


Housing Instability and Homelessness Whittlesea



Improving provision of services at
Whittlesea Community
Connections for those who are or
are at risk of experiencing
homelessness

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research took place on the traditional lands of the Boon Wurrung people and Wurundjeri Wilum people. I would like to acknowledge that they are the traditional custodians of this land, the First Nation's People of Australia and that rightful sovereignty has never been ceded. I wish to pay my respects to elders past, present and emerging from this community, and from any other communities who are reading this report.

I would like to thank Whittlesea Community Connections for inviting me to undertake this research and for welcoming me to their service. Gratitude also extends to Dr. Samone McCurdy and by extension, Monash University for the generous learning opportunities, support and guidance throughout the process.

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INTRODUCTION

This report is the product of a three-month research partnership between Whittlesea Community Connections (WCC) and the Monash University Social Work Department. Whittlesea Community Connections is a grassroots, community based organisation based in Melbourne's northern region. It began in 1973 after a group of local residents were concerned about the lack of necessary services in the area. Thus, the service has grown as a community effort to meet this demand. Today, WCC provides a number of services that meet the diverse needs of the community, including but not limited to; emergency relief services, case management, settlement and migration support services, legal support and advice, community development, youth work, homework support, specialist family violence support, community transport as well as broader advocacy to local and state government.

In the provision of these services, WCC has observed an increase in people who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness. As this report will explore, this increase has complex origins and is exacerbated by the lack of specialist homeless support services in the Whittlesea local government area (LGA).

The project is based upon three key objectives:

1. To provide an environmental scan of what housing instability and homelessness looks like in the City of Whittlesea LGA
2. To explore community and grassroots level strategies to respond to housing instability and homelessness.
3. To provide resources and recommendations to WCC to build upon current practices and improve how services are provided to those who are or at risk of homelessness and/or experiencing housing instability.

To meet these objectives, the author used three methods of data collection: an observational private rental property count, semi-structured interviews with key informants and a review of current literature on homelessness in Australia. The data has revealed a range of consistent themes that speak to the complexity, lack and extreme demand of homelessness and housing support services throughout Australia, and more specifically, the Whittlesea LGA.

The recommendations that arising from this review are informed by each of these data sets and seek to provide a foundation for further enquiry into responding to housing instability and homelessness in the Whittlesea LGA.

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WHAT IS HOMELESSNESS?

To define homelessness as a housing status, of living without a home, while theoretically accurate, does not account for the complexity of pathways into and the experience of homelessness. It presents homelessness as existing outside of the social world – not accounting for the colonial, political and structural contexts in Australia. These contexts shape how policies are developed, how and where funding is distributed, how housing is allocated, how services are provided, where social housing is built and what form it takes. It is also important to consider how homelessness is defined (and by who) as this directly impacts how it is counted and measured.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012) adopts the ‘cultural definition’ of homelessness, which recognizes that homelessness is more than ‘rooflessness’. This definition informs how people who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness are counted in the census, and this has been utilised by homeless organisations for some time. The definition is as follows;

“When a person does not have suitable accommodation alternatives they are considered homeless if their current living arrangement:

- *Is in a dwelling that is inadequate; or*
- *Has no tenure, or if their initial tenure is short and not extendable; or*
- *Does not allow them to have control of, and access to space for social relations.”*

(ABS 2012, p. 7)

This definition is informed by research literature that signifies home as more than a physical structure Parsell (2012). Home is a site of meaning and feeling, a space to exert agency, cultural and self-expression. Home incorporates a sense of security, privacy, safety, stability and the ability to control a space for living and socialising. Understanding home in this way, allows for a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the experience of being ‘without’. Therefore, people experiencing the following would be considered homeless;

- *Sleeping outdoors in public spaces*
- *Sleeping on a spare bed or couches in the homes of friends and family (from now on referred to as couch surfing)*
- *Sleeping in a rooming house, especially if there is no formal security of tenure*
- *Sleeping in an inappropriate dwelling with or without security of tenure, i.e.: squatting in abandoned buildings, severe overcrowding outside of cultural tradition*
- *Sleeping in emergency and transitional accommodation services*
- *Sleeping in a refuge*
- *Sleeping in a home where you experience or witness domestic violence*

WHAT IS BEING AT RISK OF HOMELESSNESS?

As policy has shifted to welcome early interventions to prevent homelessness in the past twenty years (Batterham 2012), the concept of 'being at risk of homelessness' has become widely used in Australia. Being at risk of homelessness essentially means being at risk of losing your accommodation, though this in itself remains a contested concept. The 'structural versus individual' debate that permeates the welfare state means that historically, personal experience or 'deficit' has been conflated as causing homelessness.

For example, having a mental illness is often cited as putting a person at risk of homelessness, though this would put a large portion of the population at risk, with no explanation as to the reasons this can lead one losing their home and not another. Rather than dichotomising individual versus structural pathways into homelessness, an acknowledgement that structures are social products, informed, maintained and challenged by individual agency is required. Therefore, a person with bipolar disorder may be at risk of homelessness for example, but it will not be the mental illness in itself that will impact this risk. The intersection of having a mental illness and the lack of secure, long term employment that has adequate leave entitlements to accommodate for mental health crises work together to put a person at risk of homelessness, as they may be unable to make rent or mortgage payments on time.

On this basis, people in the following circumstances may be considered at risk of homelessness:

- *Living in a dwelling with no security of tenure (ie: renting privately without a formal lease)*
- *Exiting an institution (especially if the discharging process has been inadequate) – leaving prison, discharge from hospital, exiting foster care once turning 18*
- *Living in a dwelling that has been served a notice to vacate – building being redeveloped*
- *Living in a dwelling where rent has increased, especially if this is more than half a person's income – this is especially relevant to people who experience marginalisation and disadvantage in gentrified areas*

HOMELESSNESS IN AUSTRALIA

With the preceding definition in mind, the 2016 census estimated that 116,427 people were experiencing homelessness on Australia on census night – up from 102,439 in 2011 and representing a 4.6% increase nationally. The ABS notes that increases in rates of homelessness were largely reflected in people living in ‘severely’ overcrowded dwellings, with an increase from 41,370 in 2011 to 51,088 in 2016. Census data also revealed a 20% increase in people sleeping in improvised dwellings (such as tents and sleeping rough). *Figure 1* (below) outlines where people who were experiencing homelessness on the night of the 2016 census were staying.

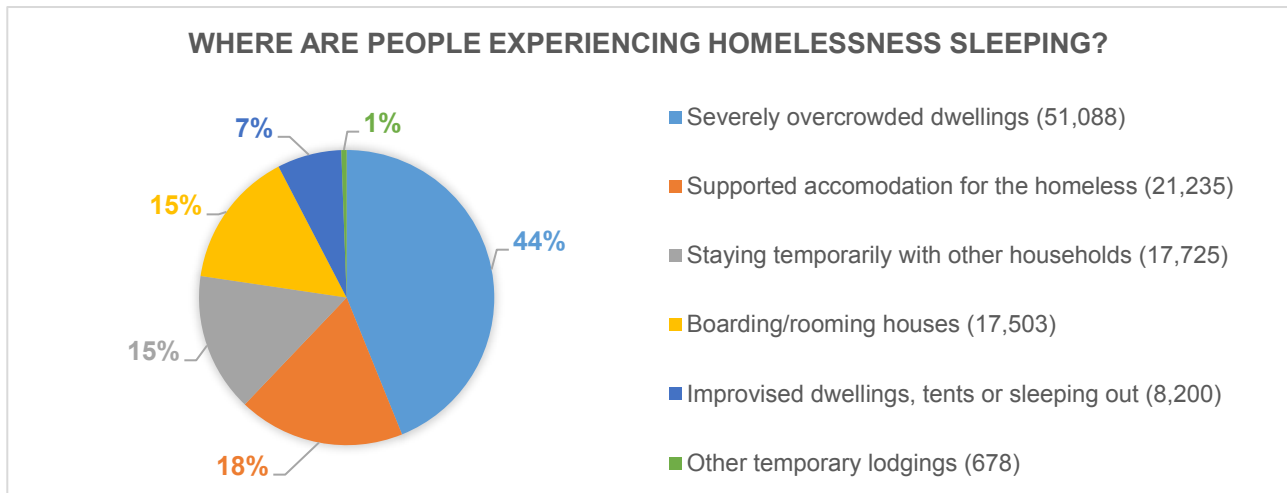


Figure 1 persons by Homeless operational group in the 2017 census (ABS 2017)

