

The effects of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing: a case study on urban renewal

authored by

Roz Walker, John Ballard, Cheryle Taylor and Jean Hillier

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AHB	Aboriginal Housing Board
AHIU	Aboriginal Housing and Infrastructure Unit
AHURI	Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute
ATSIC	Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Commission
DHW	Department of Housing and Works in Western Australia
FaCS	Family and Community Services
JRF	Joseph Rowntree Foundation
NSW	New South Wales
NSWDOH	New South Wales Department of Housing
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
REIWA	Real Estate Institute of Western Australia
SGS	Spiller Gibbins Swan
SHA's	State Housing Authorities
UDIA	Urban Development Institute Awards
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WA	Western Australia
WAPC	Western Australia Planning Commission

GLOSSARY

Brown fields	Land that has been previously developed
Green fields	Land that has not been developed
Grey fields	Land that has been previously developed for commercial or industrial usage

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The focus of this research is the New Living program which is a Western Australian Government urban renewal initiative that aims to 'change the face of public housing' (DHW 2001) in WA through refurbishment of old housing stock, beautification of street scapes and other public spaces and community development to involve community participation (Tonts, et al 2001).

A number of terms are used to describe the renewal of urban environments. These include regeneration, revitalisation, redevelopment and renewal. Often these terms are used interchangeably: between states and nations, government agencies, academics and even within texts. The term 'urban renewal' is used predominantly in this Positioning Paper because it is the key terminology used by the Department of Housing and Works (DHW) when referring to the New Living Program which is the main focus of this research.

The last decade has seen a growing trend towards urban renewal in Australia and internationally (Wood 2002) to redress the social and physical consequences of inappropriate public housing planning since the post war period through to the 1970's. Urban renewal is generally initiated by government agencies sometimes in partnership with the private sector with the aim to improve the social and physical fabric of 'blighted' areas (Arthurson 1998; Bridge 2001).

Urban renewal is founded on different social and urban theories. These include physical determinism, cycles of disadvantage and more contemporary theories such as social inclusion/exclusion. All of these theories suffer limitations and possible contradictions although Carley (1990:29) suggests they are all 'partly right, partly wrong' and warns against orthodoxy within any one theory.

These theories are based on different assumptions about the causes of housing problems which in turn influence the various strategies developed by governments in both Australia and overseas. These strategies include social mix, community building and physical development.

Recent approaches social housing policies to redress the mistakes of the past tend to encompass and repackage aspects of both past theories and solutions using the benefits of hindsight and a deeper understanding of both the complexities involved and the need to engage the people affected in the process. Theories underpinning contemporary urban renewal involve a blend of 'physical determinism' (with its concomitant focus on housing and community design); cycles of disadvantage and concentrations of poverty (tenure diversification and social mix); together with social exclusion/social inclusion (with its renewed emphasis on community building, community participation and community development). Even so the literature highlights the inadequacy of these approaches to address the broader structural issues, which are now more complex and unpredictable as a consequence of the economic, social, cultural and political influences of globalisation.

Recent studies have focused upon effects of these strategies. Radolph (2001) for example argues that displacing residents by changing the social mix disrupts important social ties, reducing social cohesion which can cause significant impacts upon the mental, spiritual and social wellbeing of the community. Studies of ethnic groups and the few cited instances of the impacts upon Indigenous families indicate that displacement also has the potential to disrupt kinship ties (Tonts, Jones, Fisher, Hillier & Hugman 2001). Furthermore, there are concerns that those displaced may be moved areas where a rival family lives creating new pockets of social conflict. Research suggests that people may be attached to an area because it has cultural or heritage significance. Moving people from such areas can cause psychological trauma and distress. Other studies confirm the need to involve tenants in all stages of renewal and to provide genuine choice in relocation if it is to be successful (Wood 2002).

The second aim of this research is to develop a framework of principles and indicators (category systems) relating to Indigenous community wellbeing. The areas explored through this research are social, cultural, physical, economic, societal/political and community wellbeing of Indigenous people. Parry Strommen (2001) emphasise the need for comprehensive, long term research and measures and pre and post renewal evaluation of each location to assess

the social impacts of relocation. Together these findings highlight the urgent need to develop indicators that can measure both quality and quantity of change and the ability to assist policy makers to anticipate future trends and measure the impacts of policies. (Auclair & Guenter 2002; Cobb, Clifford & Rixford 1998)

To achieve both research aims this project looks at six New Living locations, three in Perth and three in rural/regional Western Australia.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the preliminary research to date:

- firstly, urban renewal in the Australian context can best be viewed as a hybrid approach encompassing aspects of past urban development approaches together with resuscitated and refined community development processes and contemporary notions of shared governance;
- secondly, there is a growing recognition among policymakers and the wider society that in order to achieve the goals of a socially just, democratic and multicultural Australia there is a need to redress the colonial legacy of disadvantage experienced by the majority of Indigenous Australians by acknowledging and providing opportunities to meet their diverse needs and aspirations with respect to health, education, employment and housing;
- thirdly, indicators of wellbeing need to incorporate Indigenous perspectives of self-determination;
- fourthly, it is crucial to track and obtain resident perspectives of impact over time; and
- finally, given the apparent congruence between urban renewal in Australia and the international experience and the longer lead time important lessons can be learned from existing studies, highlighting the need for more analytical and conceptual rigor in reviewing existing studies.

Anticipated Outcomes

The research will have a number of crucially important and incisive outcomes that will bear directly upon current and future urban renewal programs, policies and processes of evaluation States and Territories in Australia. These include:

- An improved and more precise understanding of the impacts of the WA benchmark practice in urban renewal, governance, consultation, participation and implementation strategies.
- Identification and further substantiation of the wide range of links that exist specifically between housing and health, physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing which will inform DHW, Family and Community Services (FACS), Ministry of Justice, Health and other social services in respect to questions of economic efficiency and allocation of resources, the potential to improve the effectiveness and scope of current levels of housing expenditure by incorporating a more holistic and capacity building approach to prevent broader social issues/problems;
- Future policy strategies that begin to address the complex relations of tenure quota ratios in respect to public/private, socio-economic and cultural tenure mix, distribution and relocation;
- Capacity building regarding housing research in WA and its implications for other states in terms of urban renewal and community wellbeing indicators.
- Identification and analysis of relevant lessons from the Eastern States, the USA and UK to further improve national urban renewal programs including New Living;
- Improved shaping and targeting of policy to Indigenous households – increase effectiveness of program linkages and overcome any existing problems for FACS, State Housing Authorities (SHA's) etc;
- Capacity building of Indigenous researchers, research training for new and early career researchers

- Process and principles for engaging Indigenous people in renewal projects

The research project will directly contribute to increased knowledge, understanding of factors and mechanisms which inhibit and assist social transformation, capacity building and community sustainability. This is highly crucial in the current policy context in which state and federal governments are striving to attain whole of government approaches to be more effective and efficient in responding to a wide range of inter-related social issues including housing, health, education, crime and employment.

This research is specifically aimed at these ends by offering deeper and more wide ranging insights and initiatives for future policy directions at various levels that touch upon urban and community development both in the particular terms of Indigenous communities and in respect to the more general questions of urban renewal highlighted in this research.

Very little is understood about the possible unintended negative impacts (and the likely associated and subsequent costs upon government and welfare service agencies) of urban renewal upon particular groups, especially Indigenous people. The findings by Parry Strommen (2001:144) emphasised the need to undertake extensive evaluation which goes beyond financial costs and benefits to understand the broader social issues in renewal processes. This research will provide both new and comprehensive analysis in this area with policy implications for all States and Territories facing similar issues.

This research extends the horizon of urban governance and social policy strategies towards more effective, culturally holistic and participatory developments that decrease, rather than intensify and entrench, the problems of social and cultural disadvantage, community wellbeing, health and crime.

The project's review of literature is centred on the relationship between urban renewal and community wellbeing, but encompasses related questions so as to inform a broader analytical understanding of current national and international policy initiatives and development strategies of community well being in conjunction with urban renewal programs. However, the specific focus of the New Living literature review examines the nexus between urban renewal and Indigenous community well being.

The remainder of this research will include fieldwork in each of the six sites identified in consultation with key housing and Indigenous stakeholders. Interviews will be held with relevant stakeholders, with special attention to Indigenous people who have relocated in other areas. As other research has indicated length of time to prepare people for change, and the degree of genuine felt choice in final outcomes may be important variables to consider in measuring wellbeing for all tenants affected by urban renewal. Concomitantly 'length of time' may also be an important factor in influencing how people respond to questions regarding the effects of urban renewal upon them irrespective of whether they remain within the area in a refurbished home, purchase a home, or relocate.

1 INTRODUCTION

Recent studies on urban renewal in Western Australia confirm the need for, and importance of, research into the effects of the New Living program (a joint initiative between the state and local government and private industry sector) upon Indigenous people. Initial research with existing and new tenants in at least two New Living estates in WA has revealed the need for further research to assess the impact of renewal programs on Indigenous people in WA. (See Parry-Strommen 2001; Hillier 2001; Shelter WA 2001).

Drawing on recent experiences in the Karrawarra New Living project, Wilkins (in Randolph & Judd, 2001) outlines the very real grief experienced by communities involved in urban renewal, and the potential impacts upon their mental, spiritual and social wellbeing. Karrawarra has a high percentage of Indigenous people. This study highlights the problems of using 'top down', 'surrogate community development' approaches in establishing urban renewal projects and the importance of utilising participatory community development approaches to build community capacity and ensure the sustainability of urban renewal developments. Wood's (2002) research has similar findings.

Given the importance that urban renewal projects place on strengthening community it is both necessary and useful to define the concept and its usage. 'Community' is used in the New Living program in a generic sense, conflating both physical social interaction and the psychological sense of community. In order to collect useful information and undertake meaningful analysis in this study it is important to distinguish between these two aspects of community, particularly with regard to its meaning and use in Indigenous contexts. Many studies confirm that establishing boundaries to generate social interaction within a location is not a sufficient requirement for building a psychological sense of community (Dudgeon, Mallard, Oxenham & Fielder 2002; Hughey & Speer 2002). Urban renewal practice, however, continues to promote the former as a vehicle for physically determining the latter. While local interactions may contribute to building social capital (Cox 1995, 1996; Putnam 1994) the importance of family and kinship networks in developing and maintaining a sense of community is also well documented. Research in other states suggests that facilitating community events and other activities is crucial to foster and maintain a sense of community. (Wood 2002)

1.1 Project Summary

This research builds on research into the effects of the New Living program in WA (See Hillier 2001; Parry & Strommen 2001; Randolph & Judd 2001; Shelter WA, 2001; Wood 2001; Tonts et al 2001). It is the first project to look specifically at the programs impact upon Indigenous people fulfilling an urgent need identified by several of the researchers cited above.

