



Submission to: Australian Parliament Inquiry into Homelessness

Version 2 – resubmission to accommodate new circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic

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Preface: City Futures Research Centre, UNSW

Established in 2005 and headed by Professor Bill Randolph, CFRC is Australia's leading urban policy research centre. Spanning the interrelated areas of metropolitan planning, housing, urban analytics and liveability, our work aims to advance understanding of how Australia's cities both shape and are shaped by social, environmental and economic change. The Centre's pre-eminent position in the Australian urban research field was officially reconfirmed in the 2018 national university research assessment exercise, the ERA. Together with Faculty colleagues, CFRC was once again rated as Level 5 – well above world standard – in the urban and regional planning field.

Reflecting the Centre's acknowledged urban policy expertise, staff members are often consulted by policymakers, by private developers and by not-for-profit organisations in Sydney, elsewhere in Australia, and internationally. Our work is also regularly cited in local and national media.

CFRC works closely with several other UNSW research groups as well as with other universities in Australia and leading international research centres in Asia and Europe. The applied focus of our research also involves strong partnerships with local, state and federal government agencies as well as industry stakeholders and community groups.

The Centre's interest in homelessness connects with our prime focus on housing affordability, affordable housing, and housing systems. Our expertise in this area is reflected by our ongoing involvement in the long-established UK Homelessness Monitor series¹, by our report: *Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018*², and by our contributions to other related research outputs.

¹ Established in 2010, and led from Heriot-Watt University, the UK Homelessness Monitor project has so far generated 17 national reports on England and each of the other UK jurisdictions - <https://www.crisis.org.uk/ending-homelessness/homelessness-knowledge-hub/homelessness-monitor/> The series is funded by Crisis UK and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

² Pawson, H., Parsell, C., Saunders, P., Hill, P. & Liu, E. (2018) *Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018*; Melbourne: Launch Housing <https://www.launchhousing.org.au/australianhomelessnessmonitor/>

1. Introduction

Homelessness and the COVID-19 crisis

With the onset of COVID-19 crisis in early 2020, homelessness was abruptly thrust into the spotlight as an urgent policy challenge for Australian governments. Suddenly, prompted by concerns around infection and possible virus transmission by vulnerable people, rough sleeping and overcrowded homeless shelters were officially recognised as the public health problems they had always been. State governments that had historically treated homelessness as a low priority issue suddenly found tens of millions of dollars to create pop-up accommodation or book rough sleepers into hotels. In a matter of weeks during April 2020, an estimated 5,000 people were rescued into temporary shelter across Australia³.

This is undoubtedly a remarkable achievement and should be celebrated as such. At the same time, it raises two huge questions. Firstly, how will this cohort of temporarily sheltered people be permanently rehoused? And, secondly, how can the much-reduced scale of street homelessness as at mid-2020 can be maintained into the future. We return to these questions in Section 9 at the end of this submission.

Australia's homelessness problem in a broader context

It hardly needs saying that a safe and secure home is fundamental to individual wellbeing, as well as foundational for an individual's contribution to national economic activity. Even if short-lived, the experience of homelessness will be scarring for many of those affected. Long-term homelessness will likely result in permanent damage to mental and physical health, let alone to a person's employability.

However, continuing legitimate debates on exactly how homelessness should be defined only go to emphasise the reality that this is an issue that cannot be properly seen in isolation from the broader issues of housing stress and unmet housing need. This observation is especially valid when it comes to rough sleeping, the form of homelessness that has recently come to the fore as an official concern (see above). Importantly, street homelessness needs to be recognised as constituting a visible symptom of a much larger and more fundamental body of problems.

Rough sleeping (especially in terms of the numbers who can be counted on any given night) is only the tip of a much larger homelessness iceberg. And wider homelessness (for example, as enumerated in the census) is only the tip of a still far larger iceberg of serious housing need. For example, some 1.3 million Australians in low income households are pushed into poverty purely by 'unaffordable' housing costs – that is, where a household nominally above the poverty line has a rent payment liability that leaves them with insufficient income to meet food, clothing and other basic living costs⁴.