The 2016 census data also revealed increases in experiences of homelessness for;

- Young people – nearly 60% of people experiencing homelessness were under the age of 35. Furthermore, 42% of the increase in rates of homelessness was in the demographic of those aged between 25 and 34.
- Recent migrants – those who had arrived in Australia less than five years prior to the 2016 census accounted for 15% of those experiencing homelessness.
- Elderly people – the past three Censuses have recorded a steady increase in people over the age of 55 experiencing homelessness, with a 28% increase between 2011 and 2016
- Women and children fleeing domestic violence – while the ABS notes that this demographic group are underestimated (barriers to ‘counting’ this group are noted in the ABS 2012 reference), they note that this has been a consistent pathway for women into homelessness. The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2016) note that over 150,000 women accessing specialist homeless services between 2011 and 2014 were doing so due to domestic and family violence.

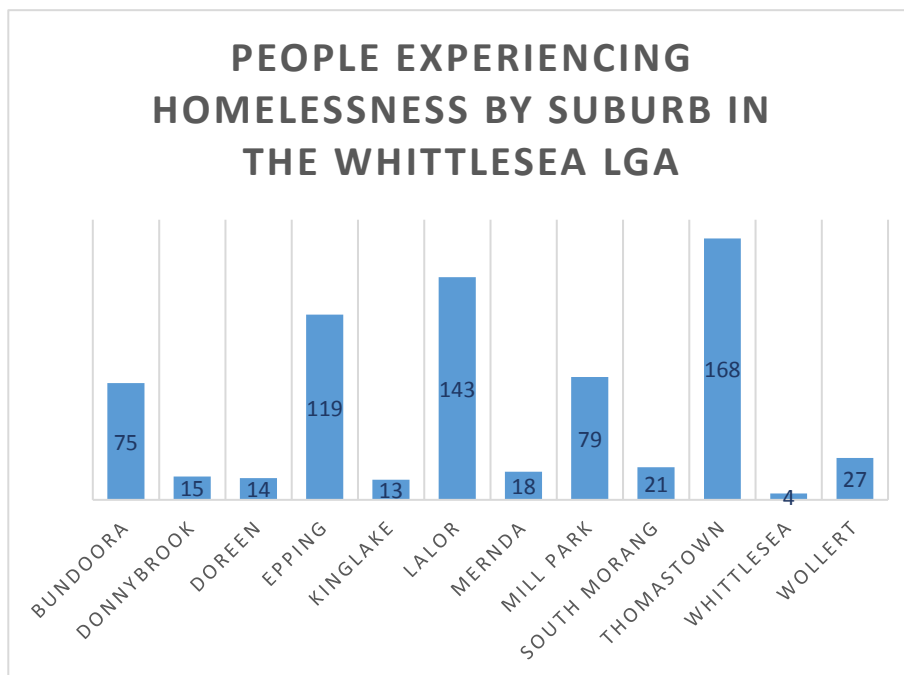
The Census found a decrease in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people experiencing homelessness, from 487 people for every 10,000 to 361 people. The Census also estimates that the rate of homelessness was 50 for every 10,000 for non-Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people in Australia. A decrease in homelessness is no doubt positive, though the reality that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are five times more likely to experience homelessness is no cause for celebration.

With these statistics in mind, it is important to emphasize that these are products of structural disadvantage in Australia and that the high rates of homelessness for these groups is exacerbated by the *lack of safe, appropriate and affordable long-term housing* and the barriers to access housing of this nature.

HOMELESSNESS IN WHITTLESEA

As Whittlesea is a geographically large and diverse area, with small urban centres and limited social and welfare services, accurately detailing the number of people experiencing homelessness is difficult. A further limitation is that the nearest Homeless Access Point (the mandatory first step/intake for people to access specialist homeless services) is outside of the local government area at Haven Home Safe in Preston. This creates a barrier for people hoping to access homeless services. On a practical level this means access to support is first but critical hurdle. Consider for example how a person on a low income in Doreen who may be sleeping rough will get to Haven Home Safe if they do not have a myki card, are unable to physically use public transport and do not have a car?

The barrier in access to these services is also a barrier to accurately counting the rates of homelessness in the Whittlesea LGA, outside of Census data and thus keep the true nature of problem obscured.



Despite these barriers, the ABS was able to estimate the rates of homeless people in each suburb of Australia, with the aid of demographers from Australian National University (Hanrahan 2018).

Figure 2 shows these estimations for each suburb in the Whittlesea LGA, with a total of 696 people.

Figure 2 2016 Census Data as presented by ABC News on how many people in each suburb of Whittlesea LGA (total – 696) are experiencing homelessness. Beveridge, Doreen, Eden Park, Humevale, Woodstock and Yan Yean were excluded as there was no data.

METHOD

The methodology for this project was informed by the following objectives developed in consultation with WCC. These objectives were designed to complement the service's organisational needs and with reference to increases in demand for support for those who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness. The AIMS of the project are reiterated below.

1. To provide an environmental scan of what housing instability and homelessness looks like in the City of Whittlesea LGA
2. To explore community and grassroots level strategies to respond to housing instability and homelessness.
3. To provide resources and recommendations to WCC to build upon current practices and improve how services are provided to those who are or at risk of homelessness and/or experiencing housing instability.

To meet these objectives, the following methods of data collection were undertaken.

SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS _ KEY INFORMANTS

A total of four key informant interviews were undertaken with practitioners and other individuals with relevant experience in the homelessness field, an awareness of homelessness and housing issues in Whittlesea and /or the knowledge of best practice and service delivery in the field. With this criteria, four participants were chosen.

- Participant 1: The CEO of a specialist homeless organization that services areas of urban, regional and rural Victoria
- Participant 2: The manager of intake at a homeless access point in the Northern Region of Melbourne
- Participant 3: The homelessness services coordinator of a Melbourne city council
- Participant 4: The team leader of a homelessness case management service in the Whittlesea LGA

See Appendix 1 for Interview schedules.

Following the interviews a thematic analysis technique was used to identify concepts, themes and trends that arose from each interview. The main themes to arise from analysis have driven the recommendations set out on p.14-19 of this report.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As part of the data gather for this project a literature review was undertaken to develop and communicate the nuanced understanding of homelessness and housing in Australia. This is outlined in Appendix 2.

PRIVATE RENTAL PROPERTY COUNT

To supplement the above understandings a private rental count by each suburb of the Whittlesea LGA was undertaken. The main source of data came from properties listed on <http://realestate.com.au> as this website provided more available properties and provided a simpler method to search for properties by number of bedrooms and suburb than other alternatives (eg Domain).

The rental properties were counted by observation on each Tuesday from the 27th of June 2018 until the 21st of August 2018, except for the week of the 7th of August 2018. The count was separated into 5 categories: Studio & 1 Bedroom, 2 Bedroom, 3 Bedroom, 4 Bedroom and 5+ Bedrooms. These categories were utilised because it would allow a count against median income and household types across number of bedrooms.

Each week the number of properties available was recorded in each by suburb and weekly price of rent. The weekly price of rent was separated into \$50 increments allowing for the maximum diversity of properties to be observed. The full collection of tables and counts are presented in Appendix 3.

KEY FINDINGS

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Homelessness is increasing and ever changing

Unanimously, participants reported a staggering increase in homelessness, which they understood as an expected outcome of the lack of policy clarity, adequate funding and the increase in poverty and disadvantage for marginalised Australians. A significant point that arose from these discussions was the way in which homelessness manifests and the key clients groups affected.

“We never used to talk about rough sleepers out in the suburbs 10, 15 years ago. But it’s becoming the norm and I am concerned about that.” – Participant 2

Participants spoke of the spread of rough sleeping into the suburbs of Melbourne and the increases in people living in inappropriate accommodation throughout regional and rural Victoria. In Whittlesea, increases in rough sleeping was attributed to lack of appropriate accommodation, high rental prices, low incomes and impact from the 2009 bushfires.

“People in their cars... some people have got great setups in their cars, but it’s like camping and let’s make the most of this, but they can’t do that forever... There’s a few squats where people will congregate and try and support each other, but that’s really problematic... There’d be people sleeping out in the bush without question... people from the fires who may not have built yet and might still be living in really substandard accommodation, sheds and those kinds of things on their land, or just really displaced in caravans.” – Participant 2

Homelessness as a traumatic, isolating experience

While acknowledging that homelessness is not a social pathology, or a defining sense of identity, there was a consensus that the lived experience of homelessness is traumatic and isolating.

An entrenched misunderstanding of homelessness as a personal deficit has created a strong stigma against people experiencing homelessness that extends to items they carry and where they congregate. As one participant stated,

“We had a guy sleeping rough around the area who a few weeks ago he had all of his belongings in a trolley up on High Street. Everyone knew that that was his stuff, he covered it up, it was neat. One day he went off to do something, came back, it was gone. No one knows whether it was stolen, whether council picked it up, nothing. Like, just gone. It was all of his worldly goods. So, those kinds of challenges for people sleeping rough, it’s humiliating.” – Participant 2

The lack of adequate emergency accommodation was also considered to be a contributing factor to long term homelessness

Participants discussed the lack of adequate emergency accommodation as being significant to the rise of homelessness in the following ways;

- They discussed the shortage of safe and appropriate crisis accommodation in Victoria and noted that these services were mostly in urban centres.
- The crisis accommodation that is available is not appropriate for women and their children escaping domestic violence, people with disabilities, elderly men and women and people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Participant 4 spoke of a motel in Coburg frequently used by organisations for crisis accommodation, “There’s a lot of

violence and drugs so you're putting a mum and her kids escaping family violence... in that kind of environment and it just goes on to re-traumatise and contribute to vicarious trauma."

- The lack of crisis accommodation options forces organisations to use Housing Establishment Fund money to 'buy beds' for people in motels, caravan parks, backpackers and rooming houses. These accommodation options are extremely expensive and often unsafe and unhygienic. Participant 4 spoke of this as a frustrating, unjust experience, "They're not safe, they're not clean, they're not conducive to anything good, but we don't have a choice." Funding agreements usually require the client to co-contribute a percentage of the accommodation costs. Participant 2 also stated "Financially people are screwed... even paying for motel accommodation if it's co-contributing, or rooming house accommodation is so expensive. And to get out of that cycle of rooming house accommodation to get... back on your feet... you're paying \$280 a week for one room, how do you save any money?"
- Whether or not the accommodation costs are co-contributed, there is a significant flow of government money going into these businesses and creating an industry that is profiting off of the continuation of homelessness. Participant 4, referencing data collected by a Northern region homeless services network, "we spent 4.5 million across the whole of the North and the West of Melbourne in motels, rooming houses, backpackers... They're shoddy, they're thuggish, they're not great places, people are paying \$225 a week for basically a mattress and a chest of drawers in a room, the shared facilities are not great and there's a lot of rogue operators that are really making a fortune out of the homeless service system and people's Centrelink benefits basically. They're living high on the whole government money."

Long-term housing provision is inadequate

All participants spoke of how the provision of housing in Victoria is 'unjust' and inadequate. Most acknowledged that public misunderstandings and stigma surrounding homelessness have influenced the types of housing deemed acceptable for this 'othered' group. Inadequacy was spoken of in regards to the wait times for housing, lack of new developments, the physical structures not always being appropriate for people with disabilities and the architectural design contributing to poor wellbeing. Participant 2 spoke of the housing commission blocks in Melbourne's north as, ".....concrete revolting places... people deserve dignity and they must be pulled down and rebuilt. It has to happen"

During the period of this interviews, Victoria had begun redeveloping public housing blocks, mostly in the Northern region. Some participants viewed this as positive, but nevertheless a "band aid fix". They were concerned with the lack of expansion as part of these re-developments and the increase in wait list times as people living in the properties for redevelopment had to be relocated to vacant properties for some time. As Participant 2 stated,

"Now the redevelopment is a great thing... the issue is... they should be building more stock on these properties. Now in West Heidelberg they had a target where it's a 10 year project... but that has an impact on the public housing waiting list because they have to look after their own tenants first."

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review involved the reading and analysis of over 30 pieces of literature including research, reports and other grey literature. Main learning to arise from the review includes:

- Homelessness is a contested topic
- The concept of home is paramount to conceptualising homelessness
- The debate of individual versus structural impedes understandings of homelessness
- Understanding home is necessary to understand homelessness

- The experiences of women escaping domestic violence, refugee young people and Indigenous and Torres Strait Australians reveal how different intersections of disadvantage produce and maintain homelessness.

OBSERVATIONAL PRIVATE RENTAL PROPERTY COUNT

The rental count revealed how the private rental market is not meeting the demands of the Whittlesea population in two key ways. Firstly, if we consider the estimate of 696 people in need of a house in the Whittlesea LGA, the average of 450 properties being available each week represents a serious gap in market. The below table outlines the average number of rental properties available each week in the Whittlesea LGA, divided into suburb and number of bedrooms.

	Studio & 1 Bedroom	2 Bedroom	3 Bedroom	4 Bedroom	5 Bedroom	Average per suburb
Bundoora	16.38	21.5	34.25	9.63	3.38	85.14
Doreen	0	0.75	24.25	40.63	1.63	67.26
Epping	2.13	13.13	31.25	11.13	1.5	59.14
Mernda	0.63	3	20.88	31.5	0.63	56.64
South Morang	0	6.63	19.25	10.25	1.63	37.76
Thomastown	0.13	12.36	20.63	2.38	0.25	35.75
Lalor	1.75	9.63	17	6.25	0.38	35.01
Mill Park	0.75	5.63	19.5	5.25	2.5	33.63
Wollert	0	2.13	9.75	11.13	0	23.01
Beveridge	0	0.13	2.38	5.5	0	8.01
Whittlesea	2	2.13	1.5	0.88	0	6.51
Donnybrook	0	0	1	0	0	1
Kinglake West	0.25	0	0.38	0.13	0	0.76
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0
Humevale	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0
Average per bedroom	24.02	77.02	202.02	134.66	11.9	449.62

The count also revealed the average price range for different types of rental properties available in Whittlesea. The table below states these figures.

Column1	\$150-199	\$200-249	\$250-299	\$300-349	\$350-399	\$400-449	\$450-499	\$500-549	\$550-599	\$600-649	\$650-699
Studio + 1 Bedroom	4.5	1.5	5.25	10.25	2.38	0.13					
2 Bedroom			5.5	33.25	30.88	5.88	1.25	0.25			
3 Bedroom				27.13	115.88	41.25	10.13	4.25	5.13	0.13	
4 Bedroom				0.25	36.38	66.88	20.63	8.63	2	0.75	1.13
5+ Bedroom						1.63	3.5	0.88	1.38	1.38	1.38
Total available per price point	4.5	1.5	10.75	70.88	185.52	115.77	35.51	14.01	8.51	2.26	2.51

RECOMMENDATION 1: INTEGRATE A DEEP UNDERSTANDING OF HOMELESSNESS

If we understand homelessness as a complex multifaceted experience that has the potential to impact most aspects of a person's life, then it is reasonable to expect that all services at WCC will encounter people who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness.

Integrating an organisation wide understanding of homelessness and how to identify if someone may be at risk of homelessness, will be essential in responding to increases in these experiences in the future. As Participant 2 stated, "emergency relief services are really the pivotal point for people because of food insecurity that then they open up about what's really happening, whether they're on the verge of homelessness, whether they're staying with someone... couch surfing... Particularly in refugee communities it's a huge issue."

