Positioning Paper

Developing appropriate exit strategies for housing regeneration programmes

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Positioning Paper introduces research being undertaken by the AHURI Southern and UNSW-UWS Research Centres to review current practice and develop appropriate exit strategies models for housing regeneration programmes. The research is premised on the assumption that explicit exit strategies are useful planning tools to help sustain the benefits of State and Territory housing authorities' investments in regeneration projects.

It is important in any discussion of exit strategies to be precise about the concepts and terms that are frequently deployed by housing researchers and practitioners. 'Exit strategies' is the term used to denote the range of polices that seeks to consolidate or build upon the achievements after a housing regeneration funding program has formally expired. Components of an exit strategy might, for example, include: capacity building and training programmes; future funding arrangements and income generation; cross-sectoral working practices; and handover arrangements at the end of a project. 'Sustainability' in the housing context usually denotes policies that are able to maintain the current level of services into the future without recourse to another large injection of public resources. 'Regeneration' and 'renewal' are often used interchangeably but it is helpful to note that the term 'regeneration' usually encompasses a wider set of practices than 'renewal' and includes practices such as community participation and community development.

The literature review undertaken for this Positioning Paper summarises some of the key debates that have shaped contemporary housing regeneration policies. Academics have sought to explore how wider social and economic processes can undermine the efforts of State and Territory housing authorities to improve the quality of life of public housing tenants. On the other hand, housing professionals' concerns have tended to be more practice focussed. In recent years, a consensus has emerged amongst housing professionals that area-based strategies are the most appropriate mode of intervention to address the problems of public housing. However, professionals are more divided about the form area based intervention should take. In particular, there is a lack of consensus about the degree to which housing authorities should embrace mixed development schemes and engage in asset disposal or stock transfer or utilise private finance to fund regeneration.

The overview of Australian housing regeneration/renewal policies shows that whilst all State and Territory housing authorities seek to sustain the benefits of investment, these are usually subsumed within community and neighbourhood empowerment strategies. Only in Queensland has the housing authority made a start in developing explicit exit strategies within the framework of housing regeneration. However, the policies are at an early stage of development and have not yet been formally operationalised.

In the UK, exit strategies are an established project management tool deployed in housing regeneration programmes. However, the UK literature on exit strategies is largely promotional, advocating the need for exit strategies, rather than highlighting the problems that can arise in their deployment. The limited research that has been published (i.e. ODPM 2003) highlights the tensions that can arise in the design and implementation of exit strategies as well as the disagreements between different agency partners. There is a general consensus that exit strategies, if they are to be effective, have to be carefully project managed, have the support of key actors within the local community and not be reliant on just one source of funding.

The paucity of critically orientated research and the absence of explicit exit strategies in the Australian housing context mean that there are important issues that require investigation. In particular, it is crucial to establish: a greater appreciation of the key strategic issues; more understanding on how regeneration/renewal policies are currently organised; and the appropriate tools that can be used for evaluation. To address these issues and to scrutinise in more detail the utility of exit strategy models,

the next stage of the research will investigate five housing regeneration initiatives spread across three jurisdictions (Tasmania, New South Wales and South Australia). The principal methods for the research will include interviews with senior housing staff and focus group meetings with tenant and community representatives. The research anticipates a critical discussion of exit strategies alongside recommendations that will set out the different models that can be deployed by State and Territory housing authorities.

1. INTRODUCTION

This Positioning Paper reports on the research project being undertaken by the AHURI Southern Research and UNSW-UWS Research Centres to develop appropriate exit strategies for housing regeneration programmes. The Positioning Paper constitutes the initial output of the research and will be followed by a Work in Progress Report and Final Report.

The premise for undertaking the research project is that since all SHAs (State Housing Authorities) are likely to be involved in intensive estate regeneration programmes to protect their asset bases, restructure their stock profiles and deliver social improvements for residents, there is a need for a detailed investigation of the most effective strategies to secure the benefits that accrue from an initial injection of additional resources.

Section one begins by setting out the key challenges faced by SHAs in maintaining their social housing stock, delivering services to residents and ensuring that resources are spent efficiently and effectively. It also summarises the main debates within the housing profession about the most appropriate models for securing sustainable policy outcomes for regeneration programmes. Section two provides an overview of current State and Territory Housing Authority policies to achieve sustainable housing. It includes brief summaries of each state and territory's practices in respect of urban renewal/regeneration initiatives. Section three discusses good practice from abroad, in particular recent strategies that have been deployed in the UK and US. Finally, section four provides details on the research methods that will be deployed in the case studies, which comprise a major component of the research. Subsequent outputs of the research (the Research and Policy Bulletin and Final Report) will set out the findings of the project.

1.1. Terminology and context

From the outset, it is helpful to specify the meaning of different terms utilised in this Positioning Paper. First, 'exit' strategies' is the term used throughout the paper to describe the set of policies and practices that can be deployed by State Housing Authorities to sustain the outputs at the end of a specific regeneration programme. Second, the terms 'sustainable' and 'sustainability' in the context of housing renewal/regeneration generally denotes policies that aim to maintain the level of services or standards into the longer term without recourse to large injections of additional public funds. Third, whilst the terms 'renewal' and 'regeneration' are used interchangeably in contemporary housing discourse it is helpful to note that the term 'regeneration' usually encompasses a wider set of practices such as tenant participation and community development along with physical changes to housing. 'Renewal' usually means demolition, physical replacement or refurbishment of existing housing stock.

In any discussion of public housing, it is important to make explicit the context in which policy takes place. In short, the developments affecting housing policy and practice stem from a set of processes that have affected welfare provision not just in Australia but also in Europe and North America (see Cahill 1994). These developments include government policies to curb spending on welfare programmes and support for private sector agencies to undertake many of the activities formerly associated with direct state provision (Jacobs, Marston and Darcy 2003). In Australia, public housing authorities have undergone a series of reforms with a focus on adopting commercial practices and incorporating an increased role for the private sector in meeting government objectives in the delivery of public housing (see Arthurson 2003). Government assistance for public housing provided through the auspices of the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement (CSHA) has declined in real funding terms by almost 15 per cent between 1990 and 2000 (Steering Committee for the Review of Commonwealth/State Service

Provision, 2000: 1357). In contrast, Commonwealth assistance to low-income families in private rental through the social security system increased by around 159% in real terms in the decade from 1989 to 1999. In practice, to overcome the deficit in Commonwealth Government subsidy, State Housing Authorities have adopted measures, which include encouraging private sector funding models and restructuring their services, in order to achieve better policy outcomes in spite of declining budget outlays.

Alongside fiscal policies to curb welfare expenditure, tighter targeting of access to public housing has ensured that public housing itself has become the tenure for the least well off with many tenants requiring high-level support. Recent data reveals that 90% of the 346,000 households in public housing nationally rely on income support and 45% of all new tenants are classified as having special needs (FACS 2003). The concentration of deprived households living in public housing in recent years can be attributed to a number of factors including needs based allocation policies, economic and labour market processes, the financing arrangements that have seen a move of resources away from public housing to private rental assistance and homeownership subsidies that encourage householders to purchase their homes. The residualisation of public housing and limited funds available for improvements has created significant challenges for State Housing Authorities responsible for management and maintenance of their stock. Furthermore, the maintenance costs associated with public housing will intensify as the average age of the housing stock in Australia is over 20 years and in South Australia as high as 30 years (Badcock 1995). Much of the older public housing stock is in the form of large-scale estates that were built in the post war period to meet economies of scale and the shortage of good quality low cost housing.

1.2. Housing regeneration and the development of exit strategies

The political context, in particular the diminution of resources for public housing, outlined in the preceding section is useful in understanding the challenges that confront State Housing Authorities in their efforts to improve housing outcomes. For example, how can investment be sustained, what are the best ways of maintaining quality housing with only limited resources and what is the appropriate tenure-mix for social housing estates undergoing regeneration? These questions are particularly pertinent as many of the earlier regeneration initiatives that developed during the 1990s in Australia are approaching maturity and in some cases, closure, while the next generation of renewal initiatives is currently being developed (Randolph 2002). The time is therefore right to identify and review the experience of established regeneration programmes in developing approaches to sustainability, as well as to explore the exit models that are being developed for the newer renewal programmes. However, research on exit strategies is limited and whilst the utility of exit strategies deployed in the UK is highlighted in a recent AHURI publication (Wood, Randolph and Judd 2002), there has been no research that seeks to identify the types of models that are appropriate in Australia.