Much can, and of course should, be done to alleviate rough sleeping and other forms of homelessness, directly. This was starkly demonstrated by the resolute government actions that provided temporary shelter for thousands in April 2020. In isolation, however, such actions are far from sufficient to make a fundamental impact on the broader problem. Achieving real progress in this field demands action to reduce the large and growing 'housed population' cohort whose

³ Heagney, M. (2020) More housing needed for the several thousand rough sleepers across Australia; Domain, 12 May <https://www.domain.com.au/news/more-housing-needed-for-the-several-thousand-rough-sleepers-across-australia-955241/>

⁴ See p68 in: Pawson, H., Milligan, V. & Yates, J. (2020) Housing Policy in Australia: A case for system reform; Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan

marginal housing situation places them at a relatively high risk of actual home loss. As well as incorporating active prevention measures, an official strategy to tackle homelessness must tackle the housing system causes as well as the symptoms of the problem.

Evidence on intensifying housing stress

Quite apart from the immediate challenges posed by the COVID-19 emergency, there is a battery of evidence demonstrating a long-term trend of intensifying stress affecting lower income renters and/or the lower end of Australia's rental housing market. These are trends that we believe likely to provide the main explanation for the rising rates of homelessness recorded in the decade to 2016 (see Section 2). For example, ABS survey data shows that households in the lowest quintile of Australia's income distribution have seen typical housing costs rising from 23% of typical incomes to 28% over the past decade (while the equivalent figure for highest income quintile households has remained virtually static at 10%)⁵. At the same time, Productivity Commission analysis shows that the proportion of low income tenants in rental stress rose to 54% in 2018⁶.

In the decade to 2016, meanwhile, ongoing restructuring of Australia's private rental housing market has seen a deepening national deficit in the number of private rental dwellings affordable and available to lowest income quintile renters – the shortfall grew by 45% to 305,000 over this period⁷.

2. The incidence of homelessness

Defining and counting homelessness

Quite apart from the impacts of the 2020 pandemic shock, homelessness has been a growing problem in twenty-first century Australia. Referencing the most widely accepted benchmark – statistics generated by the five-yearly ABS census – the numbers affected rose by 30% in the decade to 2016. On this basis, homeless people increased from 89,728 to 116,427 during the period. Because this increase was substantially larger than general population growth over the period, the rate of homelessness per 10,000 population increased from 45 to 50⁸. This means that, on ABS definitions, one in every 200 Australians was homeless on census night 2016.

As it is often understood by policymakers and media commentators, homelessness is often conceptualised as being restricted to rough sleeping, as conventionally measured by a point-in-time count. On census night 2016 rough sleepers (in ABS terminology, those 'living in improvised dwellings, tents, or sleeping out') were enumerated as totalling 8,200 across Australia (or 7% of all homeless people under the ABS definition).

In terms of this narrow view of homelessness the census intrinsically understates the scale of the issue. Most obviously, there is the practical reality that a street count methodology can never fully enumerate this target group⁹. Beyond this, it is a critically important fact that the cohort sleeping

⁵ See Table 1.2 in: ABS (2017) *Housing Occupancy and Costs*, Cat 4130.0. Canberra, ABS <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4130.02017-18?OpenDocument>

⁶ Productivity Commission (2019) *Vulnerable Private Renters: Evidence and Options*; Canberra: Australian Government <https://www.pc.gov.au/research/completed/renters>

⁷ Hulse, K. et al. (2019) *The supply of affordable private rental housing in Australian cities: short-term and longer-term changes* https://www.ahuri.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0024/53619/AHURI-Final-Report-323-The-supply-of-affordable-private-rental-housing-in-Australian-cities-short-term-and-longer-term-changes.pdf

⁸ ABS (2018) *Census of Population and Housing: Estimating homelessness, 2016*; ABS Catalogue No. 2049.0. It should be noted that the ABS approach enumerates homelessness entirely according to objective living circumstances on census night, and not in relation to any individual's self-perception as being in this situation.

⁹ For example, estimates based on population survey data suggest that typical point-in-time rough sleeping numbers across England in 2017 exceeded 10,000, while the official national estimate (based on local authority

rough on any given night is not a fixed group of people. Rather, it is a shifting population that usually includes a proportion of long-term chronic rough sleepers, alongside others lacking settled housing and therefore liable to cycle in and out of actual rooflessness. Point-in-time enumeration therefore understates the numbers experiencing this form of extreme deprivation over any time period¹⁰.

Beyond this, it is internationally widely accepted that homelessness cannot be sensibly equated with rough sleeping alone, and that – as a manifestation of extreme housing need – it must be more broadly defined to include – at the very least – those living in shelters, hostels and other temporary housing situations (e.g. sofa surfing)¹¹. Debates around the treatment of severe overcrowding as a component of homelessness as officially defined in Australia are covered later in this submission.

