMELESS PEOPLE AND MARGINAL RESIDENTS OF CARAVAN PARKS, QUEENSLAND

	Brisbane	Seven major coastal cities	Five rural/remote subdivisions	Total
Homeless	7996	5073	7143	26 782
Rate per 10 000	45	91	154	69
Caravan	1694	1376	1432	6385
Total	9690	6449	8575	33 167
Rate per 10 000	55	115	185	85

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

Table 7.9 compares the rates of homelessness in Brisbane, the major coastal cities, and the rural subdivisions, calculated using both the ABS and the broader definition of homelessness. The rate of homelessness in the major coastal cities was roughly double the rate in Brisbane, and in the rural/remote subdivisions the rate was approximately triple the rate in Brisbane.

8 INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

In Queensland, 94 per cent of people answered the census question: 'Is the person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait islander origin?' and 3.5 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.

8.1 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	22 487	1918	24 569	24 529	2148	26 782
Rate	66	164	70	65	159	69

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 164 cases, where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment..

** Figures were adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status except in 105 cases, where there was inadequate information to make the adjustment.

The research found that there were 2148 homeless Indigenous people in Queensland on census night 2006 (Table 8.1). The rate was 159 per 10 000 of the population compared with a rate of 164 in 2001. The rate of homelessness for non-Indigenous people was 65 per 10 000 in 2006, compared with 66 per 10 000 in 201. Indigenous people were overrepresented in the homeless population in all states and territories in 2006.

In Brisbane, there were 670 homeless Indigenous people (Table 8.2), including 270 in SAAP, 150 in boarding houses, 145 with other households, and 105 in improvised dwellings or sleeping rough. Thirty-two per cent of homeless Indigenous people (213 persons) were in Inner Brisbane, including 83 people sleeping rough.

8.2 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS HOMELESS PEOPLE, 2006

	Non-Indigenous		Indigenous	
	N	%	N	%
Brisbane	7284	30	670	31
Far North	2649	11	455	21
Northern	1720	7	218	10
Fitzroy	1753	7	182	9
Mackay	2347	9	152	7
North West	512	2	128	6
Other (7 divisions)	8264	34	343	16
	24 529	100	2148	100

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

There were five other statistical divisions with over 100 homeless Indigenous people. In Far North, there were 455 homeless Indigenous people including 246 in Cairns and 209 in Far North SD Balance. Northern had 218, including 146 in Townsville. Fitzroy had 182, mainly in Fitzroy SD Balance (101). There were 152 homeless Indigenous people in Mackay and 128 in North West.

9 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.

9.1 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.

9.2 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.

9.3 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.

9.4 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.

9.1 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 9.1 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 2004b, 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.

9.5 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 9.1). 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.

9.6 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 9.1). 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.

9.7 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 Queensland 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)
Brisbane	**591**	**3570**	**2385**	**1450**	**7996**	**1 763 131**	**45**	**1694**	**9690**	**55**
Inner Brisbane	288	267	1325	190	2070	84 032	246	0	2070	246
Northwest Inner Brisbane	28	284	294	168	774	175 924	44	22	796	45
Northwest Outer Brisbane	34	564	122	327	1047	315 725	33	317	1364	43
Southeast Inner Brisbane	19	254	185	158	616	150 556	41	13	629	42
South East Outer Brisbane	18	486	209	175	888	229 894	39	350	1238	54
Beaudesert Shire Part A	28	93	4	0	125	41 136	30	46	171	42
Caboolture Shire	59	396	56	152	663	132 472	50	268	931	70
Ipswich City	33	236	120	151	540	140 182	39	255	795	57
Logan City	23	385	37	92	537	173 263	31	169	706	41
Pine Rivers Shire	40	249	3	20	312	141 141	22	112	424	30
Redcliffe City	4	164	9	5	182	51 179	36	76	258	50
Redland Shire	17	192	21	12	242	127 627	19	66	308	24
Gold Coast	**216**	**1385**	**391**	**297**	**2289**	**482 318**	**47**	**650**	**2939**	**61**
Gold Coast North	0	105	12	61	178	51 199	35	46	224	44
Gold Coast East	133	701	323	171	1328	173 362	77	148	1476	85
Gold Coast West	71	542	48	65	726	242 950	30	433	1159	48
Gold Coast SD Bal	12	37	8	0	57	14 007	41	23	80	57
Sunshine Coast	**270**	**1134**	**112**	**142**	**1658**	**276 267**	**60**	**729**	**2387**	**86**
Sunshine Coast	22	787	89	142	1040	209 581	50	484	1524	73
Sunshine Coast SD Bal	248	347	23	0	618	66 686	93	245	863	129
West Moreton	**209**	**161**	**51**	**8**	**429**	**68 629**	**63**	**138**	**567**	**83**
Upper West Moreton	104	57	26	0	187	18 598	101	66	253	136
Lower West Moreton	105	104	25	8	242	50 031	48	72	314	63