In the UK context, the interest in housing regeneration exit strategies stems from a concern that many of the housing programmes implemented by government agencies in the 1980s and 1990s were not delivering sustainable outputs. For example, Hastings and Dean (2003) argued that not only do many housing estates remain stigmatised even after large sums of resources have been spent on regeneration but that many of the benefits that accrue from expenditure have proved difficult to sustain in the longer term. While Fordham (1995: 3) noted 'the frequency with which the same areas have to be selected for special treatment [and the] overwhelming evidence that earlier programmes were unable to stimulate regeneration on a scale or with sufficient durability to make further special attention unnecessary'.

Whilst the development of any effective exit strategy is contingent on a set of factors particular to each individual programme area, there are some practices that are common to all exit strategies. In fact, most exit strategies share the same objective: to ensure that agencies and residents have the capacity and resources to continue to secure improvements. It can be discerned from the studies undertaken by Fordham (1995); and Hastings and Dean (2003) that the key components that an individual exit strategy might incorporate in order to address this objective include:

- Capacity building and training programmes;

- Business planning and project viability strategies;

- Developing appropriate management structures;

- Establishing project partners;

- Ways of securing funding arrangements and income generation;

- Allocation policies;

- Cross-sectoral working practices;

- Interim arrangements and staffing issues;

- Handover issues;

- Managing withdrawal;

- Closure strategies for projects that have fulfilled remits; and

- Establishing successor organisations.

It is common practice overseas for time expired regeneration projects to be absorbed into mainstream housing department activities. However, this can be problematic because staff are often already over-stretched with limited resources available to them. The absence of a clearly defined exit strategy can mean that the gains achieved through regeneration are dissipated (Fordham 1995; Dean and Hastings 2000; Randolph 2000).

1.3. Estate regeneration: key academic debates

Academics have adopted a range of views about the efficacy of initiatives aimed at regenerating housing estates, ranging from structuralist and neo-liberal debates to environmental perspectives and social exclusion/inclusion perspectives. Each of these viewpoints is discussed briefly.

Critics of government policies tend to claim that area-based initiatives are likely to have little impact unless wider social and economic processes are addressed (Atkinson 1999; Badcock 1995). In particular, it has been pointed out that many of the problems associated with public housing are systemic and arise directly from priority allocation policies that mean only high need applicants are able to access public housing. Furthermore, the pursuit of neo-liberal fiscal policies to reduce public expenditure and maintain a low tax base have specific repercussions for deprived neighbourhoods, not least a diminution of welfare resources in areas such as health, education and housing. Also the outward migration from poor areas of people seeking work can impact adversely on the employment prospects of people who remain (Yates 2001). In general, poor neighbourhoods are unlikely to attract as much inward investment in areas such as retail or private housing because the opportunities for profit are usually greater in better off localities. Within this context the utility of any area based initiative to address problems of public housing will at best be marginal, as they will address only the symptoms not the causes (see Arthurson 1998).

Some of the recent European research studies also discuss the limitations of estate-based physical renewal policies to address social exclusion and point out the need for

more structural interventions to address the wider problems associated with social exclusion, including unemployment (see Kleinman 1998; Moulaert, Swyngedouw & Rodriguez 2001). The cogency of these arguments is confirmed by the review of area-based renewal programmes undertaken by Andersen (2002). He reports that in a majority of evaluations conducted in Europe, researchers found that the interventions are often limited in scope and usually only have short-term effects.

On the other hand, some researchers who are supportive of contemporary interventions (i.e. Power and Tunstall 1995; Evans 1998), argue that area-based approaches, so long as they are adequately resourced, can achieve significant outcomes. For example, Power and Tunstall (1995) emphasise the importance of good management practices as integral to successful area based interventions. 'Just as a school needs local teachers as well as a broader education service, rented estates need local landlord services funded from rented income as well as wider programmes, policies and support' (Power and Tunstall 1995: 73).

For some academic commentators (e.g. Saunders and Tsumori 2002) governments should actually seek ways of strengthening market mechanisms. It is argued, for example, that the operation of the housing market encourages first-time homebuyers to seek out cheaper property in deprived areas. This process, frequently referred to as gentrification, can result in additional resources to deprived neighbourhoods and other beneficial outcomes. For instance, local schools in newly gentrified neighbourhoods benefit from an intake of middle class pupils and in turn, there are more employment opportunities for the local workforce through increased demand for business services. Proponents of market mechanisms, such as Saunders and Tsumori, argue that the most effective policies are those that seek to assist poor residents to leave deprived neighbourhoods. They criticise contemporary welfare policies that inadvertently reinforce a dependency culture and suggest that tax credits and other mechanisms to encourage the long-term unemployed to take up work should be considered.

Another interpretation that has also been influential in respect of housing regeneration is the environmental perspective (see Newman 1972; Coleman 1985) that has highlighted poor design as a major problem in public housing. In particular, Coleman viewed some of the design features common in 1970s system-built housing estates as a trigger for crime and anti-social behaviour. The UK government in the 1980s embarked upon major design modifications to many large estates. Changes included turning areas of public space into private gardens, closing off overhead walkways and converting single level flats into two storey maisonettes. However, while design is generally understood as an important causal factor to explain some of the problems associated with deprived neighbourhoods, it is now recognised that design alone is an insufficient policy instrument unless accompanied by other modes of intervention.

In recent years regeneration policies have been subsumed within the framework of strategies for tackling social exclusion. This approach can be traced to French social policy in the mid 1980s alongside European Community initiatives in the early 1990s (see Arthurson and Jacobs 2003). However, it was not until the establishment of a social exclusion unit by the UK Labour government in 1997 that a comprehensive programme to tackle deprived neighbourhoods was put in place. The social exclusion approach can best be understood as an amalgam of policies that seek to address deprived neighbourhoods (see Stewart 2001; Arthurson and Jacobs 2003). It entails a focus on the local economy and employment issues (in particular welfare dependency and job creation); the renewal of the physical environment; social interactions within the neighbourhood (i.e. programmes of support for disadvantaged groups such as refugees and sole parents) and political engagement (i.e. an emphasis on improved service delivery and participation activity). However, policies to tackle social exclusion have also been subject to vigorous criticism particularly in the UK. For example, some academics have cast aspersion on those strategies that result in public housing being replaced by owner-occupied housing (see Atkinson and Kintrea 2000).

Housing renewal and whole of government approaches to address social exclusion issues are now emerging as an important theme in Australia, although research in this area has only recently become available (see for instance, Arthurson 2002; Arthurson & Jacobs 2003; Walker *et al.* 2003). The Australian studies that do exist tend to focus on issues relating to community participation (e.g. Wood *et al* 2002; Randolph & Judd 2002) and question whether estate based physical renewal policies are a sufficient policy instrument to address the wider problems associated with social exclusion (Randolph & Judd 2000). Whilst physical refurbishment leads to improvements in the condition of the stock, the current allocation policies for social housing, in effect, ensure that only those with the most acute need have a chance of being housed. This of course limits potential social housing tenants to groups already burdened by the consequences of economic and social disadvantage. Thus, the allocation policies of housing authorities in Australia ensure that social housing will remain a form of tenure for those with no choice. In turn, the difficulties of addressing structural issues results in housing policies focused increasingly on a set of policies emphasising social control and sanctions for tenants who are seen as 'anti-social' (Jacobs and Arthurson 2003).

In contrast, UK research on the theme of housing renewal and social exclusion approaches is quite extensive (see for example Evans 1998; Hastings and Dean 2003; Jones & Watkins 1997; McGregor 1995). The major benefits that are claimed include improved health outcomes for residents (Ambrose 1999); enhanced social capital (but see Johnston and Percy-Smith 2003 for a critique) and a more attractive physical environment. For policy makers, the attraction of the social exclusion paradigm is the recognition that problems are multi-faceted and require a set of policy responses in areas such as housing, labour markets and service delivery (health, education, policing).

Andersen (2000) identifies the main components that are deployed in area regeneration initiatives aimed at tackling social exclusion:

- Physical renovation and embellishment;
- Improving management and housing services for tenants;
- Active marketing and attempts to counteract stigma;
- Changes of tenure or disposal of dwellings;
- Support for private service facilities;
- Anti-crime initiatives (co-operation with police and other local institutions);
- Mobilisation and empowerment of residents and communities;
- Direct social support for socially excluded groups;
- Attempts to attract private sector investment; and
- Education and job training to enhance employment opportunities.

