

Homelessness

in Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Populations in Western Australia

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Prepared for the Department of Communities Government of Western Australia

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Disclaimer

The opinions in this report reflect the views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Centre for Social Impact, the University of Western Australia or the Department of Communities, Western Australia. The authors freely draw on their past published work in this study.

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Executive Summary

'Culturally and linguistically diverse refers to the wide range of cultural groups and individuals that make up the Australian population. It includes groups and individuals who differ according to religion, race, language and ethnicity except those whose ancestry is Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Celtic, Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander'

(Office of Multicultural Interests, 2010, p. 37).



The definition of 'Culturally and Linguistically Diverse' (CaLD) offered by the Office of Multicultural Interests (OMI, 2010) is one of a number of definitions used in policy, research and practice and is used as a working definition of CaLD in this report. Taken literally, however, it presents a very wide CaLD definition effectively focusing attention on religion, race, language and ethnicity as the determinants of CaLD status. In this report we adapt the definition to focus on three elements that we believe act together to produce social vulnerability:

- being born in a country other than Australia that is Non-Anglo/Celtic; and,
- speaking languages other than English, and/or not speaking English well; and
- recency of arrival (people who have been in Australia less than 5 years are more vulnerable).

Regardless of the particular definition of CaLD used, measurement of CaLD-based homelessness in major data sets generally falls short of what is required. Existing, accessible homelessness measures, especially for counting those who are rough sleeping, often offer only one variable (for example, 'Country of Birth'), which does not, with confidence, accurately indicate cultural or linguistic diversity and underlying vulnerability. Where more variables are collected, such as in the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census Household Form, there are still difficulties undertaking analysis of cohorts across the various dimensions using unit record data.

While these definitional and measurement limitations associated with counting CaLD homelessness remain, analysis of three national homelessness datasets—the ABS's Census of Population and Housing, the Specialist Homelessness Services Collection and national Registry Week data—do provide some indication of trends and insights (albeit incomplete) of the experience of homelessness among CaLD people.

Summary of analysis of cultural groups by Census homelessness categories

Census data captures a more complete picture of CaLD homelessness, as it has better coverage across all forms of homelessness than other major data sets.

The Census utilises six operational groups of homelessness:

- persons living in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping outdoors (rough sleepers);
- persons in supported accommodation for the homeless:
- persons staying temporarily with other households;
- persons living in boarding houses;
- · persons in other temporary lodgings; and
- persons living in 'severely' crowded dwellings.

In spite of the broader coverage of homelessness in the Census, there are limitations in terms of the use of a multi-dimensional approach to CALD status which hampers the investigation of CALD homelessness. This is particularly the case for rough sleeping where there is limited information on CALD status, largely in relation to one dimension of CALD status, country of birth, but missing data on this one dimension.

In spite of these significant limitations, overall the 2016 Census data suggests that the vast majority of people experiencing homelessness are born in Australia. Converting the raw data into rates of homelessness (per 10,000 population) in order to compare the likelihood of becoming homeless across different cohorts reveals a different picture: Australian-born people experience overall homelessness at a rate below the national average, 40 per 10,000 people compared with the overall homelessness rate of 50 per 10,000 people.

The largest group of people experiencing the most visible and chronic forms of homelessness - rough sleeping - are Australian born, or born in New Zealand (Oceania/Antarctica Country Group), meaning they are likely to have an Anglo Saxon/ Celtic cultural background, be English speaking,

and/or are Australian or New Zealander First Nations people. All of these groups fall outside the definition of CaLD.

It is interesting that people from New Zealand experience homelessness at a higher rate than all other country of birth groups (including Australianborn) across four of the six homelessness operational groups (they experience rough sleeping, couch surfing, and utilise boarding houses and other temporary lodgings at a higher rate than other groups). Although this population group does not fit within our definition of CaLD, they may experience visa restrictions and consequent issues accessing basic support services, which means they may share significant structural vulnerabilities in common with people from other CaLD groups.

People from the North East Asia Country group are more likely to experience homelessness than other groups (based simply on the Country of Birth dimension), across three of the six homelessness categories – couch surfing, staying in severely overcrowded dwellings and boarding houses. Populations from across Asia (North East Asia, South East Asia and Central Asia) are more likely to experience overcrowding. People from North Africa/Middle East are more likely than others to be living in supported accommodation, or experience severe overcrowding.

It is not known how stable these trends are over time. We might speculate that there may be fluctuations that reflect waves of migration from various parts of the world, and government policies in terms of who can access supports and on what terms (to do with visa conditions and/or politics between countries of origin). Establishing greater certainty about types of homelessness experienced by various cultural groups would require more research.

What is the problem with secondary and tertiary homelessness?

These broad findings indicated by the Census data are that people from CaLD backgrounds experience secondary and tertiary homelessness (but not primary homelessness or rough sleeping) at a higher rate than those who are Australian-born.

Qualitative studies shed light on reasons this may be the case. For example, a report by Multicultural Mental Health Australia (2011) vividly describes difficulties organisations face in placing immigrants in appropriate housing. Immigrants and refugees can commonly end up in temporary, overcrowded or transient housing, where they are encouraged to stay because there are no other long-term housing options.

The 2011 report outlines the physical and mental health impacts of living in marginal accommodation for long periods. These circumstances create difficulties sustaining employment, maintaining education, and connecting with the community. Inadequate housing often perpetuates cycles of

intergenerational disadvantage, especially where family disruption already exists because of extended migration experiences that may have involved time in refugee transit camps and detention centres.

Drivers of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse homelessness

The key drivers of homelessness that apply to the general population also apply to the CaLD population. Synthesis of qualitative research about CaLD homeless populations reveals that there are certain individual and structural drivers that are particular to CaLD populations, or that CaLD populations feel more acutely, and that lead to increased risks of homelessness. These are outlined in Table A.

Table A: Individual and structural drivers of homelessness specific to, or felt more acutely by, Culturally and Linguistically Diverse populations

Individual Drivers

Difficult life transitions

- Fleeing from torture, trauma, war, violence
- Adjusting to new country, language and culture

Family breakdown affecting youth

- Reconfiguration of families
- Tension and conflict due to cultural dislocation
- Effect on youth is more profound

Mental and emotional health

- Trauma and recovery from torture
- Post-traumatic stress disorder
- Mental illness, substance use and dual diagnosis

Family and domestic violence

- Unaware of domestic violence services, refuges or housing options
- Lack of support network to escape violence
- Dependent/partner visas may exacerbate vulnerability

Structural Drivers

Temporary visa status

- Inability to access income support, some services
- May be ineligible to work

Access to employment

- Difficulties obtaining employment
- Qualifications may not be valid in Australia
- Discrimination and labour market disadvantage

Access to resources

- Financial stress and poverty
- Income support or welfare services

Access to services

- Primary health care (physical/mental health)
- Employment and training services
- Aged care services
- Legal services
- Specialist homelessness services

Access to housing

- Eligibility for public and community housing
- Housing supply and affordability issues
- Problems accessing private rental accommodation
- Housing stress

Review of qualitative studies also identifies certain groups within the CaLD population who are especially at risk of homelessness since they are likely to be facing multiple and compounding individual and structural antecedents to homelessness. Particularly vulnerable groups include humanitarian migrants, women on temporary visas, young people and, more recently, older people from CaLD populations have been identified to be at increasing risk of homelessness.

As an example of how compounding factors manifest in a greater risk of homelessness for certain cohorts, according to a report written by the Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues (Ransley & Drummond, 2001), young people from refugee backgrounds are six to ten times more likely to become homeless than other young people.

Qualitative analysis of drivers for homelessness confirms the findings of the quantitative data – that people with CaLD backgrounds are more likely to become homeless than other people, and although they are less likely to be sleeping rough, they are much more likely to stay in transitional, unsafe or inadequate housing for long periods of time.

Another finding confirmed through both analysis of the Specialist Homelessness Services Collection and qualitative studies, is the low rates of service engagement by CaLD populations. "When factors including pre and post migration challenges are taken into account, these reduced rates of service access are more likely to reflect issues such as stigma and difficulties navigating the system than lower levels of distress or need" (Mental Health Australia, FECCA & NEDA, 2019).

People who are experiencing, or at risk of, homelessness and are from CaLD communities experience 'double disadvantage' as they are more likely to face homelessness, and also more likely to face a number of barriers to accessing help, such as lack of system knowledge, language, lack of culturally appropriate services, ineligibility to access services and discrimination.

Indicative quantitative and qualitative findings presented in this Report call for a better understanding of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse homelessness, through better measurement practices, and greater visibility and advocacy for people who fall under the radar of homelessness measures and indeed homelessness services.

Current approaches to ending homelessness that focus predominantly on rough sleeping may overlook these populations and needs. Particularly in the case of refugees and asylum seekers, this group may have become more accepting of transient living conditions and have lowered expectations (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011), meaning that ensuring their homelessness is made visible, and then advocating on their behalf to address their homelessness, becomes even more important.

In this way, the needs presented by the CaLD population – especially in the most vulnerable cohorts such as asylum seekers who may be excluded from accessing the most basic needs and may have no right to work in Australia – can be conceptualised as much through a human rights framework as an ending homelessness framework.

Compensating for gaps in income security related to residency and visa status, ensuring all services - homelessness services as well as services that address the causes of homelessness - are equally accessible to all population groups, and making the housing system more affordable and accessible for all population groups, are daunting issues to tackle, and need high-level policy changes to be addressed. Without addressing these issues, however, Western Australia will not be able to achieve the vision enshrined in Government policy, which is substantive equality for all Western Australians. Neither will Western Australia be able to completely end homelessness, including the less visible homelessness of people living for extended periods in overcrowded, marginal and unsafe housing.

¹ Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia. (2011). *Homelessness has many faces and many cultures*. Retrieved from http://www.fecca.org.au/images/stories/documents/Media/2011/media_2011030.pdf

1. Introduction

Australia has become an increasingly diverse country in terms of the cultural backgrounds of the population. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), in 2012 there were over 200 languages other than English spoken in family homes across Australia. Migration records show that over a quarter of people living in Australia (28.5%) were born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2017).

'Culturally and Linguistically Diverse' (CaLD) is the most current and commonly used phrase to reference this diversity. The term CaLD is used as a term for people with backgrounds that differ from the dominant Anglo-Saxon/Celtic and English language demographic profile of Australia, and who are also not Aboriginal and/ or Torres Strait Islander Australians. Although, as this Report will illustrate, there are significant difficulties in meaningfully applying language, measurement instruments and data capture processes, to capture this in a precise way.

The challenge of addressing homelessness in CaLD populations is firstly, in understanding the nature of this population behind the catchall phrase of CaLD, and secondly, accessing accurate and up-to-date information to inform these responses. This Report unpacks some of the definitional and measurement issues, and provides analysis of data in light of this, to clarify our understanding of CaLD homelessness.

1.1 Background

In 2018 the Centre for Social Impact, University of Western Australia (CSI UWA) published a review of homelessness in Western Australia, titled, 'Homelessness in Western Australia: A review of the research and statistical evidence' (the Review) (Kaleveld, Seivwright, Box, Callis, & Flatau, 2018). The Review presented an overview of homelessness in the Western Australian context in terms of its scale, geographic patterns, population

profile, antecedents and impacts on individuals experiencing homelessness.

The exploration of homelessness within CaLD communities was touched upon in the 2018 Review. For example, 2016 Census data on CaLD homelessness was presented. The Review recognised that different population groups, who may be vulnerable to homelessness, are not adequately captured by the Census or other homelessness measures. This was described as primarily due to problems with definitions as well as limitations within data capture and analytic methodologies. The Review proposed that further research was needed for specific sub-groups, or 'hidden' populations such as the CaLD population, and in particular refugees or newly arrived migrants, alongside veterans, children under 12 and people with disabilities (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn & Buergelt, 2014). This Report was developed to explore and present further research on the CaLD homelessness population.

1.2 Strategic context

In Western Australia (WA) there has recently been a drive to develop a more integrated response to ending, rather than just managing, homelessness. This focused look at CaLD homelessness is occurring at an opportune moment in WA, when homelessness has been widely recognised as a whole-of-community issue, one that must involve both collective will as well as collaborative efficacy to end homelessness. In December 2019 the WA Government released All Paths Lead to a Home: Western Australia's 10-Year Strategy on Homelessness which looks at how all parties (government, local government and community organisations) across all sectors in WA can work together to address homelessness. This builds on the community-led initiative of the WA Alliance to End Homelessness which, in 2018, launched the Western Australian Strategy to End Homelessness,

a 10-year action plan to end homelessness (Western Australian Alliance to End Homelessness [WAAEH], 2018). These two strategies provide an opportunity for clear thinking and momentum in WA around ending homelessness.

The need to be culturally inclusive in addressing complex issues such as homelessness is endorsed by the principles of access and equity, as represented in the WA Charter of Multiculturalism (Office of Multicultural Interests, 2004). The Charter documents the evolution of our thinking in Australia (and the world). Initially governments were focused on ensuring that no citizen was prevented from enjoying their rights. However, recent thinking calls for governments to actively ensure that all citizens are able to exercise these rights, for example, the right to housing. Where experiences of social vulnerability intersect with divergent cultural backgrounds, needs that must be addressed and policy and practice responses may differ from the standard case, and efforts must be made to understand this difference in order to achieve substantive equality for all Western Australians.

The Equal Opportunity Commission's Substantive Equality Policy Framework (Equal Opportunity Commission, 2014) highlights the importance of maintaining a focus on equitable outcomes as well as equal opportunity. Rights, entitlements, opportunities and access are not equally distributed throughout society. 'Substantive equality recognises that equal or the same application of rules to unequal groups can have unequal results. Where service delivery agencies cater to the dominant, majority group, then people who are different may miss out on essential services. Hence, it is necessary to treat people differently because people have different needs' (Equal Opportunity Commission, 2014, p. 4).

Achieving equality is undermined in subtle but also very obvious ways. The CaLD population in Australia will include people on certain visa subclasses who are not able to access the same rights and safety nets as permanent residents and Australian citizens. Thus meeting the basic

human right to housing – for refugees, those on temporary visas or newly arrived migrants - will always be more challenging. Government policies on immigration, rules about specific visas and entitlements are also complicated and prone to sudden shifts and political manoeuvres.

However, given the strong political will and current momentum to end homelessness in Western Australia, and our increasingly sophisticated homelessness service system, there is some hope in the Western Australian context. This Report is an opportunity to better understand the diversity within our community and how that manifests within the homeless population. This will help increase our understanding of how specialised services can cater to the housing needs of this diverse population and assist homelessness services to address these needs.

1.3 Aims and methods

This Report explores the following areas:

- The definitions of homelessness and Cultural and Linguistic Diversity (CaLD);
- Measurement and data collection limitations involved in capturing the CaLD homeless population;
- Estimating the extent of the homeless population with CaLD backgrounds in WA;
- Understanding individual and structural drivers of homelessness within CaLD communities:
- Identifying any highly vulnerable population groups within the CaLD population; and
- Presenting guidelines on improving the support system for CaLD people who are vulnerable to homelessness.

Our review is based on a synthesis of existing data and research concerning CaLD communities, as outlined in *Table 1*. As information concerning the CaLD population in WA is scarce, the research team contacted a number of organisations working within the CaLD community (such as the Office of Multicultural Interests), to ensure that the most upto-date local information had been accessed.

Table 1: Methodology

Key activities	Methods		
Overview of definitions and measurement issues	 Interview with ABS homelessness team Analysis of Census data collection forms and use Analysis of Specialist Homelessness Services Collection Analysis of Registry Week data Analysis of CaLD variables and limitations 		
Estimating the CaLD homeless population within WA	Analysis of select homelessness datasets and measures with a CaLD population (WA) lens: Census Specialist Homelessness Services Collection Registry Week		
Homelessness vulnerability patterns within the CaLD population (drivers and vulnerable populations)	Desktop literature search and review of academic publications and grey literature about CaLD communities and homelessness (local and recent information where possible)		
What we need to do better to support CaLD communities vulnerable to homelessness	 Desktop review of evidence for effective responses Document any CaLD specific planning responses to homelessness in WA and suggestions for a way forward 		

While this more focused analysis through a CaLD lens will provide new insights and a deeper exploration of CaLD homelessness in WA than was possible within the scope of the 2018 Review, the data limitations identified in that Review still remain and affect the extent to which homelessness within the CaLD population can be understood.