Calibrating homelessness via administrative data

An alternative approach to homelessness enumeration is to focus on the number of people threatened by – or experiencing – homelessness, and seeking help with housing on this basis. Such numbers are routinely collated and annually published by the Australian Institute for Health and Welfare (AIHW). Applications for assistance from homelessness services agencies grew from 236,000 in 2011-12 to 288,000 in 2016-17 (a 22% increase in the five-year period).

Nevertheless, cross-referencing Australian statistics of this type with population-wide survey data, it appears that they may omit around 60% of homeless people who do not seek help¹². As indicated by this observation, there is a need for caution in the use of such administrative data to measure the scale and changing quantum of housing need in this form. For example, an awareness that the capacity of advice and assistance services is increasingly stretched will likely discourage people with housing problems from seeking such help. At the same time, however, administratively-generated data of this type hold great policy-informing potential in terms of their capacity to yield information about the circumstances that prompted an advice/service request, and regarding their regularly updatable nature.

Despite all of the above limitations in our ability to clearly define and quantify the problem, it is clear enough that homelessness is a situation that has been affecting a large and growing number of Australians. And, with the country heading into a severe recession in mid-2020, numbers that could easily be set for a rapid escalation – as further discussed in Section 9.

counts and estimates) was some 4,700 – Fitzpatrick, S., Pawson, H., Bramley, G., Wood, J., Watts, B., Stephens, M. & Blenkinsopp, J. (2019) *Homelessness Monitor England 2019*; London: CRISIS
<https://www.crisis.org.uk/ending-homelessness/homelessness-knowledge-hub/homelessness-monitor/england/the-homelessness-monitor-england-2019/>

¹⁰ In the UK, for example, estimates based on a recent BBC survey of local authorities (<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-51398425>) suggest that more than 28,000 people slept rough in England at least once during the latest year on record whereas the official UK Government point-in-time measure for Autumn 2019 was 4,266 (<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/rough-sleeping-snapshot-in-england-autumn-2019>) – less than one sixth of those sleeping rough at least once across a year according to the BBC evidence.

¹¹ For example, one group of internationally renowned academic experts argues the case for homelessness to be framed as a condition affecting all those ‘lacking access to minimally adequate housing’ – see: Busch-Geertsema, V., Culhane, D. & Fitzpatrick, S. (2016) *Developing a global framework for conceptualising and measuring homelessness*; Habitat International Vol 55 (July) pp 124-132

¹² ABS (2011) *General Social Survey: Summary Results*; Canberra, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Cat. No. 4159.0.

3. Factors affecting the incidence of homelessness, including housing-market factors

Homelessness causes

An individual's risk of becoming homeless can be greatly exacerbated by personal vulnerabilities such as alcohol or substance abuse, by mental ill health or disability. However, it is also important to emphasize that risk of homelessness is strongly related to income and wealth (or the lack thereof). It is true that some of the life events that may have the potential to precipitate homelessness (e.g. onset of serious illness, relationship breakdown) can affect anyone – rich or poor. At the same time, the likelihood that such an event will result in homelessness is much greater for people already subject to poverty or deprivation¹³. The phrase 'we are all two paychecks from homelessness' is somewhat misleading in this sense. The corollary of this is that all societies experiencing growing economic inequality – Australia being clearly a case in point, at least where wealth is concerned¹⁴ – are at higher risk of likewise experiencing rising homelessness.

Drivers of aggregate change in homelessness incidence

More broadly, aggregate changes in the incidence of homelessness tend to be strongly affected by policy, economic and housing market factors. Commenting on the increase in homelessness in this country to 2016, our Australian Homelessness Monitor report (2018)¹⁵ noted:

We can identify a range of recent social and economic developments that might be expected to place upward pressure on homelessness. Most importantly, these include:

- *Growing income stress for many benefit-reliant households due to social security administrative practice – principally in terms of shifting claimants onto more lower value and more conditional forms of payment, and the increased 'sanctioning' of claims.*
- *Rising rates of institutional discharge from prisons and out-of-home care as well as an apparently increasing incidence of domestic violence*

Such changes are critical in the context of a housing market that lacks an adequate supply of social and affordable rental housing. This is evident from the geographical pattern of recent homelessness change ... Generally speaking, increases have been much more rapid in capital cities, with much lower growth rates – or even reductions – in some non-metropolitan contexts. Within this, [recent] homelessness increases have tended to be higher in the large Eastern states where economies and housing markets have been relatively strong over the past few years, and lower in South Australia, Tasmania and Western Australia where these factors have been less applicable.