However, these types of approaches also entail a significant challenge, especially in harnessing different agencies to work together. In practice, governments have promoted partnerships as a means of developing a multi-agency approach and as a mechanism to attract private sector investment. Although there have been criticisms of partnership approaches by some academics (i.e. Ball, Le Ny & Maginn 2003), it is likely that it will remain the prototype for housing regeneration into the foreseeable future. Table 1 overleaf provides a summary of the key approaches to housing renewal/regeneration in recent years that have been discussed in this section of the positioning paper.

Table 1: Housing Urban Regeneration Paradigms

Paradigm	Rationale	Prescription	Examples	Comments
Structuralist perspectives	Market based government policies accentuate spatial inequality Global and economic restructuring is a major cause of inequality	More interventionist role for Government in economic policies More resources for deprived communities Fiscal redistributive policies	No recent examples but actively promotes universal modes of social housing provision rather than selective targeting	Critique highly influential in academic quarters but little practical influence in contemporary policy making
Neo-liberal perspectives	Underclass and cycle of disadvantage theories	Lower tax base to encourage business investment, public housing for only those with acute needs, switch of resources to individual subsidies rather than bricks and mortar	Home ownership first time buyers grant Commonwealth rental subsidies in preference to public housing provision Tight controls on government subsidies Encouragement of private finance/control as an alternative investment stream in regeneration	Policies generally supported by Commonwealth Government. In particular, the targeting of resources to those most in housing need Underlying assumption that public housing reinforces social disadvantage Privatisation (i.e. asset disposal) Support for individuals to exit public housing
Environmentalist perspectives	Physical layout of public estates accentuates crime and anti-social behaviour	Focus on design and physical improvement to housing	Modification to ameliorate poor design, e.g. system built housing estates	Influential in the 1980s but now mostly seen as a limited response
Social exclusion/ inclusion perspectives	Problems within public housing localities are multi-faceted and require a range of policy interventions that are focussed at the level of neighbourhood Lack of 'joined up government' thinking and action	Area based policies aimed at addressing social exclusion, including urban renewal projects and mixed development schemes	New social inclusion units SHAs area renewal programmes Tenant empowerment policies to achieve social cohesion Employment and training schemes Community participation and tenant empowerment activities to enhance social capital	Model deployed in the UK and European Community. Now being promoted by some Australian SHAs

1.4.   Housing practice

While debates about the efficacy of the market versus structuralist forms of intervention continue within academia, housing professionals' concerns tend to be more practice focussed. In the UK a pragmatic response to the problems of public housing has been adopted. It is generally recognised by housing practitioners that whilst government economic and wider social policies may undermine public housing provision, there is nonetheless little alternative but to develop area-based policies as the most appropriate form of intervention to address immediate problems (Stewart 2001; Taylor 1998). Policies that are currently pursued include:

- Physical renewal (which can take a variety of different forms);

- Neighbourhood strategies that target vulnerable groups such as the homeless, elderly and single parents;

- Community participation approaches to engender community well-being; and

- Tenure diversification strategies to break up monolithic public housing estates.

In Australian housing practice, discussions tend to concentrate on issues such as asset management, investment strategies and housing management. There is general agreement on a number of fronts. First, public housing localities require sufficient investment to maintain the stock and long term and regular cycles of maintenance are preferable to sporadic injections of resources. Second, successful physical housing renewal is best undertaken in conjunction with other policy interventions including strategies to address crime, unemployment, and poor educational attainment. Third, consultation should be carried out with the community and where ever possible local residents should be involved in the decision-making processes. In view of these viewpoints, current estate regeneration approaches go beyond physical improvements to housing, to incorporate social improvements and community participation initiatives. Activities include:

- Coordination of service provision at the local level (Spillar, Gibbins and Swann 2000);

- Employment projects for tenants (Maude 2002);

- Promoting partnerships with communities (Wood, Randolph and Judd 2002);

- Improvements to the housing and physical environments (Randolph and Judd 1999); and

- Diversifying the housing tenure within the regeneration area, to lower the concentrations of disadvantaged tenants (Arthurson 2002).

Fourth, housing renewal policies require careful planning to ensure that the benefits that accrue from an injection of resources are sustained in the longer term.

However, questions have been raised about the efficacy of several of the policies now being promoted for public housing, including tenure diversification and financing of regeneration activities. The dominant view purports that mixed neighbourhoods are likely to enhance social capital, yet there has been some concern that the promotion of owner occupation will result in a shortfall of public housing stock. This concern is buttressed by research studies in Australia and internationally that question the claims made in support of mixed-development (e.g. Randolph & Wood 2003; Atkinson & Kintrea 2000; Arthurson 2001, 2003). These authors suggest that there is scant evidence to support the claim that increasing owner-occupation actually enhances the economic and social well-being of public housing tenants. Furthermore, unless steps are taken to increase the supply of public housing, current mixed tenure based strategies will result in a reduction in the overall number of properties available to households on waiting lists for public housing.

The second issue of concern relates specifically to the financing of housing regeneration initiatives. In the absence of additional resources from the Commonwealth, SHAs have sought to attract new streams of finance to make up for the short-fall in funding arrangements. These strategies, for example, head-leasing, asset disposal and stock transfers are viewed by some within the profession as an ineffectual response. From this perspective, these types of solutions are insufficient for securing resources in the longer term and circumvent the primary problem, that historically there has been under-investment and that nothing short of new additional resources will suffice. However, Australia's taxation revenue is approximately 30% of Gross Domestic Product, a figure lower than the UK and other European countries (OECD 2000, Maude 2002) making a change to the contemporary funding situation doubtful. Also, unlike countries in the European Community, there are no supra-national infrastructure funding schemes that can be used to supplement expenditure on housing. Finally, while European practices have been influential in the Australian context, it is useful to mention contemporary housing regeneration practices in the USA related to the development of exit strategies. In the United States, public housing is managed by municipal housing authorities but with financial subsidies from the Federal Government. There are currently about 1.3 million public tenants, the vast majority of whom are in receipt of welfare support. The most significant development in recent years has been the HOPE VI programme that provides Federal resources for housing authorities to redesign the housing stock and establish mixed tenure estates. The rationale for HOPE VI is to reduce the density of public housing units and encourage community participation, attract private sector partnerships and resource training and employment programmes for those seeking work (see Spillar & Gibbons 2000; Smith 2001; Bratt 2003). This programme requires all public housing authorities to establish a 'transformation plan' that sets out a five-year programme of action (Smith 2001:17). The transformation plan has similarities to European regeneration initiatives though the focus is primarily on breaking up monolithic public housing areas and introducing different modes of tenure. Critics of the HOPE VI programme have argued that policies as currently constituted will result in an overall reduction of public housing. As Bratt (2003: 620) points out 'because redevelopment relies heavily on the private sector, [it] is expected to significantly reduce the number of permanent public housing units nationwide." Specific examples from US practices of developing exit strategies are discussed in section three of the Positioning Paper.

This section of the Positioning Paper has provided an introduction to the concept of exit strategies in the context of housing regeneration and reviewed some of the debates about different modes of intervention. The following section focuses on regeneration strategies currently deployed by State and Territory housing authorities and related practices to sustain outcomes from the additional injection of resources into the regeneration area.

2. CURRENT STATE AND TERRITORY HOUSING AUTHORITY POLICIES TO MAINTAIN SUSTAINABILITY

This section provides an overview of the current housing regeneration policies that are employed by each Australian State and Territory housing authority (SHA). In undertaking this task we explore the key question of whether there are 'Exit Strategies' or similar plans in place, which aim to maintain sustainability beyond the life of the regeneration projects. Specifically, what strategies are put in place to maintain change once the period of government or other funding has ceased. The information was collected through:

- Telephone and email contact with SHA policy officers;

- SHAs' websites;

- Analysis of policy documents; and

- Reviewing relevant Australian literature.

In gathering the information we were mindful that failure to identify with the specific term 'exit strategies' was likely to be commonplace. Recent research undertaken on six Australian public housing estate regeneration projects finds no evidence of 'exit strategies' to detail how community capacity building activities will be maintained once government funding and paid community development positions expire (Arthurson 2003). Nonetheless, part of the rationale for undertaking the current project was the idea that similar strategies, or related policies may exist, which aim to maintain sustainable communities beyond the period of regeneration, but perhaps using different terminology to 'exit strategies'. In view of this, the following section briefly outlines each SHA's approach to regeneration. Then the policies to maintain sustainability, where they exist, are described. At the end of the chapter, the findings to date are summarised.

