# Demographic Analysis: racial composition

This section reports on the current demographic context of the North Melbourne and Flemington high-rise public housing estates[1] and their neighbourhoods. These estates are scheduled for demolition in 2025, the first in a broad renewal agenda that effectively includes all public housing estates in Melbourne (see map).

[2]

As the program is currently structured, and according to previous research findings in public housing renewal and relocation programs (Kelly & Porter, 2019; Porter et al., 2023), the displacement of existing communities is a central feature of public housing renewal programs in Australia. In some instances households are granted a right to return, however previous research on public housing renewal at Kensington and Carlton indicate low rates of return between 15-20% (Kelly & Porter, 2019). The Department of Families, Fairness and Housing's most recent relocation guidelines

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[1] Hereafter referred to as 'Estates' throughout this section.

[2] We refer to 'social housing' here to denote the fact that public housing and community housing are co-located on these identified sites. Although most high-rise tower estates are public housing estates, some estates such as Williamstown host a substantial amount of community housing tenures. Public housing refers to housing that is owned and managed by a state housing department, often called a State Housing Authority. Community housing refers to housing that is owned or the tenancy managed by a Community Housing Organisation. Social housing is used to refer to the combined provision of non-market or subsidised low-income housing being both public and community housing.

indicate that tenants may "choose" to return to a redeveloped estate "where there are suitable homes that meet their needs and eligibility." It includes the caveat that there may not be enough redeveloped homes for tenants to return to, in which case tenants will be "offered a property at a location in close proximity to the redeveloped site or in alternative locations if tenants agree". (DFFH, 2023)"

Many factors influence a household's decision to return, including rootedness in current home, desire to avoid disruption, and long redevelopment timelines. Anticipating a likely rate of return is a complex multi-variable process, however structural factors inherent to the renewal program may suggest lower rates, including:

- *Change of tenure*: all public housing at North Melbourne and Flemington will be removed. A private community housing organisation will assume management of future social housing properties. This will require tenants to change landlord.
- *Increased cost*: community housing operators charge higher rent (30% of household income) and have the authority to garnish the statutory income of tenants (e.g. Commonwealth Rental Assistance).
- *Increased disadvantage*: tenants who are relocated once are more likely to experience multiple forced moves, compounding negative economic and health outcomes (Brackertz et al., 2020). Whilst some tenants will be relocated into existing public or community housing and may remain there, the scale of relocation necessitates that a majority will require multiple moves, the effects of which will impact on a household's willingness to return, as well as their long-term wellbeing.
- *Disconnection*: the renewal of these sites is anticipated to be complete in 2031. Community connections will be significantly reconfigured, and in some cases extinguished, through the dispersal of estate communities. A lack of social connection to the new community will impact on rates of return for public housing tenants.
- *Service environment*: during the redevelopment process, relocated tenants will need to rebuild their lives in the properties and locations they have been moved to. This includes the labour of establishing new connections to social and health services, such as schooling for children if moving out of district and primary care physicians. The significant administrative burden associated with just one move may make public housing tenants reluctant to undertake this process again to relocate back to the redeveloped estate.
- *Newly configured dwelling types*: Redeveloped sites are spatially reconfigured to maximise housing density, resulting in smaller apartments with fewer bedrooms. This means that not all households (especially ones with children) are able to return (Shaw et al., 2013). The shrinking of dwelling sizes has a racialised impact as it fails to take into account household compositions that

deviate from a western nuclear family structure, such as multiple generations co-residing for cultural or practical (e.g. division of care labour) reasons.

Taking these structural factors into consideration, we provide a scenario analysis whereby relocated households *do not return* and speculate with available demographic data as to the likely demographic trends we expect to see upon the completion of the renewal in 2031.

Methodology

To examine the demographic profile[3] of the public housing estates in Flemington and North Melbourne, we compiled 2016-2021 Census data. In the analysis below, we provide a basic demographic analysis, describing the key demographic indicators, with a particular focus on variables that discern a *racialised non-white demographic* category: place of birth and ancestry.

The Australian Census does not collect data that explicitly refers to racial demographic categories, unlike places like the United States where racial self-identification is facilitated in their decadal population census. Whilst some researchers have argued for better race and ethnicity data in the Australian census, they also caution that 'the collection of ethnicity data and the categorisation of the population into groups is not without risk', and can reinforce already discriminatory categorisations, power imbalances and normative whiteness (Renzaho 2023).

Estates are also not defined statistical boundaries according to the ABS, nor are they considered a residential typology in the common sense of Australian urban planning and housing policy. For this reason, there are no publicly available datasets, in accessible formats, that facilitate a better public understanding and awareness of the social demographic composition of public housing estates and how this contributes to their communities.

To create a geographical boundary to analyse the racial composition of public housing estates in North Melbourne and Flemington we aggregate multiple proximate mesh block data points, which represent the smallest ABS statistical geographical area. Given that estates are mono-tenure and typically denser than their surrounding neighbourhoods, data points are clearly identifiable and able to be differentiated from other tenure types in adjacent areas.

To represent the neighbourhoods that these public housing estates form a part of, we use ABS Census data at the SA2 statistical geography, the most comparable scale to defined suburb boundaries and compatible with mesh blocks. To visually

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[3] A full demographic summary is available as an appendix to this section.

represent the data in maps, we randomised points inside mesh blocks, each one representing an individual, using ArcGIS pro.

Social characteristics of existing community

The North Melbourne and Flemington estates have approximately 1,200 residents, at least 69% of which identified as having overseas ancestry. Compared with the rest of Inner Melbourne (see Table 1), these populations are on average:

- More likely to be children aged 0-14 and young adults 15-24
- More likely to be born overseas
- More likely to be of non-European ancestry
- More likely to be from Sub-Saharan African countries
- Less likely to hold a Bachelor or postgraduate degree
- More likely to live on less than $800 weekly income
- Less likely to participate in the labour force

Table 1 — summary of social characteristics of Estates

Characteristic	12 Holland Court Flemington	120 Racecourse Rd Flemington	33 Alfred North Melbourne	Total all 3 Towers
Total population	330	424	471	1225
% children 0-14	21%	25%	26%	25%
% young adults 15-24	14%	14%	24%	18%
% Elderly 65+	14%	12%	7%	11%
% overseas born	55%	53%	37%	47%
% overseas ancestry	76%	69%	65%	69%
% households with income under $800 pw	47%	42%	34%	41%
% people not in the labour force	42%	37%	29%	35%
% people working full or part time	22%	15%	22%	19%
% of people born in Sub-Saharan Africa	27%	31%	27%	28%

The estates make possible the conditions for dwelling for a number of diasporic communities, predominantly from Africa and Asia. Unlike the majority of public housing tenants in Victoria, these estates typically host fewer people from European ancestry. Declared ancestry alone is not a reliable proxy for 'race' given the diversity of individual interpretations of one's ancestry to include culture, language, ethnicity and complicated histories.