Appendix 1 (continued): Number of homeless people in Queensland 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)
Wide Bay-Burnett	**1104**	**1129**	**181**	**302**	**2716**	**254 661**	**107**	**809**	**3525**	**138**
Bundaberg	23	200	94	126	443	59 768	74	245	688	115
Hervey Bay City Part A	112	254	15	45	426	48 158	88	252	678	141
Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	969	675	72	131	1847	146 735	126	312	2159	147
Darling Downs	**277**	**489**	**248**	**139**	**1153**	**213 757**	**54**	**259**	**1412**	**66**
Toowoomba	7	208	183	132	530	114 477	46	64	594	52
Darling Downs SD Bal	270	281	65	7	623	99 280	63	195	818	82
South West	**27**	**109**	**30**	**45**	**211**	**24 780**	**85**	**34**	**245**	**99**
Fitzroy	**628**	**807**	**248**	**258**	**1941**	**188 404**	**103**	**581**	**2522**	**134**
Rockhampton	83	215	138	40	476	68 832	69	172	648	94
Gladstone	71	184	43	18	316	42 902	74	125	441	103
Fitzroy SD Bal	474	408	67	200	1149	76 670	150	284	1433	187
Central West	**29**	**127**	**17**	**14**	**187**	**10 852**	**172**	**6**	**193**	**178**
Mackay	**708**	**1119**	**531**	**148**	**2506**	**150 175**	**167**	**663**	**3169**	**211**
Mackay City Part A	107	319	138	128	692	72 847	95	265	957	131
Mackay SD Bal	601	800	393	20	1814	77 328	235	398	2212	286
Northern	**256**	**1014**	**514**	**165**	**1949**	**196 671**	**99**	**163**	**2112**	**107**
Townsville City Part A	74	472	457	138	1141	91 747	124	74	1215	132
Thuringowa City Part A	10	165	13	0	188	51 585	36	10	198	38
Northern SD Bal	172	377	44	27	620	53 339	116	79	699	131
Far North	**737**	**1547**	**584**	**236**	**3104**	**231 049**	**134**	**592**	**3696**	**160**
Cairns City Part A	79	653	478	181	1391	122 731	113	233	1624	132
Far North SD Bal	658	894	106	55	1713	108 318	158	359	2072	191
North West	**113**	**355**	**146**	**29**	**643**	**30 939**	**208**	**67**	**710**	**229**
Missing data	0	0	0	0	0	12 902		0	0	
Total	**5165**	**12 946**	**5438**	**3233**	**26 782**	**3 904 535**	**68.6**	**6385**	**33 167**	**84.9**