Indigenous homelessness

Indigenous Australians are the population group by far the most affected by homelessness. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are ten times as likely to be homeless as the Australian norm. However, while 2016 Census figures suggest that the rate of Indigenous homelessness declined over the preceding five years, this is markedly at variance with the trend indicated by AIHW

¹³ Bramley, G. & Fitzpatrick, S. (2018) Homelessness in the UK: who is most at risk?, *Housing Studies*, 33 (1) pp96-116

¹⁴ Sheil, C. & Stilwell, F. (2019) The continuing redistribution of Australia's wealth, upwards; *Evatt Journal*, Vol.18, (2) <https://evatt.org.au/papers/continuing-redistribution-australias-wealth-upwards.html>

¹⁵ Pawson, H., Parsell, C., Saunders, P., Hill, P. & Liu, E. (2018) *Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018*; Melbourne: Launch Housing <https://www.launchhousing.org.au/australianhomelessnessmonitor/>

homelessness service user statistics¹⁶. Indeed, this latter series not only recorded an increase in Indigenous service user caseloads over the five years to 2016-17, but *an increase disproportionate to that of the non-Indigenous cohort*. Whereas the former grew in number by 39%, the latter expanded by only 17% over this period. Possible reasons for this inconsistency are discussed in Section 5.4.4 of our Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018 report¹⁷.

4. The causes of, and contributing factors to, housing overcrowding

The rising incidence of overcrowding

The rising incidence of serious overcrowding revealed by the 2016 census was an important contributory factor in the overall expansion of ABS-defined homelessness 2011-2016. However, the 23% increase in such overcrowding recorded during this period was not a new development; rather, it continued the 2006-2011 trend.

Moreover, as emphasized in our Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018 report¹⁸, this is only an element of such stress affecting the lower end of the rental housing market. While falling just below the level of overcrowding classed by ABS as equating to 'homelessness', the population living in 'other crowded dwellings' (available bedrooms in dwelling three less than required)¹⁹ expanded by 33% in the period 2011-2016, and over the decade 2006-2016 by 88%.

Separately from the census, it has been reported that Sydney's local councils have been facing a growing tide of complaints about 'illegal dwellings' (some of which relate, specifically, to overcrowding)²⁰.

In commenting on these trends, the ABS noted that most of the 2011-2016 increase in serious overcrowding was attributable to a doubling in the number of persons born overseas living in this situation²¹. Thus, of the 51,000 persons experiencing severe overcrowding in 2016 just over a quarter (26%) were people who had arrived in Australia since 2011. However, while it seems likely that these will have included an appreciable number of overseas students, that doesn't diminish the significance of the problem in terms of the deprivation being experienced, nor the housing market pressures that probably contribute to this situation.

Reflecting official concerns about rising rates of serious overcrowding²², the NSW Government indicated an intention to commission research on the issue in 2018 (NSW Government, personal communication). Whether such a study was in fact undertaken is unknown. In any event, no such

¹⁶ Admittedly, the definitions of 'homelessness' used by the ABS and the AIHW differ somewhat (see main text), but that seems unlikely to fully account for the difference observed here.

¹⁷ Pawson, H., Parsell, C., Saunders, P., Hill, P. & Liu, E. (2018) *Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018*; Melbourne: Launch Housing <https://www.launchhousing.org.au/australianhomelessnessmonitor/>

¹⁸ Pawson, H., Parsell, C., Saunders, P., Hill, P. & Liu, E. (2018) *Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018*; Melbourne: Launch Housing <https://www.launchhousing.org.au/australianhomelessnessmonitor/>

¹⁹ It must be emphasized that even 'other crowding' as defined here represents what – for most Australians – would be considered extreme deprivation of personal residential space.