Table 2, below, represents (first response) declared ancestry grouped according to global regions and compares those to the inner Melbourne average. When compared to inner Melbourne, the Estates demographics clearly demonstrate that there are high concentrations of people from declared ancestries in the sum of Sub-

Saharan African ancestral groupings. The Estates can also be thought of as the geographical conditions (resources, spaces, ecologies, domiciles, community infrastructure) that currently hold a set of social relations that make diasporic belonging possible[4].

Table 2 — declared ancestry (first response) by global regions, of Estates

Ancestry	Holland - Flemington		Racecourse - Flemington		North Melbourne		Inner Melbourne	
	#	%	#	%	Number #	%	#	%
Oceanian	24	7%	33	8%	35	8%	84410	14%
North-West European	12	4%	14	3%	15	3%	258761	42%
North African and Middle Eastern	30	9%	32	8%	11	2%	15822	3%
South-East Asian	35	11%	36	9%	10	2%	22136	4%
North-East Asian	35	11%	24	6%	21	5%	62689	10%
Southern and Central Asian	6	2%	0	0%	0	0%	29153	5%
Sub-Saharan African	123	38%	168	40%	245	53%	7471	1%
Peoples of the Americas	0	0%	4	1%	0	0%	10204	2%
Southern and Eastern European	6	2%	7	2%	0	0%	85555	14%
Other Responses	55	17%	98	24%	125	27%	40802	7%
Total	326	100%	416	100%	462	100%	617003	100%

Country of birth also presents challenges when discerning a *racialised non-white demographic* category. The ancestry of first-generation migrants and their descendants, for instance, are not captured in country of birth data. Country of birth does, however, indicate whether the Estates play a critical role in the settlement of poor, recently-arrived migrants or people seeking asylum. Oceania and Antarctica global regions include people born overseas in New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia and Antarctica, and people born in Australia. Inner Melbourne has a significantly higher total of people born in Oceania and Antarctica (61%), and a significantly lower number of people born in Sub-Saharan Africa (1%) and South-East Asia (6%) than the Estates (see Table 3). It is also significant to note that there is a significantly higher proportion of the population born in a place not captured neatly by these constructed geographic regions (contained in Sum of Other responses), than the inner Melbourne average (5%).

Table 3 — country of birth, by global regions, of Estates

Country of Birth	Holland - Flemington		Racecourse - Flemington		North Melbourne		Inner Melbourne	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%

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[4] This is necessary in the face of ongoing international and domestic systemic discrimination and everyday racism perpetrated against asylum seekers, Muslims, people of colour and the poor.

Sum of Oceania and Antarctica	116	35%	122	29%	190	41%	378328	61%
Sum of North-West Europe	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	37836	6%
Sum of Southern and Eastern Europe	0	0%	5	1%	4	1%	28836	5%
Sum of North Africa and the Middle East	21	6%	27	6%	16	3%	11018	2%
Sum of South-East Asia	55	17%	50	12%	12	3%	36896	6%
Sum of North-East Asia	7	2%	3	1%	7	1%	36705	6%
Sum of Southern and Central Asia	9	3%	0	0%	0	0%	24985	4%
Sum of Sub-Saharan Africa	88	27%	131	31%	127	27%	9107	1%
Sum of Americas	0	0%	4	1%	8	2%	19900	3%
Sum of Other responses	32	10%	77	18%	103	22%	33399	5%
Sum of Total	328	100%	419	100%	467	100%	617010	100%

The demographic composition (according to country of birth and ancestry) of the Estates highlights the critical role of these spaces in enabling diasporic communities to regroup after episodes of migration (often forced) or to provide community support for the everyday challenge of multicultural non/belonging.

Demographic Mapping

The maps below visualize the geographical distribution of 'country of birth' responses for the suburbs of Flemington (Map 1) and North Melbourne (Map 2), as well as a map of both localities representing the geographical distribution and concentration of African populations (country of birth) (Map 3). Each individual marker represents an individual person and are colour coded randomly. Each parcel is equal to one mesh block, and markers (individuals) are randomly placed within their corresponding parcel. The density of markers in each parcel is indicative of population density of those parcels.

On all maps the Flemington and North Melbourne estates have been highlighted with a yellow circle.