2.1. Australian Capital Territory (ACT)

The ACT differs to other Australian States, aside from the Northern Territory, in that it is not characterised by large-scale social housing estates (Arthurson 1998). However, there are still social problems and physical design issues with some of the public housing stock. In particular there are flat/bed-sit complexes built in the 1970s, and Charnwood, a suburb of Belconnen, has high concentrations of public housing (26 per cent) built on Radburn design principles. Difficulties have included high maintenance costs and problems with renting the housing (Spiller Gibbins Swan Pty Ltd 2000). Hence, some small-scale regeneration has been undertaken to modify the physical design and reduce concentrations of public housing. Given the scale of the projects it is therefore not surprising that in the ACT there is no evidence of an explicit focus on 'exit strategies' for regeneration projects.

2.1.1. Policies to maintain sustainability

Nonetheless, although there are no specific exit strategies for regeneration projects, the 'Community Linkages Programme' that was implemented by Housing and Community Services ACT in 2001-02 is pertinent. The Programme focuses on developing and maintaining sustainable communities and has a budget of around $2 million, over four years (2001/02-2004/05). It was initially designed to link public housing tenants to a broad range of community and support services. However, it was recently expanded to include community housing as well as public housing tenants. The programme has four broad aims to improve tenants' lives and community sustainability through developing:

1. Safer living environments;

2. More sustainable tenancies;

3. Improved social connectivity between residents and their communities; and

4. Decreasing poverty.

The types of projects funded under the Community Linkage Programme that specifically relate to increasing and maintaining community sustainability include:

- The appointment of a housing management specialist based at the Public Housing Applicant Services Centre. This specialist role assists existing complex tenants and applicants on the waiting list to access suitable public or community support in order to maintain their tenancies.

- The employment of five development workers to work with public housing tenants across different areas of the State. The development workers are employed by the YMCA, the successful applicants in the tender process for the project, and work closely with local communities in organising group activities for public housing tenants.

- Small-scale community-based projects aimed at increasing tenant involvement in their local community and the wider community. For instance, community gardens, youth advocacy, playgroup sessions, art classes, music workshops and courses on cooking on a budget.

- Other services, which are provided free to public housing tenants, include:

  - Financial counselling workshops, designed to assist tenants to manage their money more effectively;

  - A 'Mobile Mediation' service, to enable tenants to develop conflict resolution skills; and

  - The 'Preventing Eviction Programme', which is geared specifically at tenants at risk of eviction (Housing and Community Services ACT 2003).

2.2. Northern Territory

Like the ACT, Northern Territory social housing is not characterised by large-scale estates. However, there is one complex in Darwin consisting of 112 flats (Spiller Gibbons Swan Pty Ltd 2000). Some small-scale renewal of housing has been undertaken in the urban areas with the specific aim of improving the visual appearance, quality and amenity level of housing for tenants. Through this process older housing stock is gradually being replaced, although the housing stock in Darwin is newer than in other Australian States as most of it was rebuilt after Cyclone Tracey devastated the area in 1974.

2.2.1.   *Policies to maintain sustainability*

Whilst there are no specific exit strategies for housing regeneration programmes in place, in September 2002 the NT Government launched the 'Home Territory' campaign, which is focusing on achieving sustainable housing. The launch provided the starting point for the development of more effective housing policy through to 2010. A major emphasis of the campaign is on the community, peak bodies and the government, working together to achieve sustainable housing. Stakeholders are encouraged to voice their opinions in the housing debate through the Home Territory web site set up as part of the 'Home Territory' campaign. NT Shelter is assisting in the collection of viewpoints from tenants, members of organisations in the social and community sector and others who are unable to access the internet site (DCDSCA 2002:6).

2.3. Tasmania

Despite Tasmania having smaller numbers of social housing than mainland Australian States, there are still a number of broad-acre estates that are a focus for regeneration activities. These estates are located across the regions in Bridgewater/Gagebrook, Claredon/Rokeby and Acton/Sherewell. Spiller *et al.* (2000:19) found that despite the area of Rokeby being a successful housing physical renewal project with an employment and training focus for tenants, there were fears that without ongoing attention the area could degenerate and the gains made through the project lost.

2.3.1. Policies to maintain sustainability

There are no specific exit strategies in place for regeneration programmes in Tasmania. However, a major feature of the renewal programme is that local tenants and community groups are encouraged to orchestrate the management of services. The Bridgewater Urban Renewal Project (BURP) provides the most successful example of this type of approach with tenant centred policies and a proactive approach to solving problems at the neighbourhood level. For instance, BURP recently gained funding of $30,000 through the Community Support Levy Scheme to develop a Home Ownership Education Project in the area.

Housing Tasmania also has a focus on the development of sustainable housing that is designed to meet the ongoing needs of public housing tenants. In partnership with housing industry partners, Housing Tasmania has developed the concept of GET*Smart*HOMES. The 'homes are adaptable to the changing needs of tenants as they age, so they have wide doorways, power points at accessible heights, level access, as well as being energy efficient, low maintenance and comfortable' (Department of Health and Human Services 2003).

2.4. New South Wales

In 1994 the New South Wales Department of Housing implemented a pilot Neighbourhood Improvement Programme (NIP). The NIP aimed to incorporate community development approaches as much as physical housing regeneration. Inner city Waterloo along with the peripherally located estates of Airds and Macquarie Fields were the first estates targeted for physical and social improvements under the pilot programme (Randolph and Judd 1999). The NIP continued until 1999, when it was superseded by a Community Renewal Strategy, itself refocused into the Community Renewal Program in 2003 (CRP). The CRP places greater emphasis on integrating employment, especially job opportunities available through physical estate regeneration activities, with community development initiatives. The aim of the programme is two-fold:

1. To enhance the quality of life of public housing tenants living in areas of concentrated public housing; and

2. To increase the value of public housing stock.

Similar to community renewal activities in other States, the NSW Community Renewal Programme aims to involve tenants in decision-making processes about changes implemented on the estates and this is linked to ongoing sustainability of the communities (NSW Department of Housing 2001). While the CRS/CRP is concerned with aspects of community renewal, physical renewal activity was given to the Housing Finance Investment Group, a separate business unit within the NSW DoH, to progress. This unit was disbanded in late 2003 and the physical renewal program subsumed into 'Resitech', the building and works division of the Department. A new program of estate redevelopment based on public-private partnership approaches is being currently explored. However, to date only one physical renewal scheme, at Minto in Cambelltown, has progressed to implementation stage.

2.4.1. Policies to maintain sustainability

In NSW there are no specific 'Exit Strategies' for regeneration projects but tenant participation in decision-making is depicted as part of the processes of maintaining sustainability. Some of the tenant participation activities that have been facilitated or supported by the Department of Housing include:

- The 'NSW Social Housing Tenant Conference' held in 2003. One outcome of the conference was the 'Tenant Participation Compact'. The compact represents an agreement between the Department of Housing and the social housing tenant community about what actions the Department will take to support and foster tenant participation (NSW Department of Housing 2003).

- Community Development and Resourcing Grants (2003/04). These grants provide small one-off funding for projects to assist public housing tenants to work with tenant organisations, housing providers and other agencies to address housing issues in specific areas.

- An 'Implementation Steering Committee' for tenant participation was established in 2001, with representatives of housing providers, public, community and Aboriginal housing tenants, and an independent organisation with expertise in tenant participation issues. One of the major initiatives identified by the committee was the need for training for tenants with disabilities, in order to increase their involvement in tenant participation activities. Consequently, the 'Including Us All' project consisting of workshops and information sessions was implemented in 2002.

2.5. Victoria

Originally in Victoria, like other Australian States, housing estate renewal projects were triggered by problems with the condition of the housing (Arthurson 1998). Hence, projects largely focused on physical upgrading of housing. The Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy (NRS) is a new initiative, which forms part of the State Government's *Growing Victoria Together* agenda to build more cohesive communities and reduce inequalities. The Department of Human Services introduced the strategy in 2000. To date, ten renewal projects have been implemented in some of the most disadvantaged areas of the state, with further projects planned (Office of Housing 2002: 3).