²⁰ Burke, K. (2019) Overcrowded, illegal housing on the rise in Sydney due to poor affordability, report finds; *Domain*; 29 April <https://www.domain.com.au/news/informal-housing-complaints-on-the-rise-due-to-poor-housing-affordability-831320/>

²¹ ABS (2018) *Census of Population and Housing: Estimating homelessness, 2016*; ABS Catalogue No. 2049.0

²² NSW Government (2018) *Crowded house: Government and experts tackle new face of homelessness*; Family and Community Services Media Release; 19 September <https://www.facs.nsw.gov.au/about/media/releases/archive/crowded-house-government-and-experts-tackle-new-face-of-homelessness>

research is yet published. Our limited understanding of the ‘serious overcrowding’ phenomenon in Australia is problematic, as further discussed in Section 7 of this submission.

5. Opportunities for early intervention and prevention of homelessness

As noted below (see Section 7), there is a need to enhance routinely collected data on homelessness. Logically, this would facilitate evidence-led targeting of homelessness prevention resources. Even the imperfect service user data currently collated could be more usefully deployed to this end.

In any event, however, it would seem that one obvious area for government attention involves those at risk of becoming homeless following discharge from state-provided or regulated institutions. For example, over 15,000 of those assisted by homelessness service provider organisations in 2016-17 were recorded as having exited care or custody²³. Either through their ability to exercise direct control (e.g. as in the case of prisons and the armed forces) or through regulatory powers (e.g. in relation to young people exiting foster care), governments need to review whether they are doing enough to place firm obligations on such institutions to assist in securing move-on accommodation.

Similarly, although responsible for only a relatively small proportion of Australia’s housing stock, social landlords (primarily public housing agencies and community housing providers) could be placed under stronger regulatory obligation to maximise tenancy sustainment and to minimise property repossessions where breach of tenancy contract has occurred (usually involving unpaid rent arrears).

Better data on tenant evictions by social (as well as private) landlords would help to inform a strategy to manage them down to the minimum possible number. The basis for such statistics would be the case records held by the tenancy tribunals that govern tenancy repossession cases across Australia. This Committee of Inquiry could importantly assist here by recommending that state/territory governments ensure that the tribunal for their jurisdiction routinely publishes rental property repossession casework statistics. Ideally, these would be configured according to a common framework determined and administered by the Australian Institute for Health and Welfare (AIHW).

6. Best-practice approaches in Australia and internationally for preventing and addressing homelessness

There is an overarching need for a prevention-focused national homelessness strategy akin to that the Rudd Government’s 2008 Road Home. This could provide the framework vitally needed to drive progress in this space. Crucially, two headline targets were adopted by the Commonwealth Government’s 2008 strategy: to halve overall homelessness by 2020, and to offer supported accommodation to all rough sleepers who need it by 2020²⁴. Although subsequently abandoned in 2013, these pledges were widely applauded at the time not only for their ambition, but also for the

²³ Pawson, H., Parsell, C., Saunders, P., Hill, P. & Liu, E. (2018) *Australian Homelessness Monitor 2018*; Melbourne: Launch Housing <https://www.launchhousing.org.au/australianhomelessnessmonitor/>

²⁴ Australian Government (2008) *The Road Home – A National Approach to Reducing Homelessness*; Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia

acknowledgment of associated commitments that this would require a massive investment in new affordable housing stock²⁵.

Latterly, in advance of the COVID-19 pandemic, some state governments had adopted specific homelessness reduction targets, albeit that these have focused narrowly on the rough sleeping population rather than the wider homelessness problem. Most notably, the NSW Government committed in 2019 to reducing street homelessness by 50% by 2025²⁶.

Thanks to the pandemic, of course, the mass rehousing program instituted in NSW and nationally in April 2020 has seen the NSW 2025 homelessness reduction target being ostensibly over-achieved ahead of time. We say 'ostensibly' for two reasons. Firstly, because at the time of writing it remains unclear whether and how NSW and other state/territory governments will permanently rehouse rough sleepers and others temporarily accommodated to shelter them from COVID-19. The possibility that many from this cohort will be returned to homelessness cannot be entirely excluded at this stage. Secondly, even if all of those given short term housing in early 2020 are in fact securely rehoused, it will require concerted action to maintain street homelessness numbers at low levels into the future. These issues are further discussed at the end of this submission – see Section 9.

What is needed to address the second of the above issues is an 'interventionist' strategy of active homelessness prevention. One model here is the program instituted in England by the UK Government during the 2000s²⁷ – and sustained over more than a decade. This provides a notable template for the way that Australia could 'tool up' its approach to tackling the homelessness problem in this country.