Flemington, Map 1:
- Ascot Vale public housing estate located in the west on the map.
- Aged living area in northeast of map
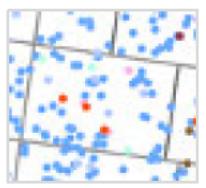
North Melbourne, Map 2:
- Kensington Estate located in the west on the map.
- Dense apartment areas in the southeast of the map, high Asian and student population.
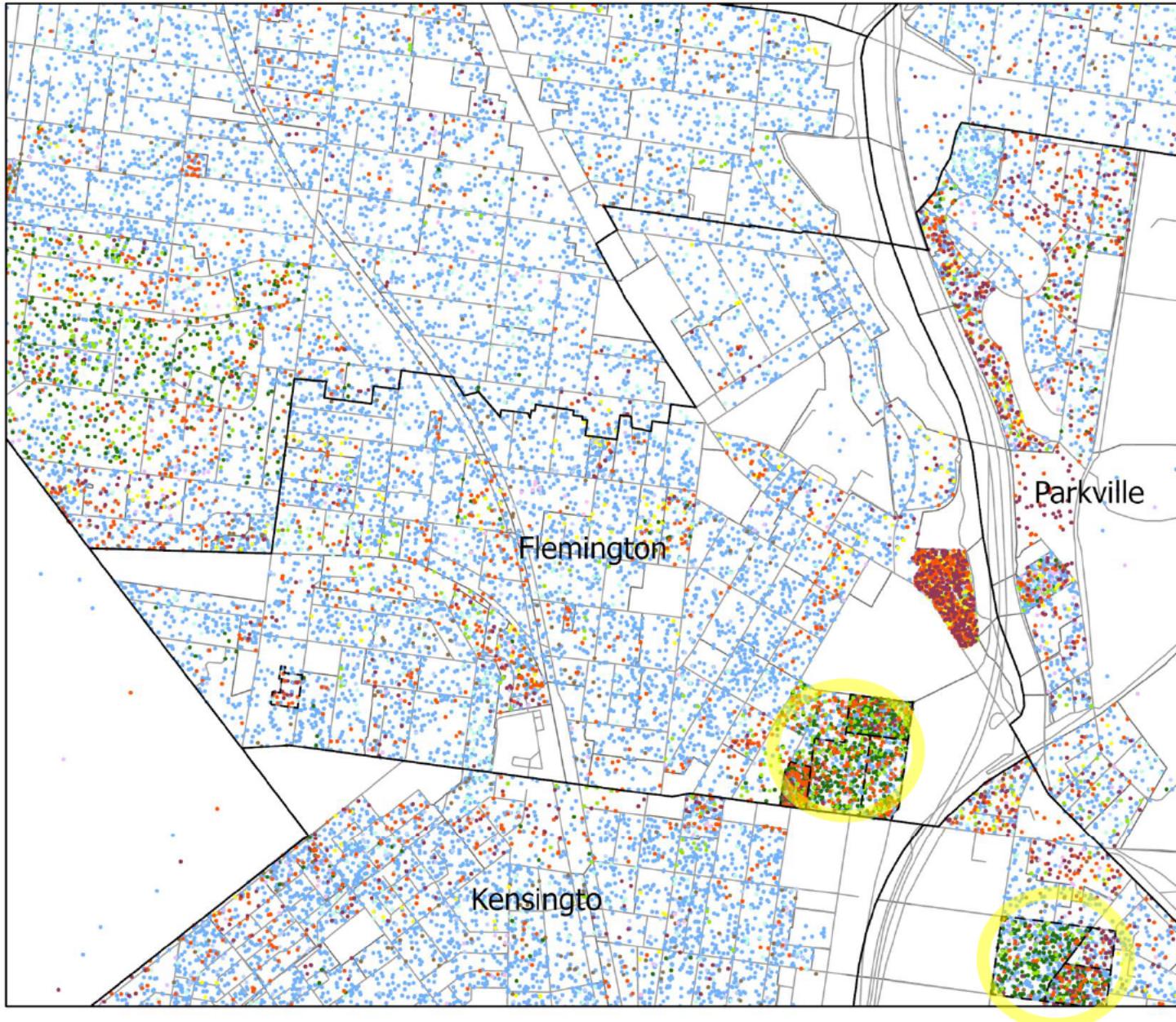
African population, Map 3:
- The Estates together are home to the most concentrated African diaspora in inner Melbourne.
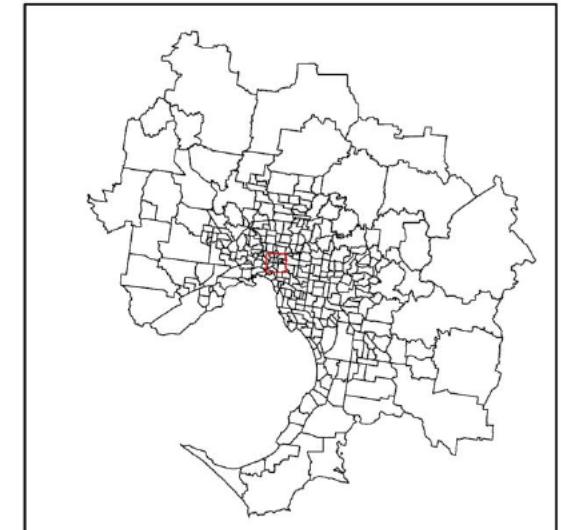
- The Estates are geographically central in a network of other African communities at other social housing estates and buildings in the surrounding neighbourhoods.
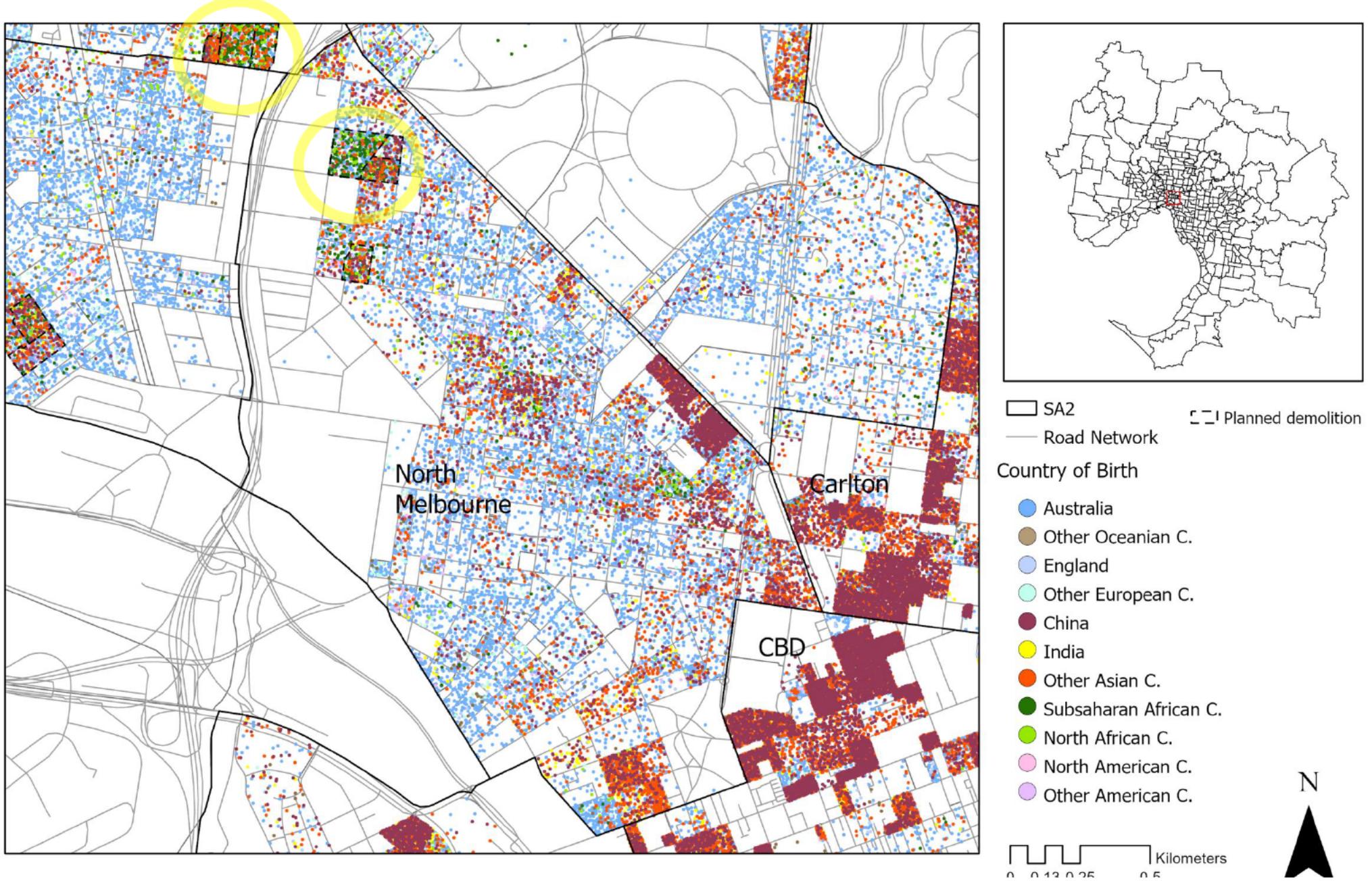
Parcel / mesh block
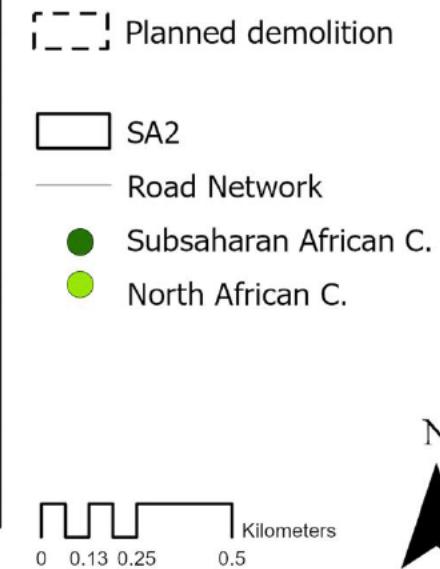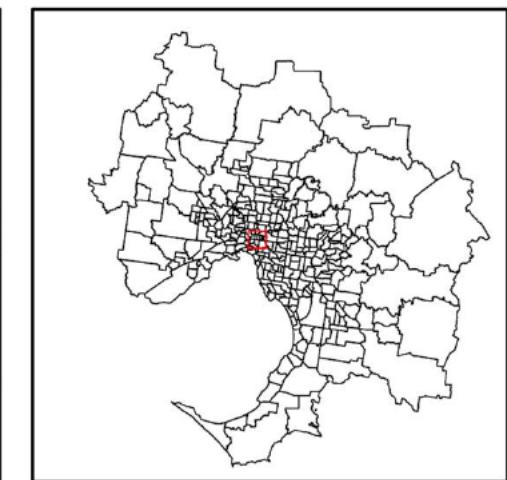
Map 1 — Flemington. Distribution by country of birth