The overall goal of the NRS is to create vibrant communities where people want to live. In order to achieve this goal the Strategy aims to:

- Increase people's pride and participation in the community;

- Expand local economies and increase employment, training and education opportunities;

- Improve personal safety and reduce crime;

- Enhance housing and the physical environment;

- Promote health and wellbeing;

- Increase access to transport and other key services; and

- Improve government responsiveness (Office of Housing 2002:3).

2.5.1. Policies to maintain sustainability

While no specific exit strategy policy has been developed for the NRP, certain aspects of the programme are related to achieving ongoing community sustainability. These include:

- Empowering local communities to shape their own futures. Neighbourhoods chosen for renewal are selected primarily because of the strength of the local community and the desire to turn around their current situation; and

- Developing a shared vision for the selected localities through devising local Neighbourhood Renewal Action Plans. To achieve this vision, the efforts of the whole of Government will be co-ordinated around people and the places they live, work and play (Office of Housing 2002:3).

2.6. Western Australia

In Western Australia there are also some large-scale older style public housing estates in the metropolitan and country areas that are undergoing renewal. The Ministry of Housing's 'New Living Project' (NLP) commenced in 1995 with pilot regeneration projects implemented in the suburbs of Kwinana and Lockridge. The broad aims of the NLP are to:

- Facilitate the development of sustainable vibrant communities;

- Reduce crime;

- Improve the images of estates;

- Upgrade housing stock; and

- Encourage homeownership.

To date changes are concentrating on: lowering the percentage of public rental housing in the estates; improving infrastructure and streetscapes; upgrading stock to be retained; and introducing security patrols into local communities (Parry & Strommen 2001).

2.7. Queensland

The Queensland approach to housing regeneration differs slightly to other States in that there are two separate but complementary renewal programmes aimed at disadvantaged communities. These are the:

1. Queensland Department of Housing's 'Urban Renewal Programme'; and

2. Queensland Government's 'Community Renewal Programme'.

Each of these programmes is briefly described in turn.

2.7.1. Urban Renewal Programme

The 'Urban Renewal Programme' focuses on improving older style housing estates with high concentrations of public housing and socially disadvantaged communities. Earlier changes related largely to physical improvements to housing amenity and enhanced security, including installing fencing, security screens and traffic calming mechanisms (Arthurson 1998). Close tenant and community involvement is encouraged in regeneration of the estates through:

- Consulting with the community in deciding how regeneration should proceed; and

- Training local unemployed people to assist in the processes of upgrading and improving the housing stock.

Urban Renewal projects are currently being deployed across the State in eleven areas consisting of high concentrations of public housing. The Urban Renewal Programme aims to ensure that public housing tenants have a range of housing options that are secure, affordable and appropriate to household needs. Specific project objectives are to:

- Have a positive impact on the visual appearance and physical environment of the suburb and create an aesthetically pleasant and desirable residential environment;

- Apply the principles of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) in the improvement process;

- Reduce the concentration of public housing in the area by offering opportunities for home ownership at affordable prices to create a more balanced community profile;

- Enhance the physical quality of housing through undertaking appropriate improvement works;

- Provide increased choices in housing by realigning current housing stock to meet changing community needs; and

- Create employment opportunities for local unemployed people through involvement on the capital works programme (Queensland Department of Housing 2003).

2.7.2.   Community Renewal Programme

The 'Community Renewal Programme' (CRP) forms part of the State Government's Crime Prevention Strategy, which was introduced by the incoming State Labor Government in 1998. The programme is directed at areas with large concentrations of public housing and communities characterised by high crime rates, low incomes and declining levels of educational attainment. The principal features of the Community Renewal Programme are coordinated across government and agency partnerships and community involvement in identifying solutions to problems of crime and disadvantage. Specific aspects of renewal projects can incorporate:

- Tackling unemployment;

- Crime prevention; and

- Implementing education and training initiatives (Queensland Government and Queensland Department of Housing 2000).

The 'Urban Renewal' and 'Community Renewal' programmes work in tandem thus supporting broader changes on the estates than were possible in the past. Previous regeneration approaches focused largely on physical changes to housing and surrounding environments.

2.7.3.   Policies to maintain sustainability

- In Queensland, there is a more explicit focus, than other States, on transition planning for when the term of the regeneration project expires. As part of the CRP a 'Transition Planning Policy' is currently being developed to provide staff with a flexible framework to guide the planning processes for the endpoint of the project. The impetus for transition planning arose from work conducted by the community renewal section of the Queensland Department of Housing, in localities where the programme was active but has since exited, or is currently exiting.

- Whilst at the time of writing the 'Transition Planning Policy' was not completed, the key elements will comprise:

- Recognition that transition planning:

- Begins from the CRP's point of entry into a community and peaks in the final year of implementation; and

- Allows the CRP to exit gradually from a community to reduce the possibility of adverse impacts on the relationships established or the erosion of benefits developed within the targeted communities;

- The central aim of encouraging programme stakeholders to plan for long term improvements in a community;

- Considering the sustainability of successful projects as well as the broader agenda of partnerships between the community, government and the business sector;

- Sharpening the CRP's focus on the need for a balance between locally identified projects and strategic projects aimed at bringing about long-term sustainable improvements;

- Implementing a series of workshops in which the programme stakeholders (community and government) explore notions of 'exit' and 'transition', thus identifying 'what they want sustained', and develop strategies and actions for achieving these goals; and

- Developing a Transition Plan through these processes to guide the CRP's final year of implementation and eventual exit from a community.

Elements of transition planning are already evident in some community renewal areas where:

- Communities have requested that the government 'continue the dialogue' once the CRP has exited;

- Community members have identified the need to focus their attention on the acquisition of skills, knowledge and the strengthening of relationships; and

- Transition workers have been employed for a 12-month period to implement strategies to maintain the impetus for change beyond the period of CRP funding.

2.8. South Australia

In South Australia, the first attempts at public housing estate regeneration were conducted in the southern metropolitan region (Mitchell Park) in the late 1980s and the northern suburbs (Rosewood & Hillcrest) in the early to mid 1990s. As in other States, the impetus for the projects was problems with the older housing, which did not meet the current needs of the market. These earlier projects focused predominantly on undertaking improvements to housing and other physical infrastructure aspects of regeneration (Arthurson 1998). In contrast to Queensland and New South Wales, there is no distinct community renewal programme in South Australia. However, as in the other States, the newer urban regeneration projects intend to go beyond previous projects, which concentrated on changes to housing, to incorporate 'community building' strategies (Black 1998:66).

The contemporary Urban Renewal Programme aims to:

- Regenerate areas with high concentrations of public housing;

- Create balanced and sustainable communities;

- Provide a better living environment;

- Improve standards of housing; and

- Provide housing more suited to the needs of present-day tenants (SA Housing Trust 2003).

Whilst there are no explicit exit strategies in place in SA, sustainability of the regeneration projects is linked in part to tenant and community involvement. Similar to other States, the raft of programmes and policies which encourage community participation include:

- The 'Have Your Say' database - the SAHT has established a list of housing tenants who are interested in 'having a say'. These tenants are invited to provide feedback and comments to the SAHT on issues relating to their area, by way of focus groups or telephone interviews;

- 'Trust Talk Tenant Link', a joint Trust and tenant newspaper that is published twice per year;

- Community Reference Groups in areas where urban renewal is undertaken. Tenants and community representatives are invited to comment on issues that impact on their neighbourhood and community; and

- Regional Advisory Boards made up of local tenants and resident groups, which are chaired by tenants. The Boards have set up numerous facilities, ranging from the establishment of garden tool 'libraries' to computer rooms, which at minimal cost conduct computer training for the local community.

2.9.   Summary

As shown in Table 2, Queensland is currently the only Australian state that is devising specific exit strategies/policies for regeneration projects. However, various elements of the other SHA's policies, especially the components related to resident involvement in regeneration activities, are related to achieving and maintaining sustainability. These aspects could be readily included in an Exit Strategy Policy.