Within the more specific rough sleeping context, the operationalisation of Housing First approaches in Finland has been widely lauded; similarly, in Denmark and Norway²⁸. As an approach to resolving homelessness as it affects longer term rough sleepers, the essence of HF is provision of permanent independent housing accompanied by non-compulsory support, but without conditions on sobriety or psychiatric treatment. Articulating high level HF principles, a recent international review²⁹ of effective rough sleeping responses highlighted the following recommended approaches:

- Housing-led solutions
- Person-centred support, including choice for the individual
- Assertive outreach leading to a suitable accommodation offer
- Services that specifically focus on addressing wider support needs.

²⁵ Parsell, C. & Jones, A. (2014) Bold reform or policy overreach? Australia's attack on homelessness. *International Journal of Housing Policy*; Vol 14(4): 427-443

²⁶ Visentin, L. (2019) Premier commits to halving street homelessness in NSW by 2025; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 February <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/nsw/premier-commits-to-halving-street-homelessness-in-nsw-by-2025-20190213-p50xes.html>

²⁷ Pawson, H., Netto, G. & Jones, C. (2006) *Homelessness Prevention: A Guide to Good Practice*; London: Department for Communities & Local Government <https://www.homelesshub.ca/resource/homelessness-prevention-guide-good-practice>

²⁸ Chambers, D. et al. (2018) *A systematic review of the evidence on housing interventions for 'housing vulnerable' adults and its relationship to wellbeing*. What Works Centre for Wellbeing, University of Sheffield, Sheffield

Pleace, N. (2018) Housing first overseas Parity, Vol. 31 (10) pp36-37

²⁹ Mackie, P., Johnsen, S. & Wood, J. (2019) Ending Street Homelessness: What Works and Why We Don't Do It; *European Journal of Homelessness* Vol 13(1) pp85-96.

In the Australian context, however, as well as probably contributing to the *rising incidence* of homelessness, the serious and intensifying shortage of affordable rental housing affecting much of the country (see above) is compromising the potential efficacy of the Housing First model as a means of *responding* to the problem. Thus, a recent review of HF projects in Australia concluded that: ‘...in all the programmes examined, the aim of providing immediate housing was undermined by lack of quick access to affordable housing, with some unable to access even temporary accommodation’³⁰. This observation only goes to underline the overarching conclusions of this submission as outlined in Section 9.

7. The adequacy of the collection and publication of housing, homelessness, and housing affordability related data

Debate on ‘severe crowding’ as manifestation of homelessness

The ABS inclusion of people subject to ‘severe crowding’ within its definition of homelessness has been a focus for debate. This relates to residents of dwellings where four or more extra bedrooms would be needed to adequately accommodate the household. Residents enduring such conditions will be, in anyone’s book, experiencing quality of life extremely degraded by absence of adequate housing. Nevertheless, there are legitimate questions about the logic of including overcrowding (even at these levels) as a manifestation of ‘homelessness’.

While in no way downplaying the seriousness of severe crowding as a form of extreme deprivation, Prof Chris Chamberlain, one of Australia’s top homelessness experts (and a foremost advocate for homeless people), argues that this is questionable³¹. The case here is that, for those in the census-identified ‘severely crowded’ cohort, the accommodation concerned is generally considered ‘permanent housing’, not a temporary bedspace – which could be reasonably classed as part of the homelessness circuit. Removal of severe crowding from the homelessness definition as applied in recent census counts would have generated a 2011-2016 homelessness increase of 7% rather than the 14% as officially published. The 10 year increase would have been 12% rather than 30%.

According to the above argument, the ABS inclusion of severely crowded households within the ‘homeless’ population might undermine the credibility of the overall official homelessness total, of which it is part. At the same time, Chamberlain argues that in contravention of its own (widely drawn) homelessness definition, the ABS did not collect sufficient information in the 2016 census to enumerate people living in physically inadequate dwellings, nor to identify renters lacking security of tenure, nor those experiencing domestic violence³².

Resolving whether severely crowded households should be properly counted as ‘homeless’ is difficult because we have so little knowledge of the circumstances of those involved. In the absence of such information, it is hard to know how people in these conditions experience serious overcrowding, and the extent to which they see themselves as adequately or permanently housed.