Legend:

SA2
Road Network

Planned demolition

Country of Birth
- Australia
- Other Oceanian C.
- England
- Other European C.
- China
- India
- Other Asian C.
- Subsaharan African C.
- North African C.
- North American C.
- Other American C.

Kilometers

N

Map labels: Parkville, Flemington, Kensingto

Map 2 — North Melbourne. Distribution by country of birth

Legend:

SA2

Road Network

Planned demolition

Country of Birth
- Australia
- Other Oceanian C.
- England
- Other European C.
- China
- India
- Other Asian C.
- Subsaharan African C.
- North African C.
- North American C.
- Other American C.

North Melbourne

Carlton

CBD

Kilometers
0 0.13 0.25 0.5

N

Map 3 — African population, Flemington and North Melbourne. Distribution by country of birth

Legend:
- Planned demolition
- SA2
- Road Network
- Subsaharan African C.
- North African C.

# Displacement impacts on neighborhood demographics
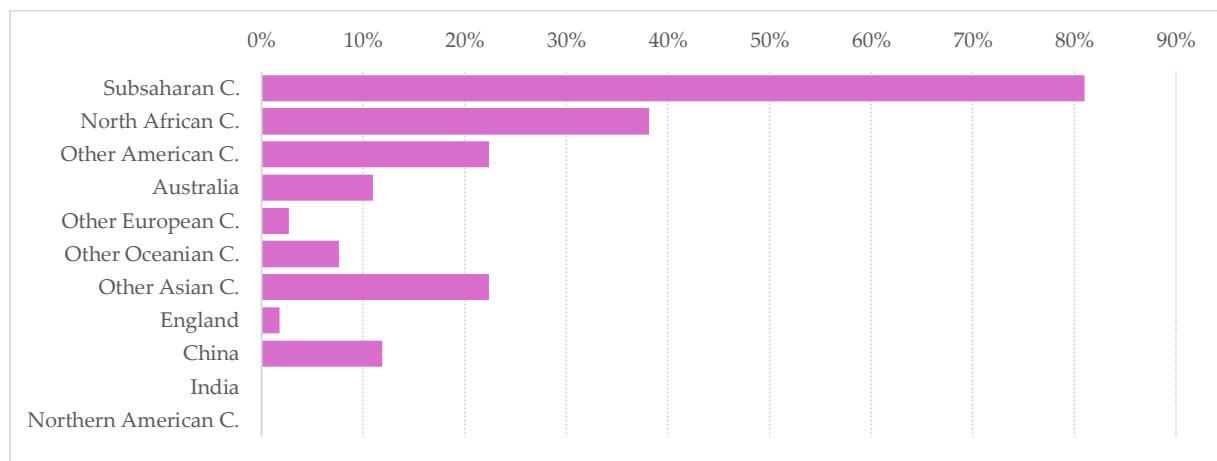
Assuming a zero percent return rate, if the Estate renewal were to go ahead as programmed, and the populations that live there were therefore displaced from the neighbourhood, the following scenarios will occur.