Analysis across three datasets – Census, Specialist Homelessness Services Collection and Registry Week data – indicates that the Census data captures a fuller picture of CaLD homelessness. This is because the Census methodology can better capture elements of secondary homelessness (i.e., 'staying temporarily with other households') and also incorporates an item living in 'severely crowded dwellings'. These elements of homelessness align with the homelessness experience that appears to be most common to CaLD populations. After a brief analysis of the usefulness of all three key homelessness datasets, this Report, will draw largely from Census data. However, there are still

many limitations to how effectively the Census can count homelessness in CaLD populations. The published Census evidence does not reflect a richer CALD definition – for example which might bring together an analysis of multiple variables such as country of birth, English language proficiency and recency of arrival (this example is based on the variables available via the Census of Population and Housing Household Form). In terms of rough sleeping and accommodation in homelessness services there are also clear issues in the collection of country of birth data and significant limitations in respect to English language proficiency and recency of arrival, which are not variables collected for those sleeping rough.

2. Measurement and data collection limitations

This section explores the limitations of the available data we can access to understand CaLD homelessness. Our instruments are relatively 'blunt', and datasets are obfuscated by inconsistencies in definitional, data capture and data collection issues that come into play when estimating the CaLD homeless population. As will be explored, the barriers to gaining a precise understanding of CaLD homelessness are significant. Importantly, the considerations raised in this section will remain pertinent throughout our exploration of CaLD homelessness.

2.1 Definitional issues

Defining Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

There is no universally accepted definition of 'Culturally and Linguistically Diverse' communities since it is a broad descriptor for individuals and communities who possess ethnic/racial, cultural, religious and/or language characteristics that differ to those of the majority in a given national context (Seman, Karanatsios, Simons et al., 2019; Forrest, 2018). The term 'CaLD' has been commonly utilised in Australia and New Zealand since the end of the twentieth century, to describe migrant groups from non-English speaking countries and refers to Australia's non-Indigenous ethnic groups other than the English-speaking Anglo-Saxon majority (Sawrikar & Katz, 2009).

The term 'CaLD', however, is highly problematic due to the many different experiences of individuals and communities that it encompasses, and the assumption of vulnerability that it has come to imply. CaLD is not a categorical term that explicitly describes a sub-group of Australians with a common experience. It may be true that any divergence from Anglo-Saxon/Celtic ancestry will impact on the ease with which a person engages with Australian society and access

resources and rights. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that there is incredible diversity within this category and across individuals, especially when factoring in how long an individual or a cultural group has been settled in Australia. CaLD groups may also experience specific forms of resilience and cultural resources that enable a person to experience success and a high quality of life in Australia.

It remains important, however, to attempt to define the scope of the CaLD population, as the vulnerabilities of people within CaLD communities, where they do exist, do result in impacts on outcomes for individuals. Where possible in this Report, the CaLD category has been broken down into country of birth sub-groups, which provides a better understanding of, and reminder of, the diversity of experiences within this group.

One definition of CaLD that attempts to capture vulnerability within the Australian context, relates to 'migrants from developing countries and/or countries where the predominant language(s) is not English, and the children of these migrants' (Forrest, 2018).

The Australian Government's *Cultural and Linguistic Diversity Strategy 2018-2021* (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018) uses a broader definition of CaLD, involving people who:

- Are from different countries, including other English-speaking countries;
- Have different cultural backgrounds;
- Can speak other languages besides English; and/or
- Follow different religions, traditions, values and beliefs.

A simpler conceptualisation is that CaLD refers to all people who are not English-speaking Anglo-Saxons/Celtics – although not Aboriginal and/ or Torres Strait Islander Australians. Aboriginal people have a unique place in Australia. They hold distinctive rights as Australia's First People and are generally not categorised within the CaLD category (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2014).

This report adopts as a working definition the Western Australian Office of Multicultural Interests definition of CALD which is: 'Culturally and linguistically diverse refers to the wide range of cultural groups and individuals that make up the Australian population. It includes groups and individuals who differ according to religion, race, language and ethnicity except those whose ancestry is Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Celtic, Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander' (Office of Multicultural Interests, 2010, p. 37).

The definition of CaLD offered by the Office of Multicultural Interests (OMI, 2010) is one of a number of definitions used in policy, research and practice and is used as a working definition of CALD in this report. Taken literally, however, it presents a very wide CaLD definition effectively focusing attention on religion, race, language and ethnicity as the determinants of CaLD status. In this report we adapt the definition to focus on three elements that we believe act together to produce social vulnerability:

- Being born in a country other than Australia that is Non-Anglo/Celtic; and,
- Speaking languages other than English, and/or not speaking English well; and
- Recency of arrival (people who have been in Australia less than 5 years are more vulnerable).

Operational definitions of homelessness

The 2018 Review examined various operationalised definitions of homelessness and the implications for counting the homeless. The three homelessness measures analysed in depth in this Report, and their definitions are outlined below.

Of significance for this Report are Chamberlain and MacKenzie's (2009) cultural definition of homelessness, which is a shelter-based definition that uses the concepts of 'primary', 'secondary' and 'tertiary' homelessness as three distinct conditions:

- Primary homelessness: being without conventional accommodation; living on the streets, sleeping in parks, squatting in derelict buildings, living in improvised dwellings (i.e., sheds, garages or cabins), and using cars for temporary shelter.
- Secondary homelessness: moving frequently from one form of temporary shelter to another, such as emergency or transitional accommodation or supported accommodation. This also includes people residing temporarily with other households because they have no accommodation of their own, and people staying in boarding houses on a short-term basis (operationally defined as 12 weeks or less).
- Tertiary homelessness: living in boarding houses on a medium to long-term basis (13 weeks or longer). Residents of private boarding houses are 'homeless' because their accommodation does not meet the minimum community standard: they do not have a separate bedroom and living room; they do not have kitchen and bathroom facilities of their own; their accommodation is not self-contained; and they do not have security of tenure provided by a lease (Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 1992).

In 2011 the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) made a departure from using the cultural definition to inform the Census count of the homeless, to the new 'statistical definition' of homelessness. In essence, this involved a broadening of the definition of homelessness to include 'severe' overcrowding (ABS, 2012).

Severe overcrowding, as operationalised in the Census, involves 'living in a dwelling which requires four or more extra bedrooms to accommodate the people who usually live there, as defined by the Canadian National Occupancy Standard' (ABS, 2012). This was considered important to capture as severe and sustained overcrowding puts the health and safety of the occupants at risk.

In terms of the CaLD homeless population, these historic definitional categories are important. As we will see, CaLD populations are more likely to experience secondary and tertiary forms of homelessness, including 'severe overcrowding', rather than primary homelessness – a pattern captured in a simple way by the cultural shelterbased definition, and then captured in a more refined way through the ABS' broadening out of their statistical definition to include severe overcrowding.

The current definitions of homelessness that are operationalised through the main homelessness datasets are outlined here.

Australian Bureau of Statistics - Census

Under the ABS definition, a person is homeless if they do not have suitable accommodation alternatives and their current living arrangement:

- Is in a dwelling that is inadequate;
- 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.

The ABS has developed six homeless operational groups for presenting estimates of people enumerated in the Census who were likely to have been homeless on Census night. These groups are:

- · Persons living in improvised dwellings, tents or sleeping outdoors;
- Persons in supported accommodation for the homeless:
- · Persons staying temporarily with other households;
- Persons living in boarding houses;
- Persons in other temporary lodgings; and
- Persons living in 'severely' crowded dwellings.

Specialist Homelessness Services Collection (SHSC)

The SHSC collects information about people who are referred to, or seek assistance from, specialist homelessness services (SHS) agencies. The SHSC defines a person as homeless if they are living in either:

- Non-conventional accommodation or 'sleeping rough' (primary homelessness); or
- Short-term or emergency accommodation due to a lack of other options (secondary homelessness).

In the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) Specialist Homelessness Services Annual Report 2017-2018 (AIHW, 2019a), clients are considered to be homeless if they are living in any of the following circumstances:

- No shelter or improvised dwelling: includes where dwelling type is no dwelling/street/ park/in the open, motor vehicle, improvised building/dwelling, caravan, cabin, boat or tent; or tenure type is renting or living rent-free in a caravan park.
- Short-term temporary accommodation: dwelling type is boarding/rooming house, emergency accommodation, hotel/motel/bed and breakfast; or tenure type is renting or living rentfree in boarding/rooming house, renting or living rent-free in emergency accommodation, or renting or living rent-free in transitional housing.
- House, townhouse or flat (couch surfing or with no tenure): dwelling type is House/townhouse/ flat, and tenure type is no tenure or conditions of occupancy is couch surfing.

Registry Week

Registry Weeks aim to develop a register of those who are homeless so that they may be known by name and that their housing, health and social needs might be addressed. A number of tools are used to collect data, such as the Vulnerability Index Service Prioritisation Decision Assistance Tool (VI-SPDAT). This instrument does not provide a definition of homelessness (Flatau et al., 2018). However, as Registry Week is undertaken by people working in close relationship with people experiencing homelessness, it is assumed that an understanding of a respondent's housing vulnerability is the basis of this data collection.

In addition, four broad categories of homelessness are used, which are:

- Rough sleeping;
- Supported accommodation (including women's refuges);
- Short-term accommodation without tenure (e.g., boarding house, hostel, caravan); and
- Accommodation in institutional settings (e.g., hospitals, drug and alcohol treatment centres, watch houses, jail, juvenile detention).

For a more detailed discussion of definitions of homelessness across various homelessness measures see the Review (Kaleveld et al., 2018).

2.2 Data capture issues

This Report aims to understand homelessness in people who are outside of the mainstream dominant culture of English speaking Australians of Anglo-Saxon/Celtic descent, and also not Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Australians. However, current data collection methods within homelessness measures do not necessarily align with this aim, especially where there is only one variable collected (for example, "Country of Birth", which does not necessarily indicate cultural or linguistic diversity).

The level of vulnerability of people from a CaLD background tends to be associated with the following factors:

- being born in a country that is Non-Anglo/Celtic;
- speaking languages other than English (LOTE) at home; and
- not speaking English well².

There is also an argument that recency of arrival is a relevant factor to measure, as people who

have been in Australia less than five years are vulnerable to homelessness risks.

Thus any 'gold standard' measure of CaLD in the homelessness population, in an ideal world, would collect variables about multiple factors, and would supplement this with reporting based on multifactorial analysis of several variables, such as ones related to the above factors.

There are also generational issues to consider, which are not adequately captured in our current homelessness measures. While country of birth is very important for recently arrived migrants, it does not capture the whole population of CaLD people. Reliance solely on country of birth will naturally exclude a large number of children born in Australia. To capture these, Country of birth of parent/s and language spoken at home would be important³.

In 1999, the Australian Bureau of Statistics released its Standards for Statistics on Cultural and Language Diversity, which proposed a 'Standard Set' as well as a 'Minimum Core Set' of variables to measure cultural and language diversity which could be used in all administrative and service settings (ABS, 1999). This recognised that precise measurement of cultural and language diversity, and related advantage or disadvantage, requires a combination of variables about a person's background. The Minimum Core Set consists of four variables:

- Country of Birth of Person
- Main Language Other Than English Spoken at Home
- Proficiency in Spoken English
- Indigenous Status (although this is not included under the definition of CaLD used in this report).

The Standard Set of variables goes into more detail for example by including religious affiliation

According to the Office of Multicultural Interests, ideally collecting information on 'Speaking languages other than English at home' and 'Not speaking English well' is important. However, if there is a choice between the two variables, the 'Speaking languages other than English at home' is the preferred option as responses to this question can distinguish between Aboriginal languages and Auslan (or other sign languages) and CaLD languages, and can more accurately capture the CaLD population. However, the variable 'Not speaking English well', although it may include other cohorts such as Aboriginal Australians, it more closely aligns with the antecedents to homelessness (e.g., access to the labour market and experiences of social exclusion).

³ This insight was provided thanks to the Office of Multicultural Interests

and year of arrival in Australia. The Office of Multicultural Interests have published a Guide to Cultural and Linguistic Data Collection for the Public Sector, which outlines core variables and standard variables, and includes details about the best ways to ask and response options for each question (Office of Multicultural Interests, 2014).

The most recent 2016 Census of Population and Housing collected all of the variables of the Minimum Core Set (Country of Birth of Person, Main Language Other Than English Spoken at Home, Proficiency in Spoken English) and a selection of the additional variables included in the Standard Set (Year of Arrival in Australia, Ancestry, Religious Affiliation, Country of Birth of Mother and Country of Birth of Father). However the Special Short Form which is used for capturing those sleeping rough, only uses one variable -Country of Birth.

Table 2 shows the variables captured by the various homelessness measures and illustrates that a consistently applied framework for understanding the CaLD dimension in homeless populations is currently not available. The Census Household Form provides the best CaLD data capture, according to what is needed for a complete understanding of a person's background. However, one must be in a shelter to complete this form, and this is only captured once every five years. In addition multifactorial analysis across these variables must be conducted using raw, unit record data in order to truly capture the CaLD population.

Unfortunately the ABS generally uses a Short Form for those sleeping rough which provides limited data collection and full completion of the Census Household Form in homelessness services is very poor.

The Specialist Homelessness Service Collection (SHSC) currently Initial Client Form elicits information on country of birth and year of first arrival. From July 2019 English language speaking and proficiency has been added into the Initial Client Form and this in the future will provide a rich understanding of the CALD experience of homelessness to the extent that it relates to the more narrow definition of homelessness used in the SHSC.

Table 2: Variables relevant to the CaLD population captured by the various homelessness measures

Homelessness measure	ABS Census	Specialist Homelessness Service Collection	Registry Week
Data capture instrument	Census Household Form	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Initial Client Form	VI-SPDAT
Variables relevant to the CaLD population	 Country of Birth Main Language Other Than English Spoken at Home Proficiency in Spoken English Year of Arrival in Australia Ancestry Religious Affiliation Country of Birth of Mother Country of Birth of Father Special Short Form Country of Birth See Appendix A for Standard Classification of Countries 	'What is the client's country of birth?' Responses include: — Australia — Other country (please specify) — Don't know — Not applicable 'What year did the client first arrive in Australia?' (Don't know, not applicable) Added in July 2019 Main language other than English spoken at home Proficiency in spoken English	'Do you identify as (mark all that apply)': - Australian - European - Aboriginal - Middle Eastern - Torres Strait Islander - American - South Sea Islander - South East Asian - Pacific Islander - South American - New Zealander - African - British - Maori - Scottish - Irish - Other (specify) Respondents could list more than one cultural identity.

2.3 Data collection issues

While the SHSC captures people who access homelessness services, it cannot provide a true estimate of the total number of homeless people at one point-in-time, since it excludes those who do not access services (which qualitative research indicates are more likely to be from CaLD populations).

Only the Census offers the opportunity to estimate the total number of people who were likely to have been homeless at any one point-in-time, and across all homelessness categories. However even the ABS faces data collection challenges. For example, counting the homeless who are sleeping rough is now a fairly well organised and well-resourced operation. However, unfortunately a Special Short Form is used, which means that considerably less data is collected about individuals without shelter (for example, there is only one CaLD variable) than would be desirable. At the same time, the engagement of expert staff who are experienced working with rough sleepers means that there is less missing data. Supported accommodation utilises the Household Form, hence more information is potentially collected about each individual, however people do not have the same levels of support when filling out the survey in supported accommodation environments, and thus there is a lot of missing data (interview with the ABS homelessness measurement team).

The WA Department of Health recently published a 'Review of Cultural and Linguistic Diversity (CaLD) Data Collection Practices in the WA Health System 2018' (Forrest, 2018) which identified several issues impacting data quality of CaLD health information:

- lack of mandatory collection;
- poor data dictionary guidance;
- suboptimal software functionality;
- non-standardised response options; and
- poor staff training.

This is also relevant to the homelessness sector, due to lack of resourcing around the collection and maintenance of administrative data. These issues can lead to undercounts and unusable data in terms of its ability to accurately capture ethnic and cultural groups. There is also a lack of consensus about the definition of CaLD and changes in understandings and practices (e.g., the move away from the term 'Non-English Speaking Background').

Within the limits of this Report we cannot explore all definitional issues and debates, and data quality concerns when it comes to enumerating the CaLD homeless population. This in itself warrants its own literature review and report. All of the definitional, data capture and data collection issues explored in this section serve to highlight the barriers for gaining a true count of the CaLD homeless population, as well as the limitations in our ability to compare statistics across jurisdictions, timeframes and datasets.