Six Case Studies sites have been identified and provide the main source of data for the research findings. They include three metropolitan sites, Coolbellup, Midvale and Langford, situated in the Southern, Eastern and Central land corridors within Perth and three sites in major regional centres, Carey Park (Bunbury), Rangeway (Geraldton) and Adeline (Kalgoorlie).

1.2 Project Aims

The aims of the project are:

- To review current processes of governance, consultation, participation and implementation strategies related to the relocation of Indigenous people, choice of new locations and their impacts on individual and collective wellbeing. This will assist policymakers to make informed decisions and to implement cost effective options which maximise best possible outcomes for all stakeholders.
- To develop a framework of principles relating to Indigenous community wellbeing to deepen understanding of the impacts of urban renewal programs on Indigenous households. This will allow governments to evaluate programs at specific locations taking into account all contextual factors.
- To consider different approaches and models/options to urban renewal (i.e.: in situ and relocation), to identify the potential consequences and relations of each so that SHAs may

consider implementing strategies which have the most positive/cost effective outcomes for Indigenous people.

1.3 Positioning Paper

This Positioning Paper is divided into five sections. Section one examines the historical background and theoretical assumptions underpinning different theories about urban renewal. Section two explores the contemporary policy context. Section three provides an overview of urban renewal in Australia and discusses WA's New Living program within this broader context but with regard to specific issues specific to Indigenous people raised in previous research.

Section four discusses the links between housing and wellbeing indicators and explores the sorts of category systems and indicators which may be relevant to measure and assess the effects and effectiveness of urban renewal programs again with particular regard to Indigenous wellbeing. A second strand of literature is reviewed as part of the process of determining the effects of urban renewal on Indigenous wellbeing. This includes current literature pertaining to the processes of governance, consultation, participation and implementation strategies related to the relocation of Indigenous people, choice of new community locations and their impacts on individual and collective wellbeing.

Section five discusses the methodology and outlines the next phase of the research.

SECTION 1

2 HISTORICAL & THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO URBAN RENEWAL

Introduction

This chapter outlines the historical background to urban renewal, a critique of its theoretical underpinnings, and its intended goals and the strategies to achieve them.

Urban renewal in both Australia and overseas is a mainly housing-led response to tackle growing social problems experienced among communities/groups living in public housing estates as a result of post-war policies and practices. These policies were largely shaped by successive theories about the cause of social problems and motivated by a strong belief in the merits of social engineering. The most important theories influencing public housing policies and ultimately contemporary urban renewal trends are physical determinism, cycles of disadvantage, concentration poverty and social inclusion/exclusion.

Physical Determinism

The basic premise of 'physical determinism' is that 'control and manipulation of the physical environment have a direct and determinate effect on social behaviour.' (Carley 1990:23) This notion has been widely criticised for its failure to consider human beings as an independent variable (Carley 1990:23). However, Carley also points out that the various movements in physical determinism 'contain important truths, but if overstated they are deficient as a whole explanation of interrelated housing and poverty problems.' (1990:24). Similarly, Ambrose (2001:10) claims that besides physical environment a range of other factors affect health and wellbeing including: 'social isolation, poor nutrition, lack of secure employment, unequal power relationships between residents and 'gate keepers' (whether in housing or other fields) and debilitating levels of stress and frustration.' Further to this assumptions underpinning physical determinism tend to ignore the role of broader structural elements which perpetuate various social problems.

Cycles of Disadvantage and Concentration of the Urban Poor

Theories regarding cycles of disadvantage and concentration of poverty are criticised for the measuring techniques used and the failure to consider the impacts of globalisation on local economies. Carley (1990) highlights the danger of focusing on individuals rather than the issues that arise from living in a 'Culture of Poverty' (Lewis 1966). Approaches to the study of disadvantage such as the 'Culture of Poverty' have been widely critiqued due to the flawed assumption that people experiencing poverty need to be regarded and treated differently from the rest of society (Goode & Eames 1996).

Social Exclusion/Social Inclusion

The concept of social exclusion represents 'a shift in analysis to the social and political implications of poverty and deprivation' (Wood, Randolph & Judd 2002:7). According to Randolph and Judd (1999:6) the concept of social exclusion is used to theorise and understand 'a wide range of interrelated aspects of social disadvantage' usually associated with public housing but not necessarily restricted to public housing tenants (Parry & Strommen 2000:181). It is widely recognised in the literature that past public housing policies and programs have inadvertently led to certain individuals, groups or communities experiencing social exclusion. (Parry & Strommen 2001:182). The theory of social exclusion focuses on the processes surrounding marginalisation. It recognises that for any number of interrelated reasons associated with housing (location, standard, tenure), poverty, welfare dependency, poor health or substance use that people may be disadvantaged in ways that prevent them from participating within and enjoying the opportunities experienced by mainstream society. It does not seek causal links but rather it extends beyond previous notions about cycles of disadvantage to account for the complexity and interconnectedness of social, economic cultural

and political factors which impact on the 'life chances, prospects and networks' of individuals, families and communities in contemporary societies.

In contrast social inclusion refers to a range of social policies and in some instances a raft of emerging 'whole of government' strategies that attempt to overcome multi-dimensional levels of disadvantage. Affirmative action, social justice, rights are areas encompassed under the rubric of social inclusion and require ways to measure wellbeingness and hence the growing interest in such concepts as building social capital (or establishing social cohesion). Although Levitas analysing UK policies notes that goals and strategies to address social exclusion are often referred to as integration rather than social inclusion (noted in Wood et al 2002:9). While Miller (also cited in Wood et al *ibid*) presents social exclusion, social inclusion and social cohesion as an additive policy continuum'. One of the problems with social exclusion analysis as with other policy analysis is the conceptual confusion surrounding terms such as social capital and social cohesion which are often used synonymously.

Social Capital

The concept of 'social capital' is identified in the literature as a key issue in the strengthening or weakening of communities over time (Putnam, 1993, 1998; Cox 1995; Graycar & Nelson, 1999). Cox (1996:15), defines 'social capital' as

the processes between people which establish networks, norms and social trust and facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. Social capital is the sum of relationships and networks that make for a flourishing society, that provide the basis for a general sense of well-being and promote integration.

Putnam (1993:177) claims that communities can only be strengthened by civic trust, norms networks and reciprocity is facilitated and sustained.

An important point noted by Tonts et al (2001) which has particular relevance for this study is the distinction between 'bonding capital' and 'building capital'. According to Gittel and Vidal (1998:15) the former 'brings closer together people who already know each other' while the latter 'brings together people who previously did not know each other. This conceptual distinction may be important when applying the idea of social capital to policy development and to urban renewal. Although Tonts et al make the point 'that which 'bonds' may not 'build', it is equally hard to maintain that which is built without some agent that bonds. To promote civil society, build social capital and strengthen communities it is necessary for governments to develop policies that promote, facilitate or support the various elements that go to make up the necessary community infrastructure (Cox, 1995; Gauntlett, Hugman, Kenyon, Logan 2000, Tonts et al 2001).

Although social capital depends on community action the challenge for government is to facilitate, empower and resource communities to define their own solutions (Falk & Harrison, 1998) and determine their own directions without setting up one way accountability requirements a point that is picked up in the section on governance.

2.1 Theories underpinning Urban Renewal

The rise of 'urban ghettos' in public housing areas of post-war modernist design highly populated by people disadvantaged in areas of employment, health, education and other socio-economic indicators has led to the resurgence of the debate on physical determinism (Bohl 2000:777; Carley 1990:23). Theories pertaining to 'cycles of disadvantage' and 'concentration of the urban poor' initially developed in opposition to 'physical determinism' now sit side by side and underpin current approaches to urban development and renewal as ways of overcoming social problems (Carley 1990:25).

While previous attempts in the UK to overcome disadvantage and poverty involved intensive assistance and positive discrimination (Carley 1990) current approaches attempt to positively influence communities with concentrations of poverty by increasing the 'social mix' or 'mixed income levels' (Bohl 2000).

One of the goals of contemporary urban renewal in the USA, UK and Australia is to reduce concentrations of poverty by encouraging income mix amongst residents in low socio-economic

areas (Bohl 2000:765, Carley 1990:3 DHW 2001). However, it is not clear how simply breaking up concentrations of poverty will have a positive community impact without some associated strategies to address the causes of disadvantage and consequent social exclusion being experienced.

The different theories about the causes of social problems on housing estates have influenced the different strategies to address them. While the history of social housing has seen a shift in successive policies to redress the mistakes of the past it is evident that contemporary approaches tend to encompass and repackage aspects of both past theories and solutions using the benefits of hindsight and a deeper understanding of both the complexities involved and the need to engage the people affected in the process. Hence theories underpinning urban renewal in recent years involve a blend of 'physical determinism' (with its concomitant focus on housing and community design); cycles of disadvantage and concentrations of poverty (tenure diversification and social mix); together with social exclusion/social inclusion (with its renewed emphasis on community building, community participation and community development). Even so there is still considerable criticism regarding the inadequacy of these approaches to address the broader structural issues, which are now more complex and unpredictable as a consequence of the economic, social, cultural and political influences of globalisation.

Moreover, there is a growing body of research in Australia and internationally (Everingham, 2001; Hiscock 2001; Summerville et al, 2001; Page, 2000) which confirms the link between public housing estates and declining indicators of health, physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing including a lack of quality of life, community and social capital.