Flemington as a suburb will lose:
- 81% of people born in Sub-Saharan Africa and 80% of Sub-Saharan ancestry
- 38% of people born in North Africa and 48% of North African ancestry
- 38% of people of North African and Middle Eastern ancestry
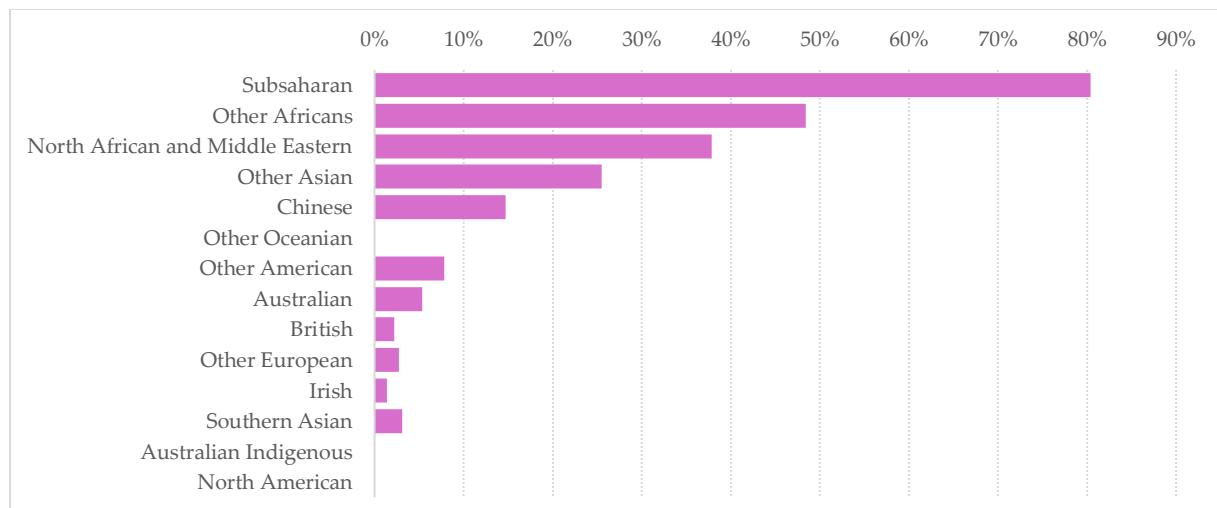
North Melbourne as a suburb will lose:
- 61% of people born in Sub-Saharan Africa and 65% of Sub-Saharan ancestry
- 24% of people born in North Africa and 33% of North African ancestry
- 21% of people of North African and Middle Eastern ancestry
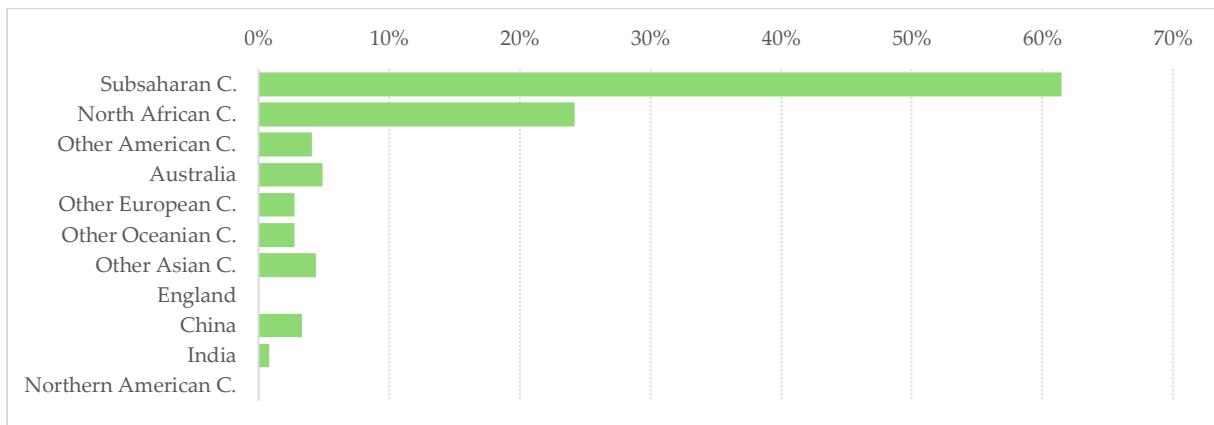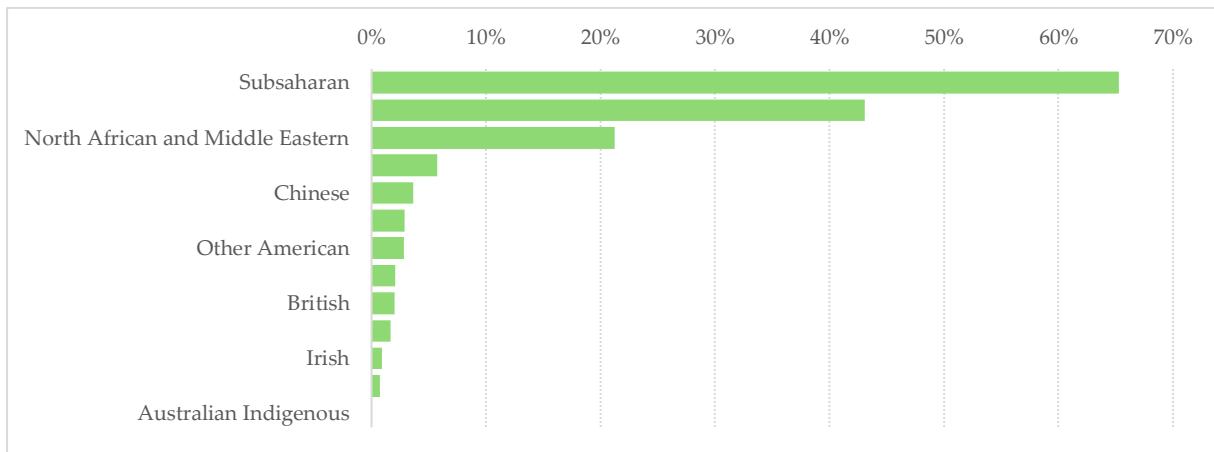
Graph 1 — Flemington, percentage removal per country of birth