3. Estimating Cultural and Linguistic **Diversity in Western Australia**

On Census night in 2016, 28.5% of the estimated resident population of Australians was born overseas (6.9 million persons). However, within this count the top two Countries of Birth are the United Kingdom (5% of Australia's population) and New Zealand (2.5% of Australia's population). These two English-speaking Anglo-Saxon and Commonwealth countries, represent about one guarter of all those born overseas (ABS, 2017), see Appendix A for Standard Classification of Countries. (Even at a broad level, the data limitations discussed in Section 2 are coming

Data published by the Office of Multicultural Interests (2016) provides a comprehensive

into play).

analysis of the trends in migration in this state, based on Census data. As shown in Figure 1, since 2011 there has been a 16.5% increase in the number of people in WA born overseas - their share of the total population increased from 30.7% to 32.2%. The top 10 birthplaces were England, New Zealand, India, South Africa, the Philippines, Malaysia, China, Scotland, Italy and Ireland.

There has also been an increase in the number and proportion of people speaking a language other than English (LOTE) at home from 325,054 (14.5%) in 2011 to 437,869 (17.7%) in 2016. Mandarin replaced Italian as the most common LOTE spoken at home.





Source: Based on data compiled by the Office of Multicultural Interests, computed from the Australian Bureau of Statistics Table Builder Program. MES = Main English Speaking, MNES = Main Non-English Speaking

For the first time in history, the number of people born in non-main English speaking countries (NMESC) was larger (410,383) than those from main English speaking countries (MESC) (387,331).

4. Estimating the Culturally and Linguistically Diverse homeless population

To estimate the CaLD homeless population in WA we began with a very broad analysis of the three major homelessness data collections comparing the overall figures of the Australian born homeless population with those who were overseas born or other cultural identities (while noting the limitations highlighted in Section 2 regarding the variables available in the homelessness datasets – e.g., the Special Short Form for counting people sleeping rough only having one variable related to CaLD which is about Country of Birth – and also our ability to meaningfully compare across datasets).

Two of the three major homelessness measures indicate that CaLD populations are not overrepresented within the homeless population (in comparison with the general Australian population), and one – the Census – indicates that the CaLD population is overrepresented within the homeless population. As noted previously, we consider the Census to be a more robust capture of the total CaLD homelessness as it more adequately captures secondary homelessness, which qualitative research reveals is typically experienced by CaLD populations.

The following section provides a brief overview of these summary findings.

4.1 Census estimates of the homeless population born overseas

Total population born overseas and profile of homeless population born overseas

People who were born overseas and arrived in Australia in the five years prior to the 2016 Census accounted for 15% (17,749 persons) of all persons who were estimated to be homeless. Males (60%) were over-represented in this homeless group compared to the total homeless population. The majority (79%) of homeless persons from CaLD backgrounds, were aged 12–34 years. Of this group:

- 12% were born in India;
- 10% in China:
- 6% in Afghanistan;
- 5% in Pakistan; and.
- 4% in Thailand, Vietnam, Taiwan and Malaysia combined.

In 2016, 74% of this group, (13,088 persons) – people who were homeless, born overseas and arrived in Australia in the last five years – were living in 'severely' crowded dwellings, and 13% (2,350 persons) were living in boarding houses (ABS, 2018).

Country of birth and homelessness - national estimates

Table 3 presents a summary of the homelessness rates of various population sub-groups. The overall homelessness rate in Australia is 50 per 10,000 people. Australian-born people make up the largest group within the homeless population in terms of total number of people, when compared to those born in other countries (as summarised in Figure 2). Despite this Australianborn people experience homelessness at a rate below the national average (40 per 10,000 people).

However, within the nine population sub-groups born overseas, seven out of nine sub-groups of people born overseas experience homelessness at a higher rate than the national average.

These represent people born in countries in the following regions:

- · Oceania and Antarctica
- North Africa and Middle East
- South East Asia
- North East Asia
- Southern and Central Asia
- Americas
- Sub-Saharan Africa.

As can be seen in Figure 3, people born in 'Southern and Central Asia' had the highest rate of all the regions (112 homeless people per 10,000 population).

Table 3: Total population and homeless population of Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group) per 10,000 population

Country of birth (Country group)	Total pop (Australia)	Total homeless pop (Australia)	Rate of homeless people per 10,000 population (Australia)
Australia	15,613,003	62,816	40
Oceania and Antarctica	657,241	4,356	66
North-West Europe	1,431,002	3,295	23
Southern and Eastern Europe	657,664	1,404	21
North Africa and the Middle East	374,276	3,483	93
South-East Asia	872,306	7,856	90
North-East Asia	789,391	6,461	82
Southern and Central Asia	782,866	8,730	112
Americas	266,030	1,456	55
Sub-Saharan Africa	317,137	2,057	65
Not stated/Insufficient info	1,636,388	14,508	89
Total	23,397,304	116,422	50

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat No. 2049.0)

70,000
60,000
40,000
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Figure 2: Total number of homeless people in Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

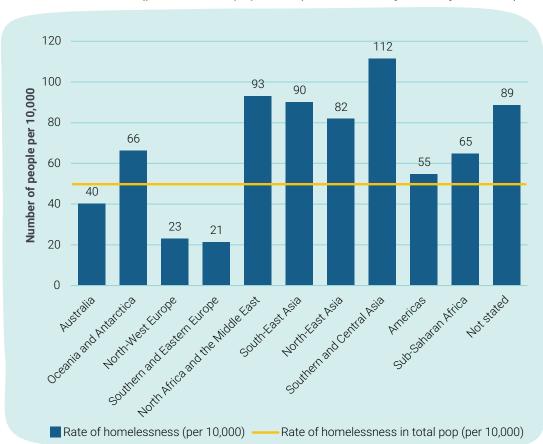
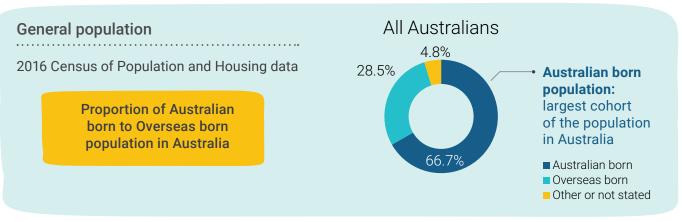


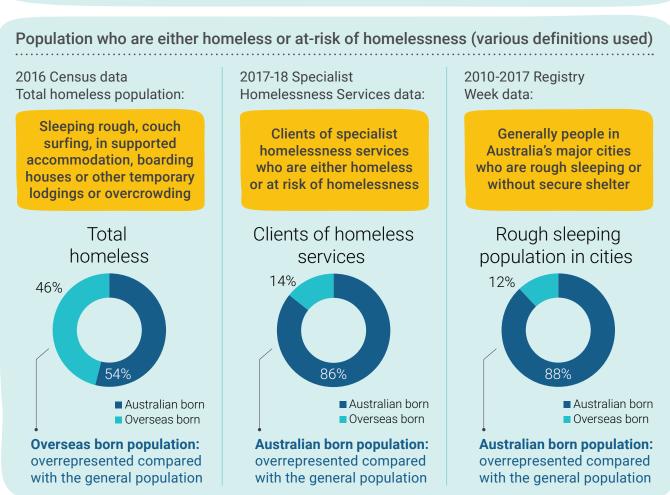
Figure 3: Rate of homelessness (per 10,000 of population) in Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Figure 3 looks at Australian-born versus overseas born populations who are either homeless, or at-risk of homelessness by various measures. Although overseas-born people are overrepresented in the 2016 Census total homeless measure compared with the general population, in the other two measures the Australian-born population is conversely overrepresented compared to the general population.

Figure 4: Comparison of Australians who are homeless, or at risk of homelessness, by cultural identity using various homelessness measures





Source: Derived from ABS Census 2016 (Cat No. 2049.0)

Culturally and linguistically diverse homeless population - Western Australian estimates

As seen in Table 4, in WA the overall homelessness rate is 40 per 10,000 people (less than the national rate of 50 per 10,000 people). As with the national statistics, Australian-born people experience homelessness at a slightly lower rate (38 per 10,000 population), and within the nine population sub-groups born overseas (not including 'Not stated'), four experience homelessness at a higher rate than the WA average.

These sub-groups are:

- North Africa and Middle East
- South-East Asia
- North-East Asia
- Southern and Central Asia.

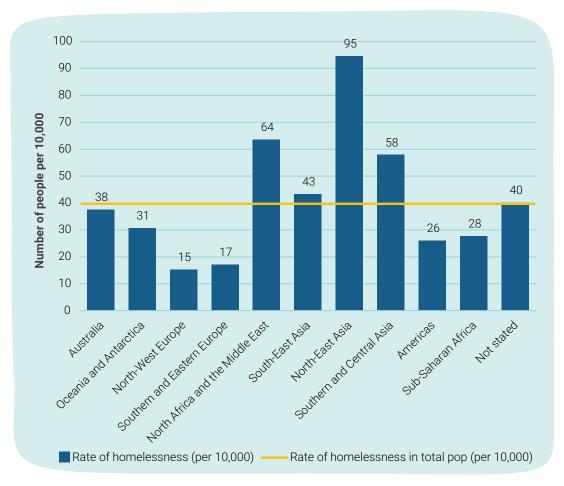
The summary findings presented in Figure 4 show that in 2016 people born in North-East Asia have the highest homelessness rate of all groups in WA (95 per 10,000 people). People born in North Africa/Middle East, Southern and Central Asia and South East Asia also experienced homelessness above the average for Western Australia.

Table 4: Total population and homeless population of Western Australia, by Country of Birth (region), and homeless rate per 10,000, 2016 (Census)

Country of birth (Country group)	Total population (WA)	Total homeless population (WA)	Rate of people homeless per 10,000 population (WA)
Australia	1,492,859	5617	38
Oceania and Antarctica	84,256	259	31
North-West Europe	282,382	434	15
Southern and Eastern Europe	55,666	95	17
North Africa and the Middle East	23,562	150	64
South-East Asia	121,602	528	43
North-East Asia	49,362	468	95
Southern and Central Asia	74,958	434	58
Americas	26,912	70	26
Sub-Saharan Africa	77,645	215	28
Not stated/Insufficient info	185,221	743	40
Total	2,272,425	9013	40

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat No. 2049.0)

Figure 5: Rate of homelessness (per 10,000 of population) in Western Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)



Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat No. 2049.0)

However, Figure 5 tells only part of the story since it aggregates all operational groups (categories of homelessness) into the one statistic. There is considerable diversity across homelessness operational groups when it comes to the CaLD population. The following tables present homelessness statistics disaggregated by operational group as a per cent (Table 5) and as total numbers (Table 6). These findings show that the vast majority of the homeless population in each operational group were born in Australia. They also show that homeless people of all regions of birth mostly fall under the 'overcrowded' operational category with the exception of Oceania/ Antarctica, North-West Europe and Southern and Eastern Europe which fall under the 'couch surfing' (staying temporarily with others) category.

Table 5: Homelessness in Western Australia by Country of Birth disaggregated by operational group as a per cent of the total operational group

Country of birth (region)	Sleeping rough	Supported accommodation	Couch surfing	Boarding houses	Other temporary lodgings	Over- crowded
Australia	82.2	80.2	71.9	66.0	59.5	60.6
Oceania and Antarctica	4.0	2.9	4.6	5.5	7.1	1.6
North-West Europe	7.7	4.5	11.0	8.5	33.3	1.0
Southern and Eastern Europe	1.3	1.8	1.8	2.1	0.0	0.4
North Africa and the Middle East	0.0	2.3	0.4	0.7	0.0	3.2
South-East Asia	1.6	3.6	2.8	3.3	0.0	10.6
North-East Asia	0.3	0.6	3.4	6.3	0.0	9.0
Southern and Central Asia	1.3	0.9	1.1	3.1	0.0	9.7
Americas	1.0	0.5	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.6
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.9	2.9	1.9	3.1	0.0	3.3

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat No. 2049.0)

Table 6: Homelessness in Western Australia by Country of Birth disaggregated by operational group, total numbers

Country of birth	Sleeping rough	Supported accommodation	Couch surfing	Boarding houses	Other temporary lodgings	Over- crowded	Total ABS*
Australia	847	533	1344	553	25	2309	5617
Oceania and Antarctica	41	19	85	46	3	61	259
North-West Europe	79	30	206	71	14	40	434
Southern and Eastern Europe	13	12	33	18	0	16	95
North Africa and the Middle East	0	15	8	6	0	123	150
South-East Asia	16	24	53	28	0	403	528
North-East Asia	3	4	64	53	0	344	468
Southern and Central Asia	13	6	20	26	0	370	434
Americas	10	3	20	11	0	23	70
Sub-Saharan Africa	9	19	35	26	0	124	215
Total	1031	665	1868	838	42	3813	8270

Source: ABS Census 2016 (2049.0)

^{*} Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. As a result cells may not add to the totals

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse population rough sleeping, **Western Australian estimates**

Rough sleeping refers to homeless people who are living on the streets, sleeping in parks, squatting, staying in cars or railway carriages or living in improvised dwellings (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2018). They are the most visible of those experiencing homelessness and are recognised as some of the most disadvantages and vulnerable people in society (Kaleveld et al.,

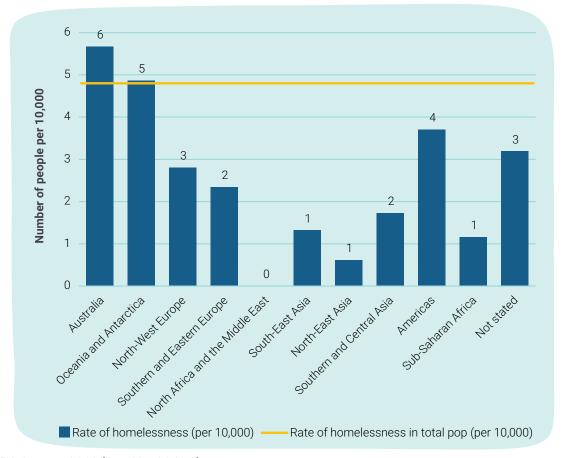
2018). As seen in Table 7, in this operational category, Australian born people experiencing homelessness have the highest rate of rough sleeping (5.7 per 10,000), well above the State average of 4.8 per 10,000 and this is followed by people born in Oceania (presumably, mainly New Zealand). Although below the State average, people from the Americas have a high rate of people sleeping rough (Figure 6). There were no recorded cases of people born in North Africa and Middle East in the rough sleeping category.

Table 7: Total Western Australian population and population of those sleeping rough in Western Australia, by Country of Birth (Country Group), and rate of total population that is sleeping rough, 2016 (Census)

Country of birth (Country group)	Total population (WA)	Total homeless population (WA)	Rate of people sleeping rough per 10,000 population (WA)
Australia	1,492,859	847	5.7
Oceania and Antarctica	84,256	41	4.9
North-West Europe	282,382	79	2.8
Southern and Eastern Europe	55,666	13	2.3
North Africa and the Middle East	23,562	0	0
South-East Asia	121,602	16	1.3
North-East Asia	49,362	3	0.6
Southern and Central Asia	74,958	13	1.7
Americas	26,912	10	3.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	77,645	9	1.2
Not stated/Insufficient info	185,221	59	3.2
Total	2,272,425	1090	4.8

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat No. 2049.0)

Figure 6: Rate of rough sleeping (per 10,000 of population) in Western Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)



Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse population in supported accommodation, **Western Australian estimates**

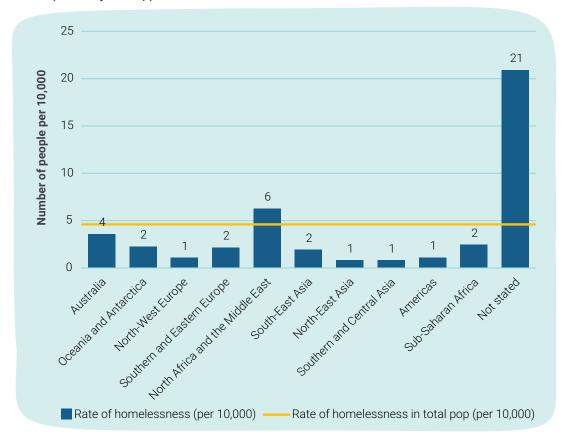
People who have no accommodation of their own and live in temporary supported accommodation fall under this homelessness operational category. The starting point for identifying this group is the Census category 'hostels for the homeless, night shelters and refuges' (ABS, 2012). As seen in Table 8, people born in North Africa and the Middle East have the highest rates in this category. With a rate of 6.2 people per 10,000 in supported accommodation, this cohort is above the State average 4.6 per 10,000 people, as seen in Figure 6. Within the other country of birth regions there is a fairly even rate of people in supported accommodation.