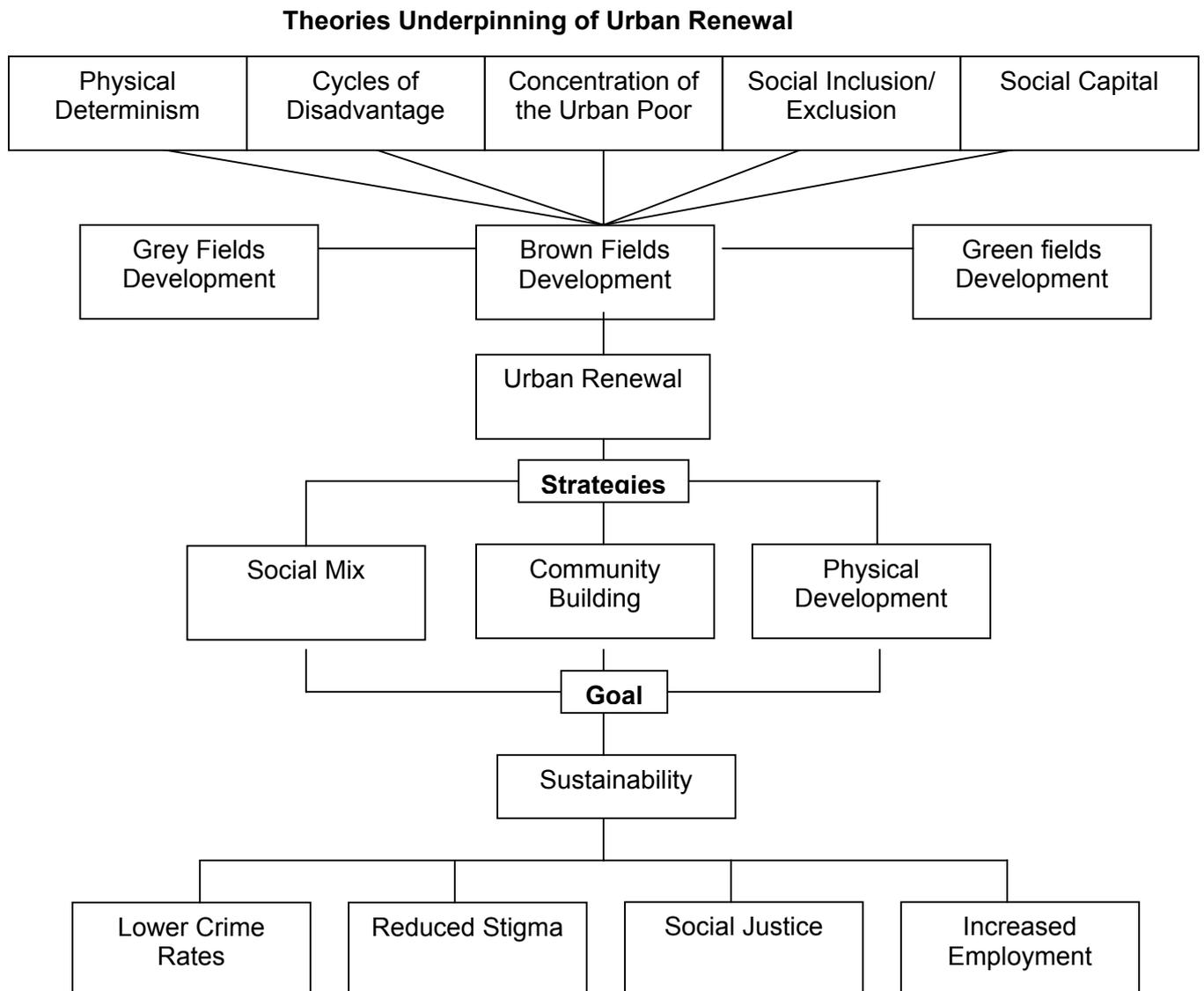
Within Australia, running parallel to and in some instances connected with, policy developments in urban renewal are bipartisan trends in government policy to 'investing in social capital and strengthening communities' [and building stronger families] as a way of effectively tackling some of Australia's current social problems' (Zubrick, Williams, & Silburn, 2000:1). At the same time it is recognised that 'little is known and published that describes the wellbeing of Australian families or how Australians view their social and family circumstances' (ibid). This is especially the case for Indigenous families and communities. Section four of this Positioning Paper examines these issues in greater detail and suggests the sorts of questions that need to be answered in order to more adequately monitor and assess and resource/support programs intended to improve and sustain Indigenous wellbeing.

2.2 A Theoretical Framework for Urban Renewal

According to Bohl (2000:781) different types of urban renewal are needed to reflect different policy objectives, different site characteristics, historical characteristics and social, economic and lifestyle variables.

The framework developed in Figure 1 below depicts the theoretical links between different assumptions about the causes of social problems, the various renewal theories and the goals and corresponding strategies to address them in different development contexts. In this framework social mix has been placed as a strategy (although DHW and other SHA's refer to it as a goal) to more accurately reflect the fact goals such as 'lower crime rates' and 'reduced stigma' carry with them implicit and explicit assumptions that creating a 'better' social mix will assist in achieving these ends. This issue is discussed in greater detail in Section 3.

Figure 1: Theoretical Framework for Urban Renewal



SECTION 2

3 THE CONTEMPORARY POLICY CONTEXT

This section provides an overview of the local, state and global policy context in which the New Living program is situated. The discussion which explores the complexities that abound in the contemporary policy context in Australia and the international arena as a consequence of the competing social, economic and political discourses and interests that inform public policy goals in housing, health, education and employment and training. This policy context is made even more complex under the auspices of whole of government approaches which have gained world-wide currency. Coupled with this as Tonts et al (2001) point out is the move to simultaneously facilitate the strengthening of communities and reduce the direct role of government as a provider of social resources (including health and welfare, education, health and housing services).

3.1 Overview of Urban Renewal

The Concise Oxford Dictionary definition of renewal is to 'regenerate, make new again, restore, recover'. Renewal focuses on the restoration of vigour, strength and activity within a community and encompasses the dual potential of redevelopment. It has scope for the demolishing of and the rebuilding of communities and/or the physical environment.

Couch (1990:1) defines urban renewal as '...the physical change, or change in the use or intensity of use of land and buildings, that is the inevitable outcome of the action of economic and social forces upon urban areas'. Urban renewal is happening in countries across the world including the UK, USA, New Zealand, Belgium and Australia. There are a number of commonalities between urban renewal programs in the USA, UK and Australia (Carley 1990). Recent urban renewal programs in the UK are primarily (but not solely) intended to arrest the decline of inner city neighbourhoods in areas with a high density of people from low socio-economic backgrounds and high unemployment rates (Carley 1990). It is also the inevitable outcome of 'political' forces, as governments play an instrumental role in defining areas for development as well as funding and setting policy targets for renewal areas.

In the context of WA urban renewal can involve both large scale and partial asset disposal (via sale of stock or demolition) to achieve a greater social mix together with refurbishment strategies to improve existing stock for tenants and to improve suburbs and increase property values. As Parry-Strommen (2001:179) point out urban renewal in WA refers to 'whole of suburb renewal not individual sites within suburbs.' Further the DHW considers its urban renewal program 'to be more than just bricks and mortar and asset management, and incorporates many of the aspects outlined in definitions of estates renewal, community renewal and community regeneration.' (ibid)

3.2 Urban Renewal Goals

The goals of urban renewal have the potential, depending on the theoretical strands of influence, to encompass the goals of social justice, citizenship and communitarianism. The most pervasive goals across most urban renewal programs are more practical and relate to addressing social problems through lowering crime; alleviating social stigma (believed to create low self-esteem) and increasing employment opportunities.

Lowering Crime

One of the key aims of urban renewal in the USA and Australia is to lower crime rates in low socio-economic areas (Bohl 2000:773, DHW 2001). However, according to Bohl (2000:771) this has not been successful in areas where problems associated with issues of 'concentrated poverty' and limited job opportunities have not been addressed.

Factors such as access to employment and education, locational disadvantage and poor urban design all contribute to an area's rate of crime. One of the criticisms of urban renewal is that the 'culture of poverty' has regained currency and communities experiencing high levels of poverty are split up (or diluted) by artificially introducing social mix (Hopkins, 2001).

Underpinning this strategy is the assumption/expectation (often unstated) that improving the social mix will reduce the concentration of crime which is based on the notion that criminality is a characteristic of being poor (and by default infers that poor people are likely to be criminal). In contrast Eames and Goode (1996:410) argue that the behaviour of the poor is a realistic adaptation to a bad set of circumstances. As such, there is a need to recognise that circumstances (structural elements), rather than flaws in the characteristics of individuals or communities, are the source of urban problems.

While physical determinism has also been critiqued for its emphasis on physical rather than social solutions to social problems, there is nevertheless some convincing evidence to suggest that urban renewal does have the potential to reduce crime through changing the physical environment. The alignment of homes with streets and public open space is a method promoting surveillance, eliminating crime black spots (WAPC 2000).

Reduce Social Stigma

Recent research shows that the development of multi-zoning and mixed housing design has the potential to reduce or eliminate social stigma for people who are socially disadvantaged by not producing houses that are easily identifiable as social housing (Bohl 2000:785). Preliminary interviews with stakeholders in this research have questioned the assumptions underlying some aspects of urban renewal with respect as to whether reducing stigma necessarily requires dislocating public housing tenants and ask whether through such strategies the conditions are really improved for disadvantaged groups. An overview of findings of urban renewal studies in the UK suggest these same issues have simultaneously plagued and alluded policy makers and housing professionals in the UK. (JRF 2000 <http://www.jrf.org.uk/knowledge/findings/housing>)

Other research by Marcus (1995) discusses housing as a reflection of self suggesting that the environment can add to self-esteem and a sense of community pride (Bohl 2000:786) and hence the importance for residents of reducing perceptions of stigmatised suburbs which are often widely held and enduring across the community.

Increase Employment

While some urban renewal designs encompass multi-zoning and accessibility to public transport, criticisms have been made that the designs do not allow for 'working from home' especially the 'messy, income-producing activities'. (Bohl 2000:785) While a first response might be to ask 'why should they?' it is apparent that 'backyard businesses' and cottage industries have traditionally provided an economic base for people caught in cycles of disadvantage.

Governments genuinely committed to enhancing social capital may need to give further consideration to incorporate designs and space which encourage rather than preclude employment opportunities and contribute to 'relationships' which create social currency. Women have often contributed to the family income through taking in ironing, washing and sewing or engaging in cottage industries at home when their children are small. Taking these opportunities away (by ignoring the broader implications of design, location etc) can force people into poverty or the workforce and again ironically place pressure on and even diminish opportunities for family social and economic functioning and wellbeing.

Achieve Social Justice in Urban Renewal

Locality initiatives in both the USA and the UK like urban renewal do not necessarily address broader issues and inequities such as the growing gap between the 'haves and have nots' and that there is still a need to address these within broader social policy (Ambrose 2001:12, Bohl 2000:771). Wood (2001) and the Queensland Government (2000) recognise the need for urban renewal projects to take in to consideration and address social injustices where possible.

Given the growing recognition of racial equality and the discourse of social inclusion there is strong case to incorporate strategies to achieve social justice among disadvantaged groups. As alluded to earlier it is incumbent upon governments in multicultural democratic societies as part of their governance responsibilities to ensure that urban renewal strategies are designed to

address social justice issues for disadvantaged groups but that their governance and development practices do not unintentionally or through lack of recognition of Indigenous and other rights.

3.3 Urban Renewal Strategies

As discussed earlier current approaches attempt to positively influence communities with concentrations of poverty by increasing the 'social mix' or 'mixed income levels' (Bohl 2000) as well as incorporate community building strategies to enhance social capital and create sustainable communities.