Table 2: State Housing Authority Policies to Maintain Sustainability

State/Territory	Estate Regeneration	Exit Strategies	Policies/Programmes related to achieving sustainability
ACT	Not large scale		Community Linkages Programme
NT	Not large scale		Home Territory Campaign
NSW	√		Community Renewal Programme
TAS	√		Regeneration Programme
VIC	√		Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy
QLD	√	√	Community Renewal Programme Urban Renewal Programme
WA	√		New Living Project
SA	√		Urban Regeneration Programme

3. INNOVATIONS AND PRACTICES FROM OVERSEAS

This section of the Positioning Paper discusses some of the key problems that have emerged in developing exit strategies in the UK and US. It also includes specific examples of housing regeneration projects where successful exit strategy models appear to have been deployed.

3.1.   Exit strategies: the evidence base.

As highlighted earlier, the need for exit strategies stems from the fact that most housing regeneration projects are comprised of a short-term injection of capital and revenue resources. Though the resources that are spent on physical renewal and infrastructure costs may be sufficient for the duration of the project, exit strategies are viewed as a way of securing benefits once the initial injection of short-term funding has expired. The recognition that more effective policies are required in order to maintain the benefits of changes made through regeneration was the initial stimulus for the development of exit strategies in the UK. There, it has become the norm for funding bodies and housing agencies to deploy an exit strategy as part of regeneration projects in order to deliver sustainable outcomes. A clear and succinct rationale for deploying an exit strategy is provided by a UK regeneration practitioner in his claim that:

> 'the period following the completion of the development will be as
> important as the development period itself. We have to make
> sure that the structures, resources and support networks are in
> place' (London Borough of Hackney 2000:54).

The ODPM report (1997) highlights the important issue that structural factors can undermine policy initiatives to facilitate regeneration, such as a period of economic stagnation or inadequate investment in transport and other public services. While structural factors cannot be addressed through area-based interventions, it is nonetheless argued that an exit strategy, if formulated at the inception of the project, can make area-based interventions more effective and robust.

Nonetheless, while undertaking the literature review for this Positioning Paper, it became clear that although there is an emerging literature on the utility of exit strategies as a project management tool, there has been very little empirical research undertaken to explore how effective exit strategies are in sustaining changes made to the regeneration areas. More importantly, there is little information available on what problems can arise in their implementation. For instance, the main objective of many of the reports, which discuss exit strategies in detail is prescriptive, that is to promote the deployment of exit strategies. Discussions of the problematic aspects of exit strategies rarely feature and when they do the critical discussion is limited to a short review of the problematic issues and tensions that might arise (see Fordham 1995; ODPM 1997). In part, this problem arises because the deployment of explicit exit strategy is a relatively recent phenomenon, so there have not been any systematic studies of the practices.

The following section draws upon the available research and other existing sources of data that discuss exit strategies in order to build up a more comprehensive understanding of their key components. The key issues involved in designing, implementing and evaluating an exit strategy (design, implementation and evaluation) are summarised below.

3.2.   Designing exit strategies

3.2.1.   Model design

Whilst research undertaken by Fordham (1995:19) does not engage in a critical review of exit strategies, it is useful for providing a categorisation of the different types of models that can be deployed. Table 1 below sets out the models identified in his report.

Table 3 :Exit Strategy Models

Type of Model	Aims
Project Driven	To establish a portfolio of long-term projects to continue at the end of the initial programme
Flagship projects	To secure specific institutional goals (i.e. employment programmes)
Successor organisations	To develop institutional successors to continue working in the area
Single successor body	A new but permanent body specifically set up to continue a project and development
Mainstream organisation driven	Establishing 'foster homes' in permanent local institutions to continue projects
Baton Change	Transfer responsibility to another short term funded agency

Source: Fordham (1995).

The six models identified by Fordham, provide an indication of the different institutional arrangements that could be established within the lifetime of a regeneration programme. However, what type of model is appropriate depends on a variety of factors, including available resources, institutional capacity and commitment from other agencies to further the aims of the renewal project.

3.2.2. *Implementation and coordination issues*

Overall, Fordham and other research reports (e.g. Endurance 2003) argue that exit strategies are:

- a prerequisite for successful planning;
- a management tool to deliver a complex set of outputs simultaneously; and
- an instrument to secure short and long term objectives.

A particular challenge that confronts regeneration programme managers is securing sufficient revenue budgets to run alongside a large capital funded programme. A study commissioned by the UK Community Fund, the agency responsible for distributing National Lottery awards, provides useful findings on this issue. Researchers collected information on the different types of exit strategy activities undertaken by community organisations (Martin Price Associates 2002). While the research is limited, it reveals that exit strategies are increasingly used as a policy instrument by practitioners to secure new sources of income to continue community activities. The data collected showed that 75 per cent of funded projects were able to secure funding streams once initial budgets expired. Fourteen percent were continuing in a reduced capacity and 12 per cent had closed completely. Only 7 per cent of new funding streams were permanent on-going funding, the remainder continued to be short term. It can be inferred from the data that capturing funds beyond the expiry date of an initial injection of resources is often the most important challenge for community groups, especially as the sources of funding were often complex and multi-sourced and that an exit strategy is a useful tool in this process. This particular issue about funding has also been highlighted in a recent study of a Danish regeneration initiative in Kongens Enghave, Copenhagen. The report highlighted the problems that arise when capital funding is available for physical renewal but there is insufficient revenue monies set aside to meet the costs of ongoing running costs to provide regular maintenance and meet staffing costs (Ensure 2003b). The following example of the Filey Local Development and Employment Pact illustrates how an exit strategy was deployed to assist a local regeneration project to make a smooth transition from a time limited to mainstream funding arrangement.

Returning to mainstream funding: the example of Filey Local Development and Employment Pact

Filey in North Yorkshire is a deprived neighbourhood with a high level of social housing (60%) and a significant number of its residents are over 60 years old, in 1995 the town received funding from the Yorkshire Coast Partnership to develop 'a local action plan for partnership'. In 1998, further funds were made available through the UK Single Regeneration Budget and European Community (Assisted Area Funds). The Filey Bay Regeneration Initiative entails training programmes, health and employment initiatives aimed at capacity building. Since the project has limited funding (6 years), considerable effort has been spent on developing an exit strategy. This entails the programme formally being handed back to the South Yorkshire Coast Partnership body. During the last stages of the Regeneration initiative, officers from the South Coast Partnership body worked with staff from different components of the Filey Regeneration Project to work out a transition schedule to avoid funding shortfalls and ensure that the necessary staff were in post to ensure a smooth transition (Filey Council 2003).

Other key issues relating to implementation and coordination are directly addressed in a recent UK publication (ODPM 2000a). This report focuses on the steps that are necessary to prepare an exit strategy. It emphasises the need to engage in community capacity building and recommends putting in place a structure for residents and other sectors of the community to retain ownership of the regeneration project. The Emerson Park Development Corporation regeneration project from the US, outlined below, provides an example of why community participation is a valuable part of any exit strategy.

Engaging the community in multi-agency partnerships: the example of Emerson Park Development Corporation East St Louis Illinois.

Emerson Park is a small neighbourhood in East St Louis, in the US. The population is primarily Black (98%) and 42% of residents are under 18 years of age (Renewal.net 2003). Its population has declined by more that 50% from 1950 to 2000 and it has high rates of unemployment (21%) and poverty. In the mid 1980s, residents were instrumental in establishing the Emerson Park Development Corporation. Considerable resources were spent on providing affordable housing (400 rental units and 100 for private sale). Other agencies involved in the regeneration project include Youthbuild (a training and educational project), the University of Illinois, McCormack Baron Associates (a St Louis housing developer, and the Greater St Louis Regional Empowerment Zone (an economic development agency).

The project is of particular interest in that it identifies 'unconventional, direct and even confrontational methods' as useful in drawing attention to neighbourhoods and forcing action to deal with them (Renewal.net 2003). It provides an example of how a regeneration project can be enhanced through the active involvement of the local community. In this case community representatives were able to engage with budget-holders and elected officials to secure more funds for the regeneration project and take a role in coordinating different components of the project.

The ODPM (2000b) and Endurance (2003) reports include similar information about community participation and contain useful advice that, wherever possible, new initiatives should be coterminous with existing projects to minimise community fatigue and burnout. The following example of Cabrini Green regeneration project in the US illustrates that major conflicts with tenants about desirable regeneration outcomes should be addressed at an early stage of the programme.

Regeneration Strategies in Chicago: the example of Cabrini Green

Chicago Housing Authority is now engaged in a plan to reduce the stock of public housing in the city from 38,000 to 25,000 units. The plan entails demolishing high-rise buildings and building mixed income lower density neighbourhoods comprising of fewer than 40% public housing (Smith 2002).