Table 8: Total Western Australian population and population of those in supported accommodation in Western Australia, by Country of Birth (Country group), and % of total population that is in supported accommodation, 2016 (Census)

Country of birth (Country group)	Total population (WA)	Total homeless population (WA)	Rate of people in supported accommodation per 10,000 population (WA)
Australia	1,492,859	533	3.6
Oceania and Antarctica	84,256	19	2.3
North-West Europe	282,382	30	1.1
Southern and Eastern Europe	55,666	12	2.1
North Africa and the Middle East	23,562	15	6.2
South-East Asia	121,602	24	1.9
North-East Asia	49,362	4	0.8
Southern and Central Asia	74,958	6	0.8
Americas	26,912	3	1.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	77,645	19	2.4
Not stated/Insufficient info	185,221	387	20.9
Total	2,272,425	1052	4.6

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Figure 7: Rate of people in supported accommodation (per 10,000 of population) in Western Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)



Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse population staying temporarily with others (couch surfing), Western Australian estimates

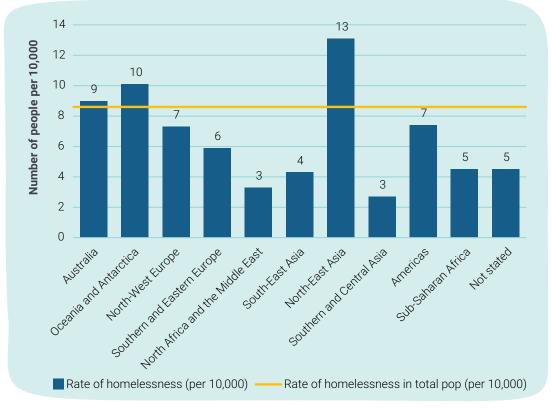
People who have no accommodation of their own and are staying temporarily with others (couch surfing) and therefore have no security of tenure and control or access to social relations fall under this homelessness operational category (ABS, 2018). As seen in Table 9, people who were born in North-East Asia had the highest rates in this category (13.1 per 10,000 people). This is considerably higher than the State average of 8.6 per 10,000 population. Figure 8 illustrates that people born in Oceania and Australia also had rates higher than the State average.

Table 9: Total Western Australian population and population of those couch surfing in Western Australia, by Country of Birth (Country group), and % of total population that is couch surfing, 2016 (Census)

Country of birth (Country group)	Total pop (WA)	Total couch surfing pop (WA)	Rate of people couch surfing per 10,000 population (WA)
Australia	1,492,859	1344	9
Oceania and Antarctica	84,256	85	10.1
North-West Europe	282,382	206	7.3
Southern and Eastern Europe	55,666	33	5.9
North Africa and the Middle East	23,562	8	3.3
South-East Asia	121,602	53	4.3
North-East Asia	49,362	64	13.1
Southern and Central Asia	74,958	20	2.7
Americas	26,912	20	7.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	77,645	35	4.5
Not stated/Insufficient info	185,221	83	4.5
Total	2,272,425	1951	8.6

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Figure 8: Rate of people couch surfing (per 10,000 of population) in Western Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)



Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse population staying in boarding houses, **Western Australian estimates**

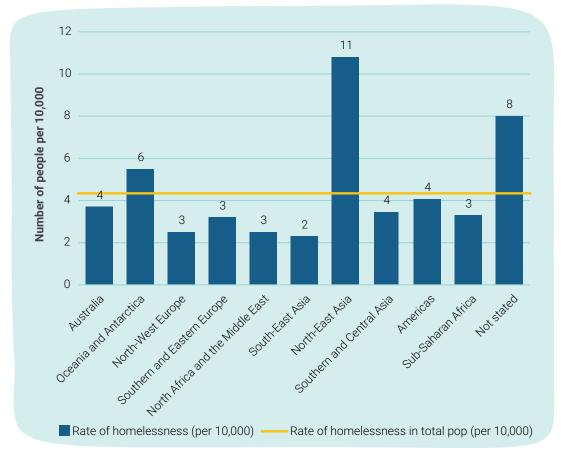
People who have no accommodation of their own and stay in boarding houses that lack private facilities, fall under this homelessness operational category (ABS, 2018). People born in North-East Asia had the highest rates of homeless people in this category (10.8 per 10,000 population), as seen in Table 10. This rate is significantly higher than the State average of 4.3 per 10,000. Figure 9 shows that people born in Oceania have rates slightly higher than the State average, as opposed to the other country of birth regions that have lower rates than the State average.

Table 10: Total Western Australian population and population of those in boarding houses in Western Australia, by Country of birth (Country group), and % of total population in boarding houses, 2016 (Census)

Country of birth (Country group)	Total population (WA)	Total boarding house population (WA)	Rate of people in boarding houses per 10,000 population (WA)
Australia	1,492,859	553	3.7
Oceania and Antarctica	84,256	46	5.5
North-West Europe	282,382	71	2.5
Southern and Eastern Europe	55,666	18	3.2
North Africa and the Middle East	23,562	6	2.5
South-East Asia	121,602	28	2.3
North-East Asia	49,362	53	10.8
Southern and Central Asia	74,958	26	3.5
Americas	26,912	11	4.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	77,645	26	3.3
Not stated/Insufficient info	185,221	148	8
Total	2,272,425	986	4.3

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Figure 9: Rate of people in boarding houses (per 10,000 of population) in Western Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)



Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse populations staying in other temporary lodgings, Western Australian estimates

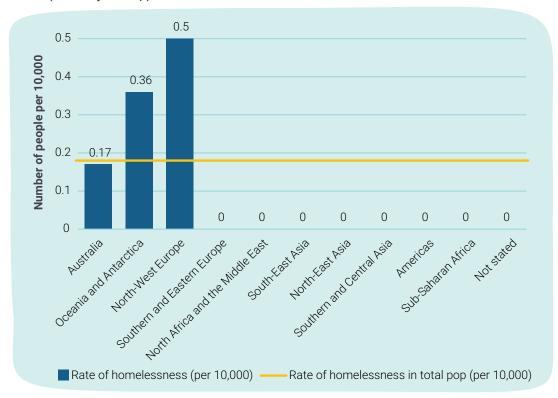
People who have no accommodation of their own and are living in non-private accommodation classed as 'hotel, motel, or bed and breakfast' with no security of tenure are included in the other temporary lodging homeless operational group (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018).

Table 11: Total Western Australian population and population of those in Other Temporary Housing in Western Australia, by Country of Birth (Country group), and % of total population in Other Temporary Housing, 2016 (Census)

Country of birth (Country group)	Total population (WA)	Total Other Temporary Housing population (WA)	Rate of people in Other Temporary Housing per 10,000 population (WA)
Australia	1,492,859	25	0.17
Oceania and Antarctica	84,256	3	0.36
North-West Europe	282,382	14	0.5
Southern and Eastern Europe	55,666	0	0
North Africa and the Middle East	23,562	0	0
South-East Asia	121,602	0	0
North-East Asia	49,362	0	0
Southern and Central Asia	74,958	0	0
Americas	26,912	0	0
Sub-Saharan Africa	77,645	0	0
Not stated/Insufficient info	185,221	0	0
Total	2,272,425	42	0.18

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Figure 10: Rate of people in other temporary lodgings (per 10,000 of population) in Western Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)



Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse populations living in overcrowded accommodation, Western Australian estimates

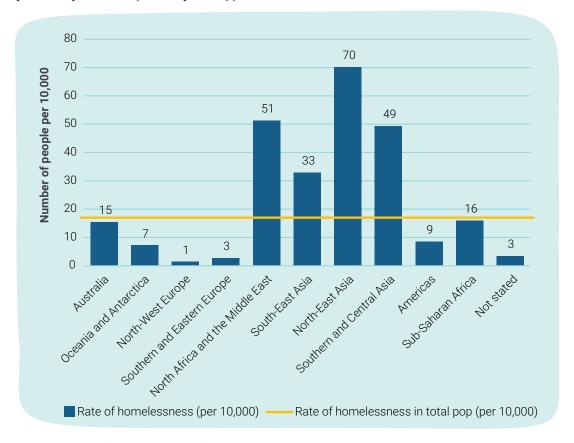
People who are the usual residents of a private dwelling that requires four or more extra bedrooms to accommodate the usual residents fall under the 'Persons living in 'severely' crowded dwellings' operational category (ABS, 2018). As seen in Table 11, people born in North-East Asia had the highest rates of living in overcrowded accommodation (70 per 10,000) considerably higher than the State's average of 17 per 10,000. Three other regions had rates higher than the State average these are: North Africa and Middle East (51 per 10,000), Southern and Central Asia (49 per 10,000) and South-East Asia (33 per 10,000). Figure 11 shows that people from North-West Europe and Southern and Eastern Europe had the lowest rates of living in overcrowded accommodation.

Table 12: Total Western Australian population and population of those living in overcrowded accommodation Western Australia, by Country of Birth (Country group), and % of total population that is living in overcrowded dwellings, 2016 (Census)

Country of birth (Country group)	Total population (WA)	Total overcrowded accommodatio-n population (WA)	Rate of people in overcrowded accommodation per 10,000 population (WA)
Australia	1,492,859	2309	15.5
Oceania and Antarctica	84,256	61	7.3
North-West Europe	282,382	40	1.4
Southern and Eastern Europe	55,666	16	2.8
North Africa and the Middle East	23,562	123	51.2
South-East Asia	121,602	403	33
North-East Asia	49,362	344	70.2
Southern and Central Asia	74,958	370	49.4
Americas	26,912	23	8.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	77,645	124	16
Not stated/Insufficient info	185,221	63	3.4
Total	2,272,425	3876	17

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

Figure 11: Rate of people in overcrowded accommodation (per 10,000 of population) in Western Australia by Country of Birth (Country Group)



Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)



Summary of trends across homelessness operational categories by Country of Birth (Country Group), **Western Australian estimates**

Summary notes about the broad trends observed when Country of Birth (Country Group) was analysed across the ABS' six homelessness categories are outlined below in Table 13.

Table 13: Summary of trends across the ABS' operational groups (homelessness categories) by Country of Birth (Country Group), Western Australia

Homelessness operational category	Country groups that are represented above the total population rate for that category	Notes
Sleeping out	Australia	Predominately Anglo Saxon/Celtic populations experience this at a higher rate
	Oceania/Antarctica	
Supported accommodation	North Africa/Middle East	
	Other (missing data)	Significant representation of 'Other' represents lack of resources at the data collection point
Couch surfing	Australia Oceania/Antarctica North East Asia	
Boarding houses	North East Asia Oceania/Antarctica	
	Other (missing data)	Significant representation of 'Other' represents lack of resources at the data collection point
Other temporary lodgings	Oceania/Antarctica	Predominately Anglo Saxon/Celtic populations experience this at a higher rate
	North West Europe	
Overcrowding	North Africa/Middle East	Predominately Asian populations experience this at a higher rate
	South East Asia North East Asia Central Asia	

Proficiency in spoken English in the Western Australian homeless population

Table 14 presents the proficiency in spoken English of the total population as well as the homeless population in WA. These findings are visualised in Figure 12. At first glance this looks as if people who are not highly proficient in English are over-represented in the total homeless population. However, the Special Short Form does not contain a variable on English proficiency, which means that people who are sleeping rough – who are more likely to be Australian-born were not included in the count of the homeless population. As those who are born in other countries are more likely to be experiencing secondary homelessness than Australian-born people, it makes sense that people who are homeless in WA are less likely to speak English well than the total general WA population.

Table 14: Proficiency in spoken English: total Western Australian population and homeless Western Australian population⁴

Proficiency in spoken English	All people (WA)	%	People who are homeless (WA)	%
Speaks English only	1,861,041	81	4390	58
Very well	251,648	11	1178	15.60
Well	124,903	5.40	1299	17.2
Not well	46,761	2	543	7.2
Not at all	14,554	0.60	142	2
Total responses	2,298,907		7552	

Source: ABS Census 2016 (2049.0) *Approximately 4330 people were not asked about this, as they completed the Special Short Form. "Not stated" responses were removed.

A note of caution: some people who do not speak English well may be of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin. To get an accurate picture of how this variable reflects the CaLD population one would need to conduct analysis against the variable 'Are you of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin?'

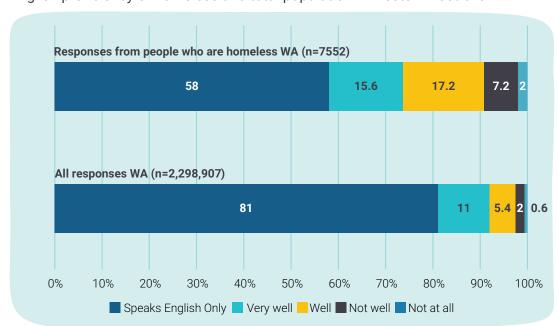


Figure 12: English proficiency of homeless and total population in Western Australia

Source: ABS Census 2016 (Cat. No. 2049.0)

4.2 Specialist Homelessness Services data

National data on Country of Birth (2017-18)

Most clients (86%) of specialist homelessness agencies were born in Australia, representing 208,500 people. This proportion is higher than the general Australian population, of whom 71% are born in Australia.

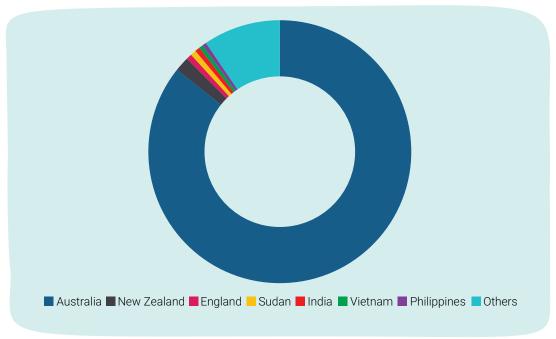
Of those clients who reported their country of birth and were born overseas, the most common country of birth was New Zealand (2%). This supports research that reveals that Australianborn and people from countries of Anglo-Celtic origin are more likely to access services than people from CaLD communities.

Table 15: Specialist Homelessness Services clients' Country of Birth (top 7) – all clients

Country of birth	Number of clients	Per cent
Australia	208,376	85.7
New Zealand	4,396	1.8
England	1,670	0.7
Sudan	1,623	0.7
India	1,359	0.6
Vietnam	1,325	0.5
Philippines	1,272	0.5
Others	23,109	9.5
Not stated	45,665	-

Source: SHSC, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2018)

Figure 13: Specialist Homelessness Services clients' Country of Birth (top 7)



Note: Does not include 'Not stated' response

Source: SHSC, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2018)

Over half of the clients (54%) who were born overseas had arrived in Australia prior to 2008.

Table 16: Specialist Homelessness Services clients born overseas, by year of arrival, Australian clients 2017-18

Year of arrival	Number of clients	Per cent
2014-2018	6,020	23.6
2009-2013	5,619	22.1
2008 or before	13,826	54.3
Not stated	9,131	_
Total	34,596	100

Source: SHSC, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2018)

The majority of clients who were born overseas lived in major cities (86% or nearly 29,800).