Social Mix

'Social mix' policies and practices have the potential to value add or subtract from a community's social capital. On the positive side it is claimed that both the practices of diversifying both the types of housing tenure and the social mix of people from different socio-economic backgrounds in a previously stigmatised location will enhance social mobility. This practice has the possibility to assist Indigenous people to meet their potential without barriers of prejudice based on location. However, this alone will not necessarily create a healthy community as there are other barriers such as access to employment, education and other factors that contribute to socio-economic exclusion (Ambrose 2001).

Although there is potential for Indigenous people to benefit from 'social mix' policies there is also a danger of Indigenous people being subjected to further alienation, familial and community disruption. This is dependent upon how 'social mix' policies like the 1 in 9 policies of the New Living program are implemented as they are in danger of being similar to those of the assimilation policies used during the 1950's which had the effect of breaking up Indigenous families and communities.

Community building

Interestingly, concomitant with the goal/strategy of improving the social mix (which effectively means breaking up existing communities or neighbourhoods) are goals intended to strengthen/build/develop sustainable communities, enhance social capital and increase social cohesion which entail or are dependent upon a notion of community. There is a strong case for suggesting that these two goals are contradictory to the point that even if renewal strategies do forge a new sense of community for many, there is a risk that some individuals, families and groups may be completely alienated from community and experience a loss of social capital (Lanz, 2000). If this is the case then neither goal can succeed. Hopkins (2001) also highlights a tension that exists between social mix and community building and sustainability. 'All definitions and key components of community tend to indicate a degree of homogeneity among members in terms of their common goals and mutual purpose.' (Hopkins 2001:69) Clearly it is crucial that policy makers and developers avoid using notions of community and/or community development as a 'spray on solution'. (Bryson & Mowbray 1981)

Using the new urban development of Ellenbrook, WA as a case study, Hopkins (2001) demonstrates that even with the introduction of mixed tenures and suitable advertising aimed at different socio-economic groups segregation still occurs. Complaints from the Residents Association were directed at 'poorly maintained front gardens' of housing belonging to people from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Hopkins 2001:69). This has the potential to stigmatise the housing and maintain segregation between different groups as well as create tension and possible conflict between the residents. Contributing to this is the design that has 'clusters' of housing aimed at different groups that have either natural barriers or security walls sectioning off areas (Hopkins 2001).

3.4 The Effects of Urban Renewal

As Mayer (2003: 126) explains, the seemingly taken-for-granted universal benefits of urban renewal should be questioned and urban renewal strategies thoroughly examined as to whether they do not rather destroy than generate social capital. Studies in the USA indicate that while infrastructural and renewal programs promised to trigger new growth and employment effects, they actually 'ended up destroying vibrant neighbourhoods' as Judd and

Swanstrom (1994: 138-145) and Putnam (2000: 214-215) indicate. Other studies suggest that urban renewal definitely affects affordability and tenure security (both positive and negative) and has implications for culturally appropriate arrangement of space and housing forms. The first of these factors tend to be problematic in urban renewal because of the associated government practice of reducing public housing in these areas. This may be particularly the case in WA where at least half the possible refurbished rental stock throughout WA is being sold. Although it can be argued that this provides affordable housing for sale. Other studies reveal that only a small percentage of Indigenous people are able to purchase their own homes (Greive, Ballard, Peter, Walker, Taylor, & Hillier 2003)

Affordability

Numerous studies in Australia and overseas have shown that gentrification and urban renewal tend to increase property values in ex-public housing areas which in turn has a significant impact upon the affordability of housing for low income groups (Ambrose 2001; Bohl 2000). In existing research in WA several housing professionals have expressed concern that disadvantaged groups will not receive the benefits of urban renewal under the State's current practice of reducing public housing. With the aim of a reduction in social housing and an increasing emphasis on homeownership and private rentals, low income earners are likely to be at a disadvantage within urban renewal areas.

Rents Australia have put forth the possible hypothesis that reduced availability of affordable private rentals could be the result of demand pressures pushing up the cost of this segment of the market. The shift away from public housing provision by the Commonwealth Government could be partly responsible for this increase in demand and therefore increased costs for low income renters. (Rents Australia nd)

Although Greive et al point to the many benefits of homeownership for Indigenous people they also stress for the need for a diversity of tenure opportunities for Indigenous people inclusive of social housing. However, Greive et al also point out that in low income areas in Perth (not necessarily New Living areas) there are many low income homeowners who receive poor capital gains from their investment, and in some cases actually experience negative equity (Grieve et al 2003). Gondor & Burbidge (1992) revealed similar findings over a decade ago. However, figures from RIEWA reveal substantial increase in all New Living areas, suggesting that it has the potential to assist groups who may have otherwise have remained asset poor and intergenerationally disadvantaged.

Some writers have argued that public housing should be expanded or at least the current levels retained in these areas. Spiller Gibbins Swan (SGS) (2000a) has indicated that the sale of public housing to fund urban renewal projects should not be considered to be an option. Ambrose (2001) in a comprehensive study of an urban renewal project in East London showed that the cost of urban renewal is off-set by savings in the areas of health, education, crime prevention and the provision of emergency services resulting from improvements to the built form and local environment. If these savings are used to calculate the true cost of urban renewal projects, there is potential for the expansion of public housing programmes. A second part to Ambrose's study places a caveat on the first: that after urban renewal the cost of living became more expensive while access to essential services declined. Furthermore, these effects were felt beyond the confines of the urban renewal project into adjoining suburbs. This illustrates that while urban renewal may create a better urban form this process is not independent of market forces, even when implemented by the state.

Tenure Security

Several studies show that the growing trend by governments away from public housing rental towards private sector rental provision has implications for tenure security disadvantaged groups (Shelter WA 2002). This is also evident with New Living and the governments emphasis upon homeownership coupled with reductions of state housing. Through analysis of the ABS 1999 Australian Housing Survey Rents Australia (nd:17) have shown a large variation in the number of moves households make according to their tenure type. As would be expected, homeowners moved less frequently, but tenants in public sector housing moved significantly less frequently than those in private sector rental properties. While other variables

may contribute to the difference between private and public sector tenants the evidence suggests that private sector renters have considerably less tenure security than their public sector counterparts.

This is even more so for Indigenous households as was identified in a number of case studies from around Australia. Focus identified - 'Indigenous households find it more difficult than non-Indigenous households to get access to private rental housing.' (2000:4) This was stated as being due to both direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination whereby Indigenous people are told that a property is not available for rent when in fact it is. Indirect discrimination through strict requirements for evidence of private rental history, which Indigenous people are less likely than non-Indigenous people to have as well as onerous requirements for rental applicants such as employment or income of which there is more chance of making exceptions for non-Indigenous people. (ibid)

The incidence of Aboriginal household in private rental housing may be much lower in reality than indicated by census statistics.(ibid) This is due to Indigenous households sometimes being given short leases as 'trial tenancy' that result in the household being moved out leading to short term tenancies and having the further burden to brunt the costs of relocation as well as other impacts on the stability of employment and education. (ibid)

Indigenous households also appear to occupy housing that is of poorer condition than non-Indigenous households as well as not having access to the same choice and location of accommodation as non-Indigenous households have. Moreover, due to the low incomes of many Indigenous people and the costs of moving into private rentals (bond, stamp duty, agents' fees where applicable and the costs of utility connections) means that there is more difficulty for Indigenous households to meet these costs and it can also mean that a large family may move into a smaller house in order share the costs. This can lead to overcrowding and greater wear and tear on the property and hence leading to eviction. (Focus 2000:5&6)

'The findings [of the Focus research] cast doubt on the effectiveness of any policy direction, which presumes that Indigenous households have access to the private rental market, or that they receive appropriate outcomes from this sector.' (Focus 2000:7) This is confirmed by the Western Australian Minister for Housing and Works who states 'the market fails Aboriginal people' in his address on 'Perspectives on Affordable Housing in Western Australia'. (DHW 2002b)

According to Parry-Strommen the overwhelming majority believed that New Living was a good idea. The majority of stakeholders felt that both the individuals and wider community would benefit from the positive aspects such as: improved housing, personal safety, public open space, property values, environment, destigmatisation of the suburb and increased pride in the community. (Parry-Strommen 2001:9). They claim that their findings indicate that the residents experienced a positive impact irrespective of whether they had relocated, remained in situ or purchased their own home. However, Parry–Strommen suggested that this might change as the project progressed if residents began to resist relocation out of their suburb. This is particularly likely where high density housing has been demolished as in suburbs in the New North.

With respect to Indigenous people Parry-Strommen claimed that there was no clear evidence that Aboriginal people had experienced any major differences to other respondents. (2001:10) However only a small sample of Indigenous people were interviewed, not only was the sample too small to give accurate findings but the number involved substantially under-represented the number of Indigenous people living in both Lockridge and Langford.

3.5 Implications of Urban Renewal

Gentrification

Gentrification was a term describing the influx of upper and middle class people to the inner suburbs of London during the 1960s (Forster 1995:96). Lanz' (2000) study indicates urban renewal programs in Germany to have resulted in gentrification, together with the displacement and simultaneous exclusion of 'undesired groups'. Pyatok claims that the architectural styles and beautification of neighbourhoods appeals to the housing preferences of middle and upper

income groups and alienates low income groups which ultimately changes the demographic composition of inner suburbs, displacing the working class (and disadvantaged) residents. However, Rybczynski cautions that claims that beautifying an area alienates the lower classes border on being 'puritanical', implying that low-income groups do not need or deserve aesthetically pleasing housing forms (cited in Bohl 2000:780).

A number of Australian studies (Stimson 1999, Badcock 2001) have illustrated that gentrification has also had a significant effect on the class composition of Australian cities. Furthermore, both gentrification and urban renewal involve changes in the use of developed land. Concerns have been raised that the upgrading of urban renewal suburbs may attract middle and high income earners and exclude people from low socio-economic backgrounds (Tonts et al 2001).

Relatively few studies of urban renewal have looked specifically at the implications for women, ethnic or cultural groups. However, the findings among those that have are not very promising. Holcomb (in Couch 1990:88) warns that 'Redeveloping the physical fabric of a city does not necessarily change its occupational segregation'. While urban renewal offers restaurants and entertainment facilities for affluent women (or men) to enjoy, the employment created by such industries is typically low paid and lacks opportunities for advancement. Furthermore, the growth of specialised and costly goods and services often occurs at the expense of everyday necessities such as supermarkets.