All of this is part of a broader debate on whether the official definition of homelessness should be limited to (a) those sleeping rough or in non-conventional accommodation, and (b) people living in

³⁰ Bullen, J. & Baldry, E. (2019) ‘I waited 12 months’: how does a lack of access to housing undermine Housing First?, *International Journal of Housing Policy*, Vol 19(1) pp120-130

³¹ Chamberlain, C. (2019) Two views about overcrowding; *Parity* Vol 32 (5) July

³² Chamberlain, C. (2019) Two views about overcrowding; *Parity* Vol 32 (5) July

temporary accommodation for lack of other options. This latter formulation is the basis for the narrower definition of homelessness as utilised by AIHW³³.

Homelessness data analysis to inform a homelessness prevention strategy

In maximising the effective targeting of homelessness prevention efforts, there needs to be a stronger analytical focus on the proximate causes of home loss. Given its fundamental role as a simple enumeration device, the census cannot help us here. Since the key challenge is to stem the flow of newly homeless people, the cohort on which to concentrate is not so much those homeless at a point in time, but those who are newly experiencing the problem. Therefore, the most important data source here is not the census, but the AIHW system that records requests for assistance logged by homelessness service providers.

However, although data collected through this system includes an applicant's stated reason(s) for seeking assistance, the classification of responses could be enhanced – in particular in relation to the apparently somewhat rubbery category 'housing crisis'. Analysed in terms of service users' main reason for seeking assistance, this accounted for 24% of all applications in 2016-17. Moreover, it was by some margin the fastest growing 'main reason' for applications in the preceding three years (up by 32%).

Other possible enhancements to the system that should be considered within this context include:

- Unique identification of homelessness service users to facilitate elimination of within-period double counting
- Addition of a geographic indicator enabling spatial analysis of expressed demand for homelessness services at within state/territory level.

As noted above (see Section 5) tenant evictions is another key topic on which there is a need for data enhancement to better inform homelessness prevention efforts.

8. Governance and funding arrangements on housing and homelessness

Provision for Commonwealth Government support for the cost of state/territory homelessness services is nowadays incorporated within the periodically updated National Housing and Homelessness Agreement (NHHA). In 2018-19 this amounted to \$117million³⁴. The justification for such a funding agreement rests partly on the high degree of vertical fiscal imbalance in Australia, i.e. the limited tax raising powers/capacities of state/territory governments in relation to the size of the budget outlays required to meet their service delivery responsibilities.

However, NHHA homelessness-designated funding underwrites only a small (and diminishing) proportion of state/territory homelessness services expenditure. Having risen by 27% in real terms in only four years, such outlays are set to top \$1billion in 2019-20³⁵. Notably, the average annual real terms increase in state/territory spending has been running at 7% while the Commonwealth's pledged NHHA contributions going forward increase by only the predicted rate of inflation – i.e. zero

³³ Chamberlain, C. (2019) Two views about overcrowding; *Parity* Vol 32 (5) July

³⁴ Australian Government (2018) National Housing and Homelessness Agreement
http://federalfinancialrelations.gov.au/content/npa/other/other/NHHA_Final.pdf

³⁵ Table A19.1 in: Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision (2020) Report on Government Services 2020: Part G Housing and Homelessness
<https://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/report-on-government-services/2020/housing-and-homelessness/homelessness-services/rogs-2020-partg-section19-data-tables.xlsx>

in real terms. Especially since aspects of homelessness services could be classed as amounting to 'social security' (constitutionally, a Commonwealth responsibility), this seems highly problematic.

9. The COVID-19 crisis and its homelessness impacts

Addressing the current temporary accommodation crisis

Returning to the present (June 2020), we now face a situation where there are thousands of people temporarily rescued from street sleeping and homelessness shelters, safely housed in hotels and motels for the time being, but with no clear exit strategy for the point when emergency funding runs dry³⁶. Although no overarching commitments have been made on permanent rehousing, it is very hard to envisage governments overseeing a mass return to the streets.

Governments may expect that social housing will be able to take the strain of providing required move-on accommodation, but decades of disinvestment means the sector's capacity to absorb this kind of shock has been badly degraded. Since the 1990s, stock managed by public housing agencies and not-for-profit community housing providers (CHPs) has shrunk from 6% of all housing to a meagre 4%. Over the past quarter century, what was already an internationally modest level of provision has effectively contracted by one third. However, a more meaningful measure of 'social housing supply' is the annual number of lettings made by social landlords. Relative to population, this has halved since 1991³⁷.