Western Australian data

Table 17: Specialist Homelessness Services clients by Country of Birth (country group), Western Australian clients 2017-18

Country of birth	Number of clients	Per cent
Australia	19,552	87.3
Oceania and Antarctica	508	2.3
UK and Ireland	403	1.8
Western and Northern Europe	64	0.3
Southern and Eastern Europe	160	0.7
North Africa and the Middle East	304	1.4
South-East Asia	444	2.0
North-East Asia	137	0.6
Southern and Central Asia	200	0.9
Northern America	33	0.1
South and Central America and Caribbean	33	0.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	563	2.5
Not stated	1,338	_

Source: SHSC, Australian Institute of Health and

Welfare (2018)

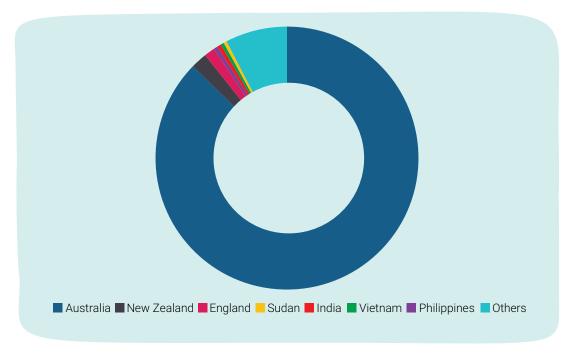
Table 18: SHS clients by Country of Birth (top 7) – Western Australian clients 2017-18

Country of birth	Number of clients	Per cent
Australia	19,545	87.3
New Zealand	455	2.0
England	298	1.3
Philippines	112	0.5
India	101	0.5
Vietnam	95	0.4
China (exc SARs and Taiwan)	92	0.4
Others	1,703	7.6
Not stated	1,338	_
Total	23,739	100

Source: SHSC, Australian Institute of Health and

Welfare (2018)

Figure 14: Specialist Homelessness Services clients by Country of Birth (top 7) – Western Australian clients 2017-18



Source: SHSC, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2018)

The Specialist Homelessness Collection (SHSC) reveals that the majority of clients in WA are from Australia. This database captures clients who utilise homelessness services, either because they are at risk of homelessness or homeless.

The lower representation of those born overseas in this dataset, compared to the Census, may be because those counted in the SHSC are accessing services. There is evidence that people from CaLD backgrounds are more likely to be unaware of services, unable to navigate complex systems, require advocacy or use of interpreters to successfully access services which creates a barrier to accessing support. As Homelessness Australia (2016) reports, CaLD individuals are far less likely to use homelessness services than the Australian-born population. As we know from Census data, this does not mean that they are less likely to become homelessness.

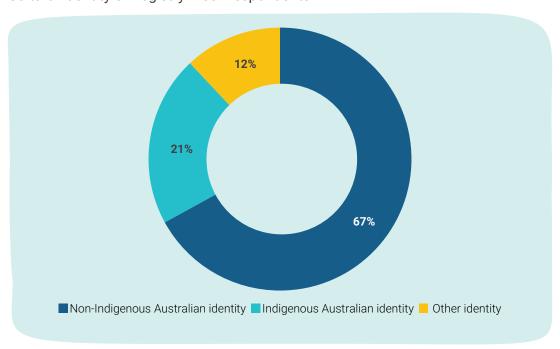
4.3 Registry Week

Estimates of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse homeless population in Registry Week collection

Registry Week collections attempt to develop a register of those who are homeless in areas where homelessness services operate—largely in cities across Australia. The Registry Week data collection involves a face-to-face interview undertaken by homelessness services with a person experiencing homelessness (often rough sleepers). The common interview schedule asks those who are homeless for their name and documents their housing, health and social needs utilising the Vulnerability Index Service Prioritisation Decision Assistance Tool (VI-SPDAT).

As seen in Figure 15, among valid responses 67% identified as Non-Indigenous Australians while 21% identified as Indigenous Australians and 12% as 'Other' Cultural identity. The proportion of respondents who are from cultural backgrounds other than 'Indigenous' or 'Non-Indigenous Australians' is lower in Registry Week data than the 2016 Census results, which will be affected by the fact that the Registry Week collection has been mainly in inner city areas with a focus on rough sleepers⁵. As mentioned previously, CaLD groups are less likely to be represented in the rough sleeping population.

Figure 15: Cultural identity of Registry Week respondents



Source: Registry Week Data Collections 2010-2017 as published in Flatau et al., 2018

Where more than one identity was listed the following priority rules were used: if at any stage Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander was ticked, or if the respondent included this phrases or wrote 'Indigenous' in the 'Other' category, the respondent was classified as an Indigenous Australian; if the respondent at any stage listed Australian identity (but had not already been classified as Indigenous Australian) then the respondent was classified as Non-Indigenous Australian; all other respondents who ticked or listed another identity were then classified as 'Other' cultural identity.

Possible drivers of homelessness by cultural identity

The Registry Week collection is more fine grained than the Census Special Short Form, and thus can generate an understanding of journeys into homelessness. Through analysis of data by cultural identification, we can understand a few broad patterns about the drivers of homelessness for CaLD people facing homelessness, compared with Indigenous Australians and Non-Indigenous Australians. For example, based on what we know of the common drivers of homelessness (for example see Kaleveld et al, 2018), respondents who answered 'yes' to the following questions are at greater risk of homelessness:

- 'Have you ever had problematic drug or alcohol use, abused drugs or alcohol, or been told you do?'
- 'Have you ever been in prison?'
- 'Any legal stuff going on right now that may result in you being locked up or having to pay fines?'

In Figure 16, these findings have been examined by cultural identity and across all of the selected indicators. Indigenous Australians scored the highest, especially in relation to drug and alcohol use (76%) and been in prison (66%). Non-Indigenous Australians also scored high on drug and alcohol use (67%). Across all of the selected indicators those in the 'Other' cultural identity classification scored lowest.

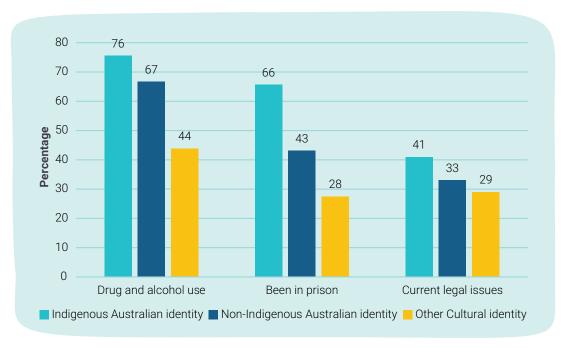


Figure 16: Selected drivers of homelessness by cultural identity

Source: Registry Week Data Collections 2010-2017 as published in Flatau et al., 2018

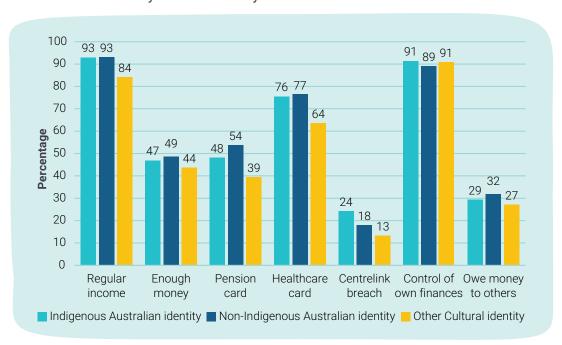
Financial vulnerability by cultural identity

The financial vulnerability of the Registry Week respondents can be determined by the following financial indicators in the Registry Week data:

- Receipt of regular income (e.g., through work, government benefit, cash-in-hand work)
- Receipt of enough money to meet all expenses and debt on a fortnightly basis
- · Possession of a pension card
- · Possession of a Healthcare card
- Centrelink breach in the past six months
- Control of own finances
- Is there anybody that thinks you owe them money?

Figure 17 shows that there are relatively few differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians on these selected financial indicators. Respondents who identified as having an 'Other' Cultural identity, however, are more likely to be financially vulnerable. They were generally worse off across all the financial indicators, with the exceptions of Centrelink breach in the prior 6 months and thinking that they owed money. This pattern is consistent with the fact that recent immigrants and refugees without secure immigration status and hence have greater difficulty obtaining welfare support (Kissoon, 2010). They are likely to have smaller social networks and experience greater social exclusion, and are therefore more likely to become homeless and are less likely to have access to nonemployment or non-welfare income (Couch, 2011).

Figure 17: Financial indicators by cultural identity



Source: Registry Week Data Collections 2010-2017 as published in Flatau et al., 2018

4.4 Key insights from the data

While the definitional and measurement issues associated with counting CaLD people who are experiencing homelessness, some key findings that are backed up by analysis of all three homelessness datasets are that:

- People experiencing rough sleeping are most likely to be Australian born, or born in Oceania/ Antarctica (presumably New Zealand) – thus to have an Anglo Saxon/Celtic background, or be First Nations people from either Australia or New Zealand (all of these broad categories fall outside the definition of CaLD used in this report).
- People from Oceania/Antarctica (presumably New Zealand) experience homelessness at a higher rate than others across four of the six homelessness operational groups (they experience rough sleeping, couch surfing, boarding houses and other temporary lodgings at a higher rate than other groups). Although people with this Country of Birth (Country Group) are not likely to fit within our definition of CaLD, they do experience visa restrictions and issues accessing basic support services, which means they share vulnerabilities in common with people from other CaLD groups. Data indicates people from New Zealand should be on our radar for support to prevent homelessness and sustain suitable housing.
- People from North East Asia are more likely to experience homelessness than other groups (based on Country of Birth, Country Groups), across three of the six homelessness categories – couch surfing, staying in severely overcrowded dwellings and boarding houses.
- Populations from across Asia (North Easy Asia, South East Asia and Central Asia) are more likely to experience overcrowding.
- Populations from North Africa/Middle East are more likely than others to be living in supported accommodation, or experiencing severe overcrowding.
- Data collection and quality issues have impacts across various homelessness operational

categories in different ways, which effects our ability to analyse the data. For example, there is a lot of missing data (Not Stated) in the supported accommodation setting, and the Special Short Form only collects one variable to capture the CaLD group.

What's the problem with secondary and tertiary homelessness?

The patterns indicated by the data are that people from CaLD backgrounds experience secondary and tertiary homelessness at a higher rate than those who are Australian-born. Current approaches to ending homelessness that focus predominantly on rough sleeping may overlook these populations and needs.

In 2011 Multicultural Mental Health Australia published a report, *Homelessness amongst culturally and linguistically diverse people with a mental illness: an Australian study of industry perceptions* that vividly describes difficulties organisations face when placing immigrants in appropriate housing. Immigrants and refugees commonly end up in temporary, overcrowded or transient housing, where they are encouraged to stay due to a lack of long-term housing.

The report describes how living in marginal accommodation for long periods of time makes it harder to 'settle'; to gain long-term employment, maintain educational interests, and retain contact with the community – all factors which can impact on physical and mental health. Inadequate housing often perpetuates cycles of intergenerational disadvantage, especially where extended migration experiences that include refugee transit camps and detention centres have led to long-term social and family disruption.

This group may have become more accepting of transient living conditions and have lowered expectations (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011), meaning that ensuring their homelessness is made visible, and then advocating on their behalf to address their homelessness, becomes even more important.

5. Drivers of homelessness in Culturally and Linguistically **Diverse communities**

5.1 Overview of antecedents to homelessness in Culturally and Linguistically **Diverse communities**

Individual-level drivers of homelessness are those that involve life events or experiences that predispose individuals to homelessness risk. Structural determinants of homelessness relate to the conditions in the socio-economic environment which affect access to the resources and supports needed to maintain secure shelter.

The individual and structural drivers that are commonly accepted to be strongly associated with homelessness (as for example explored by Kaleveld et al. in the 2018 Review) also apply to the CaLD populations.

However, there are differences to consider when looking at the drivers that most effect the CaLD community. Based on the evidence currently available, the CaLD community appears to be slightly less vulnerable to certain drivers – for example, people with CaLD backgrounds are less likely than the general Australian population to have a history of substance abuse⁶ (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2019b). On the other hand, people with CaLD backgrounds may be more likely to face barriers accessing Government benefits, employment and the private rental market due to visa restrictions, language barriers, discrimination and lack of knowledge of, and capacity to navigate, complex systems and services.

A report published in 2011 by Multicultural Mental Health Australia (mentioned in section 4) featured a survey that examined CaLD homelessness from the perspectives of three service sectors. Survey participants were from 34 homelessness organisations, 49 mental health and 38 ethnospecific/multicultural agencies. They were asked what they consider to be the causes of homelessness in regards to people from a CaLD background with a mental illness, and also, what groups within CaLD communities were most at risk of becoming homeless. The most common five responses are presented below.

People from CALD backgrounds are more likely than those whose primary language spoken at home is English to abstain from alcohol consumption (49% compared to 18.9%) and illicit drug use (54% compared to 82%)(Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2019a).

Table 19: Perceptions of services about homelessness drivers in Culturally and Linguistically Diverse populations

	Most common 5 responses 34 homelessness organisations	Most common 5 responses from 49 mental health organisations	Most common 5 responses from 38 ethno-specific/ multicultural agencies
What are the causes of homelessness or risks of becoming homeless (precipitating factors of homelessness) in regards to people from a CALD background with a mental illness?	Family breakdown/conflict (96.8%) Lack of appropriate housing (87.1%) Domestic violence (80.6%), Economic reasons (74.2%) Isolation (74.2%)	Lack of appropriate housing (91.3%) Economic reasons (89.1%) Family breakdown/conflict (78.3%) Substance use (78.3%) Symptoms of mental illness (71.7%)	Family breakdown/conflict (84.2%) Language barriers (81.6%) Economic reasons (78.9%) Isolation (73.7%) Lack of appropriate housing (71.1%)
What groups within CALD communities are most at risk of becoming homeless?	People with mental illness (87.5%) People with low income (84.4%) People with a dual diagnosis (mental illness and substance abuse) (81.3%) People with a substance use problem (drug and/ or alcohol) (78.1%) Women experiencing domestic violence (71.9%)	People with mental illness (97.8%) People with dual diagnosis (88.9%) People on low incomes (71.1%) Youth (64.4%) Victims of domestic violence (60%)	People with low incomes (76.3%) People with mental illness (73.7%) People on low incomes from refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds (65.8%) Victims of domestic violence (60.5%) Equally both youth and people with a dual diagnosis (57.9%)

Source: Homelessness services, mental health organisations, ethno-specific/multicultural agencies survey, Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011

People with a mental illness, people on a low income, people with a dual diagnosis (mental illness and substance abuse), women experiencing domestic violence, and youth are consistently rated across three service sectors as the conditions or experiences that put people from CaLD backgrounds most at risk of becoming homeless. The report recommends that targeted service responses should concentrate on these groups, as this is likely to yield the greatest improvement in overall outcomes (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011).

In the Multicultural Mental Health Australia survey, asylum seekers and refugees are identified as a high risk group by multicultural agencies, and it is interesting to note they are not identified by mental health or homelessness services. This could be due to the fact that they are not accessing these services.

Asylum seekers, refugees and new migrants have specific vulnerabilities that need to be considered in isolation. This group may not be able to access income support through Centrelink or the right to

work, and this exclusion, on top of the traumas that may have existed before arrival in Australia, makes their ability to find and sustain secure housing even more difficult.

Table 20 summarises some of the key individual and structural drivers of homelessness in the CaLD community and identifies those groups that are particularly vulnerable. These are looked at individually in this section.



Individual Drivers

Difficult life transitions

- Fleeing from torture, trauma, war, violence
- Adjusting to new country, language and culture

Family breakdown affecting youth

- Reconfiguration of families
- Tension and conflict due to cultural dislocation.
- Effect on youth is more profound

Mental and emotional health

- Trauma and recovery from torture
- Post-traumatic stress disorder
- Mental illness, substance use and dual diagnosis

Family and domestic violence

- Unaware of domestic violence services, refuges or housing options
- Lack of support network to escape violence
- Dependent/partner visas may exacerbate vulnerability

Structural Drivers

Temporary visa status

- Inability to access income support, some services
- May be ineligible to work

Access to employment

- Difficulties obtaining employment
- Qualifications may not be valid in Australia
- Discrimination and labour market disadvantage

Access to resources

- Financial stress and poverty
- Income support or welfare services

Access to services

- Primary health care (physical/mental health)
- Employment and training services
- Aged care services
- Legal services
- Specialist homelessness services

Access to housing

- Eligibility for public and community housing
- Housing supply and affordability issues
- Problems accessing private rental accommodation
- Housing stress

5.2 Individual drivers of homelessness within Culturally and Linguistically Diverse communities

Difficult life transitions

Although pathways into homelessness may be extremely diverse, the experience of a difficult life transitions, and also the experience of trauma are the common factors that tend to exist for all pathways to homelessness. This is well documented, and Commonwealth Government's The Road Home White Paper calls for transition points to be a priority in preventing homelessness (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs [FaHCSIA], 2008). Applying this lens to the CaLD population, it is easy to understand why this population may be especially vulnerable to homelessness. Migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are likely to experience significant upheavals – fleeing from unsafe, politically volatile environments, separation from family, the shock of arriving in a new country and leaving social support networks - without a strong economic base or social safety net of support to carry them through these painful transitions.