This research will consider whether the New Living program exhibits characteristics of gentrification, that is whether disadvantaged groups, and particularly Indigenous people, are being displaced by relatively affluent homebuyers (bearing in mind the concern raised by Rybczynski above and whether services and facilities are changing (eg corner stores into boutique delis, op shops to restaurants etc).

Appropriateness for Indigenous People

Through a qualitative analysis of applications to the NSW Housing Commission, Morgan (2000) concludes that public housing during the 1970s was characterised by assimilation, which was often met with resistance by Indigenous Australians through adherence to traditional cultural practices and ways of life. Morgan (2000:194) argued that 'the great majority of Aboriginal tenants endeavoured to sustain their links with community and carried with them the habits of life that did not fit in well with suburban norms'. The result of this was frequent conflicts with neighbours and Commission officers.

Morgan (2000:195) argued that the conventional notion of residency and its associated expectations does not coincide with the culture and lifestyle of many Aboriginal Australians. Many Aboriginal Australians periodically return to their traditional country or visit other towns, with houses often being cared for by relatives. Similarly to the distaste of the Housing Commission, gender roles and family structures differed from the norms of white society (Morgan 2000:195). Aboriginal households often resisted the pressures of assimilation by refusing to limit household members to those of the nuclear family and violating European notions of peace and privacy.

Ross (1987) studied Indigenous housing in Halls Creek Western Australia, and observed that Indigenous people housed in conventional public housing often modified their homes in ways that would be termed destructive from a European perspective (Ross in Morgan 2000: 197). These modifications were a means of redefining living spaces that were designed to conform to the norms of white Australia so that the social and cultural arrangements rooted in traditional Indigenous lifestyles could be continued. Ross concluded that despite the stated policy commitment to Aboriginal self-determination housing practice in Western Australia was essentially assimilationist (Ross in Morgan 2000).

A number of key Indigenous stakeholders and others researchers (Memmott 2000) have argued that due to the unique social, cultural and demographic characteristics of Indigenous communities/people it is essential that culturally appropriate design principles be incorporated into the provision of public housing.

A comprehensive study of Aboriginal families and organisations throughout metropolitan and regional Western Australia by Manguri and WACOSS (Crowe & Pohl 1994), identified a set of guidelines for the incorporation of Aboriginal values in the design and delivery of services including housing. The key principles include the need to recognise the importance of, and ensure the continued functioning of, extended family networks as the basis of economic and social structures of Indigenous communities. With respect to urban renewal projects and public housing this principle has implications for the design and location of both houses and housing estates (as well as the design and location of housing within them). Kinship groups provide a caring function that needs to be supported by government in order to utilise the informal support networks and human resources of kinship networks and communities.

Other studies also confirm the importance of kinship as a basis for functioning systems which arguably enhance social capital and contribute to community wellbeing. For example Bohl (2000:789) recognises that there can be great benefits for low-income families (of any ethnicity) if they are able to access baby sitters or after school care from relatives or friends living in their local area. This means that their income becomes 'clear profit' rather than spent on support mechanisms that they cannot really afford. Bohl (2000:789) identifies the potential in this area by locating varying house sizes in the same vicinity, promoting the interaction between family units of varying sizes. This is in contrast to the post-war 'one size fits all' approach to housing.

The Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services has prepared *The National Indigenous Housing Guide*, which provides guidelines relating to hygiene, safety, overcrowding and pest control to ensure that the 'housing health hardware', or the physical infrastructure of housing is safe and functional (FACS 2002). These guidelines for housing providers, highlight the questionable/ambiguous status of Indigenous housing, and confirm the double standards applied to housing within Australia. The guidelines set out a standard of housing that should be taken for granted in a first world country, but the discussion of Indigenous housing seems more appropriate for a third world setting. As Ross (2000:5) points out, non-Western living designs 'including use of space (both inside and outside the dwelling), mobility and death' have been given insufficient attention in relation to Indigenous housing. Instead issues relating to quantity and quality have dominated, which are issues that should be taken for granted in a first world country.

SECTION 3

4 THE AUSTRALIAN POLICY CONTEXT

Introduction

The first part of this section reviews the Australian policy context. The second part provides a detailed overview of the New Living urban renewal program developed in Western Australia as well as a brief description of the six New Living case study areas which will be used for the next phase of the research.

There is only a limited body of literature on urban renewal in Australia compared to the extensive studies being done in the UK (see JRF website). Darcy, Randolph & Stringfellow (2000) have completed a comprehensive overview of research and policy issues in housing estates with particular emphasis on social and behavioural issues and Randolph (2000), and Wood, Randolph and Judd (2002) have completed several studies with a particular focus on resident and community participation in urban renewal. While Wood et al (2002) note that this lack of a body of literature is not too surprising given the relatively new emphasis on urban renewal of public housing in Australia it is nevertheless disappointing given that Australian examples have their own unique social housing issues and bring their own distinctive strategies and solutions to deal with both external global influences and the unique geographic, cultural and economic and historical diversity in regional and urban contexts.

As the literature discussed in the previous chapter suggests while there have been some program evaluations conducted for the most part 'there has been little systematic review of best practice', particularly in respect to what methods to effectively involve tenants in renewal activities and decision making processes Wood et al (2002:23). Nor are there many documented examples of best practice or reviews of the lessons to be learned from initial experiences. This research aims to build a picture of the main policy issues and concerns and ideas of what works to assist in identifying and refining the key research questions and possible implications of urban renewal for Indigenous wellbeing.

4.1 Urban Renewal in Australia

Over the past decade there has been a resurgence of commitment to participatory processes in the public policy arena at all levels of government. The literature available reveals that the majority of urban renewal programs being initiated and implemented throughout Australia make some statement of commitment to community participation and involvement which in several instances are also linked with goals such as strengthening community or sustainable communities. There appear to be different understandings with respect to 'participation', 'consultation' and 'community involvement' that are reflected in the types of processes and structures established and level of commitment and resources given to achieve these objectives. As Wood et al state

While much of the effective investment in these disadvantaged estates has been to improve asset performance or to increase social mix and diversity through stock management, there has nevertheless been a distinctive move towards increased levels of tenant and resident involvement in the renewal process. (2002:22)

Running parallel with the emphasis on participation is a growing commitment to partnership. Again this concept seems to be understood and enacted differently by State Housing Authorities in different states in terms of the range and scope of partnerships entered into in connection with urban renewal. In some states such as WA specific reference is made to private industry Joint Venture Partners in redevelopment and urban renewal strategies. In other states partnerships are focused on local government and interdepartmental whole of government arrangements. Wood et al (2002:35) make the point that only NSW and QID include local communities in their discussion partnerships. Although not specifically mentioned in any of the studies reviewed to date, but nevertheless of paramount interest in this project, is the extent to which the notion of partnership as specified in An Agreement for the provision of

Housing and Infrastructure for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People in Western Australia is perceived as having relevance in renewal programs in New Living sites being studied.

There has been a growing awareness and appreciation at State and Federal levels that interconnected problems experienced among disadvantaged communities in housing estates with high concentrations of social housing has created the impetus for urban renewal interventions. Although as Wood et al (2002:25) point out, these same problems are also evident in private (rental and owner/occupier) neighbourhoods.

While there have been some differences in the reasons motivating States to initiate urban renewal programs there is considerable similarity in the overall goals. Gibson and Cameron (2001) have identified six different types of economic and community development interventions, which they claim are used with varying degrees of emphasis in urban renewal initiatives. All states make reference to community development in relation to their urban renewal programs however there appears to be no clear distinction between either 'top down' and 'bottom up' approaches, or 'process' or 'product' orientations, or any understanding/critical analysis of the possible benefits of a combination of both as has been carried out in the UK.

There is also some diversity/variation in strategies employed by the different states which include:

- asset based approaches involving disposal, physical improvement and sales of housing stock,
- community management and community development approaches (Randolph & Judd 1999); and,
- whole of government approaches interagency and inter-department collaboration (SGS 2000);
- partnerships with residents/tenants and local government, non-government and joint venture partners. (Wood et al 2002)

The overview and analysis by Wood et al (2002) of different usages and understandings of notions such as community development and community building/capacity building and the links between them in urban renewal highlights the potential slippages and obfuscations that can occur in policy formulation, goal specification and program implementation unless there is greater precision in the use of terminology and 'more rigor in descriptions and explanations of program structures and activities' (loc.cit: 35).

A program mapping and comparative analysis of urban renewal in Australia conducted as part of this research reveals that all the states examined so far have similar aims and objectives, although with varying degrees of emphasis on community involvement.

In the matrix 'Comparisons of Urban Renewal Programs in Australian', (Appendix 1) places the aims into three different categories physical/environmental, community development and social development which reflect the processes put in place by government in order to achieve specified aims.

Physical/environmental initiatives reflect the aims that governments hope to achieve by changing the physical environments within renewal areas. In the case of WA the government hopes to achieve the reduction of social stigma of social housing partly through changing the physical environment and partly through reduction of social housing in renewal areas.

Despite the growing emphasis on 'whole of government' approaches to interconnected problems it appears that urban renewal, irrespective of the broader focus of its aims, remains very much a housing led-strategy. Wood et al (2002:24) attribute this to the 'emphasis on the concentration of problems in predominantly public housing neighbourhoods'.

4.2 Urban Renewal in WA

In 2000 the New Living initiative won the United Nations World Habitat award. It has since become a benchmark for urban renewal in Australia and has been visited by housing officers from other States seeking inspiration.

Despite the positive outcomes cited across established areas and the strategies designed to support the New Living projects there have been a number of criticisms made towards the program. In order to fully appreciate the issues and complexities surrounding the government's role in implementing the New Living Program it is useful to examine the program within the broader policy context of DHW's Mission, Vision and Role.

Department of Housing Works: Mission, Vision and Role

Interestingly, while the Department's mission is to respond 'to the hopes of *all Australians* for their housing and construction needs' their primary role is to provide housing for Western Australians who can not otherwise afford their own homes by arranging affordable home finance, rental housing and land. Although the Department's role is to assist disadvantaged groups this has to be seen to be done with due regard for the wishes and aspirations of the broader society. These competing tensions are arguably the inevitable bi-product of government's responsibility to operate in accordance with the democratic principles of justice and fairness for all Australians. However given the existing social inequalities in Australia the DHW is often required to make decisions which reflect dominant groups' values without access to those groups who do not have a voice. This is especially evident where there is opposition to a proposed policy initiative. A good example of this is the high level of representation given to recent opposition to public housing in Subiaco (an inner-city predominately middle class suburb of Perth), and the corresponding responses to this opposition by spokespeople for DHW. There was little representation by advocates or groups who require public housing.

The vision

The Department describes its vision as

'Leading in the provision of housing services and development of a built environment which contribute to:

- *Supportive, vibrant and sustainable communities*
- *A robust economy*
- *Strong regional development*
- *The natural environment*

For the benefit of all Australians.