Integrating a deep understanding of homeless also involves educating staff and volunteers about the myths and misconceptions that lead to the stigma surrounding homelessness. This stigma leads to the public holding people experiencing homelessness to a different standard than the rest of the population. Participant 2 aptly stated, "As soon as someone becomes homeless or is on the verge of homelessness, their mental health, their depression increases, their anxiety... its exacerbating to the point where sometimes people can't make good decisions for themselves... it becomes all-consuming and then it impacts on their ability to take the next steps... People say but, you know, it's all about people's mental health and drug and alcohol issues, that's why they're homeless – no, no, it's actually the other way around... It's a normal response, you know? But it's really interesting that we judge people who happen to be homeless, oh well they can afford a cigarette, Jesus that might be all they have."

Consider:

- Does staff and volunteer training include how to identify if someone is or may be at risk of homelessness?
- Are staff and volunteers able to differentiate between homelessness and rough sleeping?
- Are staff and volunteers able to relate how experiencing homelessness will affect a person's health and mental health, social, familial, education and employment outcomes?
- Do staff and volunteers believe that homelessness is a choice?

RESOURCES

Parity Magazine Council to Homeless Person's national publication exploring examining issues surrounding housing and homelessness.	http://chp.org.au/parity/
Launch Housing – Australian Homeless Monitor Australia's first independent, longitudinal analysis examining homelessness and housing instability.	https://www.launchhousing.org.au/australian-homelessnessmonitor/
Homelessness in Australia: An Introduction by Chris Chamberlain, Guy Johnson and Catherine Robinson Explores the complex causes and consequences of homelessness with chapters written by a variety of academics in the field.	http://chp.org.au/services/homelessness-in-australia/
Filthy Rich and Homeless (season one) An SBS documentary series by Blackfella films that explores what it means to experience homelessness and the difficulties of navigating the service system in Melbourne.	https://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/program/filthy-rich-and-homeless

RECOMMENDATION 2: FACILITATE SOCIAL CONNECTION

It is imperative for WCC staff and volunteers to understand that homelessness is a housing status and that the trauma inflicted upon those experiencing homelessness are products of stigma and structural disadvantage. Homelessness is an isolating, harrowing, lonely experience. It subjects people to immense hardship and increases the threat of physical and sexual violence, especially for women and Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people. There is a breadth of research that explores how social isolation leads to poor physical and mental health outcomes.

Furthermore, the interactions between those who are at risk of or experiencing homelessness and staff and volunteers at WCC should be considered as paramount in facilitating social connection. Fostering social connection also means fostering connection between service users and staff and volunteers at WCC.

- What are the health and wellbeing implications of social isolation?
- Are staff and volunteers equipped to support those who have been victims of assault?
- How do staff and volunteers greet people who may be visibly sleeping rough, not having showered or appearing dishevelled?
- Are staff and volunteers aware of ways to increase social/community connection for those who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness?

RESOURCES	
The Big Issue Connect people who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness with the Big Issue via the Vendor Program or encourage people to submit work to the magazine.	https://www.thebigissue.org.au/contact-us/become-a-big-issue-vendor/
Community Connections Program through Merri Outreach Support Service Provides short term support for people who are or at risk of homelessness to connect to the community, link in to appropriate services and develop skills necessary to maintain housing.	http://merri.org.au/site/connections-program/ Referrals to go through 9359 5493 or connections@merri.org.au
The Trauma and Homelessness Initiative: Trauma and Homelessness Service Framework Informed by over 100 people with lived experience of long term homelessness, this framework encourages a consideration of how homelessness is a traumatic experience, often caused by another traumatic experience.	https://www.mindaustralia.org.au/sites/default/files/publications/Trauma_and_homelessness_initiative_service_framework.pdf

RECOMMENDATION 3: “NOT ABOUT US, WITHOUT US” – INTEGRATE LIVED EXPERIENCE

The importance of integrating the perspectives and knowledge of those who have lived experience of homelessness in organisation policy and service delivery has been a prevalent theme throughout interviews, the literature review and at the National Homelessness Conference. Part of this integration should be the acknowledgement that homeless people are the experts in their lives and in how it feels to be homeless. No matter how much research a person does in this field, their understanding of homelessness will not compare to a person with lived experience. As Participant 4 stated “they’re the expert in their life, they know their own story better than I ever could.”

- Does the case management model give space to lived experience?
- Are volunteer opportunities offered to those who are or at risk of homelessness?
- Are there opportunities for those with lived experience of homelessness to have input on organizational policy and practice?
- Is there a transparent process for client feedback to be incorporated into organizational policy and procedures?
- Is there opportunity for people with lived experience of homelessness to run programs to support those who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness?

RESOURCES

Homeless Hub Canada, “Nothing About Us, Without Us” Lists seven principles for leadership and inclusion of people with lived experience of homelessness in programs, services and events.	http://www.homelesshub.ca/NothingAboutUsWithoutUs
Council to Homeless Person’s Understanding Homelessness Training Presented by people with lived experience of homelessness, training is intended to provide a comprehensive overview of what homelessness is, how it feels to experience it and how to best respond to it.	http://chp.org.au/services/pesp/ Training takes 1.5 hours and can be booked through Cassandra Bawden on 8415 6210 or Cassandra@chp.org.au
Homelessness NSW Lived Experience Project A collection of resources and projects that Homelessness NSW have developed with the expert knowledge of those who have lived experience of homelessness.	https://www.homelessnessnsw.org.au/industry-partnership/goal-1-service-quality-sustainability-and-good-practice/lived-experience

RECOMMENDATION 4: INCREASE CULTURAL AWARENESS AND SENSITIVITY

WCC is well-known for their cultural awareness and work with culturally and linguistically diverse communities throughout Whittlesea. This is an incredible strength that the organisation can work upon and increase a cultural understanding of homelessness. This would involve interrogating the language that is used to speak about homelessness and a consideration of how it is framed and discussed by different communities in Whittlesea.

In Couch's (2012 p. 5) interviews with refugee young people experiencing homelessness, one young person stated that after sleeping in the back of the restaurant they worked at for some time, *"when my teacher found out... she used the word 'homeless'. I shook my head and said no no I'm not homeless (laughs) because I thought homeless people were old men... the ones who you see in the park and the city."* This speaks to the importance of the intersections of language, migration and culture in how homelessness is understood by different communities in Australia.

The current homelessness and housing provision service system is created with 'White Australia' as the default, meaning that emergency accommodation, emergency relief services and financial supports are not always culturally accessible. For example; mixed gendered shared bathrooms in rooming houses is not appropriate cross-culturally, nor can those from asylum seeker and refugee backgrounds gain access to all welfare in Australia.

- What words are used to describe and define homelessness in the languages spoken in Whittlesea?
- What words are used to describe and define housing stress, rent arrears and mortgages in the languages spoken in Whittlesea?
- What words do staff and volunteers use to speak about housing and homelessness?
- Are staff about to differentiate between severe overcrowding and the different ways culture impacts households in Whittlesea?
- Are housing and homeless services provided by WCC culturally accessible?

RESOURCES

'Us and them': What homelessness looks like around the world An online article by SBS that explores homelessness throughout different nations.	https://www.sbs.com.au/topics/life/culture/article/2017/07/04/us-and-them-what-homelessness-looks-around-world
Homelessness amongst culturally and linguistically diverse people with a mental illness by Multicultural Mental Health Australia (2011) An in-depth report that explores understandings of homelessness in of people from CALD backgrounds with a mental illness while interrogating the service system's accessibility to this group.	http://www.vtmh.org.au/_literature_97848/Homelessness_Project_PDF

RECOMMENDATION 5: ENSURE SERVICES ARE FLEXIBLE AND ACCESSIBLE

Homelessness has been presented in this report as an incredibly complex and challenging experience. Without a safe, appropriate home to return to each day, a person's priorities will be ever changing and their access to resources will limit their ability to take proper care of themselves. The focus on finding a safe place to sleep, where to have a shower or finding dinner will often take priority over meeting an appointment.

Being creative means not only looking at referring a person to the homeless access point. It involves 'thinking outside the box' and considering how to utilise alternative supports in the community. It involves taking a pragmatic, strengths based perspective – what strengths in this person or the community around them can be built upon to improve a person's life? Can a local storage locker be used to ensure a person does not have to carry their worldly possessions around with them?

- Are staff and volunteers aware of the different financial supports available to those who are or at risk of homelessness?
- Do appointment times clash with homeless services, such as laundry and soup vans or regular outreach, in the area?
- What community based interventions can assist in making homelessness and housing services more accessible to those in Whittlesea?
- Are staff and volunteers able to identify barriers to services at WCC for people who are or at risk of homelessness?

RESOURCES

Parity Volume 30, Issue 4: "The NDIS, Housing and Homelessness" A special issues of Parity exploring how the NDIS and homeless service systems interact, how to best support those experiencing homelessness through the NDIS, relevant case studies and some critiques on these service systems.	http://chp.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Parity_Vol30-04.pdf
Council to Homeless Persons' – Homelessness and the National Disability Insurance Scheme: Challenges and Solutions A detailed exploration and critique of the NDIS' capability to support those who are or at risk of homelessness, as well as specific information regarding those living in supported accommodation.	http://chp.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/170525-NDIS-and-homelessness-v.8-long-version-FINAL.pdf
My Aged Care – Eligibility for people experiencing homelessness A brief overview of what services are available in the aged care system for people experiencing homelessness and how to access them	https://www.myagedcare.gov.au/help-home/commonwealth-home-support-programme/help-older-people-homeless-or-at-risk
Ask Izzy An incredibly valuable resource for people to find any and all support services around their area. It was designed by and for people experiencing homelessness.	https://askizzy.org.au/ The website is designed for use on mobile phones. Can be used on the Telstra network <i>without</i> credit.

RECOMMENDATION 6: FOSTER ORGANISATION CONNECTIONS AND NETWORKS

Navigating the complex housing and homelessness services systems is no simple task for both service users and practitioners. Interviewees spoke of the importance of networking and connecting with other services in order to achieve the best possible outcomes for people who are or at risk of experiencing homelessness.

These networks can be the source of important advocacy for better homelessness and housing services in Whittlesea, a method to ensure efficient referrals and support for those who are at risk of experiencing homelessness.

Another important aspect of this recommendation is to begin creating relationships with real estate agents in the Whittlesea LGA. Creating these networks could be incredibly valuable in assisting those who are at risk of homelessness to access private rentals in the area.

- Do staff and volunteers have active, reciprocal relationships with homeless services in the Whittlesea LGA?
- Have there been interagency efforts to advocate for better services and housing supply in the Whittlesea LGA?

RESOURCES	
Homelessness Local Area Service Network Council to Homeless Person's national publication exploring examining issues surrounding housing and homelessness.	http://www.nwhn.net.au/Home.aspx Coordinator: Meredith Gorman Meredith.Gorman@launchhousing.org.au
Mapping the Hunter Homelessness Service Network An interesting research proposal around mapping the homelessness services and their connections in the Hunter/Newcastle region. This could be an interesting project to undertake in Whittlesea	https://gallery.mailchimp.com/36bdaecbc3f398e3943064d95/files/a0209e7a-d646-407c-9cc8-efaaa7147d6c/Mapping_the_Hunter_Homelessness_Service_Network_Research_Proposal.pdf
Street Smart Australia An organisation that funds community based initiatives to end homelessness in Australia. The website serves as a great resource to find services throughout Australia.	https://streetsmartaustralia.org/
HomeGround Real Estate HomeGround is Australia's only not-for-profit property management and real estate agency.	https://www.homegroundrealestate.com.au/

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Context

- Could you speak a bit about your background working in housing and homelessness?
- Could you speak on what your organisation is doing in the areas of housing and homelessness?
 - How did this start? Was there a reason this came to be?
- What do you believe is the best or most important aspect of practice or policy that your organisation has in the areas of housing and homelessness?
- What do you find most challenging about this work?
- How does your organisation work with others in this area? Network meetings, collaborative practice, etc?

Understandings of homelessness

- What do you think is most misunderstood about homelessness and housing instability?
- Can you speak on how experiencing homelessness and/or housing instability impacts people?
- Could you identify/speak on any barriers to accessing housing and services that people who are or at risk of homelessness face?

Effectiveness

- What have you found to be the most effective approach to practice when working with those who are or at risk of homelessness?
- What have you found does not work in practice with people who are or at risk of homelessness?
- Could you speak on what current policies do and do not do well?
- Does your organisation have a 'homeless protocol'? If so, could you speak a bit about what this is?

Service Access

- What would you suggest for a generalist organization to better assist those who are or at risk of homelessness?
- Could you speak on any examples you have of creative, community/grass roots efforts to support/assist those who are or at risk of homelessness?

Future

- Where do you see the homelessness sector heading in the future?
- Where do you see the future of public housing heading?

APPENDIX 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS: EXPLORING TERMINOLOGY, THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT AND INTERSECTIONS OF DISADVANTAGE

Homelessness in Australia has become a contentious issue, with increasingly politicised interventions and funding provisions (Bullen 2015). This literature review seeks to analyse how homelessness is conceptualised and defined within the Australian context. It further explores how homelessness intersects and exacerbates other forms of disadvantage that together propels individuals and groups into entrenched deprivation over the life course.

The purpose of the literature review is to inform existing practices at Whittlesea Community Connections (WCC) in their service provision to those who are or are at risk of experiencing homelessness or housing instability.

It deliberately mirrors Whittlesea Community Connections' strategic direction and the needs of the community outlined in a consultation with stakeholders in the housing and homeless service systems in the area by WCC and communicated by WCC staff. The overt focus of the review on homelessness and housing for women escaping domestic violence, young people from refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds and Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander communities mirrors the demographics of the Whittlesea municipality and anecdotally those who utilise WCC services the most. It further represents those experiencing homelessness and using homeless services from the aforementioned categories (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017) that together presents a national issue of significance. There is also a deliberate effort in this review prioritise literature that includes the perspectives of those with lived experience of homelessness.¹

WHAT IS HOMELESSNESS?

Defining homelessness is complex and often conflated (Johnson & Jacobs 2014). This is, in part, due to the breadth of research into housing and homelessness from various disciplines, where explorations of broader economic, social and cultural structures are limited and the focus has historically (Johnson & Jacobs 2014) been on individual deficit or 'pathology'. The debate around an adequate definition reflects a deeper misunderstanding in Australian society of the profound ways structural disadvantage and marginalisation impact individual agency and opportunity. Public misinterpretations of the experiences of and pathways into homelessness are therefor often reflected in academic writing. Legal, economics (Shambrook 2018) and occupational science (Thomas, Alexandra Gray & McGinty, 2017) disciplines are lacking in the theoretical frameworks to connect how structural inequalities impede an individual's opportunity to access the necessary social capital and resources to secure and maintain appropriate, affordable housing. However, they continue to 'take up space' in academic discourse (Johnson & Jacobs 2014) surrounding housing and homelessness. Australian public discourse conflates pathways into homelessness as definitive of homelessness itself. Public preoccupation with how the individual 'makes' themselves, or 'chooses' to be homeless dominate mainstream media and narrows understandings of homelessness and housing instability to "old men on the street" (Parsell & Jones 2014; Couch 2017 p. 5). As will be explored throughout this review, this falsified perception of homelessness has clear, punitive policy outcomes.

To define homelessness solely as a housing status is not relevant to the Australian context; where stigma often propagated by sensationalised media portrayals has effectively marginalised people experiencing homelessness into an 'othered' group. A definition that focuses on 'rooflessness' also reinforces the misconception that homelessness equates to rough sleeping (sleeping outdoors in public spaces) and erases the various experiences, transient practices and colonisation (Browne-Yung, Ziersch, Baum, & Gallaher 2016) of home in Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander communities. Such an understanding also retracts from the linguistic importance of the term homelessness in itself; if the focus was on the lacking of physical "bricks and mortar" (Chamberlain & MacKenzie 2014), would we not refer to this phenomenon as houselessness? If we understand

language as deliberate and endowed with meaning, then a further interrogation of what ‘home’ is in and of itself, is necessary to understand the experience of ‘being without’ (Parsell 2012).

Fox O’Mahony’s (2013) review of housing scholarship allowed her to develop the following clusters of the meaning of home - home as financial investment, home as housing (as a physical structure), home as territory, home as identity and self-identity and home as a social and cultural signifier. These are presented in the table below.

Home as financial investment	Most present in societies that promote home ownership as the most ideal form of tenure. It involves considering home as an investment, an asset to be accumulated, improved and increased in value to be passed on to future generations. This also speaks to the political rhetoric of home ownership being idealised goal for all Australians.
Home as a physical structure/home as housing	This considers home as the physical roof over one’s head, the structure that provides shelter and protection from the outside world and elements. This understanding reinforces the idea of homelessness being ‘rooflessness’.
Home as territory	The idea that home is our ‘primary territory’ – it is where most of our time is spent, where we seek to satisfy our most basic needs, where we can exert control over our environment and where other’s do not necessary have the power to exert control over us. This reinforces the notion that a person who is oppressed in their home (through violence and abuse), is unable to experience home.
Home as identity and self-identity	The consideration of our emotional and affective responses to home, reinforced in saying such as “home is where the heart is”. It is experienced through a sense of pride people experience over their dwellings, the time, energy and resources that people invest into making their houses homes, how our memories and nostalgia are so uniquely tied to home and how cultural identity is reinforced and produced through one’s dwelling.
Home as a social and cultural signifier	How does the social, cultural, economic and political landscape of where the dwelling sit influence how home is conceptualised and achieved? This involves considering architectural design, the geographic location of the dwelling, how the dwelling provides a space to perform and create cultural tradition, how rental processes are created, who lives within the home and why and how class is depicted as behaviour in relation to the dwelling. For example, we can make assumptions about the behaviours and traditions of a person who lives in a townhouse in South Yarra in comparison to a person who lives in public housing in Coburg.

She acknowledges that home is a fluid experience, imagined and understood differently by different people and gives the opportunity to consider the policy implications of such understandings. Using the example of home as a ‘pull factor’ for migration, she interrogates the subtle ways housing policy in the UK disallows refugees and asylum seekers from creating ‘home’ within their physical housing structures and the offers of rental assistance and brokerage as an incentive for asylum seekers to “voluntarily” return to their “home” countries (2013 pp. 156-158). While O’Mahony’s categorisations of home have their strengths, they lack an exploration into how experiences of home can occur outside of physical structure. This was explored by Parsell (2012) in his ethnographic research with people sleeping rough in Brisbane’s CBD and how they constructed the meaning of home in the absence of physical structure or fixed address. Parsell (2012 pp. 160-163) describes home as space where one is able to exert agency but conversely be controlled; home as family, where people understand heritage, identity and culture and home as a feeling, focusing on the ontological experience of being grounded in the comfort and familiarity within physical space. Those experiencing homelessness did not conceptualise home in this way, rather they expressed that they believed home was safe, long-term housing where activities of daily living could be performed simply and without external intervention. This is consistent with research that explains how despite living within a house, those experiencing domestic violence may ‘feel’ homeless (O’Campo, Daoud, Hamilton-Wright & Dunn 2016). Furthermore, people experience homelessness spoke of home as

an ideal. Contextualised in the current housing market, waitlists for public housing and the quality of emergency and transitional accommodation, one person spoke of one day getting a home “I’ve got no hope.” (Parsell 2012, p. 168)

The conceptualisation of home and how this differs for those experiencing homelessness provides a foundation for understanding homelessness as more than housing status. In his literature review on understandings of homelessness, Somerville (2013 p. 386) concludes that “homelessness is multidimensional.” He argues that homelessness causes a person to experience deprivation physiologically, lacking in bodily comfort or warmth; emotionally, lack of contentment or “joy” (p. 384), territorially, lack of privacy; ontologically, lack of connection or “rootedness” to the world and spiritually, lack of hope or purpose. This understanding of home is essential to understanding rough sleeping, as it challenges the notion that homelessness is a ‘choice’. Parsell and Parsell (2012) discuss the misconception that rough sleeping is a deviant choice made by those experiencing homelessness. Through ethnographic observations and in-depth interviews with 20 self-defined homeless people, they found that all participants considered their rough sleeping a choice. However, they note the importance of context to how the concept of ‘choice’ is constructed and explicitly state that the self-defined choices made by participants in some circumstances do not “qualify as a choice (2012 p. 425).” They related this to participants stating that they chose the least undesirable option of sleeping rough or sleeping in violent, unsafe and unhygienic emergency accommodation. If a person has decided to sleep ‘rough’ on the street, rather in a bed they have been offered in a shelter known for random assault and theft, can this be reasonably considered a choice? This is also further contextualised in participants’ perception that they would never have housing. The choices they made were constrained in their perception and the lived experience of having no realistic way out of homelessness. One participant explicitly stated on this “I can’t see any way out of it. Can’t see any way (2012; p. 428). The very real barriers to feeling hopeful left people sleeping rough with the ‘choice’ of accessing emergency accommodation (which is not always available, is short term or is violent, unsafe and unhygienic), or maintaining a routine and social connection by ‘living’ on the street.

In the past decade, Australian academic discourse and homeless organisational policy has sought to frame housing as a human right, which encourages a consideration of how accountable we should hold our government in providing safe, affordable and long-term housing. This framing of housing as a human right also encourages a further consideration of what the housing we as human beings are entitled to experiencing. The Australian Bureau of Statistics defines homelessness not as rooflessness and notes that home is a collection of elements of “a sense of security, stability, privacy, safety and the ability to control living space.” (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012 p. 7). This reflects the ‘cultural definition’ of homelessness most commonly used in Australia (Chamberlain & MacKenzie 2014). The ABS defines homelessness as “a lack of one or more of the elements that represent home,” encompassing adequacy of, security of tenure in and control of and access to space and social relations within the dwelling (2012 pp. 7-10).

Therefore people experiencing the following would be considered homeless;

- *Sleeping outdoors in public spaces*
- *Sleeping on a spare bed or couches in the homes of friends and family (from now on referred to as couch surfing)*
- *Sleeping in a rooming house, especially if there is no formal security of tenure*
- *Sleeping in an inappropriate dwelling with or without security of tenure, ie: squatting in abandoned buildings, severe overcrowding outside of cultural tradition*
- *Sleeping in emergency and transitional accommodation services*
- *Sleeping in a refuge*
- *Sleeping in a home where you experience or witness domestic violence*

AT RISK OF HOMELESSNESS AND PATHWAYS TO HOMELESSNESS

Defining homelessness as the deprivation of the safety and security of home, requires a consideration of the pathways that lead to this experience. As will be discussed later in the review, this can be a source of social control where behaviours or experiences that are narrowed into putting a person 'at risk of homelessness', are conflated with causes of homelessness (Johnson, Fitzpatrick & Watts 2018). Batterham (2012) rightfully took issue with the ways personal experience and behaviour were incorrectly depicted as causing homelessness and argues that the factors that may put people at risk of experiencing homelessness are not the direct cause. She argues that structural inequalities and Australia's problematic private and social housing market cause homelessness.