A study by the Centre for Multicultural Youth found that newly-arrived young people from refugee and migrant backgrounds face difficulties settling in Australia. Compared with their Australian-born counterparts, they face profound transitions such as: '...settling into Australia, readjusting to different family configurations, learning a new language and culture, compensating for interrupted education or sometimes no education as they transition into mainstream educational settings and navigate unfamiliar education and employment pathways' (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010, p. 19).

Family breakdown leading to vouth homelessness

Family breakdown is a major cause of homelessness for young people as a whole, but there are circumstances specific to people with CaLD backgrounds that complicate family relationships and cause tensions which may lead to homelessness (Toure, 2008).

Living in a country where the dominant culture is different from that of your birth country can dramatically disrupt the equilibrium of families. Many families have high expectations for their children vet limited knowledge of education and employment pathways. Young people may internalise this pressure, while trying to manage the challenges of interrupted education. Young people can assume major support roles in their homes, especially young women of CaLD backgrounds who may be expected to prioritise housework and caring duties. When young people assist other family members to negotiate life outside the home and this role may change the power dynamics within the family. The differing rates of acculturation between young people and adults, and the decision of younger CaLD persons to reject cultural practices such as arranged marriage, is a major cause of intergenerational conflict which can lead to young people leaving home or being thrown out of home by their parents or quardian, and being excluded from their community (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010).

The refugee experience complicates family functioning even further, through the separation of families, changes to family configurations and perhaps the death of loved ones. Young people commonly arrive in Australia to live with family members they have not previously lived with (e.g., through the orphaned relative migration category), who are themselves managing settlement stressors. In this case it may be difficult for strong bonds to develop (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010; Toure, 2008). Reconfigured family groups who have experienced profound trauma face many pressures that can lead to family conflict or breakdown and homelessness (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010).

Mental and emotional health

There is a wide body of literature that documents the greater prevalence of mental illness among the homeless compared to the mainstream population. It is thought that mental illness increases a person's vulnerability to becoming homeless through affecting organisational skills, relationships, employment opportunities and their ability to maintain a tenancy (FaHCSIA, 2008; Johnson, 2006; Mental Health Council of Australia, 2009; St Vincent's Mental Health Service & Craze Lateral Solutions, 2005). Some mental health related problems precede a state of homelessness, while some are exacerbated by the experience of homelessness, or a consequence of homelessness (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011).

As discussed previously, people with a birth country outside of Australia, and whose culture or language is different from the dominant Englishspeaking Anglo/Celtic culture of Australia are more likely to experience stress, due to adjusting to different culture and language systems, as well as potentially overcoming traumas or past experiences or difficult transitions. Stress and trauma are risk factors for mental illness.

Multicultural Mental Health Australia's report (2011) describes how for refugees and asylum seekers, trauma, and anxiety about the welfare of family members left behind in situations of danger and deprivation, and a sense of helplessness may trigger anxiety and depression. Long-term post-traumatic stress reactions often accompany refugees and other immigrant groups with a history of exposure to violence, torture, environmental disasters and the experience of migration (Chen, Hall, Ling & Renzaho, 2017).

We know that early intervention is the best approach to supporting people experiencing mental and emotional health issues, however the mental health sector widely acknowledges that people from CaLD backgrounds are much less likely to access mental health services than the mainstream community (McDonald & Steel,

1997; Office of Multicultural Interests, 2004; Stolk, Minas & Klimidis, 2008). This is not understood to be because of lower rates of mental illness in CaLD communities, but rather is due to service barriers, such as low English language proficiency and unfamiliarity with Western medical systems. Cultural factors such as the presence of stigma surrounding mental illness in some CaLD communities can lead to the exclusion of mental illness sufferers from their communities, or to a resistance in seeking help which can exacerbate the mental illness and, in turn, lead to and perpetuate homelessness (Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia [FECCA], 2011).

Experiences of family and domestic violence

In the mainstream community, family and domestic violence is a strong driver of women becoming homeless. There is no clear evidence to support the view that migrant, or refugee women, are at a higher risk of family and domestic violence, or that men or boys from refugee backgrounds are more prone to violent behaviour. There is strong evidence, however, that indicates that women from multicultural communities who are experiencing family and domestic violence are more likely to stay in their house and much less likely than the general population to access services (Department of Social Services, 2015; Vaughan et al., 2015).

One recent Western Australian report, Family and Domestic Violence: Issues Affecting Service Delivery and Relevance for Women from Multicultural Communities (June, 2017) looked into why women from multicultural backgrounds did not access services, and reported difficulties navigating a 'confusing and alien legal framework and service delivery system' (Family and Domestic Violence, 2017). (This report focused on the geographic areas of Joondalup, Stirling, Wanneroo and Swan. It is noteworthy that between 2010 and 2015 the City of Stirling had the highest number of humanitarian entrants settling within its borders in Western Australia and the City of Wanneroo had the third highest level

of humanitarian settlement during that period (Department of Social Services, 2015).

Other researchers note that barriers to women of multicultural backgrounds accessing relevant services may be a lack of knowledge of family and domestic violence services, and lack of familiarity with laws within Australia. Additional barriers to breaking free from domestic violence include lower socioeconomic status, limited social and family networks, language barriers, community shaming, isolation, or cultural or religious influences (Bhuyan & Senturia, 2005; Taylor & Putt, 2007). Further to this, women from refugee backgrounds are more likely to have experienced significant trauma and loss in their past, which may create added complexities (Department of Social Services, 2015). There may also be concerns around visa status, and dependency upon the partner to remain in Australia, that creates fear of what would happen if separation was to occur. Women on temporary visas experiencing family and domestic violence are a particularly vulnerable group, more about this group will be discussed in section 6.

An important nuance to emphasise is that while women of CaLD backgrounds may not always end up on the streets, their lack of access to safe housing options keep them in violent situations, and keep them largely 'hidden' from our measures of vulnerability or need (whether that be homelessness risk measures or other ways needs are tracked). If our concern with homelessness is ultimately about giving all people living in Australia the right to safe and secure housing, this population needs to be framed in terms of their specific housing needs and need for service responses.

Not only might our homelessness measures and systems be unable to address this group, but also, as Ghafournia and Easteal (2018) state, 'many of the nuances concerning violence against immigrant and refugee women and their vulnerability are neglected in Australian domestic violence policy despite the presence of growing numbers of culturally and linguistically

diverse CaLD people'. The failure to examine the intersection of gender, race, ethnicity and immigration status in domestic violence risks contributes to CaLD women's exclusion and invisibility and damages their right to protection (Ghafournia & Easteal, 2018).

5.3 Structural drivers of homelessness within **Culturally and Linguistically Diverse communities**

Visa status, eligibility to work and access Centrelink

Certain visa subclasses prevent newly-arrived migrants from legally working, accessing Centrelink, Medicare or government assistance to undertake education or training. Australia's visa agreement with New Zealand, for example, makes New Zealanders vulnerable to homelessness due to restrictions on eligibility for social security payments. People from New Zealand are able to work in Australia and are attracted to Australia to pursue employment, but if an employment opportunity ceases they only become eligible for certain Centrelink payments if they have resided in Australia for 10 years or more (Supreme Court of Western Australia, 2017). They may be homeless because they have lost their job and have no means of gaining income. The Census results indicate that people from Oceania Region (which includes New Zealand) are over-represented in the homeless population.

The effect of exclusion from social security and eligibility to work is even more acute when experienced by people from other cultures (non-Anglo/Celtic) and with language backgrounds other than English.

Asylum seekers living in the community on bridging visas face additional challenges in accessing housing including the uncertainty of their legal status and their very limited income. A literature review into asylum seeker homelessness by the Refugee Council of Australia (2013) found the following barriers for asylum seekers accessing housing:

- There is a lack of assistance for asylum seekers attempting to navigate the housing market (Beer and Foley, 2003; Burns, 2010).
- Asylum seekers are regularly denied access to housing and homelessness services because of an incorrect understanding by some service providers that they are ineligible for housing assistance (Spinney & Nethery, 2013).
- There is confusion among housing services about whether asylum seekers have an "exit option"; that is, that they will not be permitted to secure paid employment and eventually transfer to the private rental market (Burns, 2010).
- While some agencies provide support, there
 is a lack of a formal policy that ensures that
 asylum seekers have access to safe and secure
 housing (Spinney & Nethery, 2013).

The Refugee Council of Australia's (2013) analysis shows significant gaps in the transitional housing service system as well as asylum seeker services and programs (Burns, 2010). Australia has a wideranging housing system — albeit not necessarily fully implemented in all states and territories. This system encompasses legislation, service standards and protocols, accreditation, tendering and management, which provides crisis and transitional housing for those who are homeless or at risk of homelessness (Burns 2010). Australia also provides a number of programs for asylum seekers but these supports only include limited short-term accommodation support. Securing long-term housing is the responsibility of the asylum seeker individual or family. While there are currently a number of specialist asylum seeker agencies with expertise in providing housing and support to asylum seekers living in the community, their provision of services is not sustainable, as it relies on philanthropic and volunteer support and unstable housing stock and operates outside any housing standards or guidelines (Burns, 2010; Refugee Council of Australia, 2013).

There are few studies that have focused on the housing situations for temporary migrants, and those that have focused only on international students, Working Holiday Makers and 457-skilled visa holders (Khoo, McDonald, Temple & Edgar, 2013).

The Centre for Multicultural Youth (2010) highlights the problem of newly-arrived young people living in Australia without an income due to visa restrictions. Asylum seekers do not have access to Centrelink support, and the refugee determination process may be lengthy. Exit options do exist; they include access to the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme (ASAS), Hotham Mission Asylum Seeker Project (ASP) housing, Brigidine Asylum Seeker Project (BASP) and employment, among others. However there is a lack of knowledge regarding 'exit options' for asylum seekers, which leads to housing services denying them entry, on the incorrect assumption that they will become a long-term burden (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010).

Typically, asylum seekers require transitional housing, however, access to transitional housing services is currently extremely limited. This increases the probability that they will be forced to rely on emergency accommodation for extended periods of time, which in turn causes emergency accommodation services to be wary of accepting them (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010).

Restrictions also apply to some young people who are permanent residents but on Orphan or Remaining Relative visas (visa sub-classes 117 and 115 respectively) and asylum seekers. Ineligibility for Centrelink support for young people granted 115 and 117 visas increases the financial strain on the families who sponsor them to Australia and this increases the risk of family breakdown. Young people can suddenly find themselves homeless without any access to an income of their own.

Homelessness NSW (the peak organisation working to prevent homelessness in NSW) states that refugees and asylum seekers may

be dependent on community support services, which are generally under-resourced and may not be able to provide the culturally appropriate support they require, such as translation services (Homelessness NSW, 2019).

Difficulties obtaining employment

People from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds are more likely to have limited qualifications or interrupted education, unrecognised qualifications, lack of local work experience and professional references, low English proficiency and they may also face discrimination in the labour market (Liddy, Sanders & Coleman, 2010). While each of these factors are well-known antecedents to homelessness, the existence of multiple factors (which is more likely to apply to the CaLD population) compounds the difficulty of finding employment.

In addition, for asylum seekers and refugees especially, previous traumatic life experiences and possible mental health issues, also prevent them from engaging in paid employment. The inability to secure employment and earn an income may further exacerbate mental health issues, emotional trauma, isolation and depression. 'The erosion of a sense of identity and independence, feelings of shame at having to beg and accept handouts for their survival, and the inability to integrate socially and economically into Australian society can cause profound distress for many parents, especially men, who are unable to support their families' (Liddy, Sanders & Coleman, 2010, p.13).

A lack of secure employment limits financial and material resources, and therefore housing options. For those who are eligible for Centrelink payments, the amount is often insufficient to cover bonds. rent-in-advance, furniture and other costs associated with moving into new accommodation. Without a job, people from CaLD backgrounds can lack the resources to set up a new house. The Centre for Multicultural Youth (2010) describes how for young migrants and refugees, more than other vulnerable young people, establishing

housing is difficult, as they lack the extended family or community networks, and therefore lack assistance with the costs of setting up a home for example by providing material necessities (e.g., old fridges) or helping transport possessions in their cars or vans. Some young people also send money to family who remain overseas, further limiting their own resources and options (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010).

Access to affordable and appropriate housing

Shelter WA has identified that culturally diverse groups in the Perth metropolitan area are vulnerable to homelessness due to barriers accessing appropriate housing, for example:

- the high cost of housing
- lack of housing suitable for large families
- discrimination experienced by CaLD families in the private rental market.

While many CALD families are not eligible for social housing due to income limits, they also find the private rental market unaffordable (Shelter WA, 2012).

The Refugees and Homelessness Survey (Flatau et al., 2015) was conducted with 20 refugees identified by homelessness and asylum seeker services as having experienced homelessness or been at risk of homelessness since arriving in Australia. Almost all 20 respondents emphasised that they had struggled to secure a tenancy due to the high cost of accommodation in Australia, with unemployment and limited income serving as key contributing factors. The pressure of high housing costs was also named as a major barrier to obtaining a tenancy among those placed on public housing waitlists at the time of data collection. One implication of high housing costs preventing newly settled refugees from acquiring a tenancy could be that they remain on housing waitlists for extended periods of time (Flatau et al., 2015).

Financial and housing stress

Humanitarian migrants generally face higher levels of financial hardship compared to other Australians. This was highlighted by the 2017 Building a New Life in Australia (BLNA) report. This was the first longitudinal study of its kind, examining the experience of humanitarian migrants settling into life in Australia. In regards to housing, the report found that humanitarian migrants may be particularly vulnerable to housing insecurity, stress and homelessness. They face a number of barriers to accessing stable and affordable accommodation, including limited financial resources, language and cultural barriers, discrimination, and lack of knowledge about how to access housing (Department of Social Services, 2017).

The study found that BNLA households were significantly more likely than HILDA (Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia) households to suffer from housing stress, illustrated in the figure below by an inability to pay mortgage or rent on time due to a shortage of money.

This quantitative data from one study, is underpinned by a significant amount of qualitative or anecdotal research about people from CaLD backgrounds being excluded from employment, the social support system (income support and rent assistance), and accessing homelessness services and other mainstream supports, and other ways to access income is explored throughout this Report. In addressing homelessness for people with CaLD backgrounds, the ability for individuals and families to cover their rent with the income available is a basic, but key consideration.

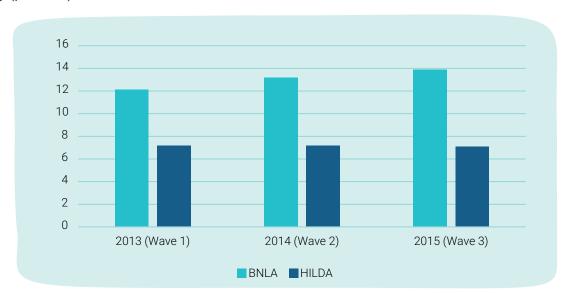


Figure 18: BNLA and HILDA households that could not pay mortgage or rent on time due to a shortage of money (per cent)

Source: BNLA Report (Department of Social Services, 2017)

Access to services and navigating complex systems

There is evidence that people with CaLD backgrounds access the service system at lower rates than the mainstream population. Research by Francis and Cornfoot (2007) which focuses on people from refugee and migrant backgrounds suggests that they under-utilise mainstream homelessness services for a number of reasons, including:

- the fact that many services do not provide an appropriate response
- lack of awareness of the service system and their entitlements e.g., their right to access it, even if they're 'couch-surfing' rather than sleeping on the streets
- stigma of being homeless in their community (Francis & Cornfoot, 2007, p.20).

In addition, the policy, legal and social support infrastructure beyond the homelessness service system is complex (The Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010; Toure, 2008; AIHW 2010). For people born overseas and newly arrived in Australia, settlement challenges include:

- understanding laws and regulations and navigating systems
- access to culturally appropriate services (including access to interpreters)
- understanding the concept of 'homelessness' in Australian culture, and rights to housing and housing options in the Australian context
- understanding tenancy rights and responsibilities including how to maintain a home
- · understanding the social welfare system and access points.

6. Vulnerable groups within the Culturally and Linguistically **Diverse population**

6.1 Humanitarian migrants or refugees, and asvlum seekers

Humanitarian entrants or refugees and asylum seekers are distinct groups. Humanitarian entrants have been recognised as refugees and they are permanent residents with the ability to access services in the same way as other Australians/ Permanent Residents.

Asylum seekers may or may not have been determined to be a refugee, may or may not have applied for protection, and in each case are subject to different requirements and obligations. Generally speaking they may have fewer rights, including in relation to accessing services.

Humanitarian entrants who have been granted Permanent Residency of Australia can access the Humanitarian Settlement Program (SHP) - and then the Settlement Engagement and Transition Support (SETS) program, while asylum seekers may access some support though the Status Resolution Support Services (SRSS) program⁷.

While it is important to emphasise these differences, due to the lack of research about how refugees and asylum seekers experience homelessness, this section draws from a limited range of studies, and at times the research focus is on one group, and other studies focus on a broader cohort of humanitarian migrants and refugees. These groups do also have experiences in common in terms of their personal history and present experiences of settling into a new country, and how these factors impact on their risks for becoming homeless.

Drivers of homelessness for humanitarian migrants and asylum seekers

People coming to Australia for humanitarian reasons, or to seek protection, are likely to have experienced, and continue to be exposed to, risk factors for homelessness that span nearly all significant individual and structural antecedents.

The refugee experience itself can be one of profound homelessness and displacement. Before arrival in Australia, it is likely that refugees and asylum seekers will have already experienced long periods of living in unsafe, insecure and threatening environments, conflict, war or violence, which may have led to trauma-related mental illness (MMHA, 2011). "Many asylum seekers and refugees have spent several years in transition in refugee camps, as illegal immigrants in second countries or as internally displaced peoples in their countries of origin" (Homelessness NSW, 2019).

Upon arrival in Australia they may then experience poverty, stress associated with low English proficiency, lack of familiarity with the service system, family stressors including providing care for family members, disconnection from significant family members and loss of loved ones (MMHA, 2011). In addition, their insecure legal status affecting eligibility to work and access social services compounds vulnerabilities to homelessness.

Past experiences can complicate the settlement process. A person must navigate an unfamiliar network of supports whilst processing trauma, loss, cultural isolation, loneliness, and lack of language. This can hinder the ability to "absorb new information and to understand the complex

⁷ Thanks to the Office of Multicultural Interests.

Australian support system". Being homeless or at risk of homelessness may also re-traumatise people who have already experienced profound homelessness (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010).

Estimates of humanitarian migrant homelessness

The vulnerability of humanitarian entrants to multiple antecedents of homelessness cannot be denied, and we therefore must ask the question: Do refugees and migrants experience homelessness at a higher rate than the mainstream community? There is limited data on this, because visa status not a common data collection variable.

Beer and Foley (2003) estimated that, when applying Australian methods for enumerating homelessness, about one third of refugee and humanitarian entrants (in their survey of 434 refugees in Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane) had experienced homelessness in one form or another while in Australia.

However, in this large-scale study only 24 or 434 refugees disclosed 'experiencing homelessness' (Beer & Foley, 2003). The authors noted, however, that most interviewees conceived of homelessness in a very narrow way. "There is a strong cultural component that predisposes the Temporary Protection Visa holders in particular to see 'couch surfing' and insecure boarding house accommodation as part of their transition to Australian society rather than homelessness" (p. 40).

Barriers to accessing safe, secure housing

The tendency for people from CaLD backgrounds to experience secondary and tertiary homelessness has been noted throughout this Report.

Housing is one of the greatest challenges facing asylum seekers in Australia. There is evidence that organisations struggle to place refugees in appropriate housing. Instead refugees are often placed in temporary, overcrowded or transient

housing situations (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011).

Asylum seekers who have applied for protection can live for years in the community without stable accommodation and without access to any mainstream Housing Services. Flatau et al. (2015) has provided an overview of the challenges humanitarian entrants face in accessing the private rental market, and these include limited income, insecure residency status, no local referees or rental history and limited knowledge of Australia's rental market.

People who have lived through the circumstances of danger and deprivation - violence, war and torture, political and economic instability, environmental disasters or extended periods in refugee camps - may have become more accepting of transient living conditions and have lowered expectations (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011). There may also be a sense of helplessness as a consequence of long-term posttraumatic stress (Chen et al., 2017). This means they will need greater support to move to stable, permanent housing.

Barriers to accessing support

Australia's top ten countries for humanitarian migrants is sourced from the Department of Home Affairs 'Onshore Humanitarian Program 2017-18' Report (Department of Home Affairs, 2018). In 2017-18 the top ten countries for Humanitarian Visas granted (Grants by Country of Citizenship) were:

- Iraq
- Pakistan
- Libya
- Malaysia
- China (PRC)
- Iran
- Svria
- Egypt
- Bangladesh
- Ethiopia

The majority of asylum seekers in Australia live lawfully in the community on bridging visas while they wait for their asylum claims to be resolved. Australia's Hidden Homeless report estimates that more than half these asylum seekers have

no access to a government-funded financial safety net or sustained independent income source (Liddy, Sanders & Coleman, 2010). Many experience homelessness as a result. Even for those who do receive financial support from one of two government-funded programs focusing on asylum seekers, the money they receive is well below the cost for private rental in many Australian states. This can result in individuals or families living in unsafe and insecure accommodation while their application is processed (Liddy, Sanders & Coleman, 2010).

Asylum seekers may be eligible to receive financial and health support. For example, there is the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme, the Humanitarian Settlement Services program and the Humanitarian Settlement Program (HSP). Short term accommodation is included, for example, in the HSP. (These are outlined as examples only and may not be up-to-date: services, funding streams and housing supports set aside for humanitarian entrants are prone to change with the shifting environment of Commonwealth Government policy.)

To gain these supports there is often strict eligibility criteria, which the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre (ASRC) has criticised as 'restrictive' and often "forces people into destitution, poverty, crisis and homelessness in order to be eligible for a program" (Asylum Seeker Resource Centre [ASRC], 2010, p.10). For those who are ineligible for the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme, "If they don't meet the exemption criteria they can end up sleeping out" (Kelly, 2004, p.52).

A number of commentators, including Burns (2010) and the Australian Survey Research Group (2011), have criticised the failure of the Australian Government to provide comprehensive housing support to asylum seekers living in the community (not in community detention), and the subsequent reliance on the community and notfor-profit sector to carry almost full responsibility of providing housing for asylum seekers. This often leads to refugees and migrants living

in inadequate housing, marginal or insecure housing, or living in overcrowded dwellings and experiencing tertiary homelessness. Greater government support and financial assistance is required for community and not-for-profit sectors providing housing for asylum seekers.

6.2 Women on temporary visas, and women facing domestic violence

Women on temporary visas from CaLD backgrounds face a specific interaction of individual and structural antecedents to homelessness that leaves them an exceptionally vulnerable cohort. Temporary visas for women commonly include partner visas, family visas, working visas, student visas, visitor visas or carer visas. Government policies linked to these visas prevent access to housing, employment, social security, health care, childcare and education. At the same time, some visas require sponsorship, effectively meaning that a person's ability to stay in Australia will hinge on a relationship (National Advocacy Group on Women on Temporary Visas Experiencing Violence, 2018). The sponsoring partner must, for two years:

- "provide all financial obligations to the Australian Government that your partner might incur while they are in Australia;
- · agree to provide adequate accommodation and financial assistance as required to meet your partner's reasonable living needs;
- provide financial and other support, such as childcare, that will enable your partner to attend any English classes they need; and
- provide information and advice to help your partner settle in Australia" (Department of Home Affairs, 2019).

Where the sponsor is an intimate partner, these conditions promote women's dependency on men (National Advocacy Group on Women on Temporary Visas Experiencing Violence, 2018). Within healthy, supportive relationships, this may

not be a problem. However, women on temporary visas who experience intimate partner violence are very vulnerable to experiencing further violence, because they face more barriers than other women that keep them from leaving the relationship or accessing support. Additional barriers to leaving a violent relationship may include:

- Fear of deportation
- Fear of a loss of custody of their children
- No social networks
- A lack of understanding of their rights
- A lack of understanding of services and supports
- No rights to access housing, social services or income support
- No eligibility to work
- No ability to leave the country because of Family Court Orders concerning their children
- Stigma in their culture about leaving a relationship, and
- Poor English language skills (National Advocacy Group on Women on Temporary Visas Experiencing Violence, 2018).

These barriers help perpetrators maintain power and control and to continue to use violence. For those who are not yet permanent residents and decide to leave a violent relationship, there are limited options for income. Most income support payments have a two-year waiting period and some pensions, such as the aged pension and disability support pensions, have a 10-year qualifying residence requirement.

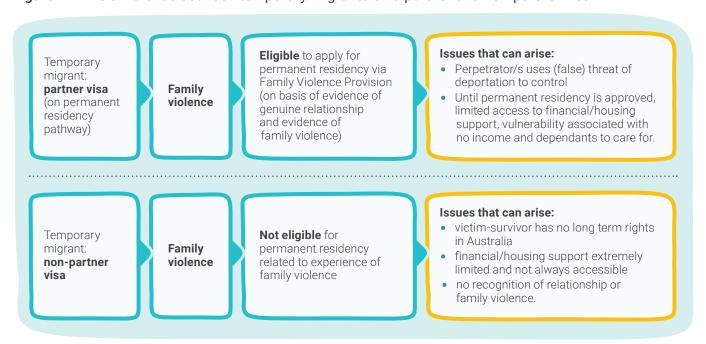
Temporary visa conditions leave women extremely unsafe and without options, and this also affects the capability of domestic and family violence support services to assist. Not only is income support not available to these women, but they have no access to subsidised medical visits or public transport, and are unlikely to be eligible for other support services such as public housing or homelessness programmes (Department of Social Services, 2015). For example, Domestic Violence NSW, reports that in NSW women on temporary visas experiencing violence can only access temporary accommodation for two days,

crisis housing for six months to two years, and cannot access social housing at all (National Advocacy Group on Women on Temporary Visas Experiencing Violence, 2018).

As outlined by the National Advocacy Group on Women on Temporary Visas Experiencing Violence, (2018), a high risk group are young women brought to Australia on partner visas for marriage. This cohort can have a significant lack of knowledge or understanding of their rights. Some have their passport confiscated by their partner, and are threatened with deportation. In some cases, there is a belief that visa sponsorship has to be 'paid back' either in personal care, in the case of older partners/partners with health issues and disabilities, or in sexual services including providing paid sexual services for the man's friends and associates (Department of Social Services, 2015).

As is highlighted by Segrave (2017) (Figure 19), both women on partner visas as well as temporary migrants on non-partner visas face difficulties finding options that keep them safe from violence, and that lead to secure housing and independence from the perpetrator.

Figure 19: The difference between temporary migrants on a partner and non-partner visa



Source: Temporary Migration and Family Violence Report (Segrave, 2017)

It is easy to see how some women in these circumstances will have complex health, mental health, legal, immigration and protection matters to address. The support needed is intensive and difficult to provide without their access to government-funded social supports and Medicare (Vaughan et al., 2015). Services face difficult decisions around the need to provide support for an extremely vulnerable cohort, and taking on the significant costs of supporting this group, for already-stretched support services (Department of Social Services, 2015).

There have been reported increases in the number of women on temporary visas (who have applied for a spouse visa – a visa granted because they married an Australian Citizen or permanent resident (Department of Home Affairs, 2019) – who are reluctant to report domestic or family violence for fear they will not be able to remain in Australia.

What are common pathways for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse women facing domestic violence?

Many women from CaLD backgrounds have cultural beliefs that frown upon women leaving

their spouse and hence this makes escaping from domestic violence very difficult (Aly & Gaba, 2007). Non-CALD women experiencing domestic violence will often seek refuge with friends or relatives, however anecdotal feedback suggests that women from CaLD backgrounds may be less likely to involve other community members, placing them at even more risk (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011). Culturally inappropriate accommodation and services as documented by Aly and Gaba (2007) in the WA context only increases the risk that this group will not seek assistance from specialist services.

Services sometimes manage the resources required to bear the cost of supporting these women by moving them around to multiple locations (Vaughan et al., 2016). Women and children in this situation often end up in short-term crisis accommodation and then refuges for a long period of time due to difficulties in accessing the private rental market, having few family members or friends to assist, and not being eligible for public housing (Department of Social Services, 2015).

Although most women from migrant and refugee backgrounds report positive experiences with

domestic and family violence and homelessness services, some reported difficulties accessing them due to high demand, and some felt pressured to make life-changing decisions quickly without proper access to an interpreter or sufficient information about their rights and options (Vaughan et al., 2016).

What reforms are needed?

The need for greater provision of services to CaLD women experiencing violence has been acknowledged by the Commonwealth Government in the National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children 2010-2022 (Department of Social Services, 2016). Its Third Action Plan emphasised the need for increased cultural awareness in service systems and practitioners. Similarly, state and territory governments in recent years have reviewed and updated their policies on family violence and multiculturalism to ensure recognition of cultural diversity and strategies to promote inclusivity. Police and family law system services have also implemented strategies to better engage with diverse communities and foster positive relationships with community-specific organisations (El-Murr, 2018).

The most basic point to make is that if women on temporary and spouse visas need to seek shelter at a refuge, then funding should be available to support them.

All Australian governments can:

· Increase funding to homelessness and domestic and family violence services to provide accommodation, social and material support to women on temporary visas and their children (Flinders Institute for Housing, Urban and Regional Research, 2008).

State and Territory governments can:

 Change policy to ensure women on temporary visas experiencing violence and their children are eligible to apply for social housing and rental assistance and subsidies

• Advocate to the Commonwealth government for the law and policy changes that are leading to increased risks of homelessness for women on temporary visas experiencing violence (National Advocacy Group on Women on Temporary Visas Experiencing Violence, 2018).

In addition, the Third Action Plan of the National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children outlines the need to ensure that 'migration rules and eligibility requirements for support services do not disempower victims of violence or discourage them from leaving violent relationships' (DiNicola, Liyanarachchi & Plummer, 2019).

While making homelessness services, refuges and other services more culturally sensitive and appropriate is important, a study on temporary migration and family violence by Segrave (2017) highlights two key findings:

- "First, housing-related service provision that extends beyond immediate assistance to the provision of long-term, sustainable housing is critical;
- Second, the need for housing stability and affordability, as recognised in other significant studies, must be addressed as part of a holistic response to family violence."

The withholding of suitable and secure accommodation and housing support for women on temporary visas experiencing intimate partner violence may be framed as an urgent human rights issue. While women in these circumstances may not end up on the streets in high rates (primary homelessness), services report this group of women are more likely to stay with or return to a violent partner due to a lack of other housing options. Thus, while the issue is not likely to be visible in the homelessness measures, it is a social issue perpetuated by lack of housing options and a failure of our homelessness services and government to adequately prevent or intervene (and, in fact, it is government policy that creates the conditions for this social issue to perpetuate).

6.3 Young people, especially young refugees and migrants

Young people from refugee backgrounds may be six to ten times more likely to become homeless than other young people, according to a report written by the Centre for Multicultural Youth (2010).

Young people may be driven from their family home due to family breakdown (as examined in Section 5.2) exacerbated by acculturation issues faced by second generation immigrants (Ransley & Drummond, 2001), or potentially having parents who were migrants or refugees; parents who may have been exposed to conflict, war and transition trauma and who are less able to support children as a result of their experiences (Homelessness NSW, 2019).

Young migrants or refugees also face additional vulnerabilities to homelessness due to the difficult life transitions (see Section 5.2). Refugee and migrant young people "often face numerous and more profound transitions than their Australianborn counterparts, prior to arriving in Australia, and subsequently face another set of complex transitions upon settling into Australia" (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2010).

After being driven out of their family home young migrants and refugees then face barriers to accessing safe and secure housing, including:

- being less likely to establish economic viability and social networks,
- · language barriers,
- interrupted education,
- a lack of a rental history,
- · lack of knowledge of the service system, and
- experiences of discrimination (Multicultural Mental Health Australia, 2011)

Some may find shared accommodation offered by services to be culturally inappropriate. There may not be gender and segregation, or prayer space, and a lack of food preparation spaces to prepare culturally appropriate food (Francis & Cornfoot, 2007).