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)
Brisbane	**Non-Indig**	**486**	**3425**	**2235**	**1138**	**7284**	**1 730 884**	**42**	**1555**	**8839**	**51**
	Indig	**105**	**145**	**150**	**270**	**670**	**32 247**	**208**	**139**	**809**	**251**
Inner Brisbane	Non-Indig	205	258	1225	167	1855	82 934	224	0	1855	224
	Indig	83	9	100	21	213	1098	1940	0	213	1940
Northwest Inner Brisbane	Non-Indig	28	278	288	145	739	174 159	42	20	759	44
	Indig	0	6	6	19	31	1765	176	2	33	187
Northwest Outer Brisbane	Non-Indig	34	540	110	207	891	310 204	29	285	1176	38
	Indig	0	24	12	102	138	5521	250	32	170	308
Southeast Inner Brisbane	Non-Indig	19	249	172	118	558	148 694	38	13	571	38
	Indig	0	5	13	35	53	1862	285	0	53	285
South East Outer Brisbane	Non-Indig	18	468	206	142	834	226 455	37	336	1170	52
	Indig	0	18	3	25	46	3439	134	14	60	174
Beaudesert Shire Part A	Non-Indig	28	93	4	0	125	40 439	31	46	171	42
	Indig	0	0	0	0	0	697	0	0	0	0
Caboolture Shire	Non-Indig	46	386	53	117	602	129 289	47	253	855	66
	Indig	13	10	3	32	58	3183	182	15	73	229
Ipswich City	Non-Indig	30	218	114	130	492	135 190	36	215	707	52
	Indig	3	18	6	19	46	4992	92	40	86	172
Logan City	Non-Indig	17	361	33	75	486	168 625	29	158	644	38
	Indig	6	24	4	17	51	4638	110	11	62	134
Pine Rivers Shire	Non-Indig	40	244	3	20	307	139 176	22	98	405	29
	Indig	0	5	0	0	5	1965	25	14	19	97
Redcliffe City	Non-Indig	4	152	9	5	170	50 111	34	76	246	49
	Indig	0	12	0	0	12	1068	112	0	12	112
Redland Shire	Non-Indig	17	178	18	12	225	125 608	18	55	280	22
	Indig	0	14	3	0`	17	2019	84	11	28	139

* Figures have been adjusted for missing data on Indigenous status except in 105 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 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)
Gold Coast	**Non-Indig**	**210**	**1362**	**382**	**256**	**2210**	**476 123**	**46**	**615**	**2825**	**59**
	Indig	**6**	**23**	**9**	**29**	**67**	**6195**	**108**	**35**	**102**	**165**
Gold Coast North	Non-Indig	0	97	12	37	146	50 622	29	46	192	38
	Indig	0	8	0	20	28	1377	203	0	28	203
Gold Coast East	Non-Indig	127	690	314	155	1286	171 513	75	142	1428	83
	Indig	6	11	9	8	34	1849	184	6	40	216
Gold Coast West	Non-Indig	71	538	48	64	721	240 115	30	404	1125	47
	Indig	0	4	0	1	5	2835	18	29	34	120
Gold Coast SD Bal	Non-Indig	12	37	8	0	57	13 873	41	23	80	58
	Indig	0	0	0	0	0	134	0	0	0	0
Sunshine Coast	**Non-Indig**	**270**	**1106**	**112**	**119**	**1607**	**272 730**	**59**	**692**	**2299**	**84**
	Indig	**0**	**28**	**0**	**17**	**45**	**3537**	**127**	**37**	**82**	**232**
Sunshine Coast	Non-Indig	22	769	89	119	999	206 858	48	462	1461	71
	Indig	0	18	0	17	35	2723	129	22	57	209
Sunshine Coast SD Bal	Non-Indig	248	337	23	0	608	65 872	92	230	838	127
	Indig	0	10	0	0	10	814	123	15	25	307
West Moreton	**Non-Indig**	**202**	**151**	**51**	**8**	**412**	**66 868**	**62**	**125**	**537**	**80**
	Indig	**7**	**10**	**0**	**0**	**17**	**1761**	**97**	**13**	**30**	**170**
Upper West Moreton	Non-Indig	101	57	26	0	184	18 132	101	57	241	133
	Indig	3	0	0	0	3	466	64	9	12	258
Lower West Moreton	Non-Indig	101	94	25	8	228	48 736	47	68	296	61
	Indig	4	10	0	0	14	1295	108	4	18	139