Under the above definition, factors such as experiencing domestic violence or severe mental illnesses are not necessarily risk factors, but pathways to homelessness where critical life events cause crisis. Batterham (2012 p. 16) provides a provisional definition for those who are at risk of homelessness, stating that a person can be considered 'at risk' if they experience more than one of the following factors at any given time, "low income and/or income instability, discrimination, the need for support to access or maintain a living situation, limited social capital and supports and housing market tightness." These are deliberately broad to allow for theoretical neutrality and to consider more deeply how one becomes 'at risk' of homelessness. For example, often mental illness is described on intake forms, in literature and policy as placing someone at risk of homelessness. Though this would put a large portion of Australia's population at risk, with no explanation as to the reasons a mental health diagnosis can lead to losing your home. Batterham (2012) argues that it is not merely the individual and their agency that causes homelessness, but it is how societal structures and systems interact with a person's ability to perform agency, through access to resources, impacts their housing. For example, someone who has bipolar disorder which impedes their ability to work consistent full-time hours and has since been demoted to a casual role which may just cover their rent, would be at risk of homelessness. It is not that this person has bipolar disorder, it is the combination of their employment being appropriate for their needs and that there are not enough supportive structures around them to mediate the impacts their mental illness has on their ability to work and pay rent. This is reflected in Johnson and Jacob's (2014 p. 42) suggestion that defining causes of homelessness in the dichotomy of individual versus structural detracts from the fact that "structures do not exist outside of social action but exist because of it." An integrated understanding of the reciprocal relationship between individual agency and social structure is necessary to understanding the causes of homelessness.

Therefore, people in the following circumstances may be considered at risk of homelessness

- *Living in a dwelling with no security of tenure (ie: renting privately without a formal lease)*
- *Exiting an institution (especially if the discharging process has been inadequate) – leaving prison, discharge from hospital, exiting foster care once turning 18*
- *Living in a dwelling that has been served a notice to vacate – building being redeveloped*
- *Living in a dwelling where rent has increased, especially if this is more than half a person's income – this is especially relevant to people who experience marginalisation and disadvantage in gentrified areas*

THE HISTORY OF HOMELESSNESS IN AUSTRALIA

As has been briefly addressed, homelessness in Australia has become a heavily politicised subject but before exploring how this has come to be, it is necessary to address the influences of colonialism. Homelessness was introduced to Australia when the British invaded and declared the country *terra nullius* – 'nobody's land' (Coleman & Fopp 2014). Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people have a long history of and continued connection to country, despite enduring dispossession from custodial

lands. The notion that a person can occupy space on Australian country and be considered homeless has been used as a tool of colonialism, and is a reality now entrenched and accepted by dominant Australian society (Coleman & Fopp 2014). Australia's first policy to address 'the homeless' was through forced removal of Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people from their sovereign lands to missions and camps, where access to animals, food and water that they had used reciprocally for tens of thousands of years was restricted (Coleman & Fopp 2014). In the context of the cultural definition of homelessness, it is clear how the arrival of the British introduced spiritual, legal and cultural barriers for Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people to maintain and create 'home'. This colonial context has led to Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander Australians to be five times more likely to experience homelessness (Browne-Yung, Ziersch, Baum, & Gallaheer, 2016).

Australian understandings of homelessness have shifted considerably in the past fifty years, influenced by political parties in power and their discourses surrounding poverty (Bullen 2015). Bullen (2015) notes that people experiencing poverty have been (and in some ways continue to be) framed as having 'deficits' that disallow them from participating in and contributing to the labour market, which is an ideology reflected in and maintained by government welfare policies. In the 1960s the image of homelessness in Australia was that of 'skid row' – that it was a chronic social condition only experienced by men who slept rough on city streets and posed a threat to the 'respectability' of mainstream society (Parsell 2014). The 'othering' of people experiencing homelessness into a homogenous group implicates policy in the following ways. First, it has continued the legacy of 'segregated' housing that has been historically used to marginalise Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia. Especially in Victoria, the provision of public housing has been clustered in certain areas, in high rises and 'commission blocks' which leave people 'living on top of each other' ⁱⁱ. Secondly, it encourages the conflation of pathways into homelessness as the experience of homelessness in itself. For example, conflating drug addiction as the cause of homelessness, when in reality the drug use of those sleeping rough is more luckily to have begun as a result of the traumatic experience of homelessness, rather as the cause of it (Batterham 2012). This reinforces the notion that 'the homeless' are a group in and of themselves, rather than the fact that homelessness is the experience of being without a home.

The civil and women's rights movements of the 1960s and 70s both in the United States and within Australia increased policy makers understandings of how social and economic factors produce disadvantage. From the 'skid row' view of homelessness prior to the 1970s, homeless services were delivered through outreach centres run by charities with almost no direct government assistance (Bullen 2015). As awareness of and the existence of poverty increased in Australia, organisations began to see "the new homeless" (Bullen 2015, pp. 225-226) which included women and children escaping domestic violence, young people, families and people with disabilities. Their status as 'new homeless' was not necessarily due to their presentation to services, but to the cultural definition of homelessness expanding to include more than rough sleeping. This led to the creation of the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) which is still in operation today, with considerable reform.

Arthurson and Jacobs (2009) found in their analysis of government publications regarding social housing in South Australia, that there has been a significant move in Australian government responses to disadvantage to a 'post-welfare state'. They justify this through an exploration into the framing of welfare as damaging to recipient's behaviour and motivation; essentially as deterring people to enter the labour market. They find that this is an incorrect method of framing the complexities of accessing welfare payments, as there are often structural forces that impact individual's reasoning for and against gaining employment. They use the example of government subsidies assisting with rent for those receiving welfare payments and how these subsidies are taken away once an individual gains employment, therefor potentially putting their tenure at risk when other welfare payments are cut.

HOMELESS INTERVENTIONS AND INTERSECTING DISADVANTAGE

The way homelessness is defined has clear policy implications, as discussed in reference to government treatment of Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people and the 'skid row' homeless. The Australian government's current approaches are based upon the cultural definition of homelessness and acknowledge that it is a complex issue that requires a long-term, organized effort across various agencies, industries and communities. The government's current approach takes the following forms:

- Provision of social housing
- Funding to specialist homeless organisations
- Subsidised land or tenure agreements with community organisations for the provision of community housing
- Initiatives to increase capital for social and affordable housing (Johnson & Jacobs 2014)

The provision of funding to community organisations has created a 'homeless industry', effectively shifting government accountability. By externalising interventions through contractual funding to non-government, non-for-profit organisations, the government has created a climate where these organisations need to routinely compete for this funding, despite having structurally limited resources to achieve positive outcomes for their service users (Johnson et al 2018).

Analysing a UK-based longitudinal interdisciplinary study of the "efficacy and ethicality of conditionality" of social policies in various fields, Johnson, Fitzpatrick and Watts (2018) developed a typology of modes of social control used in policies and interventions regarding those who are homeless. They emphasise that their typologies are not intended to be used as a continuum of least to most ethical where 'harder', or more structural interventions are considered 'bad'. Instead, they encourage the interrogation of when and how these modes of social control are utilised and the moral and ethical dilemmas they may raise. The following five modes of power were identified in UK homelessness interventions, here I have related them to practices in use in Australia:

- *Force* involves removing possibility of non-compliance – arrest and imprisonment, defensive architecture such as spikes in doorways, Community Based Orders
- *Coercion* involves the enforcing behaviour change by threatening deprivation – requirement of people to have case management to enter transitional accommodation, welfare that is contingent on enforced sobriety, welfare contingent on survivors of domestic violence not contacting their ex-partners
- *Bargaining* involves incentivising behaviour change through the use (or promise of) gains or losses – personalised budgets or care planning
- *Influence* involves promoting behaviour change by persuasion or 'nudging' to shape beliefs and behaviours – assertive outreach services, needle exchanges, referring to Big Issue as a method of deterring begging
- *Tolerance* involves no active or deliberate attempt to promote behaviour change – emergency relief services, 'soup kitchens', emergency night accommodation (Johnson et al 2018 pp. 6-14)

This literature review has deliberately focused on women escaping domestic violence, those from refugee and asylum seeker or newly arrived backgrounds and Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people as these demographic groups are overrepresented in rates of homelessness (ABS 2017). The review does not have the scope to explicitly relate each article and the interventions referenced within it to the aforementioned typologies of power. However, it is valuable to consider how interventions and their power typologies may be shaped in the following contexts (Johnson et al 2018; Browne-Yung, Ziersh, Baum & Gallaher 2016).