Pregnancy is one of the most common circumstances within which young women from CaLD backgrounds present to homelessness services (Lawson & Dutertre, 2010). In some cultures young women who become pregnant outside of marriage may be forced to leave home to hide their pregnancy from their family or because they are rejected. Having a baby presents additional challenges for young women looking for accommodation, be it with relatives, friends or crisis housing. There is a lack of targeted culturally appropriate support for pregnant young women and young mothers from refugee or migrant backgrounds. The lack of options for young women in these circumstances can lead to many years of transience and instability, resulting in entrenched disadvantage (Lawson & Dutertre, 2010).

6.4 Older people from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Groups

There is evidence older migrants from culturally diverse backgrounds are more likely to face certain vulnerabilities compared to the older Anglo-Australian population. These include lower rates of use of information technology and lower rates of access to services. They have less superannuation savings and an increased risk of poverty, have lower levels of education and are less likely to be in paid work. Adverse health and social outcomes are exacerbated for those who migrate to Australia at an older age, including older refugees (Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia, 2015; Housing for the Aged Action Group and Ethnic Communities' Council of Victoria; 2015).

7. Effective policy and practice responses

This section provides an overview of policy and practice responses that are shown to be effective in preventing entry and facilitating exit from homelessness for people from CaLD backgrounds.

Due to low rates of service engagement and few rigorous studies into Australian refugee communities, and other CaLD populations, there is little available evidence to inform practitioners about effective strategies for engaging with, and appropriately responding to, needs in this population.

In addressing CaLD homelessness, the insights from the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA, 2011) are valuable in pointing out that homeless people from CaLD communities experience a 'double disadvantage'. Alongside the experience of homelessness, in trying to access support they also face language barriers, lack of systems knowledge, cultural inappropriateness in the service sector, discrimination and racism, and barriers to access housing.

Therefore, one key response involves looking at barriers to service access, through information, advocacy and case management, and continuing this support through the assisting people from CaLD backgrounds access appropriate housing.

7.1 Provide information and awareness for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse communities

People born outside of Australia are less likely to use homelessness and other services than the Australian-born population. This can be attributed to CaLD communities not receiving adequate culturally and language-appropriate information about support services for homelessness and its causal factors (FECCA, 2011).

CaLD communities require language and culturespecific information about homelessness, mental health, trauma counselling, domestic violence, and youth support services, presented in appropriate mediums (for example, via radio or written communications rather than the Internet for communities with low digital literacy) (FECCA, 2011).

Flatau et al. (2015) makes a similar point in relation to refugees. When refugees experience difficulties faced by other vulnerable societal groups such as mental health issues, family violence and homelessness, then it is critical that they are also informed about available support services and priority housing options.

Aly and Gaba (2007) conducted an assessment of gaps in Western Australia in terms of providing services to people from CaLD backgrounds. The report found that service providers do not have a coordinated approach to providing targeted information to people from CaLD backgrounds. In some cultures and communities there is stigma associated with homelessness, domestic violence and mental health issues which prevent people from seeking help or information about how to get help. Good practice models will involve the integration of homelessness information into other information – for example including the provision of information on crisis accommodation within a broader context such as information sessions on women's health and wellbeing (Aly & Gaba, 2007).

This can be achieved most effectively where homelessness services partner with mental health services, social services, ethno-specific/multicultural services, settlement services and Government (MMHA, 2011).

Education and awareness should also be targeted for CaLD populations. For example, addressing the lack of knowledge about the Australian system of law and about domestic violence. A study by South Western Sydney Area Health Service and

Central Sydney Area Health Service measured attitudes to domestic violence in Arabic, Tongan, Vietnamese and Chinese communities and found that domestic violence was generally considered an issue dealt with by the family. By using a publicity campaign and community information events, community members were more likely to recognise domestic violence as a crime and understand that services were available.

Service providers should operate from the assumption that people from diverse cultural backgrounds are not aware of their services, and to be strategic about addressing the lack of knowledge and information about crisis accommodation services among people from CaLD backgrounds (Aly & Gaba, 2007).

7.2 Case management and individualised approaches

People with CaLD backgrounds who are homeless or at risk of homelessness are likely to present with compounding issues. In particular new migrants or people with refugee backgrounds may have health, mental health, financial, legal, visa status issues as well as housing issues to address.

Intensive case management service models lend themselves to addressing multiple issues (Aly & Gaba, 2007; Marfleet, Trueman & Barber, 2013). Case management allows for thoughtful consideration of how to appropriately intervene, and apply cultural sensitivity. For example, Muslim women seeking crisis accommodation have specific needs around accommodation that can cater for halal food or prayer spaces (Aly & Gaba, 2007).

People from CaLD backgrounds are not a homogenous group, and their experiences vary depending on a range of factors (country of origin, life experiences, length of time in Australia, migration pathway, exposure to Australian systems, English language proficiency, gender, religion, disability, sexuality, gender identity,

age, and socioeconomic status) (Mental Health Australia, FECCA & NEDA, 2019). This lends itself to individualised approaches.

The Effectiveness of the homelessness service system Research Report (Brackertz, Fotheringham & Winter, 2016) outlines contemporary approaches to case management, and identifies the following elements as being important:

- Advocacy and/or brokerage at both the client level and system level;
- 'Strengths-based' perspective for transforming practice away from pathologising discourses and towards a focus on resilience and possibility;
- A trauma informed approach is increasingly used, especially in the contexts of young people leaving residential care, people leaving domestic and family violence, and Indigenous and culturally and linguistically diverse communities.

Perhaps related to the strengths-based approaches, in the United States a focus on self-efficacy has been found to be effective for migrants in emergency shelters. This involves "building self-esteem, self-reliance and personal coping skills" (Lindquist, Lagory & Ritchey, 1999). The authors propose that the approach depends on where the client is on a continuum: "...starting first with efforts to repair self-esteem as an individual enters the provider system (for the recent resident of the local area) and then culminating with the development of social skills and assistance in maintaining social and community ties as the person becomes more familiar with the community and begins to think of it as home" (Lindquist, Lagory & Ritchey, 1999).

On the other hand, the No Place to Go report which focused on Muslim women in Western Australia noted that at times the selfempowerment model is not appropriate to Muslims and people from new and emerging communities (Aly & Gabar, 2007).

Good case management allows for a consideration of appropriate responses, depending on the client. Case management models have been specifically identified in the literature as a

critical success factor in a number of programs aimed at improving housing outcomes, preventing or addressing homelessness. Evidence in practice includes the Housing and Support Program (HASP) for people with disabilities in Queensland (Meehan, Madson, Shepherd & Siskind, 2010); the Intensive Intervention Program (IIP) for Indigenous tenants in public housing (Flatau, Coleman et al., 2009); and discharge planning programs for people exiting prison (Backer & Howard, 2007).

7.3 Advocacy and financial support to access housing

People from diverse cultural backgrounds, for many reasons explored in this Report, experience difficulties accessing housing.

The Refugee Council of Australia (2013) outlines how refugees face discrimination in the property market and financial hardship. The inability to navigate a complex unfamiliar system housing system (Refugee Council of Australia, 2013), can jeopardise access to long-term housing, and further compound stress faced by this group. They recommended the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (referred to as the Department of Home Affairs in 2019) funds State departments to contract specialist, registered housing providers to manage tenancies, and also work with community agencies to provide other support. (In their proposed model rent is set at 80% of market value and subsidised depending on the needs of the person seeking asylum.)

Liddy, Sanders and Coleman (2010) have also explored community-based options for asylum seekers via a Hotham Mission Asylum Seeker Project. They concluded that when people seeking asylum apply for public housing and rental properties, they should be offered:

- access to interest-free bond loans;
- private rental assistance funding;
- backdating new public housing applications to the date a person first accessed public housing; and

• (extended) eligibility to the National Rental Affordability Scheme.

An examination of housing options is also required, so that there are available dwellings that can accommodation large extended families – which may be a need for some CaLD people facing homelessness.

7.4 Equipping the service system to address Culturally and Linguistically Diverse homelessness

Australians from CaLD backgrounds generally demonstrate reduced rates of access to services. "When factors including pre and post migration challenges are taken into account, these reduced rates of service access are more likely to reflect issues such as stigma and difficulties navigating the system than lower levels of distress or need" (Mental Health Australia, FECCA & NEDA, 2019).

The service system needs to respond by being equipped and resourced to work with people from CaLD backgrounds experiencing homelessness.

In other sectors such as in the health and disability sector, tailored approaches have been developed to better meet the needs of CaLD communities where reduced rates of service access are evident – for example the development of a National Disability Insurance Agency Cultural and Linguistic Diversity Strategy 2018 (National Disability Insurance Scheme [NDIS], 2018).

To complement this approach, there could be funding for homelessness services that specialise in catering for multicultural populations. People from CaLD backgrounds need a choice between accessing specialist or mainstream services, as proposed in the Department of Communities Directions Paper (Government of Western Australia, 2019). As described in the Directions Paper (2019) this not only has the benefits of providing choice for people according to their comfort and needs, but it also enhances the

viability of CaLD controlled agencies, so they are not competing with mainstream services (if the tendering process ensures this).

The service system should include services specifically for refugees and asylum seekers, given additional funding streams to support these groups in recognition of the increased support needs of people who are unable to access Centrelink or other government supports.

7.5 Provision of language services in service delivery

Homelessness services should be equipped to follow the Western Australian Language Services Policy (Office of Multicultural Interests, 2014), which requires State Government agencies to ensure that clients who are not able to communicate in spoken and/or written English are provided with interpreters and/or translators. This policy should extend to services that State Government has contracts with, for example community-based services and resources provided to meet this need.



8. Summary

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself [sic] and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control"

(United Nations, Article 25(1), Universal Declaration of Human Rights, p. 52).

People from CaLD backgrounds comprise an increasingly significant proportion of the population living in Australia, and yet their visibility and needs are not adequately reflected in our homelessness service system, our homelessness measures nor our policy contexts. In fact, as presented in this report, at times our policy environment may be a direct cause of harm for people from CaLD - in terms of withholding critical supports from people living in Australia experiencing urgent needs.

The Asylum Seeker Resource Centre (2008)⁸ points out that even our guiding White Paper on homelessness, The Road Home (2008), which sets the policy priorities and direction for addressing homelessness nationally, fails to address the CaLD population and their specific vulnerabilities to homelessness. "There is no mention of asylum seekers, despite their welldocumented housing challenges and regular presentation at Housing Services".

One key finding from this Report has been around the poor quality of data and lack of consistency across data collections. The WA homelessness sector would benefit from developing its own 'minimum' variables for capturing the CaLD population – such as including Country of Origin variables, recency of arrival in Australia, as well as language background variables, and perhaps a variable for citizenship or visa status. Part of any data improvement for the CaLD population would also include strategies to enhance tracking and understanding the extent of secondary and tertiary homelessness in WA.

People from CaLD backgrounds are prone to experiences of secondary and tertiary homelessness, which are categories that tend to be precluded from homelessness measures, outside of the Census. The qualitative information

The Asylum Seeker Resource Centre, (2008) Locked Out. Position Paper on Homelessness of Asylum Seekers Living in the Community

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presented in this report also indicates that people from CaLD backgrounds are likely to be living in marginal housing or unsafe housing for long periods. Although this means they will not be technically defined as homeless (or shelterless) according to some measures, it is fair to say that housing often falls short to the extent that it effects their physical, mental and social health, and if they are to thrive as members of the Australian community their housing circumstances need to be addressed.

The population of people who are homeless and sleeping rough remain predominantly Australianborn, and, particularly in some homelessness measures such as Registry Week and the Specialist Homelessness Services Collection, the overall numbers of people from CaLD backgrounds is relatively small compared with the Australian-born population. However, in the analysis of the Census data which includes secondary homelessness, the homeless CaLD population becomes more visible. When the Census data is analysed further to reflect the rates of homelessness for each cohort (based on Country of Birth - Country Group) CaLD homelessness becomes even more visible. In fact this analysis indicates that people from CaLD backgrounds are often more likely to experience homelessness, especially secondary and tertiary homelessness, and are thus more vulnerable to homelessness than their Australianborn counterparts.

A review of qualitative research across Australia sheds light on the reasons for this. While the common structural and individual antecedents to homelessness that apply to mainstream population also apply to CaLD populations, people from CaLD backgrounds experience additional drivers. CaLD populations experience difficult life transitions and settlement challenges, impoverished backgrounds, trauma-related mental illness, poor English proficiency, lacking familiarity with the service system, family stressors and insecure legal status affecting eligibility to work and access social services.

Four groups have been identified as exceptionally vulnerable in facing multiple and compounding risk factors, and they are:

- humanitarian migrants, refugees and asylum seekers;
- women on temporary visas experiencing domestic violence;
- youth, especially young refugees and migrants; and
- older people with CaLD backgrounds.

The critical pathways followed by these groups do not always, necessarily end in visible homelessness or rough sleeping. Rather, humanitarian migrants and youth in particular, tend to spend long periods in transitional, insecure and marginal housing, severely overcrowded housing or inadequate housing. Older people from CaLD backgrounds may face similar financial strains to their Australian-born counterparts, but with less abilities and experience with accessing appropriate services and supports. Women on temporary visas experiencing domestic violence face real barriers to accessing housing options and support, which limit their options and mean they are likely to remain living with a perpetrator of violence.

While this cohort may remain in shelter, the failures within our service system, housing system and homelessness responses act to keep them in unsafe housing (or, at least, housing that is unsafe for them). Our current approaches and methods for defining and enumerating the homeless may overlook this circumstance as one of homelessness. However, the ABS's conceptual framework for defining homelessness includes elements related "control of, and access to space for social relations covers privacy, safety, security and a range of other characteristics that make a dwelling into a 'home'" 9. In this regard, women on temporary visas who remain living with violent partners because other options are not available to them or suitable for them, are indeed living in a state of homelessness.

The implications of much of the research presented in this Report calls for an urgent need to better understand Culturally and Linguistically Diverse homelessness vulnerabilities and work with services in the homelessness sector and across government to address them. The needs presented by the CaLD population – especially in the most vulnerable cohorts such as asylum seekers and refugees who may be excluded from accessing the most basic needs and/or have no right to work in Australia - can be conceptualised as much through a human rights framework as an ending homelessness framework.

Compensating for gaps in income security related to residency and visa status, ensuring all services - homelessness services as well as services that address the causes of homelessness - are equally accessible to all population groups, and making the housing system more affordable and accessible for all population groups, are daunting issues to tackle, and need high-level policy changes to be addressed. But without addressing these issues Western Australia will not be able to achieve the vision enshrined in

Government policy, which is substantive equality for all Western Australians. Neither will Western Australia be able to completely end homelessness, including the less visible homelessness of people living for extended periods in overcrowded, marginal and unsafe housing.

For CaLD groups, not only are the drivers of homelessness "distinctly difficult to address, but oftentimes the services created to address them are an obstacle in themselves due to lack of cultural competency"10. The findings of this Report call for us to not only consider the diverse and multiple needs of people from CaLD backgrounds facing homelessness, but equally to examine the service system and ensure that all people living in Australia can access the economic and social resources needed to live a settled life, in a safe and secure home.

https://www.ahuri.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/2249/AHURI_Final_Report_No221_Homelessness-re-shaping-the-policy-

¹⁰ Homelessness has many faces and many cultures. Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) 2011

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Appendix A: Standard Classification of Countries - Australian Bureau of Statistics

Major Groups 1 Oceania and Antarctica North-West Europe 2 Southern and Eastern Europe 3 4 North Africa and The Middle East 5 South-East Asia North-East Asia 6 7 Southern and Central Asia 8 **Americas** 9 Sub-Saharan Africa

Major Groups and Minor Groups

Oceania and Antarctica

- Australia (Includes External Territories)
- New Zealand 12
- 13 Melanesia
- 14 Micronesia
- Polynesia (Excludes Hawaii)
- Antarctica

North-West Europe

- United Kingdom, Channel Islands and Isle Of Man
- 22 Ireland
- 23 Western Europe
- 24 Northern Europe

Southern and Eastern Europe

- Southern Europe
- 32 South Eastern Europe
- Eastern Europe

North Africa and The Middle East

- 41 North Africa
- 42 Middle East

South-East Asia

- Mainland South-East Asia 51
- Maritime South-East Asia 52

North-East Asia

- Chinese Asia (Includes Mongolia)
- Japan and The Koreas

Southern and Central Asia

- Southern Asia
- 72 Central Asia

Americas

- 81 Northern America
- 82 South America
- Central America 83
- Caribbean 84

Sub-Saharan Africa

Central and West Africa



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