The Role

The Departments' Vision and Role statements above show there is also potential for conflict and competing policy demands between its role in contributing to strong and sustainable communities, economy, and environment and regional development and providing housing assistance to disadvantaged groups. It can be argued that the government has made some attempt to overcome this dilemma through its commitment to a 'triple bottom line approach'—the simultaneous achievement of social, economic and environmental goals to provide better quality of life for current and future generations (DHW 2003:4) As well as the Labor Government's endorsement of *Housing Strategy for Western Australia* launched in 2001 which aims 'to formulate policy, legislative and funding changes necessary to deliver affordable, appropriate and sustainable housing [irrespective of tenure arrangements] in Western Australia in the medium to long-term.' (DHW 2001a)

4.3 Overview of the New Living Program

The New Living Program in Western Australia was conceived out of a perceived need to undertake major renewal and refurbishment of Homeswest (social housing) estates some of which had been constructed in the 1950s to accommodate new employment opportunities while the majority were designed and constructed in the early 1970s (Tonts et al 2001)

One of the main aims of all New Living projects is to substantially reduce the number of Homeswest houses in areas where there are social problems associated with the design of the suburb (such as the Radburn concept), the type, use and density of public housing and its lack

of suitability to meet the needs of current residents. Initially believed that these housing areas would create an attractive living environment, the DHW has since recognised that, as a result of high concentrations of public housing (up to 30% of households), these estates suffered from high vacancy levels, lack of privacy, crime, vandalism, poor property values, restricted capital growth and low demand. The renewal program was largely instigated driven by asset management and economic imperatives due to the age and poor quality of the housing stock however, the New Living program does seek to address the physical, economic and social needs of the estates.

The first New Living projects were initiated in Kwinana and Lockridge in 1995. Midland/Midvale commenced, known as the Eastern Horizons project, in 1998. With the aim of redeveloping older public housing estates to create more attractive living environments, reducing Homeswest's rental presence and encouraging home ownership

Program Aims

The key aims of the New Living program are to:

- reduce the public housing presence in most areas to between 10%-20%;
- refurbish houses for sale;
- reduce the social stigma caused by the density of inappropriate and outdated public housing;
- upgrade and refurbish public rental housing;
- improve the social mix;
- create a satisfied community;
- encourage a sense of added security for local residents by eliminating areas which provided venues for anti-social behaviour (DHW 2001).

A more specific list of objectives to achieve these aims identified by ERM Mitchell McCotter, (1998:1-2) suggests that the New Living program has the potential to encompass the goals of social justice, social capital and sustainable community development to promote economic, social and cultural wellbeing. :

- Reduce public housing presence to around 12 percent (1 in 9 of the properties) of the estate.
- Upgrade and refurbish Homeswest housing. Establish concept and marketing strategies. Commercial viability. Refurbished houses to be offered or sale to the public and existing tenants.
- Reduce the social stigma attached to the areas.
- Provide a balanced social mix.
- Improve the appearance of streetscapes and parks.
- Create a sustainable community.
- Enhance community infrastructure.
- Provide a marketing strategy to encourage home ownership and attract new people to the community.
- Provide and instigate a strategy for the future use of public open space. Encourage a sense of added security for local residents.
- Provide a strong emphasis on community consultation including meetings with peak groups, individuals and the community generally.
- Increase property values.
- Relocate tenants in a caring and sensitive manner.

New Living and 'The triple bottom line'

Recently the DHW announced that it is 'changing the face of public housing' in the State through its New Living urban renewal program (DHW 2001b). The DHW recently adopted the policy of tenure diversification as a means of tackling the perceived social problems associated with public rented housing estates.

As with all current DHW residential housing, works and land development programs the New Living program embraces sustainability principles which involves a 'triple bottom line approach' of social, economic and environmental goals. These are somewhat broad and non-specific but Tonts et al (2001:27) assists to narrow them down by listing four distinct but inter-related parts to the New Living Projects which, combined, attempt to achieve the objectives stated above. They are:

Refurbishment

Involves the renovation of existing dwellings for the purpose of sale or retention. Typically involves interior and exterior painting, fencing, landscaping and reticulation, roof restoration, kitchen and bathroom improvements, carpets, light fittings and security measures.

Beautification

Involves the provision of attractive entry statements at strategic locations; streetscape improvements e.g. landscaping and reticulation, decorative lighting, underground power; the improvement of parks and public open space areas.

Community Development

The new community embracing and assisting in the development of the project through input, participation, involvement and promotion. This involves community events, sporting and educational programs.

New Estates (Land Development)

For example, in Kwinana there were three new estates; Windsor Hills in Orelia, Chelsea Gardens in Parmelia and a third estate in Casuarina established on vacant land. (ERM Mitchell McCotter, 1998) A full list of new land developments is available on the DHW website. http://www.housing.wa.gov.au/index_IE.cfm

The current DHW/joint Venture land development projects in existing public housing areas are consistent with the 'triple bottom line approach' noted above, enabling the government to create housing opportunities for public rental housing and private owners while taking advantage of existing social infrastructure and services. In addition to practices such as recycling, waste reduction, energy efficient and cost effective, sustainable housing designs are evaluated in accordance with specific measurable design objectives.

Finally, potential economic benefits are to be gained by private owners and people who purchase refurbished public housing through rising house prices in New Living areas. According the Real Estate Institute of Western Australia (REIWA) property values in all New Living areas have increased substantially, with more than half rising well over state averages (Parry-Strommen 2001:11) . In addition, broader economic gains are likely to be achieved through the governments *Buy Local Policy* which covers all state government purchasing of goods, services and works including housing to optimise local and regional business opportunities in all government contracting and purchasing activities (Stephens 2003:6). Our research will explore the extent to which employment opportunities are initiated in New Living and the strategies if any to ensure sustainability of employment and economic initiatives linked with whole of government initiatives.

DHW have put a number of strategies in place to encourage residents to purchase the refurbished houses, including an attractive incentive scheme for landscaping, fencing, whitegoods packages and air conditioning, and a Goodstart scheme assists those who are unable to purchase their house independently to obtain a shared equity in the property. Tenants who wish to relocate are assisted with 'reasonable expenses'. While in theory these options appear attractive and reasonable this research will explore what happens in practice

where tenants preferred choices are not congruent with the tenure options available, whether tenants are in fact getting their options and what happens if options are exhausted.

The New Living program involves the renewal of some 17 public housing estates throughout metropolitan and rural WA. The government claims that by improving the physical fabric and increasing the proportion of residents from other tenures on these estates (i.e. people who purchase homes for personal or investment purposes) will enhance social capital, and increase feelings of community and quality of life for existing (often long term) and new estate residents. However the needs and outcomes for public housing tenants relocated to other areas remain unknown in this equation. While some research has been undertaken to gauge resident satisfaction within New Living estates very little, or no, research has been undertaken with relocated households.

A recent Ministerial report refers to 'the Government's New Living program of renewing older suburbs with high concentrations of public housing through joint ventures with the private sector continues apace, with positive social and economic results.' (Stephens 2003:3).

Community involvement is cited among the social benefits of New Living with several joint venture initiatives winning state planning awards. Beeliar is the latest area to receive an award for community involvement. It also asserts that the New Living program has already had a substantial impact on crime figures in the 'New North' area, with burglary figures down by 25% during 2001 (The West Australian 2002); the security service callouts to Balga down by 34% during the same period.

Among figures confirming the economic benefits of New Living, some \$37.5 million was spent in refurbishing rental properties in New Living areas a total of \$100.5 million was returned; \$52.1 million through the sale of rental properties in these areas, \$25.1 million from the sale of rental homes to tenants, and a further \$23.2 million from the sale of vacant properties no longer retained for rental. (Stephens 2003:4) These figures while applauded from an economic rationalistic view point raise questions as whether tenants were negatively impacted, and if so whether government can justify economic gain over the social costs, a point raised by SGS (2000a) in their sectorised cost benefit analysis of renewal. Such exploration and analysis is critical to this research given the level of disadvantage experienced by Indigenous people across the whole spectrum of housing tenure (Walker, Ballard & Taylor 2001) that New Living has the potential to address.

The New Living program throughout WA is also held up for its positive focus on the environment with several New Living projects receiving national and state Urban Development Institute Awards (UDIA) since the project commenced.

Evaluating the Social, Economic and Environmental Effects of Urban Renewal

There is widespread agreement that a wide-sweeping urban renewal program was desirable to address a range of social issues experienced in public housing suburbs in WA. According to the Parry-Strommen *New Living Report* (2001:7) prior to the commencement of New Living Programs in Lockridge and Langford both suburbs were experiencing 'high public housing vacancy rates, unlettable properties, under occupancy, high turnover, high cost maintenance, vandalism, neighbourhood conflict, high crime rates and stigmatised suburbs.'

In 1998 ERM Mitchell McCotter conducted an evaluation of two of the earlier New Living projects and while they identified many positive outcomes they did recommend that future projects:

- adopt a more whole of government approach to renewing target suburbs;
- engage in more extensive consultation with relevant existing networks in local areas; and,
- undertake a more timely and appropriate approach, targeting consultation activities to specific Homeswest groups.

Importantly, aside from the studies referred to here there are currently no formalised evaluation strategies in place to provide a comprehensive analysis of the social impacts of the program (Parry-Strommen 2001:12). DHW undertake an internal yearly evaluation of the financial

benefits/ impacts of individual projects, and SGS have carried out a cost benefit analysis of New Living which alludes to the importance of ensuring that economic benefits to the government do not outweigh, or occur at expense of, positive social outcome for individual, families and communities within society (SGS 2000a:22).

It is crucial that suitable measures and indicators are developed to assess the short, medium and long term effects of the different urban renewal programs being implemented throughout WA. A range of monitoring and evaluation measures are necessary to inform future policy decisions in public housing design and resource allocation and management structures and development approaches to ensure that urban renewal achieves effective, equitable and sustainable outcomes.

Assessing the Effects on Indigenous Wellbeing

With the exception of the limited analysis of Indigenous tenants by Parry-Strommen (2001) there is very little research regarding the impacts of urban renewal programs on Indigenous wellbeing. Studies that have been conducted refer to need for research and the development of specific indicators to assess the effects of urban renewal on Indigenous wellbeing. (ERM Mitchell McCotter, SGS, Tonts, et al 2001) As SGS state: 'There are particular cultural factors associated with groups of people, such as Indigenous Australians, that must be understood. This requires particular skills and commitment. '(2000a:7).