Appendix 2 (continued): Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people by statistical division and 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)
Wide Bay-Burnett	**Non-Indig**	**1080**	**1103**	**178**	**270**	**2631**	**245 958**	**107**	**749**	**3380**	**137**
	Indig	**24**	**26**	**3**	**26**	**79**	**8703**	**91**	**60**	**139**	**160**
Bundaberg	Non-Indig	23	196	91	110	420	57 830	73	229	649	112
	Indig	0	4	3	13	20	1938	103	16	36	186
Hervey Bay City Part A	Non-Indig	112	250	15	42	419	46 888	89	223	642	137
	Indig	0	4	0	3	7	1270	55	29	36	283
Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	Non-Indig	945	657	72	118	1792	141 240	127	297	2089	148
	Indig	24	18	0	10	52	5495	95	15	67	122
Darling Downs	**Non-Indig**	**267**	**463**	**231**	**101**	**1062**	**206 921**	**51**	**227**	**1289**	**62**
	Indig	**10**	**26**	**17**	**34**	**87**	**6836**	**127**	**32**	**119**	**174**
Toowoomba	Non-Indig	7	195	169	94	465	111 021	42	60	525	47
	Indig	0	13	14	34	61	3456	177	4	65	188
Darling Downs SD Bal	Non-Indig	260	268	62	7	597	95 900	62	167	764	80
	Indig	10	13	3	0	26	3380	77	28	54	160
South West	Non-Indig	24	99	26	16	165	21 902	75	27	192	88
	Indig	3	10	4	26	43	2878	149	7	50	174
Fitzroy	**Non-Indig**	**579**	**765**	**212**	**197**	**1753**	**178 925**	**98**	**507**	**2260**	**126**
	Indig	**49**	**42**	**36**	**55**	**182**	**9479**	**192**	**74**	**256**	**270**
Rockhampton	Non-Indig	61	198	125	21	405	64 508	63	140	545	84
	Indig	22	17	13	18	70	4324	162	32	102	236
Gladstone	Non-Indig	66	179	43	16	304	41 416	73	104	408	99
	Indig	5	5	0	1	11	1486	74	21	32	215
Fitzroy SD Bal	Non-Indig	452	388	44	160	1044	73 001	143	263	1307	179
	Indig	22	20	23	36	101	3669	275	21	122	333
Central West	**Non-Indig**	**29**	**127**	**14**	**7**	**177**	**10 087**	**175**	**6**	**183**	**181**
	Indig	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**5**	**765**	**65**	**0**	**5**	**65**

Appendix 2 (continued): Estimated number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous homeless people by statistical division and 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)
Mackay	**Non-Indig**	**669**	**1083**	**493**	**102**	**2347**	**144 197**	**163**	**460**	**2807**	**195**
	Indig	**39**	**36**	**38**	**39**	**152**	**5978**	**254**	**22**	**174**	**291**
Mackay City Part A	Non-Indig	83	305	129	82	599	69 531	86	84	683	98
	Indig	24	14	9	39	86	3316	259	0	86	259
Mackay SD Bal	Non-Indig	586	778	364	20	1748	74 666	234	376	2124	284
	Indig	15	22	29	0	66	2662	248	22	88	331
Northern	**Non-Indig**	**196**	**977**	**440**	**107**	**1720**	**183 074**	**94**	**120**	**1840**	**101**
	Indig	**60**	**37**	**74**	**47**	**218**	**13 597**	**160**	**4**	**222**	**163**
Townsville City Part A	Non-Indig	33	448	412	96	989	86 526	114	35	1024	118
	Indig	41	24	45	36	146	5221	280	0	146	280
Thuringowa City Part A	Non-Indig	10	159	10	0	179	48 095	37	10	189	39
	Indig	0	6	3	0	9	3490	26	0	9	26
Northern SD Bal	Non-Indig	153	370	18	11	552	48 453	114	75	627	129
	Indig	19	7	26	11	63	4886	129	4	67	137
Far North	**Non-Indig**	**563**	**1469**	**509**	**108**	**2649**	**195 415**	**136**	**508**	**3157**	**162**
	Indig	**174**	**78**	**75**	**128**	**455**	**35 634**	**128**	**84**	**539**	**151**
Cairns City Part A	Non-Indig	32	612	422	79	1145	112 232	102	201	1346	120
	Indig	47	41	56	102	246	10 499	234	32	278	265
Far North SD Bal	Non-Indig	531	857	87	29	1504	83 183	181	307	1811	218
	Indig	127	37	19	26	209	25 135	83	52	261	104
North West	**Non-Indig**	**62**	**338**	**99**	**13**	**512**	**23 111**	**222**	**58**	**570**	**247**
	Indig	**51**	**17**	**47**	**13**	**128**	**7828**	**164**	**9**	**137**	**175**
Total	**Non-Indig**	**4637**	**12 468**	**4982**	**2442**	**24 529**	**3 756 195**	**65**	**5649**	**30 178**	**80**
	Indig	**528**	**478**	**456**	**686**	**2148**	**135 438**	**159**	**516**	**2664**	**197**
Missing data		0	0	0	105	105	12 902		220	325	
Total		**5165**	**12 946**	**5438**	**3233**	**26 782**	**3 904 535**	**69**	**6385**	**33 167**	**85**