Cabrini Green is a deprived neighbourhood in Chicago featuring 3600 units (mainly mid and high rise). It was the beneficiary of a US$50m HOPEV1 grant in 1994. The redevelopment plans originally entailed the demolition of 660 units and the building of 493 new public housing units. The city council and the appointed housing developers jettisoned these plans and instead new proposals were put in place to demolish 1,300 units and build 2,300 units (but only 700 of these were public housing units). Opposition from public housing tenants groups resulted in a lawsuit against the city council and the developers for reneging on the original agreement. The outcome of the law suite was seen as a victory for tenants as the court ruling provided tenants with a greater say in the redevelopment process and mandated the council to build a larger quota of public housing units (as first specified in the original proposals).

Another ODPM report (2003) raises concerns about the complexity of management tasks involved in exit strategies. However, the emphasis in this report is for staff working within organisations rather than the community. It provides guidance on how to minimise strain for staff working within existing bureaucracies and stresses the importance of effective coordination and ensuring adequate preparation to minimise delays and administrative problems on the ground. Issues raised are that reporting mechanisms to funding bodies often take considerable time and officers need to factor in possible delays when setting organisational targets. The ODPM report (2003) also highlights the problems that can arise when no additional funding is available and projects are terminated. It is recognised that the termination of a project can be especially difficult for staff whose contracts end and also for individual members of a community who may be adversely affected. It is at this juncture that tensions can surface and it is not uncommon for community dissent or disappointment to surface. Given these circumstances, it is important to disseminate information at an early stage about what will happen once the major project expires and in particular to appoint a successor organisation. The example of Holly Street estate in Hackney illustrates how a successful successor organisation can be established.

Establishing a successor organisation: The example of Holly Street Estate, Hackney, London

When Holly Street estate was built in 1971 it comprised nineteen five-storey 'snake' blocks and four nineteen story tower blocks. It was soon widely regarded as one of the most deprived estates in London and in the mid 1990s was the recipient of £250 million worth of resources over a five-year period to regenerate the estate. A key feature of the project was the development of an exit strategy to address issues beyond the main funding programme. The exit strategy included the following components:

- Continuation of local employment programmes;

- Integrated neighbourhood management practices;

- Interdepartmental collaboration across the range of agencies working on Holly Street to address external factors affecting the estate (such as pollution, crime, education);

- Tenure diversification;

- Community facilities maintenance programme; and

- Participation incentives to be offered to encourage new residents to participate in the decision-making processes. This action recognised that it is unrealistic to continually rely on the same individuals to 'front' projects and be involved in consultative bodies.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) explore some of the general issues that arise in managing exit strategies from a more theoretical standpoint. Like the ODPM (2003) report, they highlight how policy succession and policy termination often leads to *inter* and *intra*-organisational conflict primarily because different interest groups seek to exert control over the policy agenda. As they write 'both producers and consumers of policy will have been developed around a particular existing policy, so that an attempt at policy succession will challenge their interests' (Hogwood & Gunn 1984:245). The authors argue that while innovation and the establishment of new policies generally attracts support and status within an organisation, this is not the case when programmes come to the end. Furthermore, many policy makers are especially reluctant to address the problematic features surrounding the termination of a programme and this can result in a policy vacuum. Hogwood and Gunn's research serves as a useful reminder that the implementation of any exit strategy entails difficult policy and budgetary decisions that are likely to be resisted by some groups and individuals.

A recent report that explores some of the issues surrounding exit strategies in greater practical detail is the national evaluation of the 39 area based renewal initiatives in England and Wales - known as the New Deal for Communities (ODPM 2003). The research concentrates on establishing a baseline of evidence rather than an evaluation of outcome achievements. Nevertheless, some of the most interesting findings of the research were that many of the community players suffered from burn out and intra-community tensions were a feature of many area-based projects. Some partnerships appeared unstable with high turnover of staff and this situation placed a heavy burden on key players who remain involved in the areas. Most significant for the purposes of this study, are the following findings:

- strategic planning was very complex;

- partnerships with an inbuilt majority of residents cannot always be relied upon to adopt effective long term planning objectives;

- the setting up of partnerships can take considerable time; and

- adequate resources need to be set aside for planning and fostering partnerships in the initial stages of an area based regeneration strategy.

Other key findings of the reports are that exit strategies should support effective partnership arrangements at the local level and open and regular lines of communication between the different agencies involved in regeneration. It is suggested that devolved management structures are the most effective as they enable decisions to be taken by lower order managers. It is recommended that budgets are sufficiently flexible to avoid problems, as on occasions it is necessary to switch monies between different budgets. All budgeting responsibilities should be overseen by senior staff to minimise the risks associated with overspending.

Some of these features are also highlighted in another report produced by Martin Price Associates (2002), which provides a useful summary of the factors that make an exit strategy successful. It lists the following; a passionate champion within the community, continuity of staff, several funding sources and a on-going commitment from partnership agencies through the duration of the project. Fordham's (1995) report makes similar points but also advocates the deployment of tapered funding streams at the end of a project to off-set the problems that can arise when funding comes to a complete end. Fordham also recommends determining the duration of projects on the basis of clear predetermined criteria rather than through immutable timetables.

3.2.3.   Monitoring, evaluation and future development

Finally, any exit strategy requires a mechanism to help staff to evaluate housing regeneration projects. Ideally, monitoring and evaluation frameworks need to be set up at the start of regeneration projects and the objective of any evaluation should be kept simple. That is, to assess clearly the success of the initiative against the outcomes expected. Thought too should be given to unintended consequences from policy intervention. Some of the factors that can undermine an exit strategy achieving its stated objectives include:

- Poor business planning (i.e. reporting mechanisms that are used not as working documents but are produced to satisfy the requirements of bureaucrats);

- Leaving consideration of ongoing funding until the end of a project (often too late);

- Staff turnover, particularly before the end of a time expired project; and

- Lack of maintenance agreement following handover.

The exit strategy developed by the Feltham Council in the UK, which is detailed below, provides an example of the way an exit strategy can be structured in order to avoid some of these pitfalls.

A Flagship Project: the example of Feltham First Delivery Plan (Feltham Council 2000)

The Feltham First Delivery Plan is a five-year programme of social and economic regeneration targeted at the 22,000 people living in this West London suburb. The project entailed £10 million of public sector funds and a further £200 million from private sector investment. The project is managed as a partnership known as Feltham First Regeneration Partnership that comprises of local council representatives, community and business leaders. There was only a limited social housing programme component to the project and the partnership expired in March 2002. An exit strategy was put in place in 2000 to ensure that the projects objectives of securing sustainable outcomes were achievable. The exit strategy entailed short (one year) and long term (four year) plans to review the 43 projects that were funded. The decisions for the exit strategy entailed the partnership board deciding what projects should be terminated, what projects should be managed by other organisations and those projects that should be continued via a different funding scheme. The partnership board, because it was seen as representative of all the key interest groups, secured legitimacy within the community and its recommendations about funding priorities were accepted with only minimum dissent.

What conclusions can be drawn from overseas practices? The fact that explicit exit strategies are a recent innovation means that there is very little literature on the subject. As already mentioned, what has been published usually seeks only to promote the deployment of exit strategies rather than question its efficacy. The paucity of any analytical study means that more critically orientated research is required to look at the problematic aspects of exit strategy models. Most importantly questions remain about whether the sustainability claims made by the proponents of exit strategies are feasible in the current context of declining budget outlays for public housing investment.

What can be discerned from the literature is that a short-term injection of resources cannot, on its own, be an effective catalyst for sustainable housing development. However, carefully planned exit strategies can play a mitigating role in helping to ensure that resources that are available are spent judiciously. UK evidence suggests that the most effective strategies entail careful project management and adequate resources are essential if the benefits from regeneration projects are not to dissipate quickly (Packwood 2002). However, significant gaps in knowledge remain about the utility of exit strategies in the context of housing regeneration and the next section of this Positioning Paper sets out the methods that will be deployed to assist in filling these gaps in knowledge.

4. NEXT STEPS

4.1. Gaps in knowledge

The previous sections of the Positioning Paper have provided: a discussion of the key perspectives on regeneration; details of each State and Territory's approach to sustainable housing regeneration; and a review of overseas literature on exit strategies. However four key gaps in knowledge remain:

- A greater appreciation is needed of the key strategic issues that should be considered from the outset in relation to a time limited regeneration programme, to ensure the sustainability of outcomes.