SECTION 4

5 OVERVIEW OF WELLBEING INDICATORS

5.1 Introduction

One of the main aims of this study is to develop a framework of principles and indicators (category systems) relating to Indigenous community wellbeing which serve to deepen understanding of the impacts of urban renewal programs on Indigenous households. This section opens with a general discussion on indicators and social indicators, identifying what the literature states about the make up of a 'good indicator' as well as a short discussion on 'wellbeing indicators'. This is followed by a discussion on principles and indicators for Indigenous wellbeing in urban renewal areas together with the emergent questions that will be explored further in the fieldwork. Table 5.3 lists the goals of the New Living program together with the proposed performance and social indicators. These indicators will be compared to the data collected through the fieldwork to assess whether the DHW goals for the New Living program are realistic, attainable and ethical.

Cobb, Clifford and Rixford suggest that indicators need to be able to measure *quality* as well as *quantity* of outcomes (1998). While performance indicators tend to quantify standardised information by which progress towards efficiency and effectiveness objectives may be measured (SGS 2000b:4). Moreover, social indicators are 'summary measures' that reflect on aspects of social wellbeing (Trewin 2001:74). Indicators are variables that simplify relevant information and make areas of interest more comprehensible, they summarise information and point to problems (Auclair & Guenter 2002). They state that:

[T]he purpose of indicators is to assess conditions and trends in relation to goals and targets and to indicate if objectives have been reached or are likely to be reached. Good indicators allow policymakers to anticipate future trends: provide early warning information, measure the impact of policies, identify priority issues and problems, allow for comparison of places and situations at one point in time and across time. (Auclair & Guenter 2002: ?)

According to Trewin (2001) good indicators should be able to do more than simply measure or monitor the achievement of wellbeing — they should be able to identify the need for change indicating *what* and *how* to change certain situations or attributes to achieve particular goals. Consistent with this aim this chapter reconsiders/builds upon the findings regarding Indigenous research indicators/measures within a framework of goals, context principles and actions principles which (Walker, Taylor & Ballard 2002) claim are crucial to the achievement of Indigenous self-determination and wellbeing.

Trewin (2001) confirms that social indicators can indicate how social conditions are changing when produced repeatedly over time. Moreover, social indicators are therefore able to assess changes to disadvantaged groups over time and assist in the direction of ongoing policy decisions. Social indicators can assist policymakers to better understand which individual, families and groups are experiencing disadvantage so that their particular needs 'can be effectively targeted by government interventions, benefits and services'. This is particularly important when considered in the context of mapping work undertaken by the ABS, in its Census 1996, *Social Atlas* series and identifying groups of need within existing urban renewal areas and potential renewal areas.

However the importance of the role of indicators in measuring social wellbeing and the associated links to government policy decisions and actions raise a number of crucial issues which need to be taken into account in relation to this study.

As Cobbs et al (1998:32) state 'indicators are never value-free'. This is the case irrespective of whether they are intended to measure program effectiveness and efficiency or social wellbeing — highlighting the need to incorporate Indigenous research and evaluation principles in this (or any study) designed to both define and assess the effects of housing programs (in this case New Living) on Indigenous wellbeing.

Cobbs et al (1998:32) have identified a set of guidelines for developing and implementing indicators which also have relevance to this study. They claim that to achieve meaningful outcomes indicators need to have 'a clear conceptual basis'; and although the symbolic value of an indicator may outweigh its value as a literal measure it is important not to conflate indicators with reality. They also emphasize the need to establish indicators that 'reveal causes, not symptoms' and which might challenge the 'prevailing wisdom about what causes problem'. Finally they make the obvious (but generally overlooked) point that the move from indicators to outcomes requires 'control over resources.'

All of these observations have particular relevance in relation to this research which has far wider implications for social justice than simply defining indicators for New Living. SGS (2000a:22) draw on the Department of Finance Guidelines which state that with respect to carrying out cost benefit analysis on urban renewal projects that 'decision makers will normally want to be aware of who may "gain" and who may "lose" as a result of a proposal', and even more particularly 'if those who gain or lose from an activity are predominantly from one social grouping.'

5.2 Indicators for Indigenous Wellbeing in Urban Renewal Areas

'Nothing is more important to securing a better future for Aboriginal people than housing. Homelessness, overcrowding and sub-standard living conditions affect almost every aspect of Aboriginal life; our health and well-being, our educational opportunities, our job prospects, and our social and economic status.'

Mr Ron Attwood, Chairperson, AHB & AHU 1999

Indigenous Wellbeing

A number of research studies and policy documents point to the links between housing and Indigenous wellbeing. An equally extensive range of policy reviews document the unacceptable, pervasive (intergenerational) and disproportionate levels of disadvantage and social exclusion which continue to negatively impact upon individual, family and community wellbeing for the majority of Indigenous Australians.

The ABS report *Measuring Wellbeing* Trewin (2001) outlines the complex array of housing variables which impact on individual and family wellbeing including the standard of housing, the location in relation to family, kin as well as access to social services. Trewin also acknowledges that other factors need to be acknowledged with respect to measuring Indigenous wellbeing. Walker et al (2002) have proposed a list of other factors that need to be incorporated into an indicators framework of Indigenous wellbeing. In an AHURI Positioning Paper, *Developing Principles and Indicators for Evaluating Housing in Indigenous Contexts*, Walker, Taylor & Ballard (2001a) identified the following non-housing indicators of Social Disadvantage/Advantage which influence Individual/family and community health and wellbeing these include:

- Access to family and social networks
- Access to education and standard of education
- Access to employment and type of employment
- Access to financial resources
- Access to services

Walker et al (2002) stated that these indicators needed to be framed and understood within the wider Economic /Social / Political / Legal / historical context and with regard to

- Indigenous cultural practices and responses
- Frequency of incarceration and legal entanglement
- Non-Indigenous community perceptions and responses to Indigenous people
- Government policies effecting Indigenous people

It is apparent from the literature review and the arguments developed within this Positioning Paper that the range of factors proposed by Walker et al (2002) need to be incorporated into an indicators framework of Indigenous wellbeing and will be further explored in this research. A very brief recount of key areas of research being followed up in the fieldwork is included below along with some (but not all) of the questions or areas where answers are being sought. Others are alluded to within the body of the Positioning Paper.

Social wellbeing

Families and communities are crucial to the wellbeing of individuals and to society. As Trewin states:

Families and communities are core structural elements in society – the basic building blocks of Australia’s national life. Families take on a large proportion of the economic and physical burden of care for individuals in society, particularly for children, aged people or people with disabilities. If operating effectively, the family, as a self-contained welfare unit, is therefore a crucial mechanism in the health of society as a whole. (Trewin 2001:54).

Location has been noted by Bohl (2000) as being important for informal networks and the maintenance of family. Bohl (2000: 789) writes that ‘The question has been too seldom asked of whether people living in the inner city would prefer relocation, better transportation between urban neighbourhoods and suburban jobs, or more job opportunities closer to urban neighbourhoods.’ For residents that are displaced by urban renewal projects the social justice implications of displacement are greatly influenced by the characteristics of the area to which residents are displaced. If residents are displaced to a location characterised by disadvantage this is likely to compound the disadvantage that they already experience.

Studies undertaken by the Social Justice Research Program into Locational Disadvantage have identified that disadvantage can arise where people have limited access to services and recreational facilities or have poor employment, training and educational opportunities because of where they live. Locational disadvantage can reduce the quality of life for many Australians and can exacerbate other forms of disadvantages, especially those associated with low income (Howe in Kirwin 1991). These findings highlight the need for urban renewal projects to ensure that if people need to be relocated they are not moved to an area of greater disadvantage.

The Westwood urban renewal project in SA, provides an example of ideal practice in this regard. The Housing Trust is not moving families more than 5km a way from their previous address unless the occupants choose otherwise. Furthermore, elderly people whom have been neighbours for years have been able to move into the same street. (King & Carson 2003)

Fieldwork Follow-up

Indigenous respondents (including existing and new residents, and relocated tenants) will be asked how the New Living project has impacted (positively or negatively) upon their family units. Such information will assist to answer the following questions on ‘social mix strategies:

- How do existing policies on social mix contribute to sustainable futures for Indigenous people/communities?
- Do social mix practices contribute to harnessing social capital within the Indigenous community? Or does it break up communities by dispersing support networks?

Cultural wellbeing

Cultural wellbeing relates to attachment to land, place of belonging, lifestyle, sense of cultural pride, ‘not having to feel shame around white fellas’, having the ability to engage in Indigenous life practices.

Fieldwork Follow-up

DHW Local Government Shire and JVP will be asked to specify existing guidelines and/or practices which acknowledge, recognise, promote or enable Indigenous cultural practices, diverse and different needs and aspirations, associations with the land and so on.

Indigenous respondents will be asked to discuss any actual measurable or perceived changes in their own and others regard.

Physical Wellbeing

The literature reviewed established a strong link between poor quality living conditions and health outcomes (Ambrose, 2001:2; Walters 2001) and concluded 'that very direct associations existed between poor living conditions and a number of adverse outcomes and that there were good reasons to believe them to be causal' (Ambrose, 2001:5). Previous studies (Walker et al 2001) have shown that a far greater percentage of Indigenous households live in public housing than their non-Indigenous counterparts and that they are more likely to live in sub-standard housing or experience overcrowding and other negative consequences associated with poor housing conditions. This raises obvious questions of interest regarding whether New Living is having a positive effect upon Indigenous health and wellbeing.

Fieldwork Follow-Up

Indigenous respondents will be asked to discuss any actual measurable or perceived changes to their housing or health situation over the duration of the projects. (Associations will be teased out through interview prompts)

(Attempts will be made to obtain health statistics for area to triangulate with individual reports of health.)

The national standards endorsed by the Commonwealth/State Working Group on Indigenous Housing which have particular relevance in relation to assessing or developing appropriate criteria include:

Developing program eligibility criteria to ensure that available resources are directed towards communities, families and individuals in the greatest need utilising a needs based formula for allocating funds which takes account of:

- homelessness,
- environmental health risks,
- overcrowding,
- sub-standard accommodation,
- income level,
- number of dependants,
- age,
- disability,
- housing affordability.

To reduce the level of overcrowding and homelessness.

- Consultation and negotiation to determine household needs prior to constructing or allocating housing e.g. family size, appropriate design features, security.
- Construct and purchase more 4 and 5 bedroom homes to better cater for the needs of larger Aboriginal families.
- Use available needs data to target resources. (Aboriginal Housing Board et al,1999).

In addition and related to issues of governance and accountability:

DHW will be asked to outline the basis/criteria used to reallocate residents, and whether Indigenous people are housed on a priority needs basis, and if so to describe the criteria.

If there is an existing set of indicators of housing need an analysis will be made to determine if they are reliable and whether they are in accordance with national standards endorsed by the Commonwealth/State Working Group on Indigenous Housing.

Those questions which will also inform issues of governance and accountability practices include: determining housing needs in urban renewal project areas, and criteria used to make decisions regarding allocation of new housing if relocation is necessary or requested.

Community Involvement and Wellbeing

Wood identifies resident participation in renewal as having the following benefits for the wellbeing of the local community:

- people are involved in making things happen for themselves
- long-term sustainability and social capital is improved
- peoples long-term physical and mental health is sustained at an optimum level if people are involved and living as part of a community (Wood, 2002).

Moreover Woodson has identified three key principles for sustainable community development within Indigenous contexts:

- build upon the Indigenous capacities of the community, channeling support through Indigenous organisations that have proven their effectiveness in addressing the problems of their community;
- be comprehensive, acknowledging that that the social and economic elements of a community are part of an interactive whole; and
- be collaborative, coordinating the activities of the public sector, businesses, churches and community organisations (Woodson 2002).

Wood's evaluation and development of best practice principles identified resident involvement strategies utilised in six urban renewal and community renewal projects in Queensland, NSW and SA. He emphasised the importance of 'local community involvement in devising and implementing strategies for its own improvement and to engender a sense of ownership of the renewal process, and to ensure that the benefits of the renewal project are sustained over the long term.'

Wood's research 'identified a need to target excluded groups, including the Aboriginal community, suggesting that it is 'particularly important to secure the active involvement of special interest groups' that such projects are specifically intended/designed to assist (Wood 2002). Parry-Strommen made a similar comment with regards to Indigenous people despite the fact that they found all New Living JVPs had offices centrally located in the areas and all New Living managers maintained open door policies, issued quarterly newsletters and were regularly involved with meetings with local groups, government organisations and interested community members (2001:8). Parry-Strommen stated that there needs to be 'more consideration for alternative processes for people with special needs such as Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, people with poor literacy skills and people of different cultural backgrounds.' In addition to a longer consultation period prior to the commencement of New Living projects other suggestions included: 'smaller forums, more individualized contact with ministry of housing staff and more timely provision of information. (ibid)

Wood's evaluation of community and urban renewal found that, '[t]he underlying belief that resident involvement in some form is a necessary component of renewal was widespread and largely unquestioned. Neither were its supposed benefits really questioned, both in mediating the process of change and renewal on the estates, or on the longer term well being of residents

and communities involved', although he points out that it is too early to measure the success of community participation (Wood 2002).

Fieldwork Follow-up

Information will be sought from all stakeholders regarding processes and structures for community participation and involvement in all phases of the project.

Local government/shire initiatives to include Indigenous people will be identified and compared with actual practices.

Economic Wellbeing

Despite government policy initiatives over the last 30 years Indigenous people remain disproportionately represented in low economic status. A large majority of Indigenous people live in public housing and statistics show that of these approximately 80% are in receipt of government benefits. Most urban renewal programs, including New Living make some reference to improving the economic outcomes in disadvantaged areas.

This research is interested in finding whether this is likely to occur for Indigenous people on the basis of positive changes generated through urban renewal programs or merely through practices of changing the social mix. This is inclusive of long term, sustainable economic development through such things as home ownership, employment and access to employment.

Fieldwork Follow-up

Information will be sought from all stakeholders regarding processes and structures to improve the economic conditions of residents/community (eg increased employment, training and community education opportunities and possibly industry initiatives)

Local government/shire initiatives to include Indigenous people will be identified and compared with actual practices

Indigenous groups of Indigenous respondents will be asked about any actual or perceived changes to their economic situation as a consequence of New Living.

Societal /Political Wellbeing

Notions of dual accountability recognise that Indigenous organisations are accountable for the efficient use of funds in achieving program goals. At the same time dual accountability acknowledges that Indigenous people have fundamental rights to have access to funds and services which can contribute to their social and economic wellbeing. In New Zealand, Te Puni Kokiri (1999:2) claims that the Treaty of Waitangi provides a basis of Māori rights and a framework for accountability by both Māori and Government. This framework provides the basis for Māori to hold government accountable to answer the following questions:

- Do government policies, programmes and services protect and enhance the right of Māori to live and develop in a Māori way?
- Do government policies, programmes and services result in Māori achieving the same social and economic outcomes as non-Māori? (Te Puni Kokiri 1999:2)

Walker et al claim that, 'the rights asserted by Indigenous Australians are consonant with and reflected within the ideals, values and rights of social democracy which underpin notions of community building in broader community contexts' (2002:15). On this basis Indigenous people have the right to have access to the opportunities and life chances and achieve the same outcomes as the wider society. Several other studies have acknowledged the importance of socially just and equitable outcomes in the realisation of wellbeing and the need for governments and service providers to include this in program implementation and evaluation (SGS 2000a; Walker et al 2001). Te Puni Kokiri (1999:3 cited in Walker et al 2002) states that evaluations need to give special attention to whether programs or services have:

- Increased the accessibility of services
- Improved service delivery
- Improved outcomes and influenced positive change in disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Tonts et al (2001:10) also identifies the need for social and economic monitoring undertaken before, during and following renewal projects (to identify trends for a range of indicators). However, as Walker et al (2002) point out 'program indicators also invariably reflect dominant social values, norms and expectations.' Highlighting the need to obtain Indigenous perspectives on what constitutes appropriate design and process.

Fieldwork Follow-up

Stakeholders including New Living managers at local sites will be asked what measures, if any, in place to show that the quality of lives of residents (including Indigenous people) has improved through:

- Increased access to a range of essential services
- Improved service delivery by DHW.

They will also be asked whether there are any (whole of government) mechanisms and measures are in place to demonstrate how New Living has improved outcomes and decreased disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous members within New Living areas.

Table 5.1: Preliminary/Proposed Indicators for New Living Areas

New Living Goals (DHW)	Performance indicators	Social Indicators
reduce the public housing to between 10%-20%	▶ Specify level of reduction	see social mix & community below
refurbish houses for sale	▶ Specify number	no. purchased by Indigenous households
reduce the social stigma	▶ Increased level of rental occupancy (or reduction in rental vacancies) ▶ Increased level of purchase at specified prices ▶ Increase in property prices	▶ Resident perceptions ▶ Community perceptions ▶ no. purchased by Indigenous households
upgrade and refurbish public rental housing	▶ Specify number of houses refurbished for rental ▶ Level of occupancy pre & post renewal	▶ Tenant satisfaction with quality of rental housing
improve the social mix	▶ Specify social & economic demographics pre & post renewal (ABS Atlas)	▶ Resident & relocated perceptions ▶ Level of community involvement ** ▶ Perceived sense of community **
create a satisfied community	▶ Lower turnover of rental properties ▶ Reduction in graffiti, vandalism etc ▶ Reduction in vacancy	▶ Resident & relocated perceptions ▶ Level of community involvement ** ▶ Perceived sense of

	<p>rates</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Attractive landscaped environment ▶ Increase in local business 	<p>community **</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Perceived sense of belonging ** ▶ Increased social capital -can be measure by sub-set of indicators (see Cox) ** ▶ Sense of social, emotional and physical wellbeing **
<p>encourage a sense of added security for local residents by eliminating areas which provided venues for anti-social behaviour</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Removal of anti-social venues (eg dark streets, drains, enclosed bus shelters) Increased street and park lighting ▶ Reduction in crimes (burglary, vandalism) ▶ Reduction in security call-outs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Perceived sense of safety ▶ Increased level of activity ▶ on streets (walking dogs, jogging, kids playing outside etc)

** indicates that households relocated as part of the New Living program will also be surveyed to ascertain their well-being

SECTION 5

6 STUDY METHODOLOGY

6.1 Research Methodology

The qualitative research methodology employed here is designed to identify the effects of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing through interviews, observations and literature review. This combination of methods will enable us to identify which aspects of the New Living program work well, which may need improvement, and how effective the program is in meeting the needs and wellbeing of Indigenous households.

In addition to validating the initial research questions the literature review which draws from social and community psychology, planning and urban theory, sociology and AHURI research by Walker et al (2001; 2002) has enabled us to identify and discuss a range of 'category systems' (Patton, 1990) within this Positioning Paper. These category systems will provide the analytical focus for the next phase of the research to further develop and refine a framework of principles and indicators of urban renewal, relocation and community wellbeing variables. Category systems represent a logical analysis of qualitative data into patterns (categories) that emerge inductively from the research (Patton 1990). These are specifically used for qualitative data and play a similar role as indicators although indicators are used for both qualitative and quantitative data.

The research adopts an interpretivist approach aimed at understanding how the New Living program is experienced by Indigenous stakeholders in different contexts utilising case studies, interviews, focus groups and document reviews. The rigour of qualitative analysis depends on the presentation of solid descriptive data or 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) in such a way that readers can understand the findings. Interpretation involves explaining the findings, answering 'why' questions, identifying patterns and putting them into an analytical framework.

The research methods selected meet pragmatic as well as ethical and cultural considerations consistent with the Indigenous research principles framework (Walker et al 2001) and the AHURI research protocol and guidelines for Indigenous research (AHURI, 2001). The project methodology reflects a commitment to Indigenous capacity building and the genuine participation and involvement of Indigenous people at all stages of the research.

The research comprises four main elements which are as follows:

Literature review

A systematic critical literature review and analysis has been undertaken of research reports, policy documents and other secondary publications on issues of urban renewal. It specifically details literature from national and international examples related to role of housing renewal programs or initiatives in contributing to community wellbeing.

Policy mapping and program review

In addition to the analysis undertaken to date the policy mapping involves the collection of detailed policy-related, socio-demographic, industry-related data from relevant sources including CHINS, ABS and ATSI regional atlas. The data will provide a baseline of key issues in each of the areas prior to urban renewal as a comparison with data collected during the research. This will also provide a sound basis for much needed longitudinal analysis down the track.

Narrative analysis

A search of local newspapers in each of the metropolitan and regional areas is underway to gauge community perceptions and identify the key issues pertaining to the urban renewal in each locality. The information gained from this review will assist in shaping focus group and interview questions relevant to each of the regions as well as identifying recurrent themes among the areas.

6.2 Field research within six selected case study sites

- a) compilation of demographic and physical data of each site
- b) stakeholder and resident interviews
- c) focus groups in each site reviewing category systems, and proposed indicator and principle frameworks

In addition to conducting a review of base line data available for each of the areas selected, and interviews with renewal professionals the research team will interview tenants relocated from the urban renewal area. We have adopted a responsive approach to enhance a contextualised understanding for all