In most jurisdictions the sector consequently lacks the short run capacity to offer long-term housing to all the rough sleepers and others currently in hotels. This rehousing exit strategy would be realistic only if the associated program could be stretched out well into 2021 – something that, at this stage, appears unlikely because of the limited ability of state/territory governments to extend emergency temporary accommodation funding programs.

Since the onset of the pandemic there have been growing calls for a major social housing investment stimulus program to kickstart economic recovery³⁸, although the Federal Government has not yet given any indication of support for such a plan. Even if approved, though, such an initiative would offer no quick solution to the looming hotel move-on housing challenge. Some are arguing for this to be addressed through a rapid spot-acquisition program by CHPs³⁹, but a more realisable option could be large-scale head-leasing of privately owned properties. Since many CHPs have long experience of head-leasing, this would be quite straightforward from an administrative perspective. Moreover, with the substantial oversupply of private rental properties that has resulted from the pandemic⁴⁰, the second half of 2020 is likely to be a highly-opportune time for such procurement. In

³⁶ Heagney, M. (2020) More housing needed for the several thousand rough sleepers across Australia; Domain, 12 May <https://www.domain.com.au/news/more-housing-needed-for-the-several-thousand-rough-sleepers-across-australia-955241/>

³⁷ Taking into account both public housing and community housing, the gross number of social rental lettings dropped from 52,000 in 1991 to 35,000 in 2017 – an absolute decline of a third (for sources see p106 in: Pawson, H., Milligan, V. & Yates, J. (2020) Housing Policy in Australia: A case for system reform; Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan). Pro rata to population, this represents an effective reduction in social housing supply of some 50%.

³⁸ Lunn, S. (2020) Push for social housing to help lead recovery; The Australian, 5 May

³⁹ Wakefield, R. (2020) The need to house everyone has never been clearer. Here's a 2-step strategy to get it done; The Conversation, 24 April <https://theconversation.com/the-need-to-house-everyone-has-never-been-clearer-heres-a-2-step-strategy-to-get-it-done-137069>

⁴⁰ Johanson, S. (2020) Renters win as owners face short-stay apocalypse; Sydney Morning Herald, 12 May <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/renters-win-as-owners-face-short-stay-apocalypse-20200512-p54s7z.html>

costing such a program, policymakers would need to take account of the rental gap⁴¹ and also the support costs involved in enabling independent living for the most vulnerable former rough sleepers.

New homelessness challenges beyond the immediate agenda

While mid-2020 sees governments and homelessness service providers understandably pre-occupied with exit strategies for the temporarily rehoused, even larger challenges are looming the near future. As yet there seems to have been little recognition that Australia is likely to face a new wave of homelessness later in the year as severe economic recession pushes tens of thousands of vulnerable renters – and even home owners – into housing crisis.

Even at the time of writing, while the Jobkeeper program remains in place, and jobseekers are receiving temporarily boosted payments, these programs exclude millions of non-permanent citizens and casual workers. Many among these excluded groups are surely even now being pushed towards a hazardous housing position by sudden loss of income in shut-down sectors like hospitality and tourism. Beyond this, when crisis income support measures are ended later in 2020, and with them, short term evictions moratoriums, there must be a huge risk that a fresh homelessness spike will present Australian governments with a new policy challenge.

More broadly, as we argue in our recently-published book⁴², there is a pressing case for a long-term national housing strategy that could offer a real chance of dampening some of the most important pressures that contribute to the scale of homelessness experienced in contemporary Australia. Alongside this, as argued in Section 6, the Commonwealth Government needs to re-institute time-specific homelessness reduction targets that extend beyond street homelessness. Such targets should be incorporated within a federally-led national homelessness strategy entailing concerted and sustained action also involving state/territory governments, local council and all industry stakeholders.

The hope must be that the pandemic housing crisis acts as a wake-up call for governments that have historically resisted the case that rising homelessness is a problem that calls for much more strategic action than the traditional norm. A more pro-active role for government in the housing system is essential not just as an emergency response, but as a long-term commitment.

⁴¹ The difference between accommodation cost (market rent plus CHP management fee) and the amounts that a former homeless tenant will be able to contribute via their entitlement to Commonwealth Rent Assistance their ability to pay an affordable proportion of other social security income.

⁴² Pawson, H., Milligan, V. & Yates, J. (2020) *Housing Policy in Australia: A case for system reform*; Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan