

*Final Report*

# **The benefits of tenure diversification**

authored by

**Bill Randolph and Martin Wood  
with Darren Holloway and Brendan Buck**

**Australian Housing  
and Urban Research Institute**

UNSW/UWS Research Centre

May 2004

AHURI Final Report No. 60

ISBN: 1 920758 90 9 [project]

ISBN: 1 920941 27 4 [report]



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This material was produced with funding from the Australian Government and the Australian States and Territories. AHURI Ltd gratefully acknowledges the financial and other support it has received from the Australian, State and Territory governments, without which this work would not have been possible.

The assistance of key staff in the NSW Department of Housing, the Queensland Department of Housing, the South Australian Housing Trust and HomesWest is gratefully acknowledged by the authors. This assistance provided both support and information without which this research project would not have been possible. Surveys Australia (AC Neilsen) were engaged to recruit the focus groups for the fieldwork. Thanks are also due to the many local residents and individuals involved in the renewal process in each State who gave of their time to be interviewed or to attend and participate in the various focus group meetings. Any inaccuracies or errors in this report are the responsibility of the authors.

## **DISCLAIMER**

AHURI Ltd is an independent, non-political body which has supported this project as part of its programme of research into housing and urban development, which it hopes will be of value to policy-makers, researchers, industry and communities. The opinions in this publication reflect the views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of AHURI Ltd, its Board or its funding organisations. No responsibility is accepted by AHURI Ltd or its Board or its funders for the accuracy or omission of any statement, opinion, advice or information in this publication.

# CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY .....	I
1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
2 BACKGROUND .....	3
2.1 Introduction.....	3
2.2 Tenure diversification in practice .....	3
2.3 What are the objectives of tenure diversification? .....	3
2.4 What evidence is there that social mix objectives can be achieved through tenure diversification? .....	6
3 THE RESEARCH METHOD .....	10
3.1 Introduction.....	10
3.2 Research Questions revisited .....	10
3.3 Identification of Case Study Estates.....	11
3.4 Qualitative fieldwork .....	12
3.5 Quantitative analysis .....	13
4 WHAT HAS BEEN THE EXTENT AND IMPACT OF TENURE DIVERSIFICATION ON THE CASE STUDY ESTATES? .....	14
4.1 Introduction.....	14
4.2 Queensland Case Study Areas .....	14
4.3 South Australia Case Study Areas .....	16
4.4 Western Australia Case Study Areas .....	18
4.5 New South Wales Case Study Areas .....	20
4.6 Summary .....	23
5 TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE THE OBJECTIVES OF DIVERSIFICATION BEEN ACHIEVED? THE PERCEPTIONS OF KEY STAKEHOLDERS .....	25
5.1 Introduction.....	25
5.2 Asset and housing management outcomes .....	25
5.3 Social Welfare Outcomes .....	28
5.4 Summary .....	31
6 TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE THE OBJECTIVES OF DIVERSIFICATION BEEN ACHIEVED? THE PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTS .....	33
6.1 Introduction.....	33
6.2 Queensland .....	33
6.3 South Australia .....	35
6.4 West Australia .....	37
6.5 New South Wales.....	39
6.6 Summary of key findings: Have outcomes been achieved for residents? .....	41
7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS .....	46
7.1 Introduction.....	46

7.2	Have the objective of tenure diversification been achieved and what are the perceived benefits and/or disadvantages of the policy? .....	46
7.3	What are the policy and practice implications that flow from the research findings for current and future diversification initiatives? .....	50
	REFERENCES .....	56
	APPENDIX 1:THE CASE STUDY ESTATES .....	57
	APPENDIX 2: 1996 AND 2001 CENSUS PROFILE ANALYSIS FOR CASE STUDY AREAS.....	63

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 4.1: The proportion of public housing in Acacia Ridge and Leichhardt case study areas, 1996.....	15
Figure 4.2: The proportion of public housing in Acacia Ridge and Leichhardt case study areas, 2001.....	15
Figure 4.3: The proportion of public housing in the Westwood case study areas, 1996	17
Figure 4.4: The proportion of public housing in the Westwood case study areas, 2001	18
Figure 4.5: The proportion of public housing in the Kwinana and Queens Park case study areas, 1996.....	19
Figure 4.6: The proportion of public housing in the Kwinana and Queens Park case study areas, 2001.....	20
Figure 4.7: The proportion of public housing in the Lalor Park and Minto case study areas, 1991.....	22
Figure 4.8: The proportion of public housing in the Lalor Park and Minto case study areas, 2001.....	23
Figure A1.1: Location map of the Brisbane case study areas.....	58
Figure A1.2: Location map of the Adelaide Case Study Areas.....	59
Figure A1.3: Location map of the Perth case study areas.....	60
Figure A1.4: Location map of the Sydney case study areas.....	62
Table 5.1: Stated outcomes from diversification (Strategic housing policy and housing management stakeholders).....	27
Table 6.1: Perception of whether the community spirit has improved.....	42
Table 6.2: Number of people known to respondents on their estate.....	43
Number of local contacts.....	43
Table A2.1: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Leichhardt and Acacia Ridge Case Study Areas, 1996-2001.....	63
Table A2.2: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Westwood Precinct No 1 and No.6 Case Study Areas, 1996-2001.....	65
TABLE A2.3: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Kwinana and Queens Park Case Study Areas, 1996-2001.....	67
TABLE A2.4: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Lalor Park and Minto Case Study Areas, 1991-2001.....	69
Table A 2.5: Changes in Brisbane case study areas 1996-2001.....	71
Table A2.6: Changes in Adelaide case study areas 1996-2001.....	73
Table A2.7: Changes in Perth case study areas 1996-2001.....	75
Table A2.8: Changes in Sydney case study areas 1991-2001.....	77

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the last decade, in response to escalating problems of disrepair, social dysfunction and obsolete and poorly located stock, many state housing jurisdictions have introduced policies aimed at restructuring larger public housing estates. This has involved the physical redevelopment of these estates and implementing programs of dwelling and land sales, often in partnership with local government, private sector project managers and developers. By 2003 all SHAs had either implemented or were in the process of implementing estate renewal programs in which stock or land on targeted estates is redeveloped for sale in areas previously dominated by public housing.

The key social repercussion of these policies has been the diversification of housing tenure on these estates from public rental to a position where public housing is usually in a minority and home ownership and, to a lesser extent, private rental, has increased. This tenure diversification process has not only been seen as an important method of releasing the latent land values on these estates to fund the renewal process and revaluing otherwise devalued public housing stock, but has also been closely associated with a range of social benefits for the remaining tenants. An important outcome has been to promote greater social mix in these estates with higher proportions of economically active households moving in, from which a range of social benefits for remaining tenants have been imputed.

This report presents the findings of research that aimed to assess the extent to which the various objectives of tenure diversification policies have been achieved. The objectives of these policies centred on three broad outcome areas: asset management outcomes, housing management outcomes and social welfare outcomes. The research was conducted in four public housing estates undergoing renewal programs and four 'control' estates where no renewal has been undertaken. These estates were located in Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia and West Australia and the research involved focus groups with residents and interviews with stakeholders.

The research found that:

- Asset improvement objectives have been successfully achieved, with all case study renewal estates recording significant uplifts in underlying property values for the new or renovated stock.
- Some stock reconfiguration has been achieved, notable the building of a wider range of housing to replace low density cottage housing and poor quality flats on the renewal estates. No evidence was gathered concerning the effectiveness of investing in new property in high demand locations.
- Concentrations of public housing tenants had fallen significantly in those areas where renewal had been undertaken and the proportion of economically active people had increased in these areas at a rate above local metropolitan averages.
- The objective of reducing concentrations of public housing is widely supported by both stakeholders and tenants, including tenants on the 'control' estates that had not been subject to renewal.
- The associated concept of greater social mix is also widely supported by stakeholders, tenants and others.
- Tenants in the renewal estates reported a significant reduction in the social stigma they felt had previously attached to their estates, although stigma still remained.
- Tenants remaining in the renewal areas were satisfied with the outcomes for them in terms of new housing.

- Major repairs backlogs were being successfully addressed through the renewal work.
- Improvements in local amenity and landscaping have been generally implemented, sometimes in partnership with local councils.
- The case for tenure diversification and greater social mix leading to greater social cohesion was mixed at best. While some tenants felt that community 'spirit' had improved as a result of renewal, there was little clear evidence that social networks between tenants and new owners had developed. However, the renewal process was still in progress in the renewal estates in the study and it remains to be seen whether this situation will change over time.
- Concern was expressed by some tenants and residents about the impact of renewal on the loss of public housing and subsequent repercussions on the housing waiting list for those in housing need.
- The issue of how disruptive tenants were being dealt with emerged as a major concern for tenants and residents. This issue is likely to become more important in mixed tenure estates. The related problem of 'dumping' disruptive tenants from renewal estates in other public housing areas not currently undergoing renewal was also raised.
- Some tenants were dissatisfied about the level of effective participation in estate renewal programs, especially in terms of the decisions about their homes and neighbourhood.
- Evidence for the other proposed social welfare outcomes of renewal for public housing tenants was limited. Few respondents in the study thought there would be direct impacts on the employment opportunities for public tenants on renewal estates. Improvement to local schools was clearly dependent on local circumstances beyond the influence of the renewal process. Reductions in crime and anti-social behaviour were perceived to have occurred by tenants, although systematic evidence across all the estates studied was not forthcoming. Improvements to local shops in one estate had occurred, but this was part of an integrated local renewal strategy rather than a spontaneous response to the renewal itself. Other renewal estates did not report any immediate impact on local services, although transitional problems had been experienced by local businesses as demand had dropped while the area was being redeveloped. The impact on locally provided welfare and social services was unclear, although there were concerns that the drop in client base would make locally based service providers unviable in the future.

The lack of extensive social welfare outcomes does not necessarily equate to a disappointment over the outcomes of renewal policies for those involved. In fact, not one focus group from the renewal estates offered a gloomy outlook on the future. Half of the groups imagined a positive future and others had mixed views at worse. What this finding does signal, however, is that many of the wider social and community benefits claimed for tenure diversification and social mix simply are not likely outcomes of a process that essentially focuses on physical renewal and the replacement of one community by another, much more mixed one. There is no hard evidence, yet, that social integration will necessarily occur or that significant social welfare outcomes will eventuate simply by changing the tenure structure or widening the social mix of an area, at least not for some time to come.

This should not necessarily be seen as a failure of renewal programs. Rather it indicates that housing authorities should be more cautious about promoting their renewal policies as being other than an honest attempt to address chronic asset and housing management problems in a highly constrained financial environment. The major social benefit for the remaining tenants is the opportunity to live in a less

stigmatised environment. This in itself should be taken as a major success for the policies.

However, longer term housing management issues remain, particularly the impact on housing management costs of a more widely dispersed housing stock and heightened tenant management issues in mixed tenure areas. The uncertainty of relying on market forces to drive the renewal process and the associated need to manage both the expectations of tenants, new residents and the risks to housing management are further issues that housing authorities may need to address as renewal programs mature.

A range of policy implications and issues is discussed in the final chapter of the report which suggests housing authorities will need to closely monitor the outcomes on these estates for tenants and other residents.



# 1 INTRODUCTION

Over the last ten years, State Housing Authorities (SHAs) around Australia have sought solutions to three fundamental, and interrelated, problems they face as the major providers of subsidised affordable housing. The first concerns the long term and structural decline in real terms in the level of support from governments at both state and federal levels under successive Commonwealth State Housing Agreements (CSHA) to provide major capital funding for public housing, coupled with an income-based rent system that delivers a steadily declining proportion of the costs of management and repairs. The result has been an escalating major repairs and stock redundancy problem. The second concerns the outcomes of two decades of increased targeting of public housing on those in highest need which has resulted in the larger housing estates becoming neighbourhoods characterised by high levels of social disadvantage and, in some cases, dysfunction, highly dependent on welfare incomes – the so called residualisation problem. The third refers to the shift in demand for public housing in the last twenty years, again partly a result of targeting, to smaller and often older households and to new locations where demand has risen but stocks of appropriate public housing are low – the stock miss-match problem.

In response to these problems, over the last decade many state housing jurisdictions have seen the introduction of policies aimed at restructuring public housing estates. This has involved the physical redevelopment of the larger estates and programs of dwelling and land sales. By 2003 all SHAs had either implemented or were in the process of implementing estate renewal programs in which stock or land on targeted estates is redeveloped for sale to home owners in areas where public housing previously predominated.

The intended outcomes of this activity are basically twofold. The first is to generate capital receipts that will fund upgrading of the remaining stock or the reinvestment in more appropriate stock, possibly in locations where demand has shifted. This policy approach can be seen as an inevitable outcome of the need for SHAs to use their existing housing and land assets to effect stock renewal and restructuring that cannot be funded in any other way under the present CSHA funding arrangements. The second is to break up concentrations of disadvantaged public tenants in the belief that the social benefits of this de-concentration will reduce overall social dysfunction and aid the better reintegration of these disadvantaged households into the social mainstream with a resulting implicit saving in housing management and social expenditures.

This report presents the findings of a research project that sought to detail the policies of estate renewal and redevelopment that have included the explicit aim of diversifying concentrations of public housing through sales to home ownership. This Final Report builds on the earlier AHURI Positioning Paper, which provided a detailed literature and policy review of tenure diversification policies in Australia and overseas. Some of the main findings of this review are presented in Chapter 2 of this report to set the context for the remainder of the report.

The research set out to address the following research questions:

- What has been the extent of tenure diversification in public housing estates across Australia and how do these initiatives vary?
- What are the espoused objectives for this activity?
- Have the objectives of diversification been achieved, including the notion that tenure mixing has led to greater social mix and beneficial social interaction on these estates?

- What are the perceived benefits and/or disadvantages of diversification for both stakeholders and residents on estates where the policy has been implemented?
- What are the policy and practice implications that flow from the research findings for current and future diversification initiatives?

This report presents an assessment of these research questions from an empirical study of eight neighbourhoods: two each in New South Wales (NSW), Queensland, West Australia (WA) and South Australia (SA). A summary description of the renewal and control estates is given in Appendix 1. Chapter 2 summarises and, to a degree, updates the discussion of the objectives and methods of tenure diversification presented in the earlier Positioning Paper. This is followed by an account of the research methods used in the research and a specification of the research questions in Chapter 3. The main body of the report – Chapters 4 to 6 – presents the findings from the research. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of changes in the tenure and social profile of the case study estates using census data for collector districts that broadly define the estate. This chapter, together with Appendix 1, addresses the question concerning the extent of tenure diversification in the case study estates chosen for this research. Chapter 5 reviews the findings from in-depth interviews held with a series of key stakeholders in each state, including housing professionals, local non-profit agencies and others involved in the renewal process. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the twelve resident focus groups held on both the diversified and control estates. Finally, chapter 7 pulls together the main findings of the research to address the remaining key research questions the study set out to answer and presents a range of implications for policy and practice from the findings.

## **2 BACKGROUND**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a summary of the initial research conducted for the Positioning Paper previously submitted for this project. The Positioning Paper broadly covered the first three objectives of the research by documenting the background to estate renewal and tenure diversification policies and programs currently in operation across Australia and the objectives and aims of these policies. In addition, it provided a review of the literature on the outcomes of such policies, including an extensive discussion of evidence from overseas, where diversification programs have been implemented in a number of countries, as well as the available evidence from Australia as to the local impacts. Finally, the Positioning Paper discussed in detail the issue of social mix and the social benefits to tenants that are said to flow from tenure diversification policies. The full Positioning Paper can be accessed via the AHURI website at: [www.ahuri.edu.au](http://www.ahuri.edu.au).

### **2.2 Tenure diversification in practice**

Policies of tenure diversification in Australia have mainly taken the form of sales of existing, refurbished or redeveloped stock into home ownership, although transfers of housing management (and stock in some cases) to community housing providers has also been pursued as an alternative option in NSW. This policy has often been linked to notions of introducing greater choice in housing opportunities in these areas, leading to a broader social mix. Such policies have been actively pursued in a number of States. These include, for example, the New Living Program being undertaken by the Ministry of Housing in Western Australia, HomesWest, the various Urban Improvement Programs undertaken by the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT) and initiatives such as the Inala and Leichhardt Urban Renewal projects by the Queensland Department of Housing (Queensland DoH). In New South Wales, considerable activity has been undertaken as part of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program which ran from 1995 to 1999 to bring forward stock sales in key estates (Randolph, *et al*, 2001), although here, as in Victoria, large scale stock disposal is only now being actively pursued as part of estate redevelopment strategies.

Tenure diversification in Australia has largely been associated with predominantly asset-based approaches to the problems of the larger public housing estates involving investment in the physical infrastructure – housing improvements and environmental work often rectifying design defects and addressing safety and security issues. A major strand in this approach has been the re-modelling of estates through demolition, sales and redevelopment.

Three states have pursued vigorous tenure diversification and estate renewal policies over the last decade: South Australia, Queensland and West Australia. All three are the subject of the research reported here. Diversification policy in these states has normally involved the sale or transfer of stock or cleared sites to external developers, often in partnership arrangements with a private project manager who takes the lead in the renewal and marketing process. New South Wales and Victoria are only now beginning major programs of estate renewal and sales.

### **2.3 What are the objectives of tenure diversification?**

Tenure diversification has become an essential element in addressing a range of inter-related objectives for SHAs involved in reconfiguring their housing portfolios and addressing housing management problems in recent years. These objectives include:

- Improving the value of the remaining public stock on these estates by creating market conditions where values rise, thereby improving the underlying financial viability of public housing portfolios;

- Enabling stock reconfiguration to better match current demand requirements (for example, for smaller dwellings) and also greater dispersal of new stock to avoid large scale concentrations in the future;
- Addressing the longer term major repairs and poor amenity standards of ageing stock through renovation and replacement;
- Addressing entrenched housing management problems (such as rent arrears, poor housing maintenance, vandalism, etc.) by reducing the concentration of disadvantaged households in any one area;
- Breaking up concentrations of public housing to achieve a more balanced social profile or social mix in the new communities that are created;
- Encouraging wider housing choice through home ownership and alternative housing assistance options for lower income households.

While not all these have been invoked by every housing jurisdiction at the same time, this list indicates the wide variety of benefits that policy makers have advanced to justify the process of diversification, both in Australia and overseas.

In addition, these kinds of diversification programs have also often been associated with broader social or community development policies specifically aimed at strengthening community cohesion or social wellbeing. At times, it is at least implied that diversification can assist in developing stronger, more resilient communities through the supposed benefits of greater social mix.

The benefits of social mix which are said to flow from tenure diversification include:

- Promotion of greater social interaction and social cohesion;
- Better community “balance”
- Encouragement of mainstream norms and values;
- Creation of social capital;
- Overcoming place-based stigma;
- Improved non-shelter outcomes:
  - Opening up of job opportunities;
  - Attracting additional services to the neighbourhood;
  - Reduced crime and anti-social behaviour;
  - Improved educational opportunities;
- Leading to sustainability of renewal/regeneration initiatives;

However, the extent to which diversification, which by its very nature leads to the break up of existing communities, actually assists in community strengthening and community building is open to question.

In general, however, there has been a noticeable evolution of estate renewal policy in Australia from early schemes which essentially were attempts to get to grips with a situation of deteriorating and inappropriate assets in poor locations, or in locations that were under pressure from higher densities of public housing. All the programs of urban renewal that have been the focus of this research (excluding NSW) were basically predicated on asset management strategies in the first instance. In most cases, while there may not have been an explicit policy to redevelop for sale, certainly by the early 1990s this had become a major element of the policy equation. In many ways, this might be considered as simply a resumption of longstanding build for sale and sales to tenants policies that had been a major component of most state housing authority’s

activities from the mid-1950s (Hayward, 1996). Sales in renewal areas were simply a continuation of such activity transposed to redevelopment estates.

The focus on sales, in the first instance, therefore appears to be predominately in order to realise land values, to improve the valuations of the remaining stock, to reduce densities of public housing and to implement policies which sought to 'normalise' the tenure mix in public housing estates, often associated with explicit targets to which the stock would be reduced in an area. The link between tenure diversification, social mix, and the assumed broader social and community benefits was not necessarily present in the early formulations of these renewal programs, but has certainly become a prominent theme in recent years. The more or less explicit connection between tenure diversification and the supposed benefit of social mix seems to have accompanied the broadening of renewal strategies to include a wider range of social and community renewal activities, especially since the mid-1990s. This implies that social mix has to be seen more in terms of the positive benefits it may generate for housing management problems on larger estates, than on concerns about 'balanced communities' *per se*. Moreover, it is not at all clear that social mix approaches have been justified on a clear evidence base as to the real benefits from this strategy for either remaining tenants or those displaced to other areas (presumably at lower densities of public housing).

While all four States included in this study have identified deconcentration and social mix through tenure diversification as a key asset strategy at some time over the past decade, in some of these, renewal programs have been accompanied by a more or less explicit policy of not only reducing concentrations of public housing, but also reducing the overall stock of public housing (at least up to the recent past). In others, there has either been a policy to use capital receipts from the renewal process to reconfigure the public housing stock or to ensure the overall stock does not decline substantially, with a stated intention to reinvest in new housing stock in other locations, although it is rarely possible to do this on a one-to-one replacement basis.

In summary, then it is possible to suggest that the principle benefits of these strategies for housing authorities appear to fall into three broad outcome areas:

#### *Asset management outcomes*

- Creating the conditions within estates where property values rise leading to improved stock valuations for the remaining public housing and overall asset enhancement (stock revaluation).
- Portfolio reconfiguration, especially in terms of disinvest stock that is perceived to be obsolete or with high maintenance costs and restructuring the stock mix and location to match emerging patterns of demand, often through a process called 'asset farming' where higher value stock is sold to generate revenue for new stock development (stock realignment).

#### *Housing management outcomes*

- Reduced concentrations of public housing towards much lower 'average' levels across targeted suburbs (dispersing disadvantage).
- Improved housing management outcomes from a reduction of tenant based problems associated with larger concentrations of public housing (managing residualisation).

#### *Social welfare outcomes*

- Reductions in wider social expenditures on welfare support in the renewal areas (generating service efficiencies).

- Anticipated positive social outcomes for remaining tenants in communities with a more 'normal' social profile: reduced stigma, stronger social networks, improved access to services and employment (tackling social exclusion).

These objectives will form the basis of the assessment of outcomes to be addressed in the remainder of this report, although the emphasis is on the social outcomes associated with the third of these outcome areas.

## **2.4 What evidence is there that social mix objectives can be achieved through tenure diversification?**

Before proceeding, it is worth reviewing whether previous research on this issue has revealed about the ability of renewal programs to achieve these kinds of outcomes. Empirical research in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States on the practice of tenure diversification has raised doubts about the achievement of these outcomes, although it has confirmed others. On the whole, the doubts seem to dominate. For example, in the UK research has questioned the extent to which tenure diversification has resulted in higher levels of social interaction between renters and owner-occupiers. Atkinson and Kintrea's (2001) study of three diversified estates in Scotland revealed that owners occupied largely different social worlds, spending much of their time away from the estates and using local facilities far less than renters. There was also little evidence of inter-tenure socialising. A similar picture can be found in Jupp's (1999) study where it was found that most relatively new mixed estates were not characterised by inclusive social networks.

While similar research in Australia has yet to emerge, there is, for example, evidence that existing residents resent the introduction of what they perceive to be more affluent households into their estates. Arthurson notes how an evaluation of a regeneration project in Adelaide found that public housing tenants were sceptical about whether homeowners would want to live next to them (Arthurson, 2002). In reality, integration may lead to increased tensions rather than social cohesion or more harmonious integration.

The notion that tenure diversification opens up job opportunities rests primarily on the assertion that by introducing employed owner-occupiers into a neighbourhood, isolated tenants have the opportunity to broaden their employment horizons. While there is some empirical evidence to show that there are reductions in joblessness associated with the introduction of owner-occupation, this is normally linked with the 'dilution' effect of importing employed people onto estates rather than through an increase in opportunities for unemployed tenants to access the job market (Tarlin, *et al*, 1999; Scottish Homes, 1999).

In contrast, there is support in the UK literature for tenure diversification as a strategy for overcoming stigma (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). Renewal was seen to have led to a more positive attitude to the renewed estates and tenants were very much aware of this. This in part may be a function of the positive attitudes engendered among residents on estates that have finally had major renewal undertaken after many years of neglect. However, Wood and Vamplew (1999) demonstrated that tenure diversification on historically disadvantaged estates in Northern England was not a sufficient condition for overcoming stigma, but it may well be a necessary one.

In relation to public services, the evidence for benefits for remaining tenants is also unclear. Often specialist services are targeted directly at those localities with the greatest need. If tenure diversification changes the social mix and reduces the concentration of those in greatest need, welfare resources and services might be lost, to the potential detriment of those disadvantaged households remaining in the area.

Promoting social mix together with other 'community building' initiatives, it is often argued, will lead to sustainable renewal (Schoon, 2001). The idea is that socially mixed communities are more likely to ensure that the 'gains' that have been made through

physical renewal are maintained. The focus on community building is by no means unanimous, however, and a recent tendency is to question some of the underlying suppositions. A critical question in relation to many of the community building initiatives on Australian public housing estates also undergoing tenure diversification activity is the extent to which the latter actively contradicts the objectives of the former. Trying to build communities through the social and economic initiatives generally adopted in estate improvement programs while dismantling the existing community through redevelopment and dispersal is hardly conducive to achieving the usual goals of social and community capacity building *in situ*, but simply shift the problems to other areas. As Randolph has noted in relation to Australian urban renewal programs:

Put simply, urban renewal programs address some of the physical symptoms of disadvantage but not the underlying causes – [the] social and economic marginalisation of the populations on these estates. In other words, these kinds of renewal schemes *improve the place but at the expense of the community* (Randolph, 2000, p11, original emphasis).

There are other potentially negative consequences of tenure diversification policies. The most obvious is the reduction of the overall supply of public housing that often results and the impact this has on both waiting lists and potential transfer opportunities for existing tenants. The former is probably the most important. However, no evidence as to the impact on waiting lists of tenure mix policies has emerged.

The dispersal of tenants displaced as a consequence of the activity of renewal and redevelopment is sometimes claimed to have a positive benefits in terms of the greater access to the kinds of services and opportunities living in more ‘balanced’ communities may provide the displaced tenants, not least in simply living in a more ‘normal’ neighbourhood. Parry and Strommen’s (2001) research in West Australia offers support for this position, with the majority of tenants in their survey of renewal areas, including those who had moved away, reporting positive benefits of the process. On the other hand, Arthurson (2002) notes how relocated public tenants in Adelaide have experienced feelings of social isolation in some cases. At worse, relocated tenants may suffer greater levels of social exclusion from the new community they find themselves in compared to the more cohesive community they have been displaced from. All these aspects of the impact on tenants and potential tenants resulting for tenure diversification have yet to be fully studied.

Comparable policies have been prominent in the United States. In the US the introduction of social mix through the redevelopment of public housing, has primarily been achieved through the Federal HOPE VI program, began in 1993. Here, severely disadvantaged public housing estates are in part or totally demolished and renewed using planning and implementation grants, while in some cases tenants are provided with Section 8 vouchers to allow them to move out into the private sector. Demolition to reduce physical concentrations of stock is a common approach, with renewal at lower densities. HOPE VI funding has been used extensively to create mixed income redevelopment, although the level of income mixing varies. The presence of higher income renters allows additional private funding to be attracted to the redevelopment, including Low Income Housing Tax Credits and bank mortgages (Schwartz and Tajbakhsh, 1997).

The presumed benefits that flow from mixed income developments in the US closely parallel those cited for mixed tenure development in Australia. But once again, evidence of the benefits and outcomes is mixed. In a study of 9200 mixed income multifamily Federally funded housing projects, Khadduri and Martin (1997) conclude that successful mixed income housing was more likely to succeed in low poverty neighbourhoods than in high poverty areas. They also conclude that mixed income projects might work in high poverty areas only in tight market conditions where there is

little alternative accommodation for working households, or where recent immigrants are willing to rent assisted housing in poor areas as a first rung on the housing ladder.

In evaluating a prominent renewal scheme in Chicago, Rosenbaum, *et al* (1998) tested three propositions: whether there was increased social interaction between the low and moderate income groups; whether moderate income groups actively contributed to the support of management outcomes; and whether there was a positive effect on employment outcomes for low income tenants. While the project did succeed in attracting moderate income residents and broadly similar proportions of both groups participated in the maintenance and upkeep of the property, low income residents were less likely to interact with the moderate income group, and employment rates fell among both groups after moving in.

Swartz and Tajbakhsh (1997) argue that the success of socially mixed development is critically dependent on a large number of factors: the location and size of the development, its design, condition and amenities and other social and demographic attributes (ethnic composition, for example). Any one of these could militate against a successful outcome in terms of attracting higher income residents. The state of the local and regional housing market was also an important factor. The opportunity of alternative accommodation for these groups will affect demand, and mix will be difficult to achieve in weak markets. They concluded that the evidence for the success of project-based social mix renewal had yet to be established. The importance of housing market conditions in generating positive outcomes through renewal has also been stressed by Brophy and Smith (1997) who also emphasised the effect of location on successful mixed income development. The stronger the local housing market, the better chance mixed income developments will succeed, as middle income market rate renters have fewer alternatives. Design quality, high quality management and maintenance and strong financial viability were also very important. They also found that the level of interaction between different income groups in these development was "minimal". Importantly, they concluded that upward mobility of low-income residents needed more than just social mix, but rather activities that are specifically aimed as creating opportunities for these residents to gain access to jobs and higher incomes. Finally, McClure (2000) has suggested that the social impacts of mixed tenure schemes will only eventuate over the longer term: short-term benefits are unlikely.

Much less attention has been paid in the academic literature to the benefits to landlords of adopting tenure diversification policies. This is perhaps surprising, given the importance of asset management as a key stimulant to estate renewal. In a recent study in the UK, Martin and Watkinson (2003) surveyed a sample of local authorities and housing associations to establish the proportion of social landlords who have adopted tenure diversification strategies in the last decade. They found over half those that responded to the survey reported that new estate developments were being built on a mixed tenure basis. They also found that among local authority landlords, asset management strategies were the dominant drivers to tenure diversification on existing estates. These drivers included the need to respond to falling demand for public housing, the desire to avoid the high costs of major repairs, or to reduce housing management problems. The potential benefits in terms of greater social sustainability were largely reported as "add ons" to support the asset based intentions. On the other hand, housing associations landlords were more likely to report that social objectives were central to the reasons they committed to tenure mix approaches. This difference in perspective may stem from the fact that local authorities are often faced with major repairs costs for old and run down housing, while the housing association stock is usually more recent and less subject to major repair problems. Nevertheless, both types of landlord reported benefits, typically in terms of improved local property prices, higher satisfaction ratings among remaining tenants, reduced turnover, increased demand for lettings, and reduced stigma or increased reputation of the estate. However, empirical evidence for these beneficial effects is not presented.



In the US, similar supply side drivers are also evident. Khadduri and Martin (1997) note that the problem of expiring federal subsidy programs in the 1990s forced the issue of the costs of long term maintenance onto the agenda for public housing authorities in the US, prompting a call for the disposal or market leasing of stock as a response. In addition, the introduction of higher income rent payers into the public stock able to pay unsubsidised rents makes financial sense for public landlords, allowing cross-subsidy to flow to lower income tenants. This issue is also mentioned by Schwartz and Tajbakahsh (1997) who note that some proponents of socially mixed development assume that such schemes require a smaller public subsidy than traditional public housing. However, there appears to be little published US research into the specific financial or management benefits that public landlords have gained from renewal activity leading to social mix.

The evidence to date on the impacts of tenure diversification and social mix policies in public housing estates in the US, UK and Australia is therefore mixed at best. There is evidence that stigma is reduced, but the other broader social benefits have not yet shown to have been achieved in most cases. The US evidence strongly suggests the prevailing state of the local housing market in which the renewed estate is located clearly plays an important role and this is likely to be important in the Australian context given the predominantly market driven basis for estate renewal here. This suggests factors well outside the control of the housing authority are critical to achieving successful social outcomes.

## **3 THE RESEARCH METHOD**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The complexity of the processes that are associated with estate renewal through tenure diversification outlined above suggest evaluating the outcomes will be difficult. In addition, the literature review in Chapter 2 highlighted a gap between the expressed aims of tenure diversification policies and the research evidence as to whether these aims have been achieved in various jurisdictions. This was particularly true of the social outcomes which have been subject to greatest research testing, and which form the main focus of this research project.

The research for this project was been devised to test these claims in the context of current tenure diversification policies in four States: New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland and West Australia.

The research method adopted employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches, although the primary data was collected with a qualitative fieldwork focus.

### **3.2 Research Questions revisited**

The research questions were further refined during the writing of the Position Paper to better define the outcomes areas that needed to be addressed. Drawing on the summary presented in Chapter 2 above, the following reviews these questions and indicates where they are addressed in the following report

- What has been the extent of tenure diversification in public housing estates across Australia and how do these initiatives vary?

This question was addressed more directly in the Positioning Paper but the policy context for renewal in the four States on which this research focused is summarised in Chapter 2 above. The evidence of the extent of diversification on the renewal estates reviewed for this research is assessed in Chapter 4.

- What are the espoused objectives for this activity?

The overall objectives are discussed and summarised in Chapter 2 above. The objectives of renewal for the case study estates reviewed for this research are outlined in more detail in Chapters 5.

- Have the objectives of diversification been achieved, including the notion that tenure mixing has led to greater social mix and beneficial social interaction on these estates?

Following from the typology of stated benefits of diversification presented in Chapter 2, the following more detailed outcome areas were defined and formed the basis of the subsequent research:

1. Asset management outcomes
  - 1.1. Stock revaluation
  - 1.2. Stock rationalisation and realignment
2. Housing management outcomes
  - 2.1. Reduced concentrations
  - 2.2. Improved management of tenant based problems

3. Social welfare outcomes
  - 3.1. Greater social mix and improved community balance
  - 3.2. Greater social cohesion and engagement
  - 3.3. Reduced stigma
  - 3.4. Improved employment outcomes
  - 3.5. Reduced crime and social behaviour
  - 3.6. Improved local services

The findings of the research in relation to these outcome areas are addressed in Chapters 5 and 6.

- What are the perceived benefits and/or disadvantages of diversification for both stakeholders and residents on estates where the policy has been implemented?

This question is also addressed in Chapters 5 and 6 and summarised in Chapter 7

- What are the policy and practice implications that flow from the research findings for current and future diversification initiatives?

This question is addressed in Chapter 7.

### **3.3 Identification of Case Study Estates**

The empirical research initially focused on identifying eight case study estates, two in each of the four case study States. In all cases the estates were located in metropolitan areas to minimise travel costs. These estates were chosen to include one estate per State where urban renewal and tenure diversification policies had been implemented, and one 'control' estate where no tenure diversification had taken place to date. This approach worked well in South Australia, Queensland and West Australia, where estate renewal and tenure diversification programs had been actively pursued in the last decade or so. However, in New South Wales, where comparable estate renewal programs involving tenure diversification through redevelopment and sales has only just begun, a different approach was adopted. Here, an estate that had undergone a long standing process of sales to tenants but without a major change in the immediate social mix was chosen as the case study estate, together with a control estate where an active renewal process was just about to be implemented, but where no sales had occurred due to this estate being developed on a single "superlot" specifically to impair sales of individually titled properties. Therefore, the NSW case studies were conducted under a different policy context. It was hoped that this would allow some conclusion to be drawn about the relative impacts of *in situ* diversification where sitting tenants were the principle beneficiaries of sales, together with an estate where redevelopment was just about to commence.

The process of case study selection was conducted in close liaison with the project reference panel members in each of the four SHAs. In effect, the choice of the case study estates was jointly agreed to provide the best examples of estate renewal to explore the research questions. This liaison process resulted in the following estates being chosen:

New South Wales:

- Lalor Park (diversified estate)
- Minto (control estate)

Queensland

- Leichardt (diversified estate)
- Acacia Ridge (control estate)

## South Australia

- Precinct 1 Westwood (diversified estate)
- Precinct 6 Westwood (control estate)

## West Australia

- Kwinana (diversified estate)
- Queens Park (control estate)

In South Australia, due to the extensive renewal program across metropolitan Adelaide, it was decided to site both focus groups at the Westwood estate. This renewal project is large enough to allow for Precinct 1, which has been extensively renewed in the recent past, to be used for the 'diversified' focus group, and Precinct 6, which has not yet undergone renewal to be used for the 'control' estate. In both Queensland and West Australia the case study renewal estates and un-redeveloped control estates were in separate locations. A full description of the case study estates is given in Appendix 1.

The case study estates were also selected on the basis that they comprised Census Collector Districts (CDs) that had not been extensively diversified at the time of the 1996 census (see below). The exception was Lalor Park in NSW where sales had taken place over a number of decades, and so a 1996 baseline was not relevant and a 1991 baseline was adopted to give a longer time period to chart tenure changes. Particular stress was placed on ensuring that the selected localities had not been affected by other major community building interventions or by other significant local housing developments. However, in practice this aspect of the selection criteria proved difficult to guarantee as most diversification initiatives had also been associated with other social and community interventions.

### **3.4 Qualitative fieldwork**

The qualitative components included key actor interviews in each state and focus groups in diversified case study areas. The aim here was to clarify the nature of any changes that have occurred, to ascertain how local people make sense of these changes and explore the extent to which any changes in social outcomes are attributable to tenure diversification.

#### **Stakeholder interviews**

A series of semi-structured in-depth interviews were completed with key stakeholders in the relevant SHAs and at local level for each case study diversified estate to explore a range of outcomes and perceptions concerning the impact of the diversification process and the attainment of stated objectives. Stakeholders included both strategic policy officers in the respective SHA and local housing management staff in both the SHA and associated agencies involved in aspects of community and estate renewal in the case study areas. A list of up to five stakeholders was agreed with the local contact person in the respective State Housing Authority. In the event, a total of 21 stakeholders were interviewed. They included a policy officer in each housing jurisdiction to present a strategic overview of the renewal process and the local or area housing manager of each renewal estate to gain the landlords' perspective. The other stakeholders were determined on advice from local SHA contacts and varied between case studies. These included community development officers, community and tenants' representatives, renewal project officers and representatives from the private sector and developers involved in delivering the programs on the ground.

## **Focus Groups**

In addition, three focus groups were undertaken in each state: a group of tenants and a group of new owners for each diversified estate that had undergone renewal and diversification, and a third group of tenants on the unimproved control estates. The focus groups aimed to provide a deeper understanding of the experience of living in a neighbourhood that has been the subject of diversification from the perspective of local residents.

The data gathered from both the interviews and focus groups was subjected to textual analysis and review set against the interview templates devised by research team. In both cases, questions were asked to obtain overall attitudes to the renewal process and aspects of change on the estate, with particular attention paid to questions concerning the social impacts of renewal. In the case of stakeholders, additional information was sought on the objectives of the renewal program, the processes involved and whether the objectives had been met to date. All fieldwork was conducted in the last quarter of 2002.

## **3.5 Quantitative analysis**

The quantitative element of the study involved an analysis and comparison of data from the 1996 and 2001 Censuses to identify the extent of tenure and social changes between these two dates in each of case study estates. The only exception to this was for Lalor Park in NSW where the 1991 and 2001 Censuses were taken to provide a longer time period for changes to be measures given the longer term the sitting tenant sales policy has been operating. Additional data on monitoring of other trends and outcomes for these estates was sought from each state housing authority (for example housing management data and crime statistics), but in the event these data were not available on a systematic basis for all States and this component of the data collection exercise was discarded. Where such data were provided, this has been incorporated into the analysis presented below.

## **4 WHAT HAS BEEN THE EXTENT AND IMPACT OF TENURE DIVERSIFICATION ON THE CASE STUDY ESTATES?**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the changing characteristics of the eight case study areas using ABS Census data between 1996 and 2001 to answer the second of the key research questions, namely the extent to which tenure diversification has taken place on these estates. The renewal programs in West Australia, South Australia and Queensland examined in this research have all been implemented during this period. The period 1991 to 2001 has been taken for the NSW case studies to reflect the longer period sales to sitting tenants have been underway here. Each estate has been defined by a group of contiguous Collector Districts that have been matched for both Censuses. The aim is to assess the actual impacts of diversification in the period between these two dates on the social composition of the target diversified estates. The trends in these diversified estates have been contrasted to comparable data for the control estates and to the trends within the wider metropolitan areas in which the estates are located. In essence, each of the renewal and diversified areas should have lost a proportion of their public housing following the renewal process, whereas the 'control areas' had retained the majority of their public housing stock. Associated with these changes in tenure, it might be supposed that a number of other key social indicators will also have changed, such as an increase in the proportion of the population in employment, a shift to higher income and status occupations among the employed population, and a change in household composition (especially away from those categories most associated with public housing, such as single parents). In order to illustrate changes, the analysis focuses on a limited number of key indicators including: housing tenure, economic activity, occupation of working adults, and people with university qualifications. The data on which the following analysis is based can be found at Appendix 2.

### **4.2 Queensland Case Study Areas**

In 2001, the Leichhardt case study area (the renewal area) contained 1,386 households while the Acacia Ridge area (the control area) had 1,908 households. Table 4.1 sets out the data for both areas defined by their 1996 and 2001 Census Collector Districts, and Figures 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the changing density of public housing between these two years.

The Census analysis confirms a differential loss of public housing in these two areas. Between 1996 and 2001, the numbers of public housing in Leichhardt fell by 93 dwellings, or 21 per cent, and from 33 per cent of all dwellings to 25 per cent. This is clearly shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. This compares to a decline of 23 publicly rented dwellings in Acacia Ridge. Significantly, in Leichhardt the shift away from public housing has been accompanied by an increase in the numbers of home owners (from 45 per cent to 56 per cent), while in Acacia Ridge the percentage of home owners and buyers fell (from 55 per cent to 52 per cent), and the shift in tenure has been towards private rental

**Figure 4.1: The proportion of public housing in Acacia Ridge and Leichhardt case study areas, 1996**



**Figure 4.2: The proportion of public housing in Acacia Ridge and Leichhardt case study areas, 2001**



In Leichhardt the proportion of one-parent families fell from 26 to 22 per cent, compared to little change in Acacia Ridge and a marginal increase across Brisbane. The proportion of the adult population in employment increased from 80 to 88 per cent in Leichhardt, compared to no change in Acacia Ridge, and a marginal increase in Brisbane as a whole.

At the same time, Leichhardt recorded a decline in the proportion number of unemployed persons between 1996 and 2001 from 21 to 16 per cent, while the proportion of persons unemployed in Acacia Ridge remained relatively stable and the proportion fell marginally across Brisbane overall. Despite this, the unemployment rate in Leichhardt remained significantly higher than the Brisbane figure.

While both case study areas experienced increases in the number of separated or divorced people, the proportional increase in Leichhardt was lower than that in Acacia Ridge. The numbers and proportion of Indigenous people fell in Leichhardt, while they increased in both Acacia Ridge and Brisbane as a whole.

The proportion of persons with a university degree in both Leichhardt and Acacia Ridge (4 per cent in 2001) is three times lower than the proportion of persons with a university across Brisbane (14 per cent). The proportion of adults with university qualifications only increased marginally in Leichhardt (from 3 per cent in 1996) and remained static in Acacia Ridge. Moreover, there is no indication that the working population in Leichhardt has shifted towards a higher skilled or professionalised workforce as a result of tenure diversification. The greatest changes in the occupational profile of the areas was a loss of tradespersons (from 21 to 16 per cent) and increases in elementary clerical and sales workers and labourers (from 26 to 31 per cent in all). The implication is that the working population attracted to the area as a result of renewal has been comprised largely of the lower skilled, not a middle or higher income population.

While not achieving the average profile of Brisbane as a whole, it is clear the Leichhardt underwent significant social changes in the five years to 2001, a clear reflection of the impact of renewal and sales in the area. These trends contrasted to the relative lack of change in the control estate and more pronounced changes than that experienced for Brisbane as a whole. However, the shift in tenure structure appears to have been accompanied by an increase in lower skilled working people in the area rather than a distinct move upwards in the skills of the working population. This might be taken as an indication that the renewal of the area has benefited the affordable housing choices of lower income working households. However, there is no direct evidence that this is the case, and further research on this aspect of the impact of renewal would be needed to explore this conjecture.

### **4.3 South Australia Case Study Areas**

The case study areas selected for Adelaide were both Precincts located in the Westwood renewal area. Precinct 1 (the renewal area) case study area accounted for 419 households in 2001, compared to 626 in Precinct 6 (the control area).

The impact of tenure diversification in Precinct 1 is clear from Figure 4.3 and 4.4, which show the changes in public housing stock between these two years in both case study areas. The renewal process was still underway in mid-2001, which is reflected in the overall loss of 261 households between the two census dates, a fall of 38 per cent. However, the loss of public housing has been substantial, falling from 492 dwellings in 1996 to 157 in 2001, and the proportion of stock falling from 72 per cent to 38 per cent. In contrast the number of homeowners has increased from 111 to 208, and overall increase of almost 90 per cent, and from 17 per cent of the total to 50 per cent (of a much reduced total dwelling number). In comparison, dwelling and tenure changes in Precinct 6 have been marginal. There has clearly been a major shift in the balance of stock between the tenures in this Precinct 1. The data confirm that this has been largely as a result of a loss of semi-detached and flatted property.

Turning to social profiles, there was a small decline in the proportions of single parents in Precinct 1 compared to a substantial increase in Precinct 2. Similarly, there was an increase in the proportion of adults who were employed (from 71 to 85 per cent) compared to a marginal increase in Precinct 6. In fact, the unemployment rate among adults fell by almost half in Precinct 1, from 29 per cent to 15 per cent, while there was little change in Precinct 6. Finally, in some contrast to the Leichhardt case, Precinct 1



also saw a large jump in numbers of managers, administrators and professionals compared to Precinct 6, and a substantial fall in proportions of intermediate production and transport workers and labourers.

These data confirm that the socio-economic profile of Westwood Precinct 1 has undergone a substantial change that is clearly associated with the renewal of the area and the loss of public housing tenants. While the population of the area had fallen dramatically as a result of demolition and clearance, there is little doubt as to the effectiveness of the new home owners in changing the composition of the local community, with higher levels of economic engagements, and higher skilled and professional occupations, albeit from a low starting point. Indicators reflective of the 'traditional' public housing sector, including single parents, unemployed and Indigenous people had fallen. In some contrast, Precinct 6 had experienced little relative change in its population characteristics, and if anything had seen some indicators worsen compared to Adelaide as a whole.

**Figure 4.3: The proportion of public housing in the Westwood case study areas, 1996**



**Figure 4.4: The proportion of public housing in the Westwood case study areas, 2001**



#### **4.4 Western Australia Case Study Areas**

In 2001 the Kwinana case study area (the renewal area) was home to 5,315 households, of which only 384 (7 per cent) were in public ownership, while the much smaller Queens Park area (the control area) housed 407 households, over half of whom were public tenants (59 per cent). The relatively small proportion of public tenants in Kwinana makes the interpretation of the changes as being driven by the renewal program difficult.

The Kwinana case study area recorded a decline in the proportion of public housing between 1996 and 2001, from 14 per cent in the study area to 7 per cent (a loss of 282 units), as illustrated in Figures 4.5 and 4.6. In Queens Park the proportion of public housing declined from 71 to 60 per cent (although this only amounted to a loss of 27 units and may well have been simply due to an increase in vacant properties and an increase in the not stated category). While homeownership jumped by 579 households in Kwinana, the numbers in private rental also increased (from 13 to 15 per cent, or 180 dwellings). Tenure changes in Queens Park were modest, but with private rental also increasing, against the slight fall in the proportions of private rental in Perth as a whole. Against the general trends on other diversified estates reviewed here, Kwinana's experienced an increase in lone parent households, while in Queens Park the proportion actually fell.

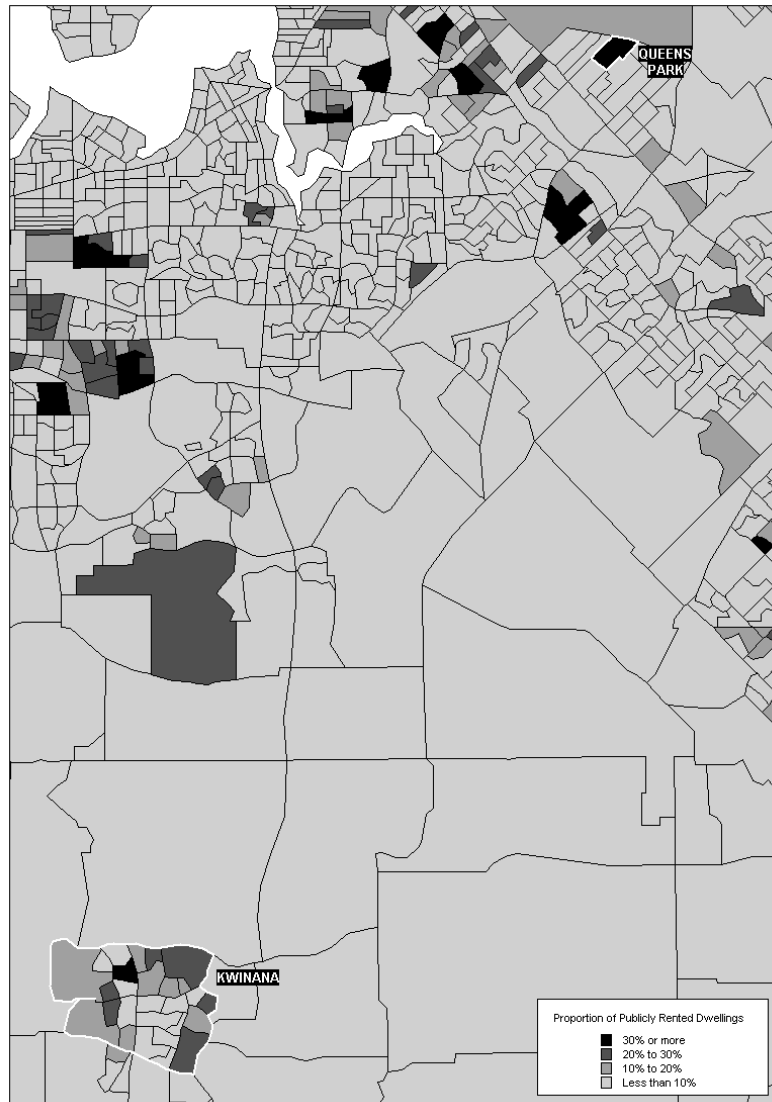
On the other hand, the proportion of working age adults who were employed increased in Kwinana (from 83 to 85 per cent) compared to decrease in Queens Park from 82 to 72 per cent. The corollary was that the proportion of unemployed working age adults fell in Kwinana (17 to 15 per cent) while it increased in Queens Park (from 18 to 28 per cent)

Turning to trends in occupation of working adults, there is little evidence that Kwinana moved substantially away from its disadvantaged 1996 socio-economic profile, with low proportions of managers, administrators and professionals (18 per cent in 2001) compared to Perth as a whole (39 per cent). Similarly, the proportion with a university

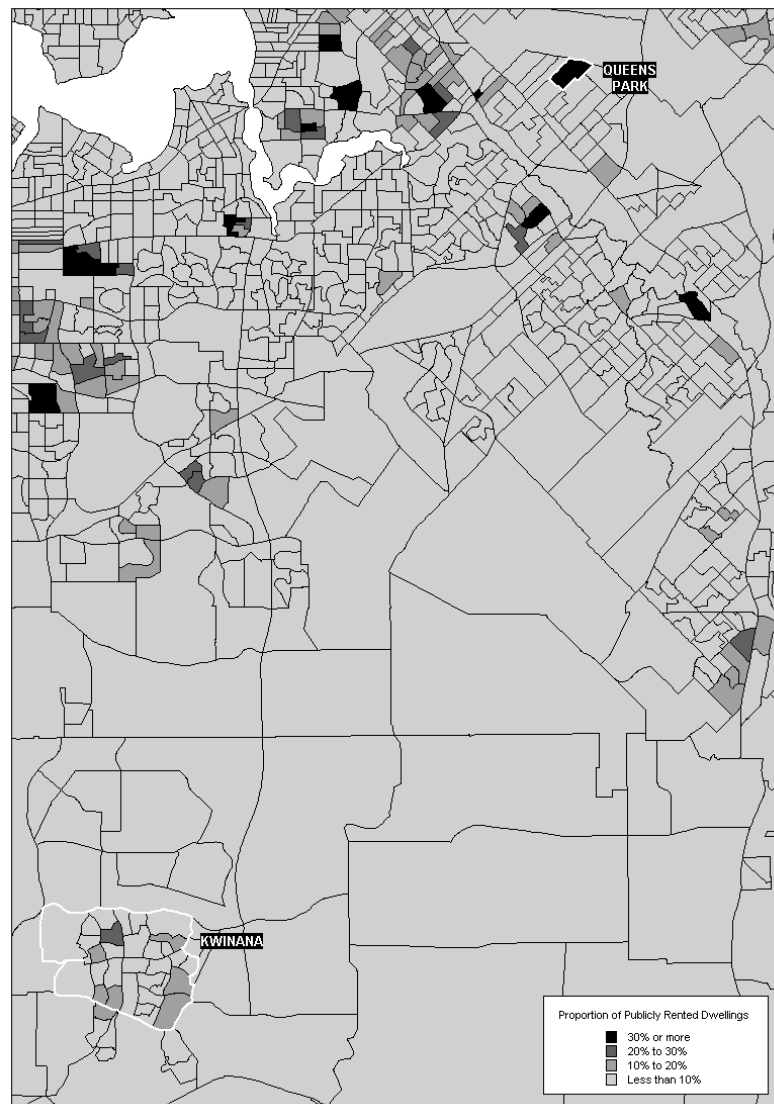
qualification increased only marginally and remained at a low level (3 per cent, compared to Perth's 14 per cent)

So the indicators were not only rather blurred in Kwinana, due to the presence of a large non-renewal stock, but also more mixed. While there had been a shift towards home ownership and a loss of public rental resulting from the renewal program, the numbers of private rental had also increased. While some indicators seemed to indicate a broader social mix had occurred (levels of employment, for example), others suggested very little real change (proportions of lone parents and occupational profile).

**Figure 4.5: The proportion of public housing in the Kwinana and Queens Park case study areas, 1996**



**Figure 4.6: The proportion of public housing in the Kwinana and Queens Park case study areas, 2001**



### **4.5 New South Wales Case Study Areas**

In 2001, Lalor Park (the renewal area) was home to 2,863 households while the Minto (control) area included 1,711 households. Both areas lost around 5 – 6 per cent of population, but gained marginally in households during the 1991 – 2001 period. As Figures 4.7 and 4.8 indicate, the proportion of housing stock in public ownership has only changed marginally over this ten year period.

The longstanding sales of public housing in Lalor Park may be reflected in the loss of 88 households renting from a public landlord in the area between 1991 and 2001. The proportion renting from a public landlord fell from 28 per cent in 1991 to 24 per cent in 2001. However, what stands out from the changes in tenure over the 1991 – 2001 period is the increase in homes owned outright (from 26 to 33 per cent or 215 dwellings) contrasting to the decline of 282 households buying their homes (from 35 to 25 per cent). These figures are likely to reflect the number of home owners having paid off their mortgage during this time, the lack of new home owners moving into the stock and undoubtedly are the result of an ageing population in this area, particularly in the 45 to 55 and over 65 age cohorts. Perhaps more significantly, the decline in numbers of new buyers is partly explained by the shift towards private rental (from 7 to 11 per cent or 122 dwellings).

In Minto, comparable changes in tenure profile have occurred, with an increase in the proportion of dwellings owned outright and rented privately, set against a marginal decline in the proportions buying their homes and renting from a public landlord. The loss of 100 publicly rented homes in this area between 1991 and 2001 is likely to represent an increase in vacant properties or properties vacant pending improvement or renewal.

In both areas the shift to lone person households has been much faster than the Sydney average. However, other changes appear to broadly follow trend across Sydney as a whole during this period.

Perhaps the major difference between the renewed and control estates is the age structure. Minto has a much younger population with 51 per cent of persons under the age of 25 years in 2001 compared to 34 per cent in Lalor Park. Although Minto's population has aged between 1991 and 2001, Lalor Park has a much older population with above average proportions of persons aged over 65 years (16 per cent, above the Sydney wide average of 12 per cent and well above Minto's 3 per cent). The age profile is closely related to a further major difference: the proportion of lone parents in Lalor Park was 17 per cent in 2001, compared to 34 per cent in Minto.

The socio-economic profile of the two estates also showed some clear difference, with Lalor Park showing a much less disadvantaged population profile. The proportion of the adult population not in the labour force remained more or less static in Lalor Park (33 to 34 per cent), but above the rate in Minto, where it increased marginally (from 25 to 29 per cent). The larger proportion of older people would account for this difference. The proportion of adults of working age who were unemployed fell from 13 to 9 per cent in Lalor Park and from 30 to 20 per cent in Minto, but the former rate was well below the latter in both time periods. The proportion of persons with a university degree in both case study areas increased between 1991 and 2001, but well below the shift in Sydney as a whole.

The occupational profile of the two areas also contrasted, with Lalor park having a higher proportion of working adults in administrative, managerial and professional jobs (24 per cent) compared to 17 per cent in Minto and 42 per cent in Sydney as a whole (comparable data was not available for 1991).

Compared to the other three case study renewal areas, changes in Lalor Park are much more marginal. The shift to outright ownership and private rental is set against a marginal decline in public rental and reflects the impact of two dynamics: the ageing home ownership sector and the transfer of private housing into the lower income private rental market. It seems clear that the longer term processes operating in Lalor Park are very different to those operating in the other case study areas where physical renewal has occurred in the recent past, and are likely to lead to different socio-economic outcomes. Here, the changes are more gradual and if anything, the population is falling back in socio-economic terms, or at least only marginally changing, in relation to Sydney-wide changes. The most obvious trends are the aging of the population and the shift towards private rental.

**Figure 4.7: The proportion of public housing in the Lalor Park and Minto case study areas, 1991**



**Figure 4.8: The proportion of public housing in the Lalor Park and Minto case study areas, 2001**



## 4.6 Summary

The census change analysis highlights the extent of tenure diversification on the renewal estates. In some cases, this has been extensive. Public housing fell by 21 per cent in the Leichhardt case study area between 1996 and 2001, by 68 per cent in Westwood Precinct 1, and by 42 per cent in Kwinana. In all three estates, the renewal program was still underway. However, even in Lalor Park, where there has been no renewal program and sales have been on an on-going basis to sitting tenants, there was a loss of 28 per cent in the number of households renting publicly. In contrast, home ownership (buying and outright) increased by 32 per cent in Leichhardt, 87 per cent in Westwood Precinct 1 and 18 per cent in the much larger Kwinana case study area. The most extensive shift occurred in the Westwood case, partly due to the small area involved and the fact that the renewal process was only half way completed at the time of the Census.

But it is also worth noting that the private rental sector has made significant gains in some of the diversified estates, especially Westwood Precinct 1 and, more marginally, Kwinana. There was also a large increase in private rental in Lalor Park. This suggests that property in these areas is moving into what is likely to be the lower end of the private rental market. However, this had not occurred in Leichhardt. This is a further

change on which more information might usefully be gathered, as the social impacts of this trend may well be countering any greater social mix brought about by property sales. On the other hand, it can be argued that the private rental sector plays as important a role as home ownership in widening housing choice in the renewal areas.

Overall, however, the social impacts associated with these changes in tenure structure were very variable. Social outcomes are therefore highly dependent on the local circumstances of the renewal estate and do not appear at this stage of the renewal process to be generalisable across all renewal programs. Generally speaking, while there were increases in the proportions of economically engaged people in the diversified estates, the evidence for a significant increase in higher skilled (and by implication, income) workers was only found in Westwood Precinct 1. In Leichhardt the main change had been an increase in the proportions of lower skilled workers, while in Kwinana there was no noticeable change in occupational profile. Significantly, in all the renewal estates the occupational profile remained distinctly disadvantaged compared to that of the metropolitan areas in which they were located. On the other hand, the numbers and proportions of unemployed people had generally fallen. The proportion of lone parents had fallen in Leichhardt and Westwood Precinct 1, but it had increased in Kwinana and Lalor Park. Nevertheless, these trends were generally greater, and in some cases much greater, than in the metropolitan areas in which the estate was located, indicating a substantial degree of social restructuring had accompanied the tenure diversification in most cases. The changes in most of the estates where renewal had taken place also contrasted to the relative lack of change in the control estates.



## **5 TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE THE OBJECTIVES OF DIVERSIFICATION BEEN ACHIEVED? THE PERCEPTIONS OF KEY STAKEHOLDERS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents findings from a series of 21 semi-structured key actor interviews chosen to represent both the SHA's views and those of others involved in the renewal process, including community representatives, community development workers, and private sector project representatives. It reports their understanding of whether the social outcomes for renewal, including the supposed benefits of tenure diversification and social mix, had been achieved at the time the interviews were conducted in late 2002. It should be noted that at the time the fieldwork was completed for this project in late 2002, urban renewal and diversification policies in NSW were only in development and the case study here focussed on an area that had been subject to diversification over a period of several decades largely through sales to tenants.

### **5.2 Asset and housing management outcomes**

Stakeholders were asked to state the range of outcomes they expected to be delivered from the diversification policy for the case study renewal estate to which they were linked. A wide range of claims was made by stakeholders about expected outcomes, but many stakeholders interviewed often found it difficult to separate out the impact of different aspects of renewal programs or of the impact of related, but separate, programs that addressed other aspects of community renewal. Nevertheless, the expected outcomes matched closely to the typology presented in Chapter 2 and can broadly be fitted into the three outcome areas proposed in that typology. These are summarised in Table 5.1. It should be stressed that the table reports the range of outcomes described by the strategic policy and housing management staff from the three SHAs that had active renewal programs at the time of the research (i.e. it excludes NSW). It does not refer to the other non-housing stakeholders interviewed.

#### *Asset management outcomes*

##### **Increased property values**

The impact on local property values were reported to have been highly positive in each of the three active renewal estates. (There was no knowledge of property values for Lalor Park in NSW). While valuation information provided was largely anecdotal, the indications were that property values had increased by between 50 per cent and 90 per cent on the three renewal estates in Queensland, South Australia and west Australia since the start of the renewal program and late-2002. However, there did not seem to be any clear understanding of the direct influence of diversification on these higher prices and comparisons with wider property price increases were not available. On the basis of the data provided to the research team, there appeared to be no consistent monitoring of local price changes in relation to the city wide or regional variations. Table 5.1 provides illustrations of the before and after property values estimated by interviewees. Despite the absence of comparative price information, these price increases can nevertheless be taken to be an indication of the success of renewal in revaluing property in these estates.

There were limited accounts of improvements resulting from stock realignment through renewal. In Kwinana it was thought that improvements to the remaining rental stock, especially the size of the flats, meant that officers could manage their waiting lists better, but this was a consequence of the physical change rather than tenure diversification *per se*. Similarly, in South Australia specific mention made of the impact of renewal on improving the stock balance to better address current housing needs.

## **Visual appearance**

Several interviewees noted significant improvements in visual appearance on the renewal estates and stressed the importance of this aspect of renewal. These included improvements to roads, landscaping, parks and other improvements to the physical and environmental amenity of the renewed areas.

In Queensland it was suggested that part of the visual improvement on the estate was a positive consequence of tenants feeling they needed to maintain their gardens to the same high standards of their owner-occupier neighbours. One officer claimed, for example:

Without the plan in my hand, I can't tell the difference between rentals and owned.

Similar sentiments were expressed in South Australia, where considerable emphasis had been placed on the physical appearance of the renewal area by the project managers for the renewal program as part of a concerted marketing strategy.

In Western Australia, however, opinions were split over the 'keeping up with the Jones's' argument. One took the view that a 1 public to 9 private ratio worked well because tenants were now living in places that are fully landscaped and that since the owners looked after it tenants were also encouraged to keep the place looking good. But another respondent suggested that the problem could often be with the private occupant for whom Homeswest had no jurisdiction:

You might drive up a street and see a place that's terrible – you might think it's a public house but it's not, it's private.

## *Housing Management Outcomes*

### **Reduced concentration of problems**

A theme apparent across the states were the problems that were appearing as a result of a dispersal on tenants to areas where new stock was being built or purchased, or as a result of lower concentrations of public housing on the renewal estates themselves. An officer in South Australia noted that the 'salt an pepper' approach means that public tenants are spread through communities with lower tolerance levels towards more problematic tenants than was the case when tenants are all together. An account was given of a street that was taking action to get a family evicted:

We have some families that have been dysfunctional and ... one family that there has been a lot of problems with. We've heard the street is getting together a petition that they don't want them there. So we still have some of those same management problems. The problem is that we are moving them next to private homeowners who are more educated and are therefore more likely to complain.

A similar point was made in Queensland:

There has been a backlash in new areas or in other parts of the same suburb where new public housing has been purchased or developed. This is the result of prejudice – the assumption that public housing tenants will commit crime and anti-social behaviour, etc.

It was also suggested that the underlying problems were still there but that they were now spread over a wider area.

Representatives from community groups made a number of critical comments about the supposed assumption that problems in disadvantaged areas were all the result of public housing tenants. They argued that the policy assumed that low-income people in public housing were different to low-income people living in private housing. Community representatives accepted that there were often problems in their localities, but

suggested these should not be attributed to public tenants alone. Also they pointed out that many buyers were simply looking for investment properties and that sales did not necessarily result in the introduction of owner-occupiers. This is certainly implied by the tenure change data analysed in the Chapter 4. Where owner-occupiers had moved in it was suggested that housing management problems were exacerbated because the new home owners complained more about problem tenants.

**Table 5.1: Stated outcomes from diversification (Strategic housing policy and housing management stakeholders)**

	Queensland Leichhardt	South Australia Westwood Precinct 1	West Australia Kwinana
<b>Asset Management Outcomes</b>			
Increased property values	\$60K before \$90K after	\$75K before \$130K after	\$40K before \$75K after
Improved visual appearance of estates	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stock better meets housing wait list demand		Yes	Yes
<b>Housing Management Outcomes</b>			
Renewed stock better maintained and reduced maintenance backlog	Yes	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Reduced concentration of problems	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Social welfare Outcomes</b>			
Greater social cohesion	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Too early to say
Reduced stigma	Yes, but will take longer to remove	Initially worse due to increase in crime.	Stigma reduced but will take longer to remove.
Improved employment outcomes	Not mentioned	Jobs created but difficult to isolate impact of economic development work.	None recorded
Improved educational outcomes	Increase in school numbers reported. Anecdotal evidence of reduced truancy and increased demand for the local school	Anecdotal evidence of new residents withdrawing children from local school	Increase in number of students in the local school after initial losses due to population loss.
Reduction in crime and anti-social behaviour	Fear of crime reduced but only anecdotal evidence about crime rates	Crime rate increased	Fewer reports, and recent fall in reported crime numbers
Improved local services	Yes, especially upgrading of local shops	Some social services may have left the area	Businesses continue to decline due to factory closures. But local government expenditure in the area has increased.

Some respondents thought that where projects succeeded it was at the expense of the deterioration of other estates that had not been subject to renewal and had also led to increased pressures on other low income housing alternatives, such as caravan parks. A member of staff in Queensland, for example, identified an area on the edge of metropolitan Brisbane that he believed to have deteriorated because of the movement of people with problems away from urban renewal areas.

In South Australia it was suggested that there would be problems at the later stage of the project when new allocations to renewed property might increasingly be made to those with high levels of need from the priority waiting list rather than those being relocated as part of the renewal initiative.

### **5.3 Social Welfare Outcomes**

#### *Greater social mix and cohesion*

A mixed response was made to the question of whether the greater social cohesion had been achieved on the diversified estates. To an extent, the issue was whether enough time had been allowed for new pattern of social networking to emerge between the remaining tenants and the newer population on the estate.

For example, it was suggested that there were positive indications that improved social interaction was occurring from community renewal projects in Queensland, but it was too early to say whether this was a result of diversification *per se*. This was despite, however, a claim from housing management staff that interaction had declined as a result of the urban renewal program. This negative outcome was explained as follows:

When an area is falling apart you get community action groups but when normality prevails you get less interaction. You don't get tenants coming to community meetings when the problems decline. They've found work etc. and don't have time to go to meetings etc.. I don't know my neighbours and I don't see why they have to mix with theirs.

This point was put in another way by community representatives who suggested that many of the homeowners moving in were double income couples. The consequence was, they asserted, that the new occupants had very little time for community activities. In Queensland, a community representative suggested that the policy of diversification had resulted in the erosion of existing networks of support and that urban renewal had resulted in more rather than less domestic violence and substance abuse.

The difficulty of measuring changes in social cohesion was acknowledged in South Australia and it was admitted that interaction had not as yet been measured. Anecdotally it was claimed that residents did their shopping together with their neighbours, but this was possibly because only one of them might have a car.

In Western Australia it was suggested that social cohesion was apparent in renewal areas as existing owners in the area had been encouraged to smarten up their houses because of the work that had been completed in Homeswest housing. Furthermore, it was claimed that the better mix had:

...made people feel better within themselves ... people tend to get out in the community more and there was a greater community spirit.

#### *Reduced stigma*

Similar responses were given in relation to reduced stigma. It was generally agreed that a long time frame was needed to overcome the entrenched stigma associated with the renewal areas studied. While progress was reported in the localities themselves, it was maintained that those living in other areas were often unaware of the changes that were occurring in the estates being renewed. In Queensland, for example, it was suggested that:

It will take a long time to change the attitude in neighbouring affluent areas, but there has been a shift in local views.

In South Australia the changes to the image of the Ferryden Park (Precinct 1) estate had been hampered by ongoing problem with break-ins.

Opinion was split in Western Australia. On the one hand, one respondent claimed:

Stigma has gone. In five years time when my kids drive around the area they will not know that that was a Homeswest area.

Others felt that stigma, while gradually reducing was still entrenched and that the papers were still recycling the same old stories. In Queensland, for example, housing management staff suggested that Riverview and Leichardt were in the papers every week and that many of the residents, 'especially owners', were embarrassed to say that they lived there. It was agreed, however, that there were signs of improvement.

### *Improved employment outcomes*

Respondents had very little information about changes to the employment situation and, as noted earlier, it was practically impossible for them to separate out the impact of diversification in this regard. Nevertheless, it was claimed that the combination of tenure mix, the changing image of the area and local economic development work would make a difference.

Consideration had been given to the effect of programs on employment in Western Australia, but the conclusion was pessimistic, e.g.:

Unemployment in the area does not appear to have dropped and no apparent change to the long term employment prospects or opportunities (for tenants) and this has been made worse by the rationalisation of local companies.

It was suggested that local businesses had been very positive but that there were broader problems for businesses in Kwinana as a result of the winding down of the iron and steel industry. One housing officer suggested that this might lead to further problems for those who had bought locally:

It would be interesting to know how many of those who have bought their houses are now under stress because of mortgages.

### *Improved educational outcomes*

There were varied views as to whether, to date, the diversification of estates had resulted in local educational improvements. In Western Australia the school had been affected by the wide scale nature of the program. School numbers were reported to have dropped as a consequence of the relocation of households during refurbishment. It was suggested that numbers only began to stabilise after two to three years.

In contrast, however, a hope was expressed in South Australia that the program would result in the influx of younger households that would reverse the previous decline in school numbers. An increase in school numbers was reported in the Leichhardt scheme in Queensland but this might be simply attributed to the increasing densities.

However, two accounts cast doubt on the general thesis that diversification leads to local improvements in education on the basis of the dilution of disadvantage. A housing officer in South Australia stressed the difficulties experience by the local school because local people lacked the skills and agency required to fundraise but claimed from anecdotal evidence that a new resident was "so appalled by the level of poverty, that they withdrew their child two days later and put him/her in a private school". Similarly it was reported that a Homeswest officer who lived in Kwinana would not send her children to school there on the basis that she was unhappy with the social profile of the school.

But again, these negative views were not uniformly expressed. A more positive perspective was presented in Queensland where housing management staff suggested that levels of truancy had dropped as a result of the urban renewal program and a community representative suggested that the school had become increasingly popular as a result of the changes that had occurred in Leichhardt, and the change was directly attributed to an increase in community pride as a result of the renewal process:

You know a lot of people wouldn't send their kids to that school because of the bickering and in-fighting. [Now] they send their kids there. I'm not sending my kids there, but that school, in the last 18 months, ..... people are coming from the other side of the railway line and enrolling their kids. There's a totally different atmosphere in the school to what there was two years ago.

#### *Reduction in crime and anti-social behaviour*

Respondents reported anecdotally that crime reductions had been achieved in the study estates in Queensland and Western Australia. However, as we saw in Chapter 3, the actual reported crime statistics in Kwinana has increased by 14 per cent between 1994/95 and 2002/03, although the trend in the last two years had been down, after crime numbers had peaked in 1999/2000. There was a lack of clarity about whether this was due to the 'good influence' of those moving in or because 'trouble makers' were leaving. The initial experience in South Australia had been more negative as the estate had become the target for several burglaries as new residents had moved in, but this was thought to be changing for the better. It was also suggested by a community representative that the 'trouble makers' were continuing to cause trouble in the areas that they had been moved to.

From a housing management point of view it was claimed that they were now receiving fewer complaints about anti-social behaviour and fewer applications for transfer. It was also suggested that applications resulting from domestic violence and other abuse had also declined. There was a suggestion that general improvements might also work against the objective of creating social mix. It was claimed, for example, that once a program starts those who wanted to leave no longer wish to. A similar view was expressed in Queensland where an officer suggested that the sales program had been hindered by tenants' increasing preference to stay as the estate improved physically.

#### *Improved local services*

It was unclear whether diversification had resulted in attracting additional services to the locality. There had, to date, been very little rigorous evaluation and it was legitimately argued by some respondents that a longer time period was needed to assess these impacts. However, it was also evident that in some cases the areas being renewed had suffered from the loss of key services as a result of the renewal process and there were reports of relatively poor amenities during the renewal process itself.

In South Australia it was suggested that some services left the area because of the initial decline in population that resulted from their intervention and a lot of the shops were still empty. In the Parks area, where the Westwood renewal program was located, the community was still very bitter about the loss of a secondary school that had occurred some years earlier, but initial evidence about the impact on local education provision was mixed (see below).

Kwinana, in Western Australia, was already well serviced with shops and had a local arts centre, recreation centre and several ovals. It was also suggested that the local bus service had improved, but this was apparently a direct consequence of the political pressure that Homeswest had brought to bear on behalf of community and it the impact of diversification *per se* on this move was unclear. However, it was felt that the impact of employment losses was having a continuing negative influence on local economic development.

There was a much more positive perspective expressed in Queensland where the shopping centres had recently been upgraded, having been previously described as dilapidated. It was suggested that shopping centre owners were excited about the renewal program and this seems to have played a part in the decision to refurbish the old centres. This was backed up by housing management staff who suggested that a shopping centre that had been in decline with many empty units was now full. This was attributed directly to the urban renewal program and to the new stance on housing management. A community representative suggested, however, that there had been no evidence of *new* businesses starting up in the area.

There was concern expressed in South Australia and New South Wales that the diversification proposals may impact upon the current targeted provision of social services in areas of social disadvantage. Again, a community representative indicated that she had not noticed *new* services in the area.

More qualified comments came from a respondent in New South Wales about the likelihood of increased private sector shops and professional services in Minto unless overall densities were increased significantly during renewal.

## 5.4 Summary

Crucially, in relation to this research and comparable evaluation exercises that SHAs have conducted or plan to conduct, the responses from key stakeholders and community representatives reflect the difficulty in assigning cause and effect to renewal programs. While the view of those interviewed was that asset values had increased and some community objectives were being achieved it proved difficult for respondents to isolate the other factors that might impact upon these outcomes. Doubts were also expressed by some about the effectiveness of the program in achieving some of the more ambitious objectives.

On the positive side, stakeholders agreed that the asset management outcomes were being achieved. Asset values for the remaining public stock had been greatly enhanced as a result of diversification and sales. In some cases, benefits in the form of achieving a better balance of stock in the area had been achieved, allowing allocations to be more closely aligned to changing waiting list demand, especially for smaller homes. Renewal had clearly reduced the repairs backlog for those homes remaining in public ownership. And local visual enhancement of the area was seen to be a major benefit for all residents.

Housing management outcomes were more mixed, with some potentially worry issues emerging. While in general the reduction of the concentrations of management problems in the diversified estates was clearly welcome, concerns were expressed about the tensions that result from 'social mix' such as the conflict between tenants and new owners. It is also questionable whether tenure mix has really resulted in a more socially heterogeneous population. This may be because the new owners were mix of existing tenants and people who are not necessarily different in degree to the tenants they replace, other than being younger and having jobs (a point supported by the analysis of census changes in Kwinana and Leichhardt in Chapter 4 above). Several respondents made the point that poor housing maintenance was not necessarily the preserve of the publicly rented stock.

As to the social welfare outcomes, there was a general recognition that stigma was being reduced, but this would take a long time to change. Nevertheless, things had improved, and it was now an issue of getting those living outside the estates (and the media) to pick up on the changes. There were some positive accounts of increased social cohesion, but the claims that diversification might erode current networks of support appear to work against this viewpoint. Ultimately, the difficulties involved in measuring such changes were acknowledged by respondents.

Mixed messages were presented about the impact of diversification on improved education and employment outcomes and it was also not clear whether the policy had resulted in attracting additional services to the locality or in reduction in crime and anti-social behaviour. Progress in schools may well be being hampered by the tendency of new occupiers to opt for schools outside the locality. It was also clear that employment opportunities for the remaining tenants were largely determined by factors other than the social mix of the estate. Mix may well lead to a dilution of the unemployment concentrations (again, as noted in Chapter 4 above), but whether tenants themselves had benefited from improved employment prospects was simply unproven.



## **6 TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE THE OBJECTIVES OF DIVERSIFICATION BEEN ACHIEVED? THE PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This Chapter details the outcomes of the twelve focus groups held in the diversified and control estates with tenants and private housing residents. In Queensland, South Australia and West Australia where renewal programs have been running for some years, the emphasis was to compare owners and tenants attitudes on the recently diversified estates to the views of tenants on the controlled estates. In New South Wales, the diversified estate had undergone a long-standing shift to home ownership through sales of public housing, principally to tenants in the first instance. The aim here was to explore whether the process of transformation over a long period could be seen to have resulted in differing outcomes, especially with regards to tenant and owner interaction and attitudes to the estate. In two states, NSW and WA, the control estates had in fact been included in recently announced renewal projects and the focus groups provided an opportunity to discuss tenants' perceptions of renewal at the very outset of the process.

In order to present the information from these twelve groups in a coherent manner and to allow the differences between the areas and groups to be drawn out, the data will be presented for each estate and each group in turn. A final section will draw together the main themes emerging from this analysis in summary form, addressing each of the elements of the key research question, to what extent have the objectives of diversification, as set out in Chapter 2, been achieved.

### **6.2 Queensland**

#### *The Diversified Estate: Leichhardt – Private residents*

The owner-occupiers and private renters in this group had varied backgrounds, some being previously public renters and some not. All like the area, as it is: affordable, friendly, and close to services (though better transport for older/disabled people is needed). The area once had a bad name, but residents are now proud to live there even if some people look down on them. Relations with public tenants are good, though there are some "problem" tenants, but these do not necessarily cause the area's few problems: "it all comes down to the person." All tenures positively interact. They said the area had improved dramatically (visually, in pride in the area and in community spirit) when public housing was sold, because people invested in, and stabilised the area. In the face of inexorably lengthening of public housing waiting lists, they were opposed to further sales. Most felt the same benefits could be achieved by lowering the turnover of public tenancies. They were concerned about what happens to the tenants of public housing that is sold, saying it should go to very low-income people. The Queensland Department of Housing (Queensland DoH) is criticised over their treatment of public tenants, e.g. making it obvious who is a public tenant, thereby stigmatising them. Most were reasonably familiar with the renewal policy, described mostly as doing up public housing, and then selling it as quality private housing at a reasonable price. Some also pointed to the upgrading of community facilities. All these changes have improved how the area looks, and therefore, people's perception of it - particularly by reducing concentrations of public tenants and re-educating them. Most agreed more sales would further improve the area by reducing the numbers of public tenants, and their problem children. They also felt that area would benefit from better policing, because the police were felt to take more interest in private neighbourhoods. There was no perception that the sale of public housing or more sales of public housing would improve schools and schooling. Similarly, little hope was expressed that the policy would increase employment, as there are no jobs. On the other hand some felt small local businesses

have benefited and would benefit from the policy. Private housing in the area has increased in price signalling that more people now want to live in the area, which accords with residents' view that things are improving and that in the future people would regard Leichhardt as a good area.

#### *The Diversified Estate: Leichhardt – public tenants*

The public housing residents of Leichhardt are happy and content living in their area, which is well located, well serviced (though better transport for older/disabled people is needed), and boasts nice sized houses with gardens. Awareness of urban renewal policy seemed roughly contingent on whether a person's immediate house and environs received attention under the policy. Most were pleased to have had their homes redeveloped/refurbished, and the urban design of their area improved. All tenures interact, though there have been some problems with fellow public tenants.

All agreed with the idea of breaking up public housing estates, because it has reduced the stigma attached to Leichhardt, and to its public housing. It has also improved service delivery, as the private housing areas were felt to be now better serviced. It has also helped people who couldn't otherwise afford it to own a house. Concerns about the policy's impact on housing availability for people on the housing waiting list – particularly older people were voiced. They felt more public housing must be available elsewhere. Residents believe selling off public housing has improved the behaviour of people in the area, because private owners "act a little better." Anecdotally, crime has dropped and local schools have improved. They feel further house sales might influence some to seek work, but there are no jobs available locally - and none for very low skilled and long term unemployed people. The policy has resulted in the provision of less, not more, local services (retail, transport and medical). Local house prices are rising, in some cases dramatically, and all hoped the area would continue to improve.

#### *The Control Estate: Acacia Ridge – Public tenants*

Residents of Acacia Ridge like their area, its schools, public transport and friendly fellow residents. There is good interaction between public and private tenants. They said living in public housing carries more stigma than the area. The area has no major problems, just "niggles," such as poor parks, young people, anti-social drinking, noise and problem neighbours. Problem neighbours were blamed on the Queensland DoH in not vetting incoming tenants or dealing with ongoing problem tenants. Asked about the sale of public housing, they were critical of the Department's existing criteria for public sector tenants wishing to buy their houses (in this case they disagree with the notion of being vetted). They said the houses should be sold not for profit, or else local public tenants can't afford them. They opposed the purchase and re-let of such houses by private landlords. They also questioned the building of medium density housing in the area. In addition, the poor maintenance of public housing, and the impact of contracting out of such services by the Department, concerned all.

While this was the control estate, tenants expressed mixed views when asked about any future regeneration program here. Whilst fewer public tenants would improve the area, it would lead to longer waiting lists for public housing elsewhere. They felt the proceeds of house sales should be used to finance more public housing. The policy is not expected to reduce what little crime exists, but would reduce stigma by improving the area's appearance. No one was aware of plans for large-scale renewal work in the area, though they agreed it needed such work to break up public housing concentrations. They felt such work would only be successful if all the houses were refurbished/redeveloped.

When asked about the possible impact on improving employment opportunities by introducing larger numbers of home owners, by providing role models, increasing the number of people in employment might have a positive impact. It might also improve local services, e.g. there is no high school at present, and increase the number of jobs available. New job types might combat the existing mismatch between local jobs and local people's skills or lack of skills. They felt developers would benefit most from a

redevelopment of Acacia Ridge, and local residents would be “pushed further and further out of Brisbane.” They said this because local prices are now high. On balance, they felt no regeneration is required. They felt the area is slowly coming of age anyway and, with time, and increased mainstream investment, will improve. Young people must be the focus of investment, as they are area’s future.

### **6.3 South Australia**

#### *The Diversified Estate: Westwood Precinct 1 – Private Housing*

The focus group in this case included owner-occupiers and private renters in Feradon Park which abuts the redeveloped precinct. This provided an insight as to how non-public tenants viewed the renewal process from outside.

This group certainly considered the area disadvantaged, but on the positive side it was quiet, cheap, well located (for local amenities, transport, the city, the sea, retail) and nice in parts. Older residents (15 to 30 years resident) suggest that the area had a good reputation in the past, but it has now declined steeply. They said recent arrivals into the area, by implication the newer home buyers, are less friendly, so now the area’s community/neighbourly feel has gone. The symptoms of the area’s decline are: unfriendly residents, young tearaways, drugs, crime/fear of crime, and lack of care for homes. Residents said the area is now stigmatised by dirty and untidy public tenants, but by providing low quality housing, the Housing Trust shares the blame. “Marginalised people are marginalised by their housing.” They are yet to be convinced the renewal program will overcome the area’s stigma, and encourage people to buy houses, as it has done elsewhere.

All knew about the policy, but had many unanswered questions. When the development is completed will the area really be much improved and safer? It was noted that due to the long start-up period for the renewal project, they felt the SAHT had been reluctant to house long-term tenants prior to the redevelopment and the area had been used for temporary and emergency accommodation. This has meant people have not invested any time in developing local networks and so the area has suffered. Owner-occupiers were also unhappy that those who owned their Housing Trust homes prior to the new policy would not benefit from upgrading themselves.

Nevertheless, most agreed that ending the concentration of Housing Trust housing was a positive step, as people with respect for their homes would replace problem neighbours. Anecdotally, they noted that house prices are rising in the area, indicating a growing market for the area’s housing. The Housing Trust was criticised for not carrying out sufficient maintenance work on its houses in the past. As in Lalor Park, however, owners were also concerned about where people not rehoused in the area will live given long waiting lists for public housing elsewhere.

Relationships between owners and public tenants were developed on a one-to-one basis, depending on a range of issues, including whether they were deemed to be good neighbours and their attitudes to maintaining their homes and gardens. It was stated that most tenants are good people who just can’t afford anything else. All felt Housing Trust tenants rehoused after the renewal process in the area would look after their houses better and be good neighbours. They felt this would happen because only the stable tenants will be rehoused back in the new houses. In effect, they expected the renewal process to weed out poor and disruptive tenants.

These residents point to long-term unemployment, welfare dependency, low job availability, low public investment, and poor education, as being responsible for the position of the area’s residents – all factors outside the influence of housing renewal programs which concentrate specifically on asset management issues. Importantly, they are unconvinced that a policy focusing only on housing renewal and diversifying the tenure in an area will turn these problems around for tenants. As for the future, most felt the Precinct would be a good place to live in years to come, with less crime and vandalism and more sense of community.

### *The Diversified Estate: Westwood Precinct 1 – Public tenants*

These long-term public tenants (residency ranged from 7 to 49 years) were mostly content with the area, its services and location. They felt the Westwood renewal initiative was helping to improve the area's housing stock and having non-housing outcomes. All found the planning and development process stressful, although all were glad to be involved. Those who have benefited from the policy - via house refurbishment or a replacement house - expressed positive views about it. Those who were negative about recent changes had not yet benefited directly from the policy and were still waiting for the house to be improved or had not received compensation for home improvements made in the years prior to the policy. The area still has problems, such as crime, but the perception was that these had reduced. Most agreed that mixing tenures had improved the area, as people are now more responsible. Area stigma was falling as a result of the policy. Nevertheless, tenants were confused about aspects of the Westwood initiative, such as the "knocking down of perfectly good houses," and the selling off of so much of the public housing, and opposed to others, like the growth of medium density housing.

Some public tenants were considered problematic and unlikely to interact with other tenures. A lack of community cohesion was blamed on the inward looking nature of new tenants, which appeared to refer to more 'introverted' ethnic minorities. It was considered unlikely that the diversification could reduce unemployment in the area, as those who remain unemployed are unemployable/long term unemployed, and there are no local jobs. The policy's impact on education, if any, was considered negative, as was its impact on local services. House prices on the other hand have risen dramatically, although it had not benefited them.

### *The Control Estate: Westwood Precinct 6 – Public tenants*

Though close to the city and to transport facilities, the public renting residents of this area disliked their neighbourhood. They described it as being: "notorious", "a dump", "rough and terrible". None felt particularly stigmatised by living in the area, because, they said: "people don't know where it is". Some lived in quieter parts of the area, and, though aware of the area's endemic problems (drug use/syringes, prostitution, neighbour problems, crime/fear of crime, undisciplined children, poor maintenance of houses were all cited), were less concerned by them. Residents said the area has changed for the worse during the last ten years, particularly in the recent past. They blamed the Housing Trust's track record of not maintaining houses - and more recently, for not screening new tenants, and not reacting to complaints about existing ones. There was a feeling that bad tenants were being dumped here and the houses were being left to deteriorate because they would be demolished eventually. They also blamed insufficient policing and lack of parental control of children.

Residents here knew little about the urban renewal policy. They had received no information and attended no public consultations. They were uncertain about what was proposed, and about their future in the area ("Should we buy?" "Will we be moved?" "Where'll we live?"). Some mentioned a proposal to knock the area down in ten years, but knew few details. Most would rather the area wasn't renewed, but if offered a new house they'd support the policy. All spoke of other areas' renewal (Precinct 1) and the new houses that neighbouring residents have moved into, and questioned whether it had improved much. There were complaints that renewal areas cherry-pick their public residents, leaving their neighbourhood to cope with those who are moved out: "mostly problem tenants."

Most didn't think the sale of public housing was a good idea. They felt that more public housing was required in renewed areas, that not everyone could buy their houses. A number pointed out that Adelaide has a long waiting list for housing, and more public housing was needed, not less: "sales only make the situation worse." Only two stated that they had considered buying their homes and the remainder had not, or would not.

These residents did not think the sale of public housing would increase employment in the area. They argued the area has lost a lot of jobs in recent times, and that there are not enough jobs available, and some people were long term unemployed or simply unemployable. No fixed views were expressed as to whether the policy would improve local education or retail facilities. There were also mixed views about whether local house prices were rising, and about whether community feeling was changing in the area. Predictions about their area's future were gloomy.

## **6.4 West Australia**

### *The Diversified Estate: Kwinana – Private residents*

Owner-occupiers and renters in Kwinana were content with their area, and with its community feel, although they felt the area maintains a negative stigma. Local council services were praised for improving and maintaining the area's streets, parks and facilities. Residents were concerned about the area's high level of unemployment, crime and vandalism, and young tearaways. However, they said more policing and better retail facilities were all the area needs. Some said they intended to stay in the area indefinitely, whilst a few wanted to move away. None had ever lived in HomesWest properties, and few have any contact with public tenants. Some felt that other, surrounding, areas had been upgraded and the worst tenants had been moved into their area and devalued their properties. It was generally felt that HomesWest needed to screen incoming public tenants and manage existing problem public tenants more effectively. Those with public housing neighbours were unhappy, claiming that they are anti-social, and didn't maintain their homes. Underlying some of these comments was a clear racial bias: ATSIC had purchased houses in the area and this was thought by some to be a future "problem".

Most were aware of the New Living Initiative and had attended meetings. However, they felt that their views were not taken on board. Residents were unsure as to whether breaking up concentrations of public housing was a positive move. They criticised the policy of mixing public rented tenants with home owners, with one person claiming: "public tenants degrade the area." They argued that increasing the numbers of owner occupied properties had not resulted in a more balanced community, less crime or increased property values. They felt it had done nothing to encourage public tenants to improve their properties, and some suggested public tenants should be excluded from the area. However, residents agreed amongst themselves that public tenants couldn't just be moved around from place to place, though they provided no alternative suggestions. They criticised the quality of the developer's housing ("quick sales, no support") and urban design work. They didn't like the way plots of land have been split up, and the density of housing (flats and units) increased.

Schools in the area were considered adequate, but not to be improving. Most felt unemployment would not fall, as the majority of public tenants are long-term unemployed/unemployable. More retail, and other services are needed. They claimed that better health and education facilities promised to the area, under the renewal policy, had never materialised. Few felt that house prices rose generally in the area as a result of the policy. In fact, there was a feeling that price rises had been slower in the area than elsewhere. However, on a bright note, most were hopeful that the future potential of the area would be realised once the renewal process had settled down.

### *The Diversified Estate: Kwinana – Public tenants*

Most of the public housing tenants of Kwinana like the area, its community spirit and its atmosphere, which was described as comprising: "good friends and neighbours, "entertainment facilities and a pleasant physical environment". This is although some said: "it used to be better". Residents' concerns for the area included: vandalism, poor retail facilities, neighbour problems, unemployment, community powerlessness, distance to and cost of amenities (especially those for young people), fear of crime and policing, and out migration from the area.

All the participants in this group had had their homes refurbished and were happy with HomesWest's work. All called for further area investment, using local labour. They approved of the break-up of public housing concentrations, as a way to reduce crime, drug/alcohol use and improve the area socially, because it will: "reduce the numbers of low-income earners in one spot." So far however they felt this hadn't occurred. Residents were nevertheless concerned about where people who need public housing will live, given long waiting lists, now that so many houses have been sold off. They said other areas do not want them (e.g. there are now no flats and emergency housing available for people in housing need). They also said there has been some mismatch in the area between the housing built and residents' needs (mainly young and old people). Some felt that Homeswest has been overzealous in its implementation of this policy, pressurising people to do what they are told, without fully understanding what's involved. All knew they could buy houses in the area, but had concerns about the process, with one respondent noting: "some low-income people have purchased houses that may not maintain repayments." Residents felt that Homeswest had failed to adequately maintain properties in the past and there was no guarantees in the process that they would continue to maintain their properties in the future.

In terms of improved social cohesion, the policy has given opportunities for all residents to interact. It was felt that after renewal it was difficult to tell who the public tenants were, as the houses are the same quality and not bunched together. They were happy to be public tenants, and would not feel stigmatised unless their tenure was revealed. Most feel that the area's traditionally poor educational facilities were now showing signs of improving due to the policy, as was crime (except drugs) – although they called for more effective policing.

However, the renewal program had not improved problem tenant issues. They also did not think the policy objective of improving Kwinana's image had been achieved. Most didn't think the policy has done anything to reduce unemployment, and argue more jobs, and more opportunities, for young people are required. Most felt that the policy had increased the prices of owner-occupied homes but worryingly, there was also a concern expressed that the area will go downhill again when the policy ends, unless more money is invested in the area, and local people are better represented politically.

#### *The Control Estate: Queens Park – Public tenants*

Thought chosen as a control area for this study, like Minto in NSW, at the time the focus group was conducted (late 2002) Queens Park had been included in the New Living Program and tenants were aware of this. However, it was, again, at an early stage in the consultation process and no work had started. (In fact, the proposals for the renewal of Queens Park had been announced during 2002 and the contract for renewal was not tendered until September 2003).

Though content to remain living in the area, Queens Park public housing tenants had mixed views about its positive and negative characteristics. They felt it carries a historical and well-publicised stigma and one that a renewal policy would not remove quickly or cheaply. The positives about the area included good neighbours and proximity to shops, health facilities and public transport. The negatives included lack of community facilities, certain anti-social behaviour problems (problem tenants/neighbours and their children, drug use, delinquency, unemployment, drinking, etc), and aeroplane noise. Residents believed that urban renewal elsewhere has led to problem residents (who don't maintain their houses) from these areas being relocated to Queens Park "where there is always public housing available." They blame HomeWest for not managing problem tenants and not screening new ones – a situation they said is worsening. They had few suggestions for where problem tenants should go except elsewhere. A number of complaints were made about HomeWest property maintenance.

Turning to the diversification process, residents did not feel well informed at this stage about the New Living Program proposals for the area. The focus group provided the first opportunity most had had to ask questions about the policy. Most had been to a few meetings and received some information in the “early days.” Worryingly, they already felt promises of new houses, and help with the costs of moving home, had been broken. Residents felt that the ratio of 1:9 private/public tenants proposed in the Queens Park renewal program would mean many tenants would have to move out and be dispersed and it would also leave too many waiting list applicants with nowhere to rent, particularly people who cannot afford to buy. They felt the policy could only work if more public housing is built elsewhere. Some said that they would stay and buy their homes, but others would not, and so felt they would have to move away. Those who had invested in their homes were the ones who wanted to stay and buy.

All felt that the policy would change the “class of people coming in,” and increase the numbers in employment, but that felt this could be achieved with a mix ratios higher than 1:9. Most felt that the policy would improve the level of employment in the area, but by bringing in workers, not by reducing unemployment amongst those already there. Most felt the schools in the area were fine, and didn’t attribute improvements to the policy. As for the housing mix, most opposed the building of higher density housing in the area as they argued most people wanted to live in houses.

## **6.5 New South Wales**

### *The Diversified Estate: Lalor Park – Private housing*

The sale of property to sitting tenants in Lalor Park dates back to the 1960s. All focus group participants in the private sector focus group had purchased their homes since that time and many were older or on the verge of retiring. Most described the area positively and were unconcerned about stigma. They like its facilities (e.g. transport and shops), and friendly and helpful neighbours. Those with concerns about the area – noise, drug/alcohol use - pointed to areas containing a high proportion of public tenants as the cause. Those tenants allocated public housing more recently in Lalor Park were blamed for area problems, and the NSW DoH for: “dumping them in Lalor Park.” It was argued that some tenants might not be compatible with each other, e.g. younger and older people. Young people (14 to 18) were blamed for graffiti, drinking/drug use, anti-social behaviour caused by having nothing to do and lack of parental control. Nevertheless, residents felt these problems are not enough to justify Lalor’s negative media reputation.

The group generally favoured the idea of public housing being interspersed with private, but wanted the NSW DoH to improve the quality of public tenant allocated housing in the area. They favoured the sale of public housing, as buyers (as long as they are screened prior to purchase) will improve the appearance of the area and increase the numbers of residents in employment. Screening, they said, should include: income level, employment, and education. Also, importantly, existing residents should compete with other buyers. Perhaps surprisingly, they felt that the stock of public housing should be increased elsewhere at the same time, or else some public tenants moved from the area would have nowhere to live.

The group felt local schools would be adequate, if not for problem teenagers. There was little sense of how schools could be improved. Likewise, there was no consensus on whether a process of faster sales of public housing would lead to more people becoming employed, though most agreed that it might. All felt that if the local shops could be upgraded, and public housing were better spread through out the area things would improve dramatically. Most were committed permanently to the area, and are pleased that their house prices have increased as part of the general house price inflation.

### *The Diversified Estate: Lalor Park – Public tenants*

In some contrast, the public housing tenants of Lalor Park were very negative about the area. The main issue for them concerned the perceived low level of maintenance of public housing in the area, including their own. Whilst saying the area is no longer defined by its public housing status, some were embarrassed to be public tenants. Whether this was because of the mix of home owners living as close neighbours was not clear, however. Having said this, most are content with the area, and feel it has improved in recent years - though owners could be friendlier. Their main concern was the allocation of public housing resulting in a poor mix of older and younger people and “problem” tenants (young and unemployed people, single parents, and ethnic groups) moving into the area. They feel the NSW DoH should screen applicants and ensure more “balanced” communities. Indeed there was support for the notion that many of the problems of Lalor Park have been overcome through the break up of concentrations of public housing. Homes redeveloped or refurbished after being sold were seen to be a major improvement. They all pointed out, proudly, that owner-occupied housing is selling, and at top prices for Lalor. At the same time they felt schools and local services are adequate.

Looking to the future, employment and community defined the discussion. Unemployment (esp. young people) and lack of employment were considered to be endemic, and unlikely to be affected by any sale program of a greater social mix that might deliver. In discussing community, residents felt there was less of a sense of community than previously and less effort than ever before was being put into developing and nourishing local community groups. However, it was not clear whether this was a result of the prevailing social mix in the area, or simply a perceived decline in community mindedness more generally.

### *The Control Estate: Minto – Public tenants*

At the time the fieldwork was undertaken in Minto, plans to redevelop the estate completely over the following 15 years had just been announced. This group therefore provided an opportunity to explore the views of community cohesion among a group of tenants in a large undeveloped estate just before redevelopment took place. It is worth noting that this estate was one of those selected for one the NSW DoH’s Intensive Tenancy Management pilots over the previous three years, where local housing management was greatly improved and tenants were provided with a locally based NSW DoH presence, and which, it is generally agreed, has been particularly successful in improving management and community building outcomes.

Tenants all had something positive to say about their area. Most comments evoked a place with a shared, localised sense of community spirit, whilst also providing good shopping and transport facilities. All agreed the area was stigmatised, but felt this was declining. While the area had its problems, “they are not that bad.” Bad points include: unemployment, some graffiti and vandalism, noise, public drinking, violence, drug use (syringes in public areas), theft and burglary, and messy streets. Areas characterised by public housing and young people, more generally, were blamed. Public housing areas could be improved, they thought, by reducing the turnover of residents and better maintenance of the houses: demolition, clearance and renewal were not necessarily the only answer to the areas problems.

Most seemed to agree with the aim of reducing public housing concentrations as a means of improving the area and perceptions of it. All agreed that work to date has been excellent, although information and consultation should have been better. Knowledge of future plans for the whole area is patchy, but for local streets was better. In particular, most felt insufficiently involved in the policy planning and development process to feel any great ownership of the process or the outcomes. Meetings needed to be more discussion based and involve private residents. Significantly, they believe the new redevelopment policy was motivated by financial considerations, rather than by



the need to regenerating the area for the benefit of tenants. Concerns were expressed about the lack of housing choice for existing residents (“if only 30% move back in after the policy where do the rest go?”), the lack of written reassurances about future changes (“what if people don’t want to move?”), and lack of help with moving. However, it should be stressed that this was at an early stage in the consultation period and these issues could well be picked up at later stages of the consultation process by the NSW DoH.

Views about the policy’s impact on interaction between residents, unemployment, education and crime are mixed. It was thought that interaction between residents in all tenures is improving, though some expressed doubts about the happy marriage of owner-occupiers and some public housing tenants. Some felt that the policy had created, and will create more, local development related jobs, and as new residents move in there will be new service jobs created. But it will not tackle the mismatch between locally available jobs and the education/skills of local public tenants. It was felt that local education standards were slowly improving, but most would send their children to schools elsewhere if they could. However, all agreed that reducing the ratio of public tenants would lead to fewer criminal activity.

The group was generally positive about the future, and those who had viewed plans for the redevelopment of the area liked them. Neighbouring suburbs’ house prices were rising and they expected Minto’s will soon. They hoped, with new money circulating, local services would improve. They were all committed to the area.

## **6.6 Summary of key findings: Have outcomes been achieved for residents?**

As with stakeholders, residents expressed mixed views as to the outcomes of tenure diversification. Moreover, it was also evident that it was not at all clear whether positive outcomes were the result of the physical renewal programs or simply more general social changes or other community regeneration initiatives in the area in some cases. Nevertheless, there are some clear indicators of success in achieving some outcomes, but not so good news about others.

### *Greater social mix*

There was widespread support for the policies of deconcentration of public housing - ten groups said they supported this policy, including all the tenant groups on the diversified estates, and the other two did not comment on this issue *per se*. Deconcentration of public housing tenants can be seen to be a popular policy for both tenant and private residents.

There was similarly a high level of support for the policy of sales and tenure diversification (eight groups positively supported this). All the tenants groups on diversified estates supported the policy, as did three of the private residents groups. Only the control group of tenants in South Australia specifically opposed this policy, citing the impact on the waiting list as a main objection.

Linked to this was a general level of support for social mix. Again, tenants on diversified estates were most likely to support this, with only the private residents in the West Australian diversified estate questioned the mixing of tenures in one area (possibly a coded reference to Aboriginal tenants).

### *Greater social cohesion*

Only three groups mentioned improved community spirit or feeling, but two of these were tenants groups on diversified estates (Queensland and West Australia). Again, the tenant group from the diversified estate in NSW said community spirit had declined.

Similarly, just four groups considered the interaction between the various tenures in their area to have improved. Three of these were in Queensland, and the other one were tenants in the diversified West Australian estate. However, the private residents on this estate did not think interaction had improved, and neither did residents in the South Australian diversified estate. This suggests renewal policies have so far achieved only limited success in improving the interrelationships between tenures in most cases, although tenants are more likely to cite improvement than private residents.

The attitudes of residents in the focus groups towards greater social mix and community cohesion were explored further through a short pro-forma which was circulated to participants at the group sessions. Several questions were included looking at attitudes to estate improvement and social networks. While not intended to be statistically valid in the strict sense of the term, the questionnaire attempted to explore in a more quantified manner whether there was any discernable difference in social cohesion between residents on the diversified estates compared to tenants on the control estates. In all, 107 respondents completed the short questionnaires. The analyses of the results indicate clear difference in opinions between participants' views on the control and target estates

The first key finding is that respondents from the diversified estates were much more likely to say that the community spirit on their estate had improved in the past three years in general terms than those on the control estates. While 16 per cent of control estates respondents said they thought community spirit had improved, 58 per cent of the diversified estate respondents said it had improved (Table 6.1). Moreover, tenants on diversified estates were more enthusiastic about the changes than other residents on these estates. The reverse is true for those saying community spirit has got worse. Also, respondents on diversified estates are less ambivalent about changes.

But there was also evidence that the numbers of local contacts and friendships have been adversely affected by renewal. Table 6.2 shows the breakdown of responses to the question "How many people on this estate do you know?" Although the number of non-responses to this question precludes firm conclusions, and the results should be taken as indicative only, it is apparent that among those who answered the question, tenants on control estates were much more likely to quote a figure of over 10 than respondents on the diversified estates. And tenants on the diversified estates were much more likely to quote a figure of over 10 than other residents on these estates.

Clearly, this is not to say those other residents will not develop more contacts and broader local networks as they live in the locality for longer (many were recent arrivals buying newly built or refurbished property). But it does indicate the strong negative short term impact of renewal on community cohesion and social networks urban renewal has resulted in. The key question, and one that future monitoring on these estates must address, is whether the networks evident on the control estates, and indicative of those once prevailing on the diversified estates, will over time be recreated in the diversified estates.

**Table 6.1: Perception of whether the community spirit has improved**

	Improved	Got worse	The same	Total
Control	16%	45%	39%	31
Diversified	58%	17%	25%	72
<i>Tenants</i>	60%	10%	30%	30
<i>Others</i>	56%	22%	22%	42
Total	45%	25%	30%	103

**Table 6.2: Number of people known to respondents on their estate**

	Number of local contacts						Total (100%)
	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	Over 50	N/S	
Control	3%	32%	16%	10%	0%	39%	31
Diversified	16%	25%	12%	1%	7%	28%	73
<i>Tenants</i>	6%	16%	22%	3%	6%	47%	32
<i>Others</i>	24%	32%	5%	0	7%	36%	32
Total	13%	27%	13%	4%	5%	38%	104

### *Reduced neighbourhood stigma*

Contrary to what might be expected, the majority of groups, public and private, enjoy living in their neighbourhoods and have no plans to move elsewhere. Most liked the location of their homes and valued local connections with friends and neighbours. Only two groups expressed unhappiness about their areas, the control group in South Australia and the public tenants in Lalor Park. Both cite poor housing maintenance and allocation policies leading to bad tenants moving in as a key issue leading to stigmatisation, issues echoed by other focus group participants.

Most groups considered their areas to be stigmatised, and some worse than others. Residents blame continued association with public housing (and particularly the chronic property under-maintenance which identified public housing) and with some problem tenants as the main causes of ongoing stigma.

When asked to discuss the problems confronting their area, problem tenants – and/or their children – emerged as the most common cause of concern. In all, ten groups mentioned this as an issue. Residents are concerned about problem tenants' anti-social behaviour (e.g. drug and alcohol use, noise and property maintenance) and SHAs tenant management policies were criticised as not doing enough to tackle this issue. Crime and related issues were also high on most groups' agendas.

So did residents feel that stigma had been reduced by sales programs? A key finding is that all three tenants groups on the estates having undergone renewal and sale reported they felt stigma had indeed reduced. This indicates the success of a central objective of diversification policies in these areas. Interestingly, the tenants in the NSW estate that had undergone sales over a longer period felt particularly stigmatised, citing poor housing maintenance that clearly identified them as public tenants in a mixed area. Tenants on three of the control estate also reported high levels of ongoing stigma. The exception was in NSW, where the control estate group reported they felt the stigma about the estate had slowly reduced, which might reflect the success of a locally based intensive management initiative by the NSW DoH that has had positive impacts on social attitudes and behaviour on the estate in the last few years.

In many ways, the reduction of social stigma can be claimed as the main benefit of tenure diversification for tenants in those estates where renewal have been implemented.

### *Improved employment opportunities*

There was widespread scepticism about the prospect of renewal leading to better employment outcomes for tenants. At best, sales would bring working people into the area, but for several of the residents groups, public tenants were thought to be long term unemployed, or just unemployable. Several groups cited simple lack of jobs in the area (several of which had undergone significant employment losses in the local labour markets over recent decades). Only in NSW, where no renewal program has actually been implemented, was there some hope this might eventuate.

### *Improved educational opportunities*

Similarly, few thought there would be any necessary impact on local schools, although the tenants group in West Australian renewal area said they felt local schools had improved, although the reasons for this were unclear.

### *Reduced crime and anti-social behaviour*

More success was given to the impacts on crime and anti-social behaviour, with four groups saying these problems had reduced since the renewal program. This was true of both groups in the Queensland renewal area. It is worth noting that the Urban Renewal Program here has been implemented in tandem with a major crime focused Community Renewal Program targeted at the larger public housing estates, so it is not clear from this that urban renewal *per se* is responsible for this positive outcome here. However, it is also the case that both tenants groups on the South and West Australian diversified estates also felt crime rates had fallen. It seems therefore that renewal has been associated with a generally positive impact on crime (or at least perceptions of it) in these areas.

### *Improved local services*

Here a very mixed outcome was found, with only the groups from the Queensland renewal estate saying local shops and amenities had positively improved. None of the groups on the South and West Australian diversified estates said this.

### *Housing management outcomes*

While not a specific aim of the focus groups, the sessions provided feedback on some of the key asset management and housing management objectives of diversification. These are included in this summary as they offer a range of criticism of the way diversification policies have been implemented from the residents' perspective and have important implications for future policy and practice in this area.

In fact, there was a range of criticisms of these aspects of renewal policies. These centred on two main areas: the impacts on tenants excluded from the renewal process or waiting to be housed, and the perceived failure of housing management to address the problems tenants (and residents) felt were critical to the issue of stigmatisation.

### *The impact on waiting lists and displaced tenants*

The most recurrent criticism was that sales policies will adversely impact on the chances for those on the waiting list to be rehoused in public housing. Perhaps most surprisingly, while this concern was voiced by seven of eight tenants groups, it was also raised by two of the private residents groups. There is widespread concern, therefore, that the sales and diversification programs are negatively affecting the prospects for those on housing waiting lists. In several cases, there was also a concern over the fate of dispersed tenants. Tenants on the two control estates facing imminent renewal were aware of this as an issue they would soon be facing. Related to this was the opinion, mentioned in six groups, that there should be investment in new stock to replace that lost from sales. While this criticism has been aired by lobby groups more generally, it is an indication of the extent to which there is a recognition that diversification programs should not lead to other needy tenants missing out on rehousing as a result of the loss of stock.

### *Allocations, 'dumping' and tenant management*

A major recurring theme, common to many studies of public tenants, is the complaint that the allocations system was responsible for poor outcomes in respect to channelling problem tenants into estates, and then the failure of tenancy management to deal with them effectively. This, more than any other issue, seemed to exercise the minds of the groups, including the private residents. Four groups expressed specific concerns over the dumping of problem tenants, two of these being control estates where it was felt

bad tenants excluded from renewal schemes had been decanted to their estate. There was widespread concern over the management of problem tenants with ten groups mentioning this issue at some stage. Put simply, residents and tenants were seeking stronger management response to bad and disruptive tenants. This can only become more a important issue as more estates are diversified *en mass* in the future and there are fewer places to “hide” these kinds of tenants. As we have already noted, more diversified estates mean that private residents will be much less tolerant of disruptive tenants.

#### *The impact of chronic under maintenance*

Eight groups, including all four control groups, cited the failure of proper maintenance as a key issue and one that, more than most, had led to current problems of estate stigmatisation. The clear implication is that this, together with the problem tenants issue, was a key driver of stigmatisation felt by tenants. The poor quality of their housing set them apart from home owners. Of course, the need to renew and upgrade public housing is one of the key objectives of the renewal programs. This finding clearly points to the need for much wider renewal effort to address this issue. It also suggests that maintenance and upgrading will need to be an ongoing effort on diversified estates if the remaining tenants are to continue to benefit from the reduction in stigma and social exclusion. It will also be needed to retain private sector confidence in the area, and the maintenance of enhanced property values over time. Where the resources for longer term property maintenance and cyclical renewal will come from, once estates have been sold, remains a question for future SHAs managers to ponder.

#### *Consultation and participation*

Other concerns centred on the way renewal policies have been implemented and the lack of effective consultation and involvement of local tenants and residents.. These criticisms centred on the poor dissemination of information and lack of effective public consultation about the policies proposed for their areas. Some residents felt they received information at the start of the process, which soon dried up, and then, when work began, they were effectively presented with a *fait accompli* and felt “powerless” and unable to voice their concerns about the policy. This is an area of concern from residents that will need a constant and improved management response as diversification programs continue and expand into new estates.

## 7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

The key research questions the research addressed were:

- What has been the extent of tenure diversification in public housing estates across Australia and how do these initiatives vary?
- What are the espoused objectives for this activity?
- Have the objectives of diversification been achieved, including the notion that tenure mixing has led to greater social mix and beneficial social interaction on these estates?
- What are the perceived benefits and/or disadvantages of diversification for both stakeholders and residents on estates where the policy has been implemented?
- What are the policy and practice implications that flow from the research findings for current and future diversification initiatives?

The first two questions were addressed in the Positioning Paper and summarised in Chapter 2 of this report. The first part of this chapter summarises the evidence for questions 3 and 4 previously discussed, while the fifth will be addressed at the end of this chapter.

### **7.2 Have the objective of tenure diversification been achieved and what are the perceived benefits and/or disadvantages of the policy?**

The outcomes achieved to date have been variable and reflect local conditions, the specific objectives of the policy and the specific approach to renewal. No two projects were strictly comparable, even within the same jurisdiction and often result from rather different drivers and agendas. Some projects are more closely integrated with wider community renewal programs, making assessment of the social outcomes of renewal *per se* almost impossible. Others had only limited social or community development outcomes associated with them. The point here is that drawing overall conclusions from such a variable range of specific policy interventions is difficult. Nevertheless, as the above summary indicates, a number of clear themes have emerged.

In particular, the overriding importance of asset and housing management drivers in setting the overall structure for tenure diversification on these estates was clear, although the importance of these drivers varied depending on whom you talked to. As a consequence, a fundamental tension can be discerned between the stated objectives of renewal including the social welfare objectives, and the practical drivers of the activity that are focused heavily on asset management outcomes.

The delivery of asset management outcomes appear not only to be the most dominant outcome, but in many ways, the most successful outcome for this policy to date. Housing management outcomes are more difficult to untangle and will require much greater monitoring and evaluation. In particular, the impact on the future costs of managing an increasingly dispersed stock must be better understood, as will the impact of managing in mixed communities, where tolerance levels of disruptive tenants or poorly maintained stock will be much lower. Social welfare outcomes are the least able to be directly effected by physical renewal and the most difficult to assess as a result.

To summarise the evidence so far, the following can be concluded about whether the espoused objectives and benefits of diversification have been achieved in those three renewal estates to date:

### *Asset management outcomes*

- It is clear that in the estates reviewed as part of this research there have been strong positive impacts in terms of improved asset values for retained stock, helping to strengthen the asset base of SHAs and to fund the renewal process itself.
- There is some indication that stock reconfiguration has been achieved through the redevelopment of smaller dwellings at higher densities for public renting on some of the estates. However, this has not always been particularly well received by residents in the areas concerned, and in one case redevelopment had led to the demolition of unpopular higher density housing. No evidence was obtained as to the extent to which replacement stock have been generated elsewhere.
- Additional asset benefits had been achieved through the improvement of local environmental amenity and visual improvements, including landscaping. These will help to retain consumer confidence in the areas and maintain property values, as well as benefit the remaining tenants. Amenity improvements have also been achieved, often in partnership with local councils, which has had the additional spin-off of improving council involvement in the areas concerned (and who in turn will have benefited from increased local rate returns).

### *Housing management outcomes*

- The objectives of reducing the concentrations of public tenants through diversification policies are being achieved in the renewal estates. This policy is widely supported by stakeholders, by tenants and residents on these estates, and even by most tenants on the control estates in the study.
- It was clear that renewal has reduced the outstanding repairs and maintenance backlog for those properties renovated or replaced which will have medium term positive housing management outcomes.
- The long term lack of maintenance has been the major driver for stigmatisation of estates in the eyes of tenants. However, there are concerns as to whether maintenance and repairs will again prove to be a problem (especially in cash-strapped SHAs), with negative impacts on the surrounding private property.
- Other housing management outcomes were not proven as these data were not available to the research team. This would involve the close monitoring of housing management data (voids, arrears, responsive repairs, graffiti, etc.).
- There are indications that increased tension between tenants and new owners resulting from closer social mix may begin to have implications for future housing management on these estates (this point is returned to below). On the other hand, positive contact had been experienced in some cases. This is a longer term issue that will need monitoring.
- Diversification may be having a major impact on the chances of housing applicants waiting for an allocation from the housing waiting list. This issue was widely raised by tenants and even by home owners in one focus group. Similar concerns were expressed by some over the issue of tenants relocated from renewal areas. There is concern that other needy households are missing out on housing opportunities through the tenure diversification process in the absence of evidence that lost stock is being replaced.
- The renewal of estates has raised the issue of problem tenants and issue of 'dumping' problem tenants from renewal estates into other areas. This is clearly a major issue for both tenants and other residents, and obviously a major source of tension. Whether or not dumping is occurring in practice, tenants perceive that it is happening. It is also felt renewal offers a chance not only to get rid of problem

tenants to other areas, but acts to filter out any potential problem tenants from the renewed areas for fear of resident backlash.

- Tenants are often unhappy about the level of participation and consultation in renewal programs. The issue is both about too little information as well as lack of effective opportunities to get involved in the decisions made about what will happen to them and their homes. Renewal programs lack effective mechanisms to empower residents in the process.

### *Social welfare outcomes*

- *Greater social mix:* The concept of greater social mix is widely supported but its impacts on social cohesion are not yet proven. Census data suggests that significant social change with an increase in new socio-economic groups had only occurred on one of the three renewal estates, although employment levels had improved on all three. Social mix outcomes therefore appear to be highly dependent on local conditions and housing market processes. However, it should be stressed that at the time of the last Census in 2001, several of the estates reviewed in this report were only in the middle of the renewal process. Consequently the social change process still had some considerable way to go in these areas.
- *Greater social cohesion:* There evidence to suggest that social cohesion had improved on diversified estates was mixed. Tenants generally thought community “spirit” had increased although there was little real evidence that networks between tenants and new owners had developed. In fact, what hard evidence there was indicated the breaking up of the estates had reduced social networks during the period of the renewal process. This is to be expected, as established networks are disrupted and new ones would take time to develop. However, whether comparable networks will develop between the old and new residents remains to be proven. This is one of the most contentious aspects of the social mix thesis and one that will need more systematic research than that possible in this project.
- *Reduced stigma:* This is probably one of the most important successes of diversification to date. All three tenant groups on the renewal estates said they felt stigma had reduced. Stakeholders also supported this, but said it will take a long time to clear these estates of their negative images
- *Improved employment outcomes:* Support for this outcome was mixed. At a simple statistical level, the proportion of adults out of work as measured in Census data was seen to decrease in several of the renewed estates, clearly the result of both an increase in working newcomers and a loss of non-working public housing tenants. So the renewed estates will see higher employment levels just because incoming home owners were likely to be working. But there was little support for the notion that the remaining unemployed tenants themselves might benefit directly in terms of better access to job rich social networks from living in diversified estates.
- *Improved educational outcomes:* Attitudes here were more mixed. Some benefits in terms of the impact of new families on local schools were reported anecdotally, but it was not clear whether higher income home buyers would chose to put their children into local schools. We did not gather evidence of the numbers of school age children who had come into the estates with newly arrived home buyers and who might be sent to local schools, so we were unable to quantify the potential impact of diversification in this respect. Evidence from residents and stakeholders was divided on this issue and it is clearly highly dependent on local conditions in which the renewal areas are situated.
- *Reduced crime and anti-social behaviour:* Again, outcomes appeared to be mixed, but generally they were positive, especially in terms of the perceptions of tenants on renewed estates. Although immediate outcomes may be mixed, with some



evidence that crime rates increased after renewal, it seems that in general there have been positive impacts on crime and anti-social behaviour. Nevertheless, systematic clear-cut evidence on this issue was not available and, again, will require careful monitoring.

- *Improved local services:* In one estate the renewal program had included upgrades to local shops and this was seen as a major benefit. However, this was part of the renewal program itself and not a spontaneous outcome of the local business sector investing in the area. Elsewhere these additional outcomes do not appear to have been generally positive. In some cases, it is possible welfare services have declined following renewal and the loss of welfare population numbers. Other negative impacts such as the loss of business among local shops during the renewal process were noted. However, no real evidence was forthcoming as to whether renewal had attracted new service and shops to the area.
- The one estate included in the study that had undergone a long term transfer of homes to owners through a sale policy to sitting tenants appeared, overall, to be little different from the control estates in terms of the attitudes of residents and tenants. Indeed, if anything, the prevalence of low rent private rental sector in the area and the age of home owners, together with the disadvantaged public tenants, appear to have created a relatively depressed social environment. There was little evidence here that significant social mix (and the associated assumed benefits) had occurred as a result of tenure diversification through long term sales to sitting tenants. Whether other redeveloped estates will follow a comparable pattern in the long term will again need careful monitoring by SHAs.

#### *Social welfare outcomes – cause for concern?*

The question as to whether estate renewal actually helps *disadvantaged* tenants remains to be answered. Not every public housing tenant is disadvantaged in the sense of having multiple layers of problems. Many are on low incomes while caring for children, some do not work on medical grounds and many are retired. In other words, they lead ordinary lives but on very low incomes. Relatively few match the profile of the “problem families” that attract so much media attention. But the key issue is that if estate renewal is to claim a role in improving the position of disadvantaged tenants, then this research project suggests it does not yet appear to have achieved that goal.

However, the lack of extensive social welfare outcomes does not necessarily equate to a disappointment over the outcomes of renewal policies for those involved. In fact, not one group from the renewal estates offered a gloomy outlook on the future. Half of the groups imagined a positive future and others had mixed views at worse. What this finding does signal, however, is that many of the wider social and community benefits claimed for tenure diversification and social mix simply are not likely outcomes of a process that essentially focuses on physical renewal and the replacement of one community by another, much more mixed one. There is no hard evidence, yet, that social integration will necessarily occur or that significant social welfare outcomes will eventuate simply by renewing the housing stock, at least not for some time to come.

This should not necessarily be seen as a failure. Rather it indicates that SHAs should be more cautious about promoting their renewal policies as being other than an honest attempt to address chronic asset and housing management problems in a highly constrained financial environment. The major social benefit for the remaining tenants is the opportunity to live in a less stigmatised environment. This in itself should be taken as a major success for the policies. Wider social welfare outcomes are unlikely to be generated through tenure diversification in the absence of social programs.

A further test for the policy will be the outcomes for tenants who are displaced from the renewed estates. Will the move to other housing, presumably in estates with lower densities of public housing or in more dispersed public housing stock, lead to comparable benefits? What are the positives these tenants experience as a result of

the move? More generally, given the current active redevelopment of many of the larger housing estates in the States we visited for this research and the logical corollary that tenants will in future be more widely dispersed in lower densities of public housing, what are the benefits to tenants of living in a more dispersed public housing stock? And what are the benefits – or costs – to SHAs of managing a more dispersed tenantry in a more varied stock? These questions remains to be answered and would most usefully be addressed through a future parallel research project. But it seems apparent from this project that these wider social outcomes are hoped for but not well understood or planned for by the SHA's involved. Neither are the longer term housing management implications of this policy. This is a major lacunae in the development of estate renewal policy and one that needs to be addressed.

### **7.3 What are the policy and practice implications that flow from the research findings for current and future diversification initiatives?**

The last remark leads to the issue of what policy and practice implication can be drawn from the research. In many respects, the findings of this report reflect the position in estates that are still in the middle of a major social upheaval resulting from estate diversification programs. It is not surprising that the messages are mixed, and there is little in the way of systematic evidence as to whether the various outcomes from the renewal programs have yet been achieved. Despite the difficulties in drawing conclusion as to the overall outcomes of tenure diversification polices, it is possible to suggest the following implications of the findings for future policy and practice of SHAs in this area:

- The uncertain impact on parallel community building programs

The logic of the Australian estate renewal approach is to break up the existing communities of public housing tenants through sales of the majority of the housing and effectively spreading out the remaining public tenants in a more geographically dispersed housing stock. As we have argued here, asset management concerns have been the underlying drivers of the process, at least at the strategic level where key decisions are taken. The issues concerning the social disadvantages tenants experience have been a secondary level concern or one that it has been more or less explicitly assumed will be somehow addressed through greater social mixing. However, most renewal schemes have been conducted in parallel with community renewal initiatives that have addressed a variety of the social and economic problem tenants experience. Much of the latter has been conducted under the overall rubric of building stronger communities. Indeed estate redevelopment and tenure mix has also been promoted for its potential role in building stronger or more stable communities.

As we have shown in this report, while stigma has been reduced, other more profound social changes have yet to be shown in most cases, especially the outcomes for tenants themselves in terms of their life chances and social capital formation. It is to be hoped that these will flow in time. However, there remains the question as to what extent estate renewal has a positive or negative impact on parallel community renewal initiatives. There were mixed results. By implication, in some renewal estates we studied there did seem to be a value-added relationship between physical and community renewal approaches, although we were unable to quantify them in this limited study. In other cases, these links were not clear. Moreover, the designation of an estate for renewal and break up may negate previously successful community strengthening programs and investment. Again, we were not able to assess this aspect of the process directly.

Many of those interviewed for this project had doubts about the wider social welfare objectives of tenure diversification and renewal programs. Put bluntly, housing renewal and changing social mix may not have much impact on the deep-seated social and economic problems faced by some public housing tenants. It is clear that a continued emphasis on social and employment programs will be needed to address these issues. Whether this is feasible with current models in an increasingly diversified public housing sector and how they might be linked in better to urban renewal programs is an issue that SHAs and their partners will need to further work on. The logic of diversification and dispersal is that such programs will be harder to implement on an area basis once the main concentrations are broken up.

- Maintaining social interventions after renewal

There may be a tendency for public landlords to reduce their active involvement in the broader social and economic activities they have become associated with in renewal estates. However, given there is little direct evidence that the problems tenants themselves face will disappear with renewal, the need to retain involvement in social programs including tenant participation (see below) will remain. These programs may be less easy to implement in a dispersed estate, and may become less cost effective as tenant numbers fall. However, there is no evidence yet that they will any less valued by those tenants who remain. An AHURI project looking at the strategies being devised for sustaining outcomes after estate renewal programs have finished is currently being conducted (Jacobs, K., *et al*, 2003).

- Managing the negative impacts of allocations and “dumping”

Renewal and social mix highlight the housing management sensitivities around problem neighbours. SHAs have become tougher on problem tenants in recent years, but the problem remains a cogent one in renewal estates. Devising strict allocation criteria that exclude more difficult tenants is probably easy to do but difficult to implement, but this will become much more of a problem in diversified estates where the new homeowners may be less tolerant of disruptive tenants than the tenants they have displaced. While there must be objections to using allocations as a form of social engineering to reserve lettings on renewal estates for tenants with a “good” track record, as opposed to allocating to those in greatest need, the issue of managing poorly behaved tenants remains. The extent to which moving disruptive tenants into a renewed mixed tenure estate may assist in moderating their behaviour also remains to be tested. SHAs with extensive diversification programs will need to monitor this situation carefully and, if necessary, develop management approaches to better deal with the conflicts that may emerge between home owners and tenants in these situations.

The related issue of ‘dumping’ troublesome tenants on estates that have not been renewed was aired during the study. The extent to which this is a real, as opposed to a perceived, problem (and the extent to which this was code for attitudes to new tenants from non-Anglo-Australian backgrounds) was not quantified in this study. Nevertheless, there are clear implications for tenancy management policies that will need addressing to ensure both that problem tenants are dealt with appropriately and fairly, as well as making sure dumping problem tenants does not happen. The problem of renewing estates and mixing social groups in this way only heightens the issues of the appropriate management responses to disruptive tenants.

- Monitoring the impacts on waiting lists

In some jurisdictions, the renewal process has led to a clear loss of public stock. The issue of increased waiting times and access to public housing was a concern that surfaced in the focus groups. Whether the loss of stock, especially in some areas, has had any impact on the length of the waiting list and wait times for prospective tenants needs to be carefully monitored.

- Tenant consultation and participation

This aspect of renewal was the subject of an earlier AHURI study and the broad issues need not be repeated here (Wood, 2002). Suffice to say that the previous study found effective tenant participation lacking in most of the renewal projects studies. The findings of the present study only serve to underline the conclusion of the previous study.

While there were examples of positive approaches to engaging tenants, especially in terms of consultation and information with involvement to varying degrees, and there were obvious benefits of the process for tenants whose homes had been upgraded or renewed, there was still feedback from the focus groups that involvement in the decision making process about what was happening to their homes was limited. They had choices of finishes and they had choices about where they might be moved to, but there was no effective participation in the major decisions made about the homes or neighbourhood. This is in contrast to best practice approaches developing in other jurisdictions where tenant participation in the design and management of estates has played a much more prominent role (see Wood, 2002). This aspect of estate renewal is never easy and is not necessarily a cheap option. However, there are clearly limits to which SHAs are willing to actually engage tenants in the process. The lack of effective involvement and the resulting disempowerment tenants feel will become particularly problematic in estates where development is delayed or shelved in response to the ebb and flow of the markets forces that underpin estate renewal (see below).

This aspect of renewal policy needs to be pushed further and new models of active engagement, as opposed to passive consultation, developed and implemented based on existing good practice that recognise tenants as key stakeholders in the process and also the valuable local insights they can provide into the planning and implementation process. Given that current approaches mean that tenants who wish to remain on the estate are usually accommodated, this could only assist in the better integration of new and old communities and thereby improve the likelihood that tenants will wish to contribute to community building in the renewed state. It might certainly improve their feeling of empowerment and engagement with proven spin-offs in terms of social capital and personal development. The positive aspects of tenant involvement are more usually appreciated at the local operational level of renewal schemes than at the strategic level. It is a message senior planners and policy makers in some SHAs need to heed.

- Evaluation methods that firmly establish the benefits of the policy to both tenants and housing managers

While several evaluations have been conducted on renewal programs or are in progress at the time of writing, on-going monitoring of progress seemed patchy. More strategically, it is clear that there has been no attempt to develop a standardised evaluation methodology that could be used or adapted by SHAs as part of the regular monitoring and evaluation process for renewal schemes. Such a methodology should include explicit methods to measuring the value for money outcomes of the process, including social costs and benefits. This is a problem for policy makers as the disparate range of evaluations provide little comparable information on the viability and outcomes of different programs and approaches. Such a methodology would surely be of benefit both in terms of generating comparable information about the success of schemes (which would be useful for the national management of the urban renewal components of future CSHA agreements across the country) as well as encouraging greater use of monitoring and evaluation when renewal programs are being developed or implemented. In most cases, evaluations are the last item considered in developing renewal programs. This is a major constraint on the development of better policy approaches and more effective renewal programs and of developing a better understanding of which aspects of the problems that the sector faces can be effectively met through physical renewal. In particular, if social outcomes are to be seen to be as

important as the asset renewal outcomes, then such an integrated social cost-benefit evaluation approach is urgently required. There may be other ways of achieving positive social outcomes for tenants than by destroying their current community, and at less cost or risk to landlords. The same applies to the project viability assessments made prior to renewal projects. To date, the only effective project assessment procedures appear to involve asset management considerations. We found little evidence that effective social impact assessments were made about the likely outcomes of the renewal process before decisions were made to implement a renewal program, although this may be changing in newer redevelopment proposals.

- Facilitating the renewal of local services

As well as the renewal of housing, there is a clearly an opportunity for renewal programs to actively address the improvement of local amenities and services as an integrated parallel exercise. To begin with, the impact of renewal on associated local services, including local businesses and non-government agencies and public services providers, needs to be monitored. For example, the loss of client base for non-government welfare service agencies may be critical for them and lead to closure of services. This may leave the remaining high needs community at greater disadvantage than before. Local shops may also be adversely affected by falling demand. As the Queensland case showed, public supported investment in local shopping facility may be a way of overcoming this issue and also lead to greater impacts for the renewal process itself. Impacts on schools are also critical – again the loss of children during renewal may take time to redress. And linking physical renewal to improvements to the local schools would encourage the newly arriving home owners and others to send their children to local schools, rather than remove them to private schools elsewhere. The importance of linking renewal and tenure diversification to improved educational facilities to better embed the newcomers into the area is perhaps an undervalued component of tenure diversification policies in Australia and would require new forms of cross-government and ‘whole of government’ working at the local level to achieve integrated outcomes. It is not apparent this has been achieved in the estates we studied.

- Monitoring the impact on welfare service providers

A related issue, noted above, is the effect renewal will have on the capacity of existing welfare service providers to maintain a level of commitment to the area. In some instances, non-profit services, for example, which had located within a large public housing estate as there was a concentration of clients in the area, have found their client base eroded. Anecdotally, we were told this may lead to the withdrawal of services and greater difficulties in reaching the more disadvantaged households. This issue is one that has so far received little attention and also has implications for other public service providers in renewal areas. The implications for greater costs for the delivery of welfare services will need to be carefully monitored.

- Managing local expectations and perceptions over the long term

Managing local expectations of both tenants and new residents over the longer term of the renewal programs is also going to be an increasingly important element of renewal, especially given the reliance on market processes to drive the renewal process (see below). With programs planned to take 10 or 15 years to complete, for many residents this is simply too long a period to wait for any improvement in their housing conditions, or to expect them to maintain a continuing commitment to the process. Tenants at the end of the renewal queue were not well disposed towards the process and saw themselves as being increasingly marginalized through lack of maintenance (will the housing department invest when they intend to demolish the properties?) and having to cope with even more allocations of disadvantaged tenants. For many older tenants, the timescales involved may simply be too long for them to wait. And as renewal programs move for the core areas with high public housing concentrations to more peripheral

areas on the estate where the public landlord may own only a minority of the stock, approaches to the renewal process may have to be dramatically different. It was not clear how approaches to these long term issues are being developed or indeed if any coherent policies were in place to deal with them. During the period of the renewal program, project staff are also likely to change many times, leading to a lack of continuity in management and understanding of the 'history' of the program.

The long time scales involved and the requirement for local contact on a regular basis suggests that renewal programs might be best devolved to locally constituted agencies, perhaps operating within SHAs or at arms length, such as community renewal agencies, or through local councils who are often active partners. This aspect of the renewal process was not pursued here, but is likely to become a major issue for the future of estate renewal, and is closely linked to the issue of developing coherent exit strategies for these kinds of program. Concerns voiced by some residents as to whether their area might once more go "downhill" once the renewal program is completed are also a strong reminder that exit strategies will become increasingly important as diversification programs come to an end.

The kinds of public-private sector redevelopments that typify tenure diversification projects have not been attempted before and much will depend on the long term management of these issues to both maintain confidence in the areas and retain the new owners. The latter is critical not least if those properties what are now privately owned are not to move into the investment market with the associated problems.

- Reduced control over outcomes in the area

Following this point, a further longer term issue concerns the problem of stock moving into low income private rental as has happened in some areas in the UK following extensive Right-to-Buy sales where values have not been maintained. While we found no evidence that this had happened on the three case study renewal estates, it is worth noting the tenure mix at Lalor Park in NSW where a low income rental market had emerged alongside an elderly home owner and public rental sector. This is a powerfully negative combination which leads to a downward drift in investment and incomes in the area over which the public landlord will have minimal control. As noted above, tenants and owners here were among the most dissatisfied we talked to. If property values are not maintained after renewal, then there are few policy levers left for the SHA to pull in the future to maintain their asset base. SHAs need to be aware of this and plan approaches that may act to sustain asset values across an area once the renewal has come to an end.

- Relying on market forces

This point leads on to a final note concerning the reliance on market forces to drive the process in the absence of new public investment. It is quite clear that market driven estate renewal works better (in terms of sales and asset enhancement) in rising markets or for estates that are in higher value markets. However, in secondary suburban locations where prices may be more susceptible to price fluctuation, market driven renewal may not prove such a viable option over the longer term. Trusting the renewal of public housing to the market is not a guarantee of success.

Moreover, market downturns could lead to delays in on-going renewal projects or a postponement of planned projects as developers pull out of proposed partnerships. This could have potentially serious effects on the confidence of new home buyers in the area, will have a very unsettling impact on tenants and will make management of the programs difficult over the longer term. Public housing policy makes are ill equipped to understand these risks and state bureaucracies are notoriously slow to react to market fluctuations. The risks associated with market dependent renewal programs over the long term will therefore need to be carefully managed.

So far we have not had a major market reversal during the period estate renewal has been operating in Australia. However, there are indications that this may well change. The largest threat is in markets where oversupply of high-density housing is now pushing values down, as some proposed renewal programs are predicated on redevelopment at higher densities to maximise the return on land values. It remains to be seen what the outcome of a prolonged period of static or even negative markets might mean for the pace and outcomes of estate renewal and what the social repercussions of this are.

## REFERENCES

- Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2000) 'Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts' in *Policy and Politics* Vol. 28 No. 1 pp 93 – 108.
- Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2001b) 'Disentangling Area Effects: Evidence from Deprived and Non-deprived Neighbourhoods' in *Urban Studies* Vol. 38 No. 12 pp 2277-2298.
- Arthurson, K. (2002) 'Creating Inclusive Communities through Balancing Social Mix: A critical relationship or tenuous link?' in *Urban Policy and Research*, Vol. 20 No. 3 pp. 245-261.
- Brophy, P.C. and Smith, R.N. (1997) *Mixed Income Housing: Factors for success*, Cityscape, 3, 2, pp 3 – 31.
- Hayward, D. (1996) 'The Reluctant Landlords? A history of public housing in Australia' in *Urban Policy and Research* Vol 14 No 1 pp 5 – 35.
- Jacobs, K., Arthurson, K. and Randolph, B. (2003) Developing appropriate exit strategies for housing regeneration/renewal programmes, Positioning Paper, AHURI, Melbourne.
- Jupp, B. (1999) *Living Together: Community life on mixed tenure estates*, Demos, London.
- Khadduri, J. and Martin, M. (1997) *Mixed Income Housing in the HUD Multifamily stock*, Cityscape, 3, 2, pp33 – 55.
- Martin, G. and Watkinson, J. (2003) *Rebalancing Communities: Introducing mixed incomes into existing rented housing estates*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.
- McClure, J. (April 2004) *Mixed-income vrs low-income housing*, City Matters, Urban City, <http://www.urbanicity.org/CityMatters.asp>.
- Parry, S. and Strommen, L. (2001) *New Living: An Assessment of Impacts on Tenants and the Community in the Urban Renewal of Lockridge and Langford, West Australia*.
- Randolph, B. (2000) *Community Renewal in Disadvantaged Areas*, paper presented at the Creative Approaches to Urban Renewal Conference, Shelter WA, Perth, 15 June 2000.
- Randolph, B., Judd, B. and Carmichael, C. (2001) *Evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program: Final Report*, Urban Frontiers Program for NSW Department of Housing, University of Western Sydney.
- Randolph, B. and Wood, M. (2003) *The Benefits of Tenure Diversification*, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Positioning Paper, AHURI, Melbourne.
- Rosenbaum, J., Stroh, L. and Flynn, C. (1998) 'Lake Parc Place: A study of mixed-income housing' in *Housing Policy Debate* Vol. 9 No. 4 pp 703 – 740.
- Schoon, N. (2001) *The Chosen City*, Spon Press, London.
- Scottish Homes (1999) *Assessing the impact of tenure diversification: the case of Niddrie*, Scottish Homes, Edinburgh.
- Schwartz, A. and Tajbakhsh, K. (1997) *Mixed Income Housing: Unanswered questions*, Cityscape, 3, 2, pp 71- 95.
- Tarlin, R., Hirst, A., Rowland, B., Rhodes, J. and Tyler, P. (1999) *An evaluation of the New Life for Urban Scotland Initiative*, Scottish Executive, Edinburgh.
- Wood, M. and Vamplew, C. (1999) *Neighbourhood Images in Teesside: Regeneration or Decline*, York Publishing Service, York.
- Wood, M (2002) Resident Participation, Final Report, AHURI, Melbourne.



# APPENDIX 1: THE CASE STUDY ESTATES

## Introduction

Before proceeding to an analysis of the Census and fieldwork data from the case study estates, a brief description of the renewal programs on the target estates will be presented to set the context for the following analysis.

## The Case Study Estates

### *Queensland: Leichhardt Village Urban Renewal Project*

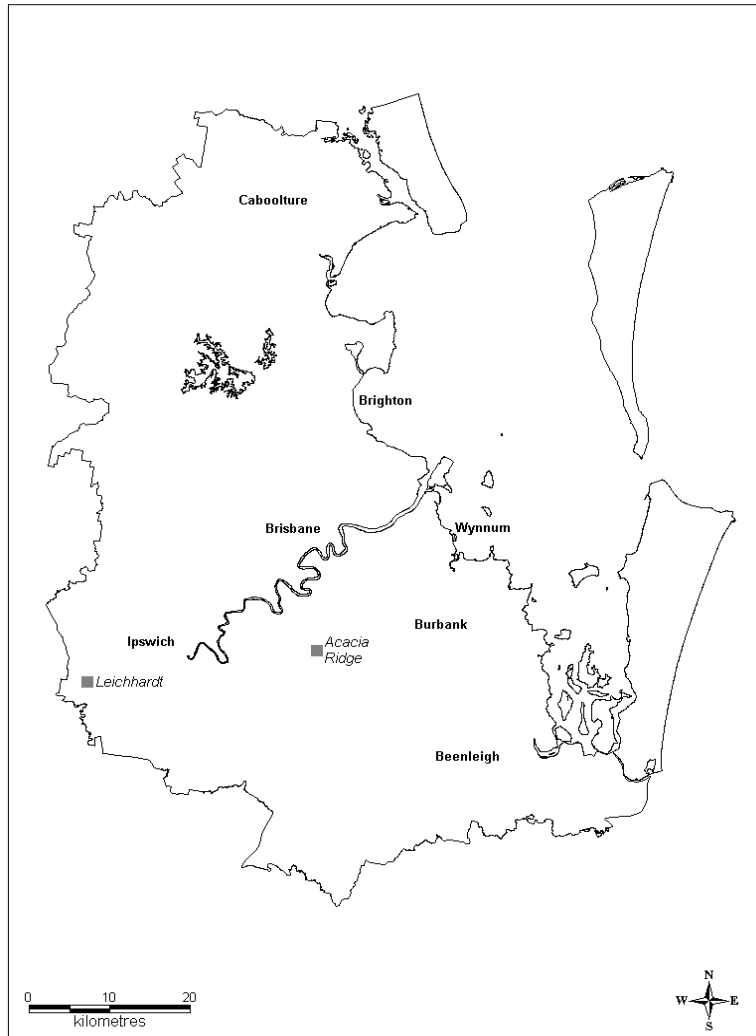
The suburb of Leichhardt is part of Ipswich local government area on the western fringe of the Brisbane metropolitan area (Figure A1.1). The suburb was largely developed by the Queensland Department of Housing (Queensland DoH) between the late-1950s and mid-1970s to meet the demand for industrial workers accommodation<sup>1</sup>. The estate comprised approximately 540 three bedroom detached houses and included an estate of Defence Housing Authority properties developed by the Queensland DoH for the nearby Amberley Air Base. Urban renewal activity was initiated in 1995 in a co-venture with the Defence Housing Authority. The asset management aim of the renewal program here was to reduce public housing levels to an average of 25 per cent through the sale of selected properties to ensure public housing was no longer concentrated in any one street. The objectives of the program also stipulated the optimisation of financial benefits in terms of returns on both property sales and on those houses retained for long-term rental. The renewal program included the sale of all the Defence Housing in the area.