Graph 2 — Flemington, percentage removal per declared ancestry

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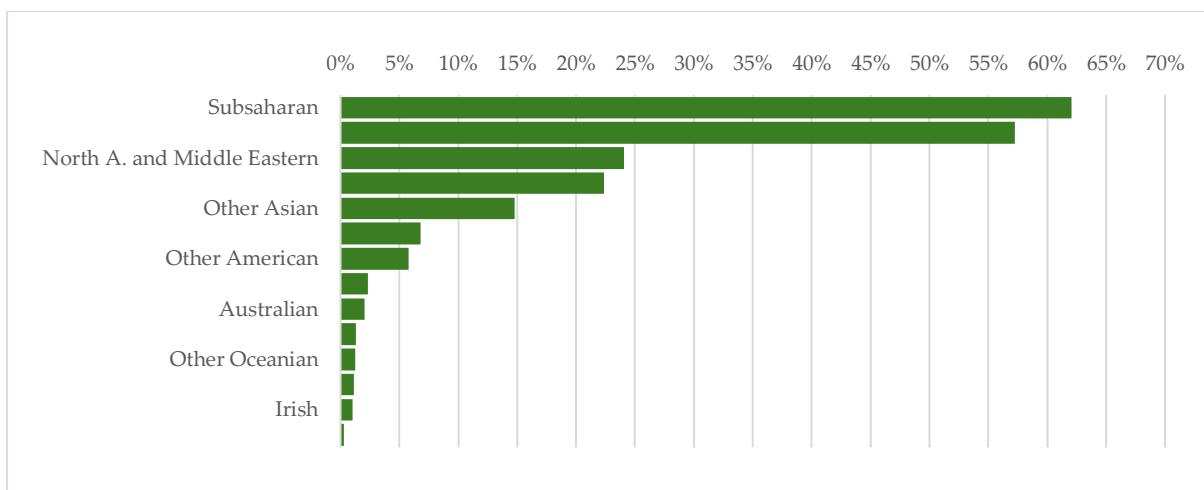
Graph 3 — North Melbourne, percentage removal per country of birth

Graph 4 — North Melbourne, percentage removal per declared ancestry

Note on Inner Melbourne

Th trend of highly-racialised displacement described in the data above, continues across Inner Melbourne. When the same parameters are applied to all 44 public housing towers in Melbourne, assuming all towers were to be demolished and a zero return rate, the following scenario should be anticipated. According to Census data, in 2016, 11,501 people lived in the public housing towers spread out across 11 suburbs. Across all towers in Melbourne, 62% of residents indicated Sub-Saharan ancestry, and 57% indicated Other African ancestry. High-rise public housing estates in Melbourne have majority racialized African population. The current policy of removing the towers and displacing its residents can be empirically characterised as a highly racialized urban policy.

Graph 5 — All housing estate towers, Inner Metropolitan Melbourne, percentage removal per declared ancestry (all responses)

Displacement impacts on Estate tenants

International studies over decades have demonstrated the harmful and negative impacts of displacement. The definition of displacement is forced relocation under conditions that a household did not choose or has not control over (Marcuse 1986). The impacts documented by previous research include negative outcomes in health, wellbeing, livelihood, education and social connection. These are especially and more deeply harmful for people experiencing intersecting forms of disadvantage and previous life trauma.

A primary impact of displacement is the grief experienced for the loss of home. This has been documented in studies since urban renewal became a dominant urban policy model adopted around the world (see for example Fried, 1966; Fullilove, 2004; Hartman and Robinson, 2003). One of the concepts, similar to 'communicide' (see above) used to explain the harm that results is 'domicide' (Porteous and Smith, 2001; Zhang, 2017) which explains how renewal kills a sense of home and place through experiences of intense 'placelessness' (Liu, 2013). These are experienced by people as grief, dislocation, loneliness, anxiety and depression. People impacted by displacement report emotional distress at watching one's home demolished, and from being dislocated from neighbours and community networks (Arthurson et al., 2016; Levin et al., 2018; Morris, 2017a; Porter et al., 2023; Wynne and Rogers, 2020).

The international research shows that people who have been displaced experience anxiety, depression, loneliness and intensified physical ill health (Ferreri, 2020; Morris, 2017b; Porter, 2009). Studies also provide documented evidence of death, suicide and self-harm as a direct result of displacement from urban renewal (Fried, 1966; Fullilove, 2004; Marris, 1961; Slater, 2013; Watt, 2021; Zhang, 2017). Linked to the impact on communities as described above, there are rippling harms from these outcomes onto wider families and communities.

In a recent study of the impacts and drivers of public housing relocation (Porter et al 2023) in Victoria, NSW and Tasmania, tenants reported the following experiences and outcomes from their displacement:

- Loss of sense of stability that had finally been achieved in getting access to public housing
- Worsening mental health
- Attempted suicide
- Inability to sleep
- Death of family members
- Poorer physical health or exacerbated health conditions
- Stress on families and particularly children

The demographic analysis of the Towers indicates that the people being displaced are already burdened by intersecting forms of disadvantage. Research evidence demonstrates that people who experience racialised disadvantage will bear a higher burden of the harms from displacement (Neary, 2011; Rodriguez, 2021). People who have previously experienced homelessness are much more likely to experience homelessness again as a direct result of being displaced by urban renewal (Burt, 2001; Curtis et al., 2013).

Negative impacts from displacement begin to occur well before the process of relocation actually commences (Porter et al., 2023; Watt, 2021; Wynne and Rogers, 2020). Uncertainty, shock, pressure and anxiety begin immediately. Residents report that this is exacerbated by previous negative interactions with housing authorities that breed distrust. Indeed, residents report a high level of cynicism about every step in the relocation process and widely report feeling that no-one cares, that they are overlooked, unseen or not deemed fully human and worthy of respect and care (see Porter et al 2023; Morris 2019). Some studies have shown how displacement impacts can be experienced even without any physical relocation occurring. This occurs where the neighbourhood change in an area is so pronounced that residents who managed to stay in place nonetheless come to feel out of place (Pull and Richard, 2021). Studies have also identified this occurring in Australian public housing renewal, described as 'emplaced displacement' (Wynne and Rogers 2020, see also Ruming and Melo Zurita 2020).

The process of displacement itself is also harmful. Residents often report feeling rushed, under pressure and duress, insecure and under threat, all of which is exacerbated by an overwhelming uncertainty (Porter et al 2023). This is especially pronounced for residents who have particular needs such as in relation to disability and family size. Residents are all too aware that they will only be offered a certain number of choices or options and the experience of what Smith (2002) termed the 'ticking clock' causes a very high level of stress. Often, tenants accept the first offer made to them in the relocation process, so high is the level of their fear and

uncertainty in the process (GoWell, 2011; Kleinhans, 2003; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014). For those whose relocation takes much longer, there are significant health impacts reported from living on a demolition site (Porter et al 2023).

Even when a better housing outcome is achieved for a tenant, studies show that the displacement itself has lasting and negative impacts. This can manifest in a great variety of ways. For example, one tenant impacted by renewal in NSW reported that their displacement would undermine the ability to be reunited with estranged family because they would be harder to find. People who have experienced displacement maintain a negative view of their experience long after they have moved (Goetz, 2013), particularly the sense of losing community. This demonstrates the long-term impact of displacement.

Displacement inevitably impacts particular population groups differently. Of special note is the harms experienced by children who are forced to move and are experiencing housing stress. A leading global authority on the impact on children is Sheridan Bartlett who states that the impact of eviction on children's well-being "can be devastating" with significant developmental consequences (Bartlett, 2022). A recent US study found clear evidence that very young children (0-4 years) who experience forced removal from their home, even when that home is in poor condition, have poor health and greater developmental risk than children who do not experience displacement (Cutts et al., 2022). In studies and other advocacy work in which I have been engaged, families reported high levels of anxiety from their children and teens who were impacted by the uncertainty about when and where they would be moved (Porter et al 2023). This has immediate flow-on effects. A systematic review conducted into the impacts on children of housing insecurity found that children experience harms including school-related, psychological, financial and family well-being impacts (Hock et al., 2023).

Such conditions often trigger other cascading effects. The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions conducted a landmark study (2006) which found that the family stress caused by displacement can increase the experience of family violence and potential abuse. Other impacts ripple into damage to educational engagement and performance as well as poorer mental health and associated outcomes such as bed-wetting and truancy (Hock et al 2023). Often the displacement requires longer distances to attend school and see friends, magnifying the experience of dislocation even when staying at the same school might be a protective factor put in place to ease the burden of relocation. In public housing renewal, the process of displacement is often very lengthy.

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Demographic Summary Tables[5]

Variables	Holland - Flemington		Racecourse - Flemington		North Melbourne		Inner Melbourne	
Age	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Child (0-14)	71	21%	106	25%	123	26%	66953	11%
Young (15-24)	47	14%	60	14%	114	24%	80744	13%
Adult (25-64)	170	51%	202	48%	200	43%	395725	64%
Elderly (65 or more)	48	14%	52	12%	32	7%	73592	12%
Total	336	100%	420	100%	469	100%	617014	100%
Ancestry (1st response)	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Oceanian	24	7%	33	8%	35	8%	84410	14%
North-West European	12	4%	14	3%	15	3%	258761	42%
North African and Middle Eastern	30	9%	32	8%	11	2%	15822	3%
South-East Asian	35	11%	36	9%	10	2%	22136	4%
North-East Asian	35	11%	24	6%	21	5%	62689	10%
Southern and Central Asian	6	2%	0	0%	0	0%	29153	5%
Sub-Saharan African	123	38%	168	40%	245	53%	7471	1%
Peoples of the Americas	0	0%	4	1%	0	0%	10204	2%
Southern and Eastern European	6	2%	7	2%	0	0%	85555	14%
Other Responses	55	17%	98	24%	125	27%	40802	7%
Total	326	100%	416	100%	462	100%	617003	100%
Country of Birth	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Oceania and Antarctica	116	35%	122	29%	190	41%	378328	61%
North-West Europe	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	37836	6%
Southern and Eastern Europe	0	0%	5	1%	4	1%	28836	5%

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[5] Totals may differ due to ABS random error for data confidentiality.

	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
North Africa and the Middle East	21	6%	27	6%	16	3%	11018	2%
South-East Asia	55	17%	50	12%	12	3%	36896	6%
North-East Asia	7	2%	3	1%	7	1%	36705	6%
Southern and Central Asia	9	3%	0	0%	0	0%	24985	4%
Sub-Saharan Africa	88	27%	131	31%	127	27%	9107	1%
Americas	0	0%	4	1%	8	2%	19900	3%
Other responses	32	10%	77	18%	103	22%	33399	5%
Total	328	100%	419	100%	467	100%	617010	100%

Dwellings Occupation	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Occupied private dwellings	156	84%	168	89%	144	97%	296316	82%
Unoccupied private dwellings	29	16%	21	11%	4	3%	62524	17%
Other	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	721	0%
Total	185	100%	189	100%	148	100%	359561	100%

Education Level	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Postgraduate Degree Level	6	2%	4	1%	0	0%	85020	14%
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level	5	1%	4	1%	0	0%	23417	4%
Bachelor Degree Level	13	4%	24	6%	31	7%	174188	28%
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	9	3%	11	3%	26	6%	47362	8%
Certificate III & IV Level	27	8%	24	6%	28	6%	37577	6%
Secondary Education - Years 10 and above	83	25%	100	24%	114	24%	107994	18%
Certificate I & II Level	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	157	0%
Secondary Education - Years 9 and below	42	13%	46	11%	32	7%	20907	3%
Other responses	151	45%	208	49%	240	51%	120397	20%
Total	336	100%	421	100%	471	100%	617019	100%

Household Income (weekly)	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Negative or Nil income	6	3%	8	4%	5	4%	7811	2%
$1-799	76	44%	71	38%	42	30%	43919	12%
$800-1999	38	22%	50	27%	30	21%	82272	23%

	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
$2000-2999	0	0%	0	0%	8	6%	51149	14%
$2999 or more	0	0%	0	0%	5	4%	83299	23%
Other responses	53	31%	58	31%	52	37%	91107	25%
Total	173	100%	187	100%	142	100%	359557	100%

Labour Force Status	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Sum of Employed, worked full-time	29	9%	30	7%	42	9%	233869	38%
Sum of Employed, worked part-time	44	13%	34	8%	60	13%	114255	19%
Sum of Employed, away from work	11	3%	13	3%	9	2%	22779	4%
Sum of Unemployed, looking for full-time work	12	4%	21	5%	8	2%	10341	2%
Sum of Unemployed, looking for part-time work	12	4%	8	2%	20	4%	9613	2%
Sum of Not in the labour force	140	42%	159	37%	140	29%	127701	21%
Sum of Other responses	89	26%	160	38%	197	41%	98458	16%
Sum of Total	337	100%	425	100%	476	100%	617016	100%

Housing Suitability	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Sum of Four or more extra bedrooms needed	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	40	0%
Sum of Three extra bedrooms needed	3	2%	0	0%	5	3%	184	0%
Sum of Two extra bedrooms needed	3	2%	4	2%	7	5%	1065	0%
Sum of One extra bedroom needed	12	7%	20	11%	10	7%	8551	2%
Sum of No bedrooms needed or spare	52	28%	42	23%	31	21%	107871	30%
Sum of One bedroom spare	55	30%	50	28%	21	14%	108888	30%
Sum of Two bedrooms spare	8	4%	9	5%	30	21%	35481	10%
Sum of Three bedrooms spare	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	6230	2%
Sum of Four or more bedrooms spare	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1050	0%
Sum of Other responses	51	28%	55	31%	42	29%	90195	25%
Sum of Total	184	100%	180	100%	146	100%	359555	100%

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EACH TOWER AND INNER MELBOURNE, IN %			
Variables	Holland - Flemington	Racecourse - Flemington	North Melbourne

Age	%	%	%
Child (0-14)	10%	14%	15%
Young (15-24)	1%	1%	11%
Adult (25-64)	-14%	-16%	-21%
Elderly (65 or more)	2%	0%	-5%
Total	0%	0%	0%

Ancestry (1st response)	%	%	%
Oceanian	-6%	-6%	-6%
North-West European	-38%	-39%	-39%
North African and Middle Eastern	7%	5%	0%
South-East Asian	7%	5%	-1%
North-East Asian	1%	-4%	-6%
Southern and Central Asian	-3%	-5%	-5%
Sub-Saharan African	37%	39%	52%
Peoples of the Americas	-2%	-1%	-2%
Southern and Eastern European	-12%	-12%	-14%
Other Responses	10%	17%	20%
Total	0%	0%	0%

Country of Birth	%	%	%
Oceania and Antarctica	-26%	-32%	-21%
North-West Europe	-6%	-6%	-6%
Southern and Eastern Europe	-5%	-3%	-4%
North Africa and the Middle East	5%	5%	2%
South-East Asia	11%	6%	-3%
North-East Asia	-4%	-5%	-4%
Southern and Central Asia	-1%	-4%	-4%
Sub-Saharan Africa	25%	30%	26%
Americas	-3%	-2%	-2%
Other responses	4%	13%	17%

Total	0%	0%	0%

Dwellings Occupation	%	%	%
Occupied private dwellings	2%	6%	15%
Unoccupied private dwellings	-2%	-6%	-15%
Other	0%	0%	0%
Total	0%	0%	0%

Education Level	%	%	%
Postgraduate Degree Level	-12%	-13%	-14%
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level	-2%	-3%	-4%
Bachelor Degree Level	-24%	-23%	-22%
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	-5%	-5%	-2%
Certificate III & IV Level	2%	0%	0%
Secondary Education - Years 10 and above	7%	6%	7%
Certificate I & II Level	0%	0%	0%
Secondary Education - Years 9 and below	9%	8%	3%
Other responses	25%	30%	31%
Total	0%	0%	0%

Household Income (weekly)	%	%	%
Negative or Nil income	1%	2%	1%
$1-799	32%	26%	17%
$800-1999	-1%	4%	-2%
$2000-2999	-14%	-14%	-9%
$2999 or more	-23%	-23%	-20%
Other responses	5%	6%	11%
Total	0%	0%	0%

Labour Force Status	%	%	%
Employed, worked full-time	-29%	-31%	-29%

	%	%	%
Employed, worked part-time	-5%	-11%	-6%
Employed, away from work	0%	-1%	-2%
Unemployed, looking for full-time work	2%	3%	0%
Unemployed, looking for part-time work	2%	0%	3%
Not in the labour force	21%	17%	9%
Other responses	10%	22%	25%
Total	0%	0%	0%

Housing Suitability	%	%	%
Sum of Four or more extra bedrooms needed	0%	0%	0%
Sum of Three extra bedrooms needed	2%	0%	3%
Sum of Two extra bedrooms needed	1%	2%	4%
Sum of One extra bedroom needed	4%	9%	4%
Sum of No bedrooms needed or spare	-2%	-7%	-9%
Sum of One bedroom spare	0%	-3%	-16%
Sum of Two bedrooms spare	-6%	-5%	11%
Sum of Three bedrooms spare	-2%	-2%	-2%
Sum of Four or more bedrooms spare	0%	0%	0%
Sum of Other responses	3%	5%	4%
Sum of Total	0%	0%	0%