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

	Number	Percentage
Brisbane	**7996**	**29.9**
Inner Brisbane	2070	7.7
Northwest Inner Brisbane	774	2.9
Northwest Outer Brisbane	1047	3.9
Southeast Inner Brisbane	616	2.3
South East Outer Brisbane	888	3.3
Beaudesert Shire Part A	125	0.5
Caboolture Shire	663	2.5
Ipswich City	540	2.0
Logan City	537	2.0
Pine Rivers Shire	312	1.2
Redcliffe City	182	0.7
Redland Shire	242	0.9
Gold Coast	**2289**	**8.5**
Gold Coast North	178	0.7
Gold Coast East	1328	4.9
Gold Coast West	726	2.7
Gold Coast SD Bal	57	0.2
Sunshine Coast	**1658**	**6.2**
Sunshine Coast	1040	3.9
Sunshine Coast SD Bal	618	2.3
West Moreton	**429**	**1.6**
Upper West Moreton	187	0.7
Lower West Moreton	242	0.9
Wide Bay-Burnett	**2716**	**10.1**
Bundaberg	443	1.6
Hervey Bay City Part A	426	1.6
Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	1847	6.9
Darling Downs	**1153**	**4.3**
Toowoomba	530	2.0
Darling Downs SD Bal	623	2.3
South West	**211**	**0.8**
Fitzroy	**1941**	**7.2**
Rockhampton	476	1.7
Gladstone	316	1.2
Fitzroy SD Bal	1149	4.3
Central West	**187**	**0.7**
Mackay	**2506**	**9.4**
Mackay City Part A	692	2.6
Mackay SD Bal	1814	6.8
Northern	**1949**	**7.3**
Townsville City Part A	1141	4.3
Thuringowa City Part A	188	0.7
Northern SD Bal	620	2.3
Far North	**3104**	**11.6**
Cairns City Part A	1391	5.2
Far North SD Bal	1713	6.4
North West	**643**	**2.4**
Missing data	0	0
Total	**26 782**	**100.0**

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

	Number	Percentage
Brisbane	**9690**	**29.2**
Inner Brisbane	2070	6.3
Northwest Inner Brisbane	796	2.4
Northwest Outer Brisbane	1364	4.1
Southeast Inner Brisbane	629	1.9
South East Outer Brisbane	1238	3.7
Beaudesert Shire Part A	171	0.5
Caboolture Shire	931	2.8
Ipswich City	795	2.4
Logan City	706	2.1
Pine Rivers Shire	424	1.3
Redcliffe City	258	0.8
Redland Shire	308	0.9
Gold Coast	**2939**	**8.9**
Gold Coast North	224	0.7
Gold Coast East	1476	4.5
Gold Coast West	1159	3.5
Gold Coast SD Bal	80	0.2
Sunshine Coast	2387	7.2
Sunshine Coast	1524	4.6
Sunshine Coast SD Bal	863	2.6
West Moreton	**567**	**1.7**
Upper West Moreton	253	0.8
Lower West Moreton	314	0.9

	Number	Percentage
Wide Bay-Burnett	**3525**	**10.6**
Bundaberg	688	2.1
Hervey Bay City Part A	678	2.0
Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	2159	6.5
Darling Downs	**1412**	**4.3**
Toowoomba	594	1.8
Darling Downs SD Bal	818	2.5
South West	**245**	**0.7**
Fitzroy	**2522**	**7.6**
Rockhampton	648	2.0
Gladstone	441	1.3
Fitzroy SD Bal	1433	4.3
Central West	**193**	**0.6**
Mackay	**3169**	**9.6**
Mackay City Part A	957	2.9
Mackay SD Bal	2212	6.7
Northern	**2112**	**6.4**
Townsville City Part A	1215	3.7
Thuringowa City Part A	198	0.6
Northern SD Bal	699	2.1
Far North	**3696**	**11.1**
Cairns City Part A	1624	4.9
Far North SD Bal	2072	6.2
North West	**710**	**2.1**
Missing data	0	0
Total	**33 167**	**100.0**