- A more detailed understanding is required of how current practices to achieve sustainability are organised, in particular the roles performed by key actors. This is necessary in order to gauge the institutional capacity required to manage and implement effective exit strategies and the problems that can undermine implementation.

- An understanding of tenant perspectives and an exploration of the scope and capacity of tenant involvement are critical.

- There is a deficit in understanding of the appropriate evaluation procedures that can be used to monitor the effectiveness of exit strategies. In particular, how performance indicators can be used to assess whether a regeneration programmes objectives have been achieved.

4.2. Methodology

The next stage of the project will build upon the discussion of regeneration strategies and the review of exit strategy literature presented in this Positioning Paper. It will entail collecting qualitative data from the five case study investigations (1 in Tasmania, 2 in New South Wales and 2 in South Australia) to fill these gaps in knowledge.

4.2.1. Case study investigations

The purpose of the five case study investigations is to examine in greater detail the extent to which notions of exit strategies and sustainability have been factored into contemporary practice (i.e. regeneration programmes, social and community renewal and tenure diversification). We will also be scoping the institutional capacity required to manage and implement effective exit strategies and summarise the potential problems that can undermine implementation. The following case study locations have been selected:

- **The Bridgewater-Gagebrook Estate** outside Hobart in Tasmania is an area of high social deprivation. However, in recent years it has been the location for a community renewal programme known as BURP (Bridgewater Urban Renewal Program.) The distinctiveness of the renewal programme is that local tenants and community groups orchestrate the management of services. It provides an excellent example of tenant led policies and in this respect illustrates a proactive and holistic approach to urban regeneration.

- **Salisbury North** is of special interest as it has been selected as the pilot project for a 'whole of government' service delivery approach to estate regeneration, following the restructuring of the South Australian Department of Human Services to incorporate housing, health and welfare in one Department.

- **The Parks**, also in SA is the largest regeneration project in Australia (1,390 public housing units) and involves projects that will last for 10-15 years; many of which entail a partnership with private sector agencies.

- **Minto** urban renewal program, in Campbelltown, is one of the first wholesale estate redevelopment projects launched by the NSW Department of Housing. Planning for this commenced in 2002 and the first demolitions took place in 2003. Plans for the redevelopment of the first precinct are underway.

- **Windale** in Newcastle has been the focus of intensive community renewal activity since the late 1990s under the umbrella of the NSW Premier's department working with the Department of Housing and other state and local agencies in a 'whole of government' renewal initiative.

Data from each of the five case study investigations will be categorised into the three thematic areas outlined in section three:

1. Policy design: in particular the inception of exit strategies and their objectives;

2. The management of exit strategies and the issues that need to be addressed for successful implementation; and

3. Evaluation: identifying how exit strategies can be monitored and evaluated (i.e. identifying program objectives and discussing how performance indicators might be used to assess whether the objectives have been achieved).

4.2.2.   Methods

The research will be based on interpretative methods in order to provide a richness and depth of understanding about how senior housing officers and tenants view the practical and strategic issues involved in the development of exit strategies. Each of the five case study investigations will entail the following activities:

- **One focus group discussion** with tenants and community representatives (10 interviewees per group). Steps will be taken to address some of the obstacles commonly associated with tenant focus groups; namely that the discussants who choose to participate can often have strongly held views that may not be representative of the wider community. For example, consultation with the SHAs and tenant peak bodies will be undertaken to ensure that the recruitment of the focus group is broadly representative of the estate also those who attend the focus group will be briefed beforehand on protocol to ensure that no single person can choose to impose their views at the expense of others. The purpose of the focus groups is to engender an exploratory discussion, gauge the long-term aspirations and expectations of the renewal process among tenants/community representatives and hear how they feel the benefits could be best sustained after the process has formally finished. We will also seek to explore their views on tenants' capacity to provide an input into renewal programmes and the issues that are most important to them. The value of a focus group, for our purposes, is that it will enable us to stage an exploratory discussion and identify a range of views. We anticipate too that the focus group will generate an interactive discussion about the scope and limitations of tenant involvement. To ensure accuracy of data we will be tape-recording all five focus groups.

- **Eight semi-structured interviews** with SHA officers involved in renewal policy and strategy development, regional/local housing managers with direct input into the case study renewal projects on the ground and, where appropriate, other key actors. The semi-structured interviews will be used to explore how current practices are currently organised. We will be seeking to understand the complex roles performed by key actors in renewal policy, elicit their views on current practices and discuss with them the kind of work necessary to develop coherent exit strategies.

The set of questions for both the interviews and focus group discussions will be framed around the following issues:

- The key factors that should be considered from the outset in relation to a limited-time renewal program;

- The level of understanding of the importance of implementing effective exit strategies;

- The extent to which exit strategies or comparable strategies to ensure sustainability of outcomes have or are being developed;

- What stakeholders think is likely to happen after the current program has come to an end;

- The ways to resolve conflicts in the development and implementation of an exit strategy (i.e. conflicts between private sector developers and community interest groups);

- The procedures required to successfully operationalise exit strategies;

- The steps that should be taken if exit strategies go wrong;

- The factors that determine when exit strategies should begin;

- The institutional capacity and resources required to implement exit strategies;

- The measures necessary to facilitate residents' involvement in the development of an exit strategy; and

- The implementation of an evaluation strategy that includes an explicit approach to assessing the immediate outcomes of the program and future outcomes during the transitionary period.

4.2.3.   Data analysis

The findings that will be produced from the five case studies will provide a rich source of data that can supplement the literature collected in the international review and survey of current SHA practices. Table 4 below sets out the three conceptual themes that will be used to analyse the case study findings, alongside the research questions. We envisage that the Final Report will be structured around these three thematic areas (policy design; management and implementation; and evaluation).

The initial findings of the next stage of the research will be disseminated in an AHURI work in progress seminar in early 2004 and the final report will be completed by 1st June 2004.

Table 4: Summary of research methods

Case Study Questions	Methods of research	Themes areas		
		Policy design & the inception of exit strategies	*Management of exit strategies*	*Evaluation Issues*
Key issues to be considered from the outset	Interviews & focus groups Literature review Review of current practice	√		
The level of understanding of exit strategies	Interviews & focus groups	√	√	
Whether exit strategies have been developed	Interviews & focus groups Review of current practice	√	√	
Expectations of sustainability	Interviews & focus groups		√	
How are conflicts best resolved?	Interviews & focus groups Review of current practice Literature review	√	√	
What steps should be taken if exit strategies go wrong?	Interviews Review of current practices Literature review		√	
When should exit strategies begin?	Interviews & focus groups	√		
Institutional capacity required?	Interviews		√	√
How can residents be involved in the development of an exit strategy?	Focus group with tenants Interviews with SHA officers	√	√	
How should exit strategies be evaluated?	Interviews with SHAs Review of existing practices			√
What are the implications of not employing exit strategies?	Interviews Review of current practice Literature review			√

5. CONCLUSION

This Positioning Paper has set out the context for developing appropriate exit strategies for housing regeneration programmes in five important respects.

1. It has provided definitional clarification of the key terms frequently deployed in housing practice such as 'regeneration' 'renewal' and 'sustainability' and introduced the concept of an 'exit strategy' in the context of housing regeneration.

2. It has summarised some of the major approaches to housing regeneration practices and shown how academic debates have informed both Australian and overseas housing policies.

3. It has documented the contemporary practices used by State Housing Authorities to secure sustainability once housing regeneration projects have been completed. Though only Queensland Housing Authority has deployed explicit exit strategies policies, all other SHAs were engaged in a range of practices to achieve and maintain sustainability.

4. The review of international innovations and practices provided examples of regeneration programmes that have deployed exit strategy models. It discussed exit strategy models in respect of three critical elements: policy design; implementation and coordination; and monitoring evaluation and future development.

5. Finally, the Positioning Paper has identified the gaps in knowledge that require further research namely: an appreciation of the role of strategic planning; more detailed evidence of existing regeneration practices; an understanding of tenant perspectives; and an assessment of the appropriate evaluation procedures to monitor exit strategies.. It has also set out the methods that will be deployed to address these gaps in the next stage of the research. These methods include: collecting senior housing practitioner perspectives on the utility of exit strategy models and evaluation procedures; and exploring with tenants and community representatives their long term aspirations and expectations of regeneration processes.

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