A total of 748 homes were targeted for renewal in four stages over a 7 to 8 year period beginning in 1995/96. The urban renewal program has run in parallel with the Community Renewal Program (a “Whole of Government” strategy under the Queensland government’s Crime Prevention Strategy) to include a range of environmental amenity and community development improvements as well as the stock realignments. Of the 539 Queensland DoH homes targeted, 363 upgrades and 19 new dwellings had been completed by 2001/02 at a cost of \$12.240m and 141 sales had been completed, generating \$7.516m in capital receipts.

---

<sup>1</sup> Queensland Department of Housing (2000) Leichhardt Community Action Plan, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition.

**Figure A1.1: Location map of the Brisbane case study areas**



*South Australia: Westwood Renewal Project<sup>2</sup>*

The South Australian case study estates were both located in the Westwood urban renewal area. Precinct 1 of the area served as the diversified case study, while Precinct 6 was taken for the control area, where no renewal had so far started (and will not for some years).

The Westwood renewal project is centred on the redevelopment of a group of suburbs in northern Adelaide (Figure A1.2), collectively known as The Parks, which were originally developed by the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT) in the 1960s to provide accommodation for a largely industrial workforce. The Parks suburbs comprise of Ferryden Park, Mansfield Park, Angle Park, Athol Park, Woodville Gardens and Woodville North – a total of 5,100 houses. At the time the renewal program started, privately owned stock totalled 2,145 (42 per cent), while the SAHT owned 2,954 (58 per cent). The Trust's stock concentrations (in terms of the percentage of total dwellings in the area) in each of these suburbs (based on 1994 data) was as follows:

- Mansfield Park     45%
- Ferryden Park     76%
- Woodville Gardens     53%

---

<sup>2</sup> Data reported in this section were provided by South Australian Housing Trust from internal monitoring data.

- Angle Park 66%
- Athol Park 45%

The outcomes of the renewal program by mid-2003 in terms of the Trust's properties that have been targeted in renewal plans was as follows:

- 500 Trust properties were excluded from the project as these properties are in reasonably new condition;
- 2,458 Trust properties will be included in the project, of which:
  - 293 have been refurbished (50% retained by the Trust and 50% sold privately)
  - 2,165 have been demolished to create 2,668 new allotments (20% retained by the Trust and 80% sold privately)
- Target of 25% Trust ownership by the end of the project

The project will be scheduled over eight Precincts of which only Precinct 1 and 2 have so far been tackled. At the time of completing this report, SAHT has indicated that the renewal program in Precinct 1 (which includes part of Ferryden Park and small portion of Woodville Gardens) was completed in 2003. This initial stage involved 481 Trust properties of which 409 were demolished, creating 450 new lots. Of these, 80% were sold and 20% retained by the Trust. The other 72 houses were refurbished, of which 50% were sold and 50% retained.

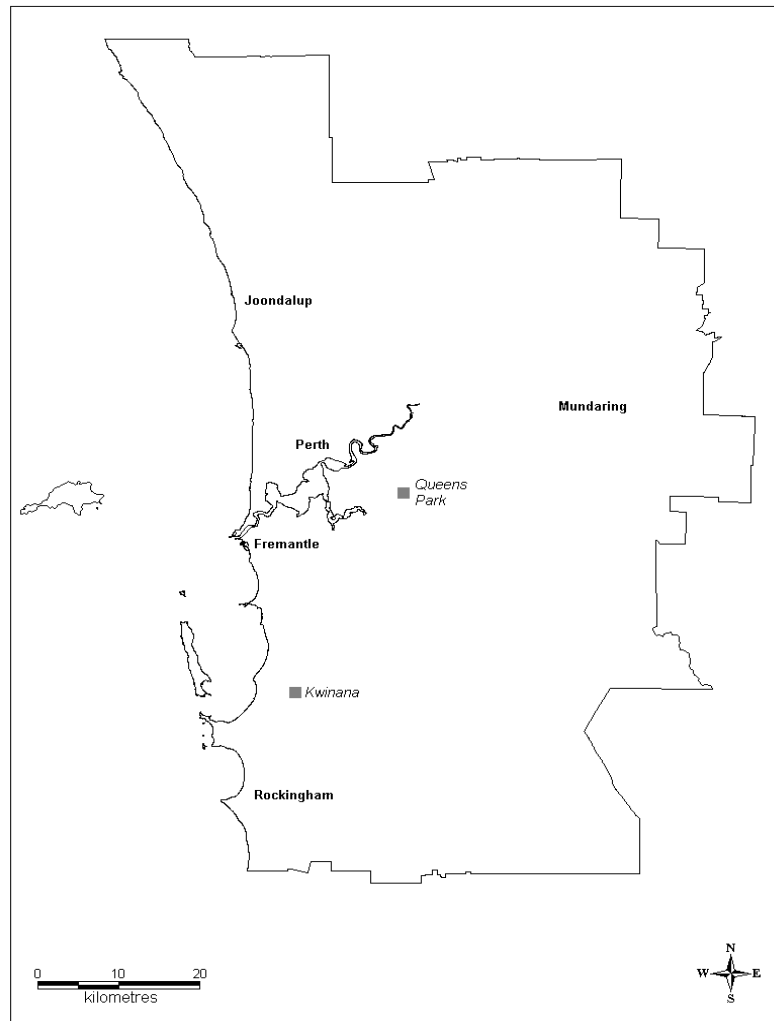
**Figure A1.2: Location map of the Adelaide Case Study Areas**



### *West Australia: Kwinana New Living Renewal Program*<sup>3</sup>

Kwinana is located 35 kms south west of Perth and had been developed by the State Government in the 1950s in response to industrial growth in the area<sup>4</sup> (Figure A1.3).

**Figure A1.3: Location map of the Perth case study areas**



The New Kwinana renewal project is centred on four suburbs of Orelia, Parmelia, Calista and Medina and commenced in May 1995 as a joint venture between Homeswest (the public landlord), the Town of Kwinana (the local government), and McCusker Holdings/Satterley Real Estate (a private sector developer, estate agent and project management consortium). The estate consisted of 1,311 dwellings, of which around a third were two storey apartment blocks which suffered high vacancy rates, while the bulk of the housing was timber framed and approaching the end of its normal life. Kwinana, together with Lockridge New Living Program, were the first two estates to be subject to renewal under Homeswest's New Living Program, which has now expanded to include 10,039 dwellings in 18 estates across the State. The aim in Kwinana is to reduce the proportion of public housing from 24 per cent to 12 per cent by the end of the program, both through sales as well as demolition and sales of subdivided land.

<sup>3</sup> Data reported in this section were provided by Homeswest from internal monitoring data.

<sup>4</sup> ERM Mitchell McCotter (1998) Evaluation of Homeswest's New Living Program in Kwinana and Lockridge, Final Report.

The program of renewal breaks down into the following categories with current (mid-2003) progress as follows:

	<b>Target</b>	<b>Progress to mid-2003</b>
Total number of targeted dwellings:	1,311	1,207
Dwellings for refurbishment and sale:	844	794
Dwellings for refurbishment and retention:	417	363
Dwelling to be demolished:	50	50
Vacant lots for sale	2,000	630

The Kwinana renewal is nearing completion. Homeswest report that property prices in the four suburbs that constitute the estate have increased from between 18.1 per cent and 28.6 per cent in the 12 months to June 2003, compared to the Perth Metropolitan average of 13.2 per cent. However, the reported crime statistics for the area have increased over the period from 1994/95, from 1,645 to 1,878, or 14 per cent. This is against the trend in most of the other New Living estates. Homeswest have noted that recent crime figures in Kwinana have fallen after peaking in 1999/2000 at 2,007 incidents, while the 5 per cent increase in population should also be taken into account<sup>5</sup>.

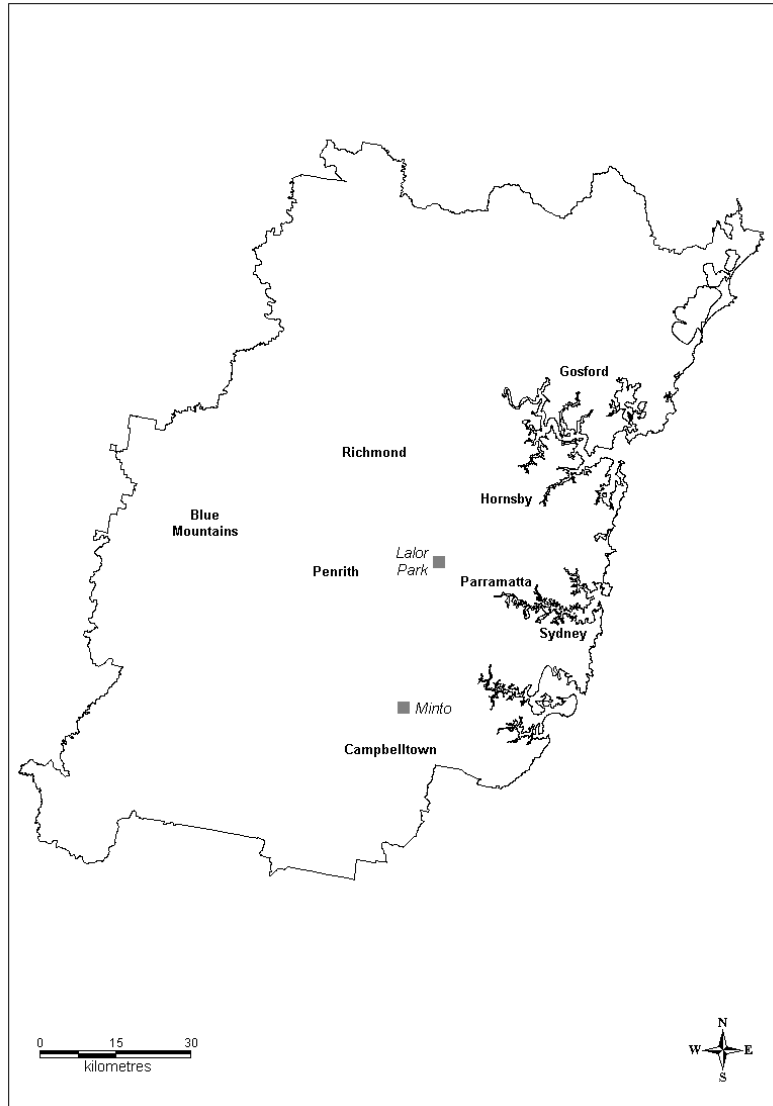
#### *New South Wales: Lalor Park*

The suburb of Lalor park is located about three kilometres from Blacktown town centre in western Sydney (Figure A1.4). The estate was developed in the 1950s and 60s and currently comprises of approximately 800 public sector dwellings. While no renewal program has been implemented here, the estate has been subject to a steady process of pepper potted sales to sitting tenants over the last thirty or so years, leading to a break up of the concentration of public ownership. No details of the numbers of sales are available from the NSW DoH. However, the analysis of census data presented in the next Chapter suggests that in the ten years from 1991 some public dwellings have been sold.

---

<sup>5</sup> Homeswest, personal communication.

Figure A1.4: Location map of the Sydney case study areas



## APPENDIX 2: 1996 AND 2001 CENSUS PROFILE ANALYSIS FOR CASE STUDY AREAS

**Table A2.1: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Leichhardt and Acacia Ridge Case Study Areas, 1996-2001**

	Leichhardt		Acacia Ridge		Brisbane SD	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Persons	3,656	3,665	5,088	5,146	1,477,013	1,608,820
Households	1,306	1,386	1,798	1,908	536,068	601,146
Owned	23.1%	26.0%	32.3%	31.0%	36.8%	35.0%
Being Purchased	22.0%	30.2%	22.9%	21.2%	28.5%	29.6%
Rent Public	33.4%	24.7%	26.5%	23.8%	4.8%	4.3%
Rent Privately	16.8%	14.0%	14.8%	18.9%	24.0%	25.4%
Other Tenure	0.5%	1.6%	0.8%	0.4%	1.6%	1.9%
Not Stated	1.6%	3.9%	1.7%	3.9%	2.1%	3.8%
Separate House	95.2%	95.5%	98.4%	94.8%	80.6%	80.1%
Semi Detached	1.1%	0.2%	0.0%	3.6%	5.2%	6.6%
Flats/Units	2.1%	2.9%	0.7%	0.6%	10.9%	11.6%
Other	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	1.1%
Couples with children	29.7%	28.1%	36.9%	30.7%	35.5%	33.1%
Couples without children	20.4%	21.8%	22.5%	22.3%	24.3%	24.9%
One parent families	25.7%	21.8%	21.3%	20.1%	11.0%	11.7%
Other families	0.9%	1.5%	1.1%	1.3%	1.6%	1.5%
Families	76.6%	73.2%	81.8%	74.4%	72.4%	71.2%
Lone person households	19.1%	23.2%	17.8%	21.7%	21.2%	22.2%
% of working age employed	79.5%	84.5%	87.2%	87.2%	91.2%	92.2%
% of working age unemployed	20.5%	15.5%	12.8%	12.8%	8.8%	7.8%
% of adults not in labour force	31.8%	34.4%	32.3%	31.9%	27.6%	26.6%
Aged 0-14	30.8%	28.3%	25.9%	25.2%	21.4%	21.0%
Aged 15-24	14.8%	13.3%	14.8%	13.4%	16.3%	15.1%
Aged 25-34	17.2%	14.7%	16.0%	14.6%	15.8%	15.3%
Aged 35-44	10.9%	13.2%	11.9%	13.8%	15.1%	15.0%
Aged 45-54	10.6%	11.3%	12.0%	11.6%	12.8%	13.7%
Aged 55-64	7.5%	10.2%	9.5%	10.7%	7.5%	8.8%
Aged 65+	8.2%	9.1%	9.8%	10.7%	11.0%	11.0%

	Leichhardt		Acacia Ridge		Brisbane SD	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Separated and Divorced	15.7%	17.5%	12.6%	15.9%	10.4%	11.5%
Enumerated at the Same Address 5 years ago	36.2%	47.6%	57.2%	55.6%	46.3%	48.1%
Birthplace- Australia	85.4%	84.1%	73.9%	70.8%	76.2%	74.6%
Birthplace - Other oceania	2.6%	3.0%	4.6%	6.1%	4.4%	5.2%
Birthplace - Europe	6.5%	6.5%	11.6%	10.7%	10.3%	9.5%
Birthplace - Middle East	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
Birthplace - North Africa	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%
Birthplace - Asia	1.3%	1.1%	4.9%	5.1%	3.9%	4.2%
Birthplace - North America	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.5%	0.5%
Birthplace - South America	0.1%	0.1%	0.8%	0.8%	0.2%	0.2%
Birthplace - Central America	0.1%	0.2%	1.1%	0.8%	0.2%	0.1%
Birthplace - Carribean	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace - Sub Saharan Africa	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.6%	0.9%
Born Overseas	10.7%	11.2%	24.0%	24.6%	20.5%	21.0%
Lacking Fluency in English	0.3%	0.1%	2.6%	2.8%	1.4%	1.4%
Indigenous Persons	6.0%	5.5%	4.3%	5.3%	1.5%	1.7%
University qualifications	2.1%	3.5%	3.8%	4.0%	11.2%	13.8%
Managers, Administrators	2.6%	2.4%	2.6%	3.3%	7.1%	7.1%
Professionals	6.6%	7.5%	5.4%	8.2%	17.7%	18.8%
Associate Professionals	7.4%	7.4%	7.7%	6.7%	11.6%	12.1%
Tradespersons	21.0%	16.2%	16.3%	14.8%	14.2%	11.8%
Advanced Clerical workers	1.8%	1.9%	2.4%	2.7%	4.4%	3.7%
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	17.4%	15.7%	18.9%	18.3%	18.0%	18.5%
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	14.5%	13.1%	17.5%	17.7%	8.3%	7.9%
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	8.7%	10.9%	9.2%	10.9%	9.6%	10.1%
Labourers	17.1%	20.3%	15.3%	15.1%	8.2%	8.1%

(source: ABS CDATE96 and CDATE2001)



**Table A2.2: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Westwood Precinct No 1 and No.6 Case Study Areas, 1996-2001**

	Westwood Precinct No 1		Westwood Precinct No 6		Adelaide SD	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Persons	1,614	948	1,622	1,482	1,041,541	1,066,103
Households	680	419	634	626	410,700	430,239
Owned	8.7%	22.2%	34.5%	33.7%	38.8%	38.7%
Being Purchased	7.6%	27.4%	14.7%	11.2%	28.4%	30.2%
Rent Public	72.4%	37.5%	40.5%	39.1%	9.6%	8.0%
Rent Privately	2.4%	11.2%	9.1%	9.1%	17.1%	17.3%
Other Tenure	0.9%	0.7%	1.4%	1.9%	2.0%	2.3%
Not Stated	2.8%	2.1%	3.3%	5.3%	2.1%	3.5%
Separate House	15.9%	50.8%	66.4%	50.5%	74.3%	75.1%
Semi Detached	69.6%	40.3%	23.7%	41.7%	13.3%	13.3%
Flats/Units	13.2%	8.8%	7.3%	7.3%	11.0%	10.6%
Other	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%
Couples with children	25.6%	25.8%	29.0%	21.4%	32.1%	29.8%
Couples without children	29.7%	22.2%	20.7%	20.6%	25.3%	25.3%
One parent families	15.7%	14.6%	15.0%	23.0%	10.4%	11.2%
Other families	3.1%	2.1%	1.4%	2.9%	1.3%	1.2%
Families	74.1%	64.7%	66.1%	67.9%	69.0%	67.6%
Lone person households	24.6%	33.4%	33.1%	32.1%	25.7%	27.2%
% of working age employed	71.0%	84.6%	73.4%	73.9%	89.4%	92.1%
% of working age unemployed	29.0%	15.4%	26.6%	26.1%	10.6%	7.9%
% of adults not in labour force	45.7%	42.9%	47.2%	43.2%	32.1%	31.1%
Aged 0-14	21.7%	18.7%	22.1%	20.0%	19.7%	18.9%
Aged 15-24	13.8%	14.0%	14.4%	14.6%	14.6%	13.8%
Aged 25-34	15.3%	16.4%	15.5%	14.7%	15.2%	14.0%
Aged 35-44	13.6%	13.3%	12.6%	12.9%	15.2%	15.1%
Aged 45-54	8.7%	11.7%	11.2%	12.6%	12.8%	14.1%
Aged 55-64	10.2%	9.8%	8.0%	9.9%	8.4%	9.4%
Aged 65+	16.8%	16.1%	16.2%	15.7%	14.1%	14.6%
Separated and Divorced	13.4%	14.4%	11.8%	13.3%	10.5%	11.6%
Enumerated at the Same Address 5 years ago	59.4%	49.6%	62.2%	59.4%	56.4%	58.6%

	Westwood Precinct No 1		Westwood Precinct No 6		Adelaide SD	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Birthplace- Australia	59.5%	58.0%	55.4%	54.0%	72.2%	72.2%
Birthplace - Other oceania	1.1%	0.9%	0.2%	0.4%	0.9%	0.9%
Birthplace - Europe	11.0%	16.6%	19.6%	17.7%	19.1%	17.5%
Birthplace - Middle East	0.2%	1.5%	0.6%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%
Birthplace - North Africa	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%
Birthplace – Asia	23.3%	21.5%	22.6%	20.6%	3.4%	3.5%
Birthplace - North America	0.0%	6.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%
Birthplace - South America	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%
Birthplace - Central America	0.4%	0.7%	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%
Birthplace - Carribean	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace – Sub Saharan Africa	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%
Born Overseas	36.6%	39.8%	44.5%	39.6%	24.9%	23.6%
Lacking Fluency in English	16.0%	12.4%	18.1%	14.9%	2.5%	2.3%
Indigenous Persons	1.4%	0.3%	3.3%	4.7%	0.9%	1.0%
University qualifications	1.7%	5.7%	2.1%	2.4%	9.9%	12.1%
Managers, Administrators	0.8%	4.0%	1.5%	3.2%	7.4%	7.1%
Professionals	4.1%	11.3%	8.9%	5.1%	18.3%	18.8%
Associate Professionals	5.8%	13.9%	5.9%	8.0%	11.1%	11.9%
Tradespersons	12.4%	11.9%	18.4%	18.7%	12.8%	12.1%
Advanced Clerical workers	0.8%	1.0%	2.3%	0.8%	4.0%	3.5%
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	11.8%	10.6%	9.9%	15.2%	17.7%	17.9%
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	24.2%	15.9%	19.1%	17.9%	8.5%	8.0%
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	7.7%	6.0%	11.2%	9.6%	9.0%	9.8%
Labourers	25.1%	22.2%	19.4%	19.3%	8.8%	9.0%

(source: ABS CDATA96 and CDATA2001)

**TABLE A2.3: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Kwinana and Queens Park Case Study Areas, 1996-2001**

	Kwinana		Queens Park		Perth SD	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Persons	12,585	13,447	811	832	1,234,350	1,325,392
Households	4,773	5,315	380	407	463,850	511,199
Owned	26.6%	27.0%	7.9%	7.6%	36.5%	35.9%
Being Purchased	41.2%	44.8%	9.5%	9.6%	31.9%	34.1%
Rent Public	14.0%	7.2%	70.8%	59.5%	4.6%	3.9%
Rent Privately	12.9%	15.0%	11.8%	15.7%	20.5%	19.5%
Other Tenure	0.9%	1.6%	0.0%	1.5%	2.0%	2.4%
Not Stated	2.0%	4.3%	0.0%	8.6%	2.2%	4.3%
Separate House	86.2%	85.7%	22.6%	20.1%	76.4%	77.5%
Semi Detached	6.1%	5.9%	76.6%	79.1%	13.6%	13.0%
Flats/Units	6.2%	7.7%	0.8%	0.0%	7.9%	8.3%
Other	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.6%
Couples with children	32.3%	27.9%	16.6%	9.6%	35.2%	32.8%
Couples without children	26.3%	24.1%	16.6%	11.5%	24.1%	24.5%
One parent families	14.8%	16.1%	25.8%	21.9%	10.3%	10.8%
Other families	1.1%	1.0%	1.6%	0.7%	1.5%	1.4%
Families	74.4%	69.1%	60.5%	43.7%	71.0%	69.5%
Lone person households	23.5%	26.0%	41.3%	43.7%	23.0%	23.9%
% of working age employed	83.4%	85.4%	82.2%	71.8%	91.7%	92.3%
% of working age unemployed	16.6%	14.6%	17.8%	28.2%	8.3%	7.7%
% of adults not in labour force	34.2%	32.9%	47.2%	40.1%	28.0%	26.9%
Aged 0-14	25.9%	23.9%	20.0%	20.8%	21.6%	20.7%
Aged 15-24	14.4%	13.6%	15.0%	14.7%	15.7%	15.1%
Aged 25-34	16.6%	15.7%	14.5%	15.1%	15.4%	14.5%
Aged 35-44	12.2%	14.0%	12.9%	13.0%	15.7%	15.4%
Aged 45-54	10.6%	11.6%	10.5%	12.1%	12.9%	14.2%
Aged 55-64	9.7%	9.5%	11.6%	9.9%	7.8%	8.9%
Aged 65+	10.7%	11.8%	15.4%	14.4%	10.8%	11.3%
Separated and Divorced	14.0%	15.7%	24.0%	25.9%	10.5%	11.3%
Enumerated at the Same Address 5 years ago	50.4%	51.6%	44.4%	42.1%	47.6%	50.6%