WOMEN FLEEING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Sharam (2017) conducted focus groups with women over 40 regarding how critical life events have affected their housing. Common themes of income instability, sacrificing income for their children and difficulty entering and staying in the labour market were identified as the most significant factors that led to unstable housing. These factors were exacerbated by experiences of domestic and family violence, which was reflected in Camp, Dauod, Hamilton-Wright and Dunn's (2016) study on experiences of housing instability for women experiencing intimate partner violence. They found that the lack of alternative, safe housing options was a profound deterrent for women to leave violence households. The lack of alternative options was attributed to similar themes as identified by Sharam (2017), though with a larger focus on the psychological and financial abuse perpetrated against women in the study. Women who were able to access long term, safe housing in the study almost unanimously stated that their time in shelters with intensive support programs were paramount, one participant stating "I don't believe that I could have accomplished what I have accomplished today without this housing and the counselling at the women's shelter... knowing that I had this place... just gave me a second chance to live a worthwhile life (Johnson et al 2016)."

REFUGEE AND NEWLY ARRIVED YOUNG PEOPLE

Through in-depth interviews and conversations with 24 refugee young people experiencing homelessness, Couch (2017 p. 2) found that liminality, the experience of "being neither here nor there," was persistent. Refugee young people in this study has experienced displacement from their home country and displacement from their families and communities as they navigated life in Australia. One participant stated, "I am so many steps away, miles away from having anything like the Australians have. I have been here seven years and I am still living in a caravan... I bought hope with me to this country but I can no longer find it (2017 p. 4)." Young people noted that during the first few years of their arrival in Australia, relocation was common, one young person stating "You think before you come that the moving is over. But then in the first two years we moved 7 times. At one point we all slept in the car... five of us (2017 p. 3)." Housing stress was present for all participants prior to leaving home, all participants attributed this to overcrowding or conflict in the home, Couch notes that houses often accommodated up to 20 people. Upon becoming homeless, Couch notes that refugee young people have become 'structurally invisible' in that policies do not address their specific experiences of homelessness, nor are services positioned to (geographically and culturally) meet these needs, or for young people to find these services at all (2017 p. 5). The issue of access is more than whether a person can present to a service, but includes how linguistic and cultural barriers can deter a person from accessing support. One young person stated that after sleeping in the back of the restaurant they worked at for some time, "when my teacher found out... she used the word 'homeless'. I shook my head and said no no I'm not homeless (laughs) because I thought homeless people were old men... the ones who you see in the park and the city (2017 p 5)." The linguistic importance of this occurrence speaks to the necessity of improving understandings of homelessness and how to access the service system for those who are newly arrived to Australia.

ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER PEOPLES

In their interviews with Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people experiencing homelessness, Browne-Yung, Ziersh, Baum and Gallaher (2016) participants unanimously stated that experiences of racism exacerbated the trauma of sleeping rough. A majority stated that they would take extra precautions to avoid racism, which may have involved sleeping in less visible areas or hiding during daylight. 90% of participants reported physical manifestations of experiencing racism, citing stomach pains and headaches (Browne-Yung et al 2016 p. 11). While micro-aggressions and the threat of physical violence were reported as daily realities, participants noted that institutional racism was a huge barrier to their social, spiritual and mental wellbeing. Institutional racism took the form of 'moving on' by law enforcement from public spaces (where non-Indigenous people could congregate without consequence), services not training their staff to understanding the historical context of dispossession from traditional lands or in cultural sensitive practices (Browne-Yung 2016 pp. 9-10) and the punitive management of public parklands. Such practices not only disallow Indigenous and

Torres Strait Islander people from accessing homelessness supports, but they incite a systematic distrust in the service system.

CONCLUSION

Homeless is a multifaceted, complex issue that requires more than a single literature review to properly explore. This review has sought to provide a nuanced understanding of definitions of being at risk of or experiencing homelessness and how this relates to the Australian context. The review also provided brief exploration of how homelessness is experienced by women escaping domestic violence, refugee and asylum seeker young people and Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people. This was a deliberate attempt to mirror the representation of these groups in homeless statistics and in the Whittlesea LGA. Further research could interrogate these experiences further even to provide a more pragmatic exploration as to how to adequately provide services to these groups.

ⁱ There is a deliberate attempt in this literature review to not only include, but prioritise research that includes the expert knowledge of those with lived experience of housing instability and or homelessness. This decision was informed by interviews I have conducted with professionals in the Victorian homeless sector, critical feminist social work theory and most importantly, by people living without a home at the 2018 National Homelessness Conference. I am unable to directly reference the voices of those with lived experience of homelessness I have spoken with in this review, which speaks to the ways power dynamics and inequalities that disallow the voices of marginalised people to be heard in public discourse are reflected in and reinforced by academic rigour. The prioritisation of research that treats the knowledge of those with lived experience as expert is a small, but important step to take in giving justice to the voices of those who have experienced or are experiencing homelessness. As Black (2012 p. 6) writes,

“Those of us involved in policy development, research, service delivery, fundraising or program management have other experiences and qualifications to bring to the table. But we do not ourselves know what it is like to be homeless and face the snowballing hell that it can create—we simply do not have that expertise... those with a direct experience of homelessness have a unique and valuable perspective, and can make a significant contribution to helping prevent and resolve homelessness—both at an individual and systemic level.”

ⁱⁱ This literature review does not have the scope to adequately explore the impact of concentrating social housing to specific spaces, for this see Atkinson 2008

APPENDIX 3: OBSERVATIONAL RENTAL COUNT DATA

STUDIO & 1 BEDROOM

27/06/2018																				
Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	4	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hummerdale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
South Mo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	4	1	4	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
3/07/2018																				
Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	4	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hummerdale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
South Mo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	4	1	4	11	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
10/07/2018																				
Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	4	1	1	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hummerdale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Mo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	4	1	5	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

2 BEDROOM

27/09/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	950-999	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kingslake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	2	28	31	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	69

30/7/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	950-999	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kingslake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	2	31	27	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67

10/07/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	950-999	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kingslake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	7	40	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	79

3 BEDROOM

27/06/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-4	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14	15	6	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	22	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	15	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	114	48	12	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206

30/7/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-4	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	14	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	16	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	26	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	10	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	16	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	15	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	123	47	10	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213

10/07/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-4	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11	13	7	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	15	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	25	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	11	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	15	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	15	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	18	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	135	42	12	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	228

4 BEDROOM

27/06/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	950-999	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	11
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	19	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	13	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	66	17	9	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	135

30/7/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	950-999	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	21	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	15	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	66	18	7	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	132

10/07/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	16	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	20	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	69	22	8	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	130

17/07/2018

Suburbs	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	17	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	21	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	67	21	5	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	129

24/07/2018

Suburbs	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	19	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	44
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	19	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	66	20	8	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	137

31/07/2018

Suburbs	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	19	23	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	15
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	20	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	39	71	22	12	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	149

14/08/2018

Suburbs	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	19	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	45
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	11
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	16	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	44	66	20	14	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	146

21/08/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600-649	650-699	700-749	750-799	800-849	850-899	900-949	950-999	Subtotal
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11	16	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Mernda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	18	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
South Melb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Woodstock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	36	64	25	6	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	135

5+ BEDROOM

27/06/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Merrinda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8

30/7/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Merrinda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	13

10/07/2018

Suburb	0-49	50-99	100-1	150-1	200-2	250-2	300-3	350-3	400-4	450-4	500-5	550-5	600-6	650-6	700-7	750-7	800-8	850-8	900-9	950-1	Subt
Beveridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bundoora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
Donnybrook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doreen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Eden Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Epping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Humeval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinglake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lalor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Merrinda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mill Park	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
South M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Thomast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whittlesea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wollert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodsto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yan Yea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	15

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