	Kwinana		Queens Park		Perth SD	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Birthplace- Australia	63.5%	62.9%	71.1%	65.5%	64.5%	63.6%
Birthplace - Other oceania	1.6%	3.0%	1.1%	3.1%	2.4%	2.6%
Birthplace - Europe	27.6%	24.2%	15.5%	11.5%	20.5%	18.8%
Birthplace - Middle East	0.1%	0.1%	2.0%	0.7%	0.4%	0.5%
Birthplace - North Africa	0.1%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%
Birthplace - Asia	2.2%	1.9%	6.7%	3.6%	6.5%	6.6%
Birthplace - North America	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%	0.6%	0.6%
Birthplace - South America	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%
Birthplace - Central America	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%
Birthplace - Carribean	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace - Sub Saharan Africa	0.8%	0.7%	1.5%	1.8%	1.5%	1.9%
Born Overseas	33.2%	30.7%	27.7%	21.6%	32.5%	31.6%
Lacking Fluency in English	1.0%	0.7%	3.0%	2.4%	2.1%	1.9%
Indigenous Persons	5.6%	4.0%	9.7%	8.7%	1.4%	1.5%
University qualifications	1.8%	2.6%	1.8%	2.9%	11.2%	13.5%
Managers, Administrators	3.0%	2.3%	1.5%	1.7%	7.5%	7.1%
Professionals	6.1%	6.5%	4.0%	12.1%	17.7%	18.8%
Associate Professionals	7.7%	9.3%	9.1%	5.2%	11.6%	12.7%
Tradespersons	18.7%	17.4%	11.1%	10.4%	13.5%	12.7%
Advanced Clerical workers	2.8%	1.9%	4.5%	3.5%	4.8%	4.1%
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	15.3%	16.5%	16.2%	13.9%	17.5%	17.5%
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	16.3%	16.2%	18.2%	20.2%	7.8%	7.6%
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	10.0%	11.4%	13.1%	16.2%	9.3%	10.2%
Labourers	15.8%	15.6%	13.6%	16.8%	8.0%	7.6%

(source: ABS CDATA96 and CDATA2001)

**TABLE A2.4: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Lalor Park and Minto Case Study Areas, 1991-2001**

	Lalor Park		Minto		Sydney SD	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Persons	7,706	7,351	5,957	5,594	3,518,916	3,948,015
Households	2,860	2,891	1,644	1,711	1,219,682	1,438,394
Owned	25.8%	33.0%	4.6%	11.3%	38.9%	39.0%
Being Purchased	35.3%	25.1%	22.0%	19.4%	26.4%	23.7%
Rent Public	27.5%	24.2%	62.8%	54.5%	6.8%	5.1%
Rent Privately	7.3%	11.4%	3.2%	6.7%	20.3%	23.6%
Other/Not Stated	3.7%	6.1%	7.8%	7.9%	7.5%	8.7%
Separate House	87.0%	87.2%	45.3%	50.6%	67.5%	63.1%
Semi Detached	2.1%	1.7%	52.8%	46.9%	8.7%	11.3%
Flats/Units	9.9%	10.4%	1.0%	1.6%	21.6%	23.9%
Other	0.5%	0.5%	0.0%	0.2%	1.2%	0.8%
Couples with children	35.4%	29.7%	44.1%	36.8%	39.8%	35.9%
Couples without children	23.1%	21.2%	8.2%	10.1%	21.9%	23.1%
One parent families	15.1%	16.6%	35.5%	33.8%	9.7%	10.7%
Other families	2.0%	0.9%	0.7%	1.6%	1.7%	1.5%
Families	75.7%	68.4%	88.4%	82.3%	73.1%	71.2%
Lone person households	21.0%	27.8%	5.3%	13.9%	19.2%	21.3%
% of working age employed	87.5%	91.3%	70.4%	80.1%	89.6%	93.9%
% of working age unemployed	12.5%	8.7%	29.6%	19.9%	10.4%	6.1%
% of adults not in labour force	33.6%	33.1%	24.9%	28.9%	27.5%	26.6%
Aged 0-14	21.7%	22.0%	36.8%	34.4%	21.2%	20.2%
Aged 15-24	12.8%	11.8%	19.1%	16.6%	16.2%	14.0%
Aged 25-34	17.8%	14.4%	16.4%	14.6%	16.9%	16.0%
Aged 35-44	13.1%	16.5%	15.2%	13.9%	15.4%	15.7%
Aged 45-54	7.4%	12.0%	7.4%	11.9%	11.2%	13.4%
Aged 55-64	15.7%	7.3%	2.5%	5.5%	8.3%	8.8%
Aged 65+	11.6%	16.0%	2.6%	3.1%	11.4%	11.9%
Separated and Divorced	10.2%	13.9%	13.9%	15.1%	8.2%	10.2%
Same address 5 years ago	64.6%	62.4%	48.6%	52.6%	55.1%	52.3%

	Lalor Park		Minto		Sydney SD	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Birthplace- Australia	77.5%	71.8%	71.7%	65.8%	67.3%	62.2%
Birthplace - Other oceania	2.0%	3.3%	3.0%	9.6%	2.7%	3.2%
Birthplace - Europe	10.9%	7.8%	8.7%	6.2%	14.7%	11.8%
Birthplace - Middle East	1.3%	1.8%	2.0%	0.8%	2.3%	2.6%
Birthplace - North Africa	0.5%	0.7%	0.2%	0.2%	0.5%	0.5%
Birthplace - Asia	4.5%	7.3%	5.3%	5.8%	7.8%	10.6%
Birthplace - North America	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	0.6%	0.5%
Birthplace - South and Central America and Carribean	0.7%	0.7%	2.7%	1.5%	1.0%	1.0%
Birthplace - Sub Saharan Africa	0.4%	0.7%	0.9%	1.2%	0.8%	1.0%
Born Overseas	20.9%	22.4%	23.0%	25.6%	30.4%	31.2%
Lacking Fluency in English	2.4%	2.7%	4.2%	3.1%	4.8%	4.8%
Indigenous Persons	1.2%	2.4%	4.0%	7.0%	0.6%	1.0%
University qualifications	2.6%	6.6%	1.4%	3.8%	9.6%	16.5%
Managers, Administrators	NA	3.8%	NA	3.1%	NA	9.0%
Professionals	NA	12.3%	NA	6.4%	NA	21.2%
Associate Professionals	NA	8.2%	NA	7.6%	NA	11.8%
Tradespersons	NA	14.2%	NA	14.9%	NA	11.1%
Advanced Clerical workers	NA	2.9%	NA	3.8%	NA	4.5%
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	NA	19.6%	NA	18.4%	NA	17.2%
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	NA	14.8%	NA	17.9%	NA	7.4%
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	NA	9.6%	NA	11.7%	NA	9.1%
Labourers	NA	10.9%	NA	14.6%	NA	6.6%

(source: ABS CDATA96 and CDATA2001)

**Table A 2.5: Changes in Brisbane case study areas 1996-2001**

	Leichhardt			Acacia Ridge		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Persons	9	0.2%		58	1.1%	
Households	80	6.1%		110	6.1%	
Owned	59	19.5%	2.9%	12	2.1%	-1.2%
Being Purchased	132	46.0%	8.3%	-6	-1.5%	-1.6%
Rent Public	-93	-21.3%	-8.6%	-23	-4.8%	-2.7%
Rent Privately	-25	-11.4%	-2.8%	93	34.8%	4.0%
Other Tenure	15	214.3%	1.1%	-8	-53.3%	-0.5%
Not Stated	33	157.1%	2.3%	45	150.0%	2.3%
Separate House	80	6.4%	0.3%	38	2.1%	-3.7%
Semi Detached	-11	-78.6%	-0.9%	68	NA	3.6%
Flats/Units	12	42.9%	0.7%	-1	-7.7%	-0.1%
Other	-3	-100.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Couples with children	1	0.3%	-1.6%	-78	-11.8%	-6.2%
Couples without children	36	13.5%	1.4%	21	5.2%	-0.2%
One parent families	-33	-9.9%	-3.9%	1	0.3%	-1.2%
Other families	9	75.0%	0.6%	5	26.3%	0.2%
Families	13	1.3%	-3.5%	-51	-3.5%	-7.4%
Lone person households	72	28.9%	4.1%	94	29.4%	3.9%
Employed	50	4.8%	5.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Unemployed	-68	-25.5%	-5.0%	1	0.4%	0.0%
Labour force	-18	-1.4%	0.0%	1	0.0%	0.0%
Not in labour force	96	8.2%	2.5%	-1	-0.1%	-0.4%
Aged 0-14	-88	-7.8%	-2.5%	-21	-1.6%	-0.7%
Aged 15-24	-55	-10.1%	-1.5%	-64	-8.5%	-1.4%
Aged 25-34	-89	-14.1%	-2.5%	-64	-7.9%	-1.4%
Aged 35-44	84	21.1%	2.3%	103	17.0%	1.9%
Aged 45-54	27	7.0%	0.7%	-16	-2.6%	-0.4%
Aged 55-64	96	34.8%	2.6%	70	14.5%	1.3%
Aged 65+	34	11.4%	0.9%	50	10.0%	0.9%

	Leichhardt			Acacia Ridge		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Separated and Divorced	62	15.6%	1.8%	139	29.4%	3.4%
Same address 5 years ago	438	38.3%	11.4%	-23	-0.9%	-1.7%
Birthplace- Australia	-39	-1.2%	-1.3%	-116	-3.1%	-3.1%
Birthplace - Other Oceania	15	15.6%	0.4%	81	34.5%	1.5%
Birthplace - Europe	4	1.7%	0.1%	-38	-6.5%	-0.9%
Birthplace - Middle East	-6	-100.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace - North Africa	0	0.0%	0.0%	4	33.3%	0.1%
Birthplace - Asia	-8	-16.3%	-0.2%	14	5.6%	0.2%
Birthplace - North America	0	0.0%	0.0%	-3	-33.3%	-0.1%
Birthplace - South America	0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace - Central America	6	200.0%	0.2%	-15	-26.3%	-0.3%
Birthplace - Carribean	0	0.0%	0.0%	-3	-100.0%	-0.1%
Birthplace – Sub Saharan Africa	9	300.0%	0.2%	9	100.0%	0.2%
Born Overseas	19	4.9%	0.5%	45	3.7%	0.6%
Lacking Fluency in English	-6	-66.7%	-0.2%	11	9.0%	0.2%
Indigenous Persons	-18	-8.3%	-0.5%	55	25.3%	1.0%
University qualifications	39	72.2%	1.4%	12	8.5%	0.2%
Managers, Administrators	-1	-3.7%	-0.2%	13	27.7%	0.7%
Professionals	14	20.6%	1.0%	51	52.0%	2.8%
Associate Professionals	4	5.2%	0.0%	-18	-12.9%	-1.0%
Tradespersons	-42	-19.3%	-4.8%	-27	-9.2%	-1.5%
Advanced Clerical workers	2	10.5%	0.1%	5	11.6%	0.3%
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	-10	-5.5%	-1.7%	-11	-3.2%	-0.6%
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	-7	-4.7%	-1.3%	4	1.3%	0.2%
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	29	32.2%	2.3%	30	18.0%	1.7%
Labourers	43	24.2%	3.2%	-4	-1.4%	-0.2%



**Table A2.6: Changes in Adelaide case study areas 1996-2001**

	Westwood Precinct No 1			Westwood Precinct No 6		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Persons	-666	-41.3%		-140	-8.6%	
Households	-261	-38.4%		-8	-1.3%	
Owned	34	57.6%	13.5%	-8	-3.7%	-0.8%
Being Purchased	63	121.2%	19.8%	-23	-24.7%	-3.5%
Rent Public	-335	-68.1%	-34.9%	-12	-4.7%	-1.4%
Rent Privately	31	193.8%	8.9%	-1	-1.7%	0.0%
Other Tenure	-3	-50.0%	-0.2%	3	33.3%	0.5%
Not Stated	-10	-52.6%	-0.6%	12	57.1%	2.0%
Separate House	105	97.2%	35.0%	-105	-24.9%	-15.9%
Semi Detached	-304	-64.3%	-29.2%	111	74.0%	18.0%
Flats/Units	-53	-58.9%	-4.4%	0	0.0%	0.1%
Other	-6	-100.0%	-0.9%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Couples with children	-66	-37.9%	0.2%	-50	-27.2%	-7.6%
Couples without children	-109	-54.0%	-7.5%	-2	-1.5%	-0.1%
One parent families	-46	-43.0%	-1.2%	49	51.6%	8.0%
Other families	-12	-57.1%	-0.9%	9	100.0%	1.5%
Families	-233	-46.2%	-9.4%	6	1.4%	1.8%
Lone person households	-27	-16.2%	8.9%	24	13.6%	4.2%
Employed	-61	-16.8%	13.6%	-18	-4.6%	0.5%
Unemployed	-93	-62.8%	-13.6%	-10	-7.0%	-0.5%
Labour force	-154	-30.1%	0.0%	-28	-5.2%	0.0%
Not in labour force	-330	-44.8%	-2.7%	-126	-16.4%	-4.0%
Aged 0-14	-173	-49.4%	-3.0%	-61	-17.0%	-2.0%
Aged 15-24	-89	-40.1%	0.3%	-18	-7.7%	0.1%
Aged 25-34	-92	-37.2%	1.0%	-33	-13.1%	-0.8%
Aged 35-44	-93	-42.5%	-0.3%	-14	-6.8%	0.2%
Aged 45-54	-30	-21.3%	3.0%	5	2.7%	1.4%
Aged 55-64	-71	-43.3%	-0.4%	17	13.1%	1.9%

	Westwood Precinct No 1			Westwood Precinct No 6		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Aged 65+	-118	-43.5%	-0.7%	-30	-11.5%	-0.5%
Separated and Divorced	-59	-34.7%	0.9%	9	6.0%	1.5%
Same address 5 years ago	-438	-49.9%	-9.8%	-90	-9.8%	-2.8%
Birthplace- Australia	-410	-42.7%	-1.5%	-98	-10.9%	-1.4%
Birthplace - Other Oceania	-9	-50.0%	-0.2%	3	100.0%	0.2%
Birthplace - Europe	-21	-11.8%	5.5%	-56	-17.6%	-1.9%
Birthplace - Middle East	11	366.7%	1.3%	-3	-33.3%	-0.2%
Birthplace - North Africa	0	0.0%	0.0%	-6	-100.0%	-0.4%
Birthplace - Asia	-172	-45.7%	-1.8%	-61	-16.6%	-2.0%
Birthplace - North America	3	NA	6.0%	-3	-100.0%	-0.2%
Birthplace - South America	0	0.0%	0.3%	6	0.0%	0.4%
Birthplace - Central America	1	16.7%	0.4%	-3	-100.0%	-0.2%
Birthplace - Carribean	0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace – Sub Saharan Africa	0	0.0%	0.1%	3	100.0%	0.2%
Born Overseas	-213	-36.1%	3.2%	-134	-18.6%	-4.8%
Lacking Fluency in English	-126	-53.4%	-3.6%	-59	-22.2%	-3.2%
Indigenous Persons	-20	-87.0%	-1.1%	16	29.6%	1.4%
University qualifications	23	109.5%	4.0%	1	3.7%	0.2%
Managers, Administrators	9	300.0%	3.1%	6	100.0%	1.7%
Professionals	19	126.7%	7.1%	-16	-45.7%	-3.8%
Associate Professionals	21	100.0%	8.1%	7	30.4%	2.2%
Tradespersons	-9	-20.0%	-0.5%	-2	-2.8%	0.3%
Advanced Clerical workers	0	0.0%	0.2%	-6	-66.7%	-1.5%
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	-11	-25.6%	-1.2%	18	46.2%	5.3%
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	-40	-45.5%	-8.3%	-8	-10.7%	-1.2%
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	-10	-35.7%	-1.8%	-8	-18.2%	-1.6%
Labourers	-24	-26.4%	-2.9%	-4	-5.3%	-0.1%

**Table A2.7: Changes in Perth case study areas 1996-2001**

	Kwinana			Queens Park		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Persons	862	6.8%		21	2.6%	
Households	542	11.4%		27	7.1%	
Owned	165	13.0%	0.4%	1	3.3%	-0.3%
Being Purchased	414	21.1%	3.6%	3	8.3%	0.1%
Rent Public	-282	-42.3%	-6.7%	-27	-10.0%	-11.3%
Rent Privately	180	29.3%	2.1%	19	42.2%	3.9%
Other Tenure	41	91.1%	0.7%	6	NA	1.5%
Not Stated	136	143.2%	2.4%	35	NA	8.6%
Separate House	441	10.7%	-0.5%	-4	-4.7%	-2.5%
Semi Detached	24	8.3%	-0.2%	31	10.7%	2.5%
Flats/Units	114	38.4%	1.5%	-3	-100.0%	-0.8%
Other	6	NA	0.1%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Couples with children	-59	-3.8%	-4.4%	-24	-38.1%	-7.0%
Couples without children	28	2.2%	-2.2%	-16	-25.4%	-5.0%
One parent families	149	21.1%	1.3%	-9	-9.2%	-3.9%
Other families	3	5.9%	-0.1%	-3	-50.0%	-0.8%
Families	121	3.4%	-5.3%	-52	-22.6%	-16.8%
Lone person households	259	23.1%	2.5%	21	13.4%	2.4%
Employed	651	16.3%	2.0%	-25	-12.6%	-10.4%
Unemployed	1	0.1%	-2.0%	25	58.1%	10.4%
Labour force	652	13.6%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Not in labour force	124	2.9%	-1.3%	-49	-12.8%	-7.1%
Aged 0-14	-46	-1.4%	-2.0%	11	6.8%	0.8%
Aged 15-24	14	0.8%	-0.8%	0	0.0%	-0.4%
Aged 25-34	28	1.3%	-0.9%	8	6.8%	0.6%
Aged 35-44	346	22.6%	1.8%	3	2.9%	0.0%
Aged 45-54	231	17.3%	1.0%	16	18.8%	1.7%
Aged 55-64	51	4.2%	-0.2%	-12	-12.8%	-1.7%

	Kwinana			Queens Park		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Aged 65+	238	17.7%	1.1%	-5	-4.0%	-1.0%
Separated and Divorced	294	22.4%	1.6%	15	9.6%	1.9%
Same address 5 years ago	613	10.7%	1.2%	-12	-3.7%	-2.3%
Birthplace- Australia	470	5.9%	-0.6%	-32	-5.5%	-5.6%
Birthplace - Other Oceania	199	98.5%	1.4%	17	188.9%	2.0%
Birthplace - Europe	-215	-6.2%	-3.4%	-30	-23.8%	-4.0%
Birthplace - Middle East	-3	-20.0%	0.0%	-10	-62.5%	-1.3%
Birthplace - North Africa	0	0.0%	0.0%	-3	-100.0%	-0.4%
Birthplace - Asia	-30	-10.6%	-0.4%	-24	-44.4%	-3.1%
Birthplace - North America	-5	-13.2%	-0.1%	3	NA	0.4%
Birthplace - South America	12	24.5%	0.1%	-3	-100.0%	-0.4%
Birthplace - Central America	3	75.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace - Carribean	0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace – Sub Saharan Africa	0	0.0%	0.0%	3	25.0%	0.3%
Born Overseas	-43	-1.0%	-2.4%	-45	-20.0%	-6.1%
Lacking Fluency in English	-27	-23.1%	-0.3%	-4	-18.2%	-0.6%
Indigenous Persons	-163	-23.3%	-1.6%	-7	-8.9%	-1.1%
University qualifications	103	62.0%	0.8%	7	58.3%	1.0%
Managers, Administrators	-15	-12.5%	-0.7%	0	0.0%	0.2%
Professionals	57	23.3%	0.4%	13	162.5%	8.1%
Associate Professionals	124	40.3%	1.6%	-9	-50.0%	-3.9%
Tradespersons	61	8.2%	-1.3%	-4	-18.2%	-0.7%
Advanced Clerical workers	-25	-22.3%	-0.9%	-3	-33.3%	-1.1%
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	156	25.5%	1.2%	-8	-25.0%	-2.3%
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	102	15.6%	-0.1%	-1	-2.8%	2.0%
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	129	32.2%	1.4%	2	7.7%	3.1%
Labourers	92	14.5%	-0.2%	2	7.4%	3.1%

**Table A2.8: Changes in Sydney case study areas 1991-2001**

	Lalor Park			Minto		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Persons	-355	-4.6%		-363	-6.1%	
Households	31	1.1%		67	4.1%	
Owned	215	29.1%	7.2%	119	158.7%	6.8%
Being Purchased	-282	-27.9%	-10.1%	-29	-8.0%	-2.6%
Rent Public	-88	-11.2%	-3.3%	-100	-9.7%	-8.3%
Rent Privately	122	58.7%	4.1%	61	115.1%	3.4%
Other/Not Stated	72	68.6%	2.5%	8	6.3%	0.2%
Separate House	33	1.3%	0.2%	121	16.3%	5.3%
Semi Detached	-11	-18.3%	-0.4%	-65	-7.5%	-5.9%
Flats/Units	20	7.1%	0.6%	11	64.7%	0.6%
Other	0	0.0%	0.0%	3	NA	0.2%
Couples with children	-154	-15.2%	-5.7%	-95	-13.1%	-7.3%
Couples without children	-50	-7.6%	-2.0%	39	29.1%	2.0%
One parent families	47	10.9%	1.5%	-5	-0.9%	-1.7%
Other families	-29	-51.8%	-1.0%	15	125.0%	0.8%
Families	-186	-8.6%	-7.2%	-46	-3.2%	-6.2%
Lone person households	205	34.2%	6.9%	151	173.6%	8.6%
Employed	-109	-3.8%	3.8%	36	2.5%	9.7%
Unemployed	-147	-35.7%	-3.8%	-238	-39.5%	-9.7%
Labour force	-256	-7.8%	0.0%	-202	-9.9%	0.0%
Not in labour force	-158	-6.1%	-0.5%	133	9.0%	4.0%
Aged 0-14	-53	-3.2%	0.3%	-265	-12.1%	-2.3%
Aged 15-24	-117	-11.9%	-1.0%	-208	-18.3%	-2.5%
Aged 25-34	-313	-22.8%	-3.4%	-160	-16.4%	-1.8%
Aged 35-44	207	20.6%	3.4%	-131	-14.4%	-1.4%
Aged 45-54	312	55.0%	4.6%	227	51.5%	4.5%
Aged 55-64	-671	-55.5%	-8.4%	156	104.7%	3.0%
Aged 65+	280	31.3%	4.4%	18	11.6%	0.5%

	Lalor Park			Minto		
	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change	Absolute Change	Percentage Change	Percentage Point Change
Separated and Divorced	178	28.9%	3.7%	28	5.3%	1.1%
Same address 5 years ago	-341	-7.5%	-2.1%	67	2.6%	3.9%
Birthplace- Australia	-696	-11.7%	-5.7%	-588	-13.8%	-5.9%
Birthplace - Other Oceania	87	56.5%	1.3%	363	206.3%	6.7%
Birthplace - Europe	-269	-32.0%	-3.1%	-174	-33.5%	-2.5%
Birthplace - Middle East	28	27.7%	0.4%	-71	-60.7%	-1.1%
Birthplace - North Africa	13	32.5%	0.2%	0	0.0%	0.0%
Birthplace - Asia	188	53.9%	2.8%	7	2.2%	0.5%
Birthplace - North America	-1	-4.0%	0.0%	3	100.0%	0.1%
Birthplace - South and Central America and Carribean	-7	-12.7%	-0.1%	-76	-46.9%	-1.2%
Birthplace - Sub Saharan Africa	15	45.5%	0.2%	14	26.9%	0.3%
Born Overseas	43	2.7%	1.6%	61	4.4%	2.6%
Lacking Fluency in English	8	4.6%	0.2%	-64	-29.4%	-1.1%
Indigenous Persons	84	89.4%	1.2%	156	65.8%	3.0%
University qualifications	219	140.4%	4.0%	87	164.2%	2.4%
Managers, Administrators	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Professionals	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Associate Professionals	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Tradespersons	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Advanced Clerical workers	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Intermediate Clerical and Sales workers	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Intermediate Production and Transport workers	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Elementary Clerical and Sales workers	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Labourers	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

## **AHURI Research Centres**

Sydney Research Centre  
UNSW-UWS Research Centre  
RMIT-NATSEM Research Centre  
Swinburne-Monash Research Centre  
Queensland Research Centre  
Western Australia Research Centre  
Southern Research Centre

## **Affiliates**

Northern Territory University  
National Community Housing Forum



Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute  
Level 1 114 Flinders Street, Melbourne Victoria 3000  
Phone +61 3 9660 2300 Fax +61 3 9663 5488  
Email [information@ahuri.edu.au](mailto:information@ahuri.edu.au) Web [www.ahuri.edu.au](http://www.ahuri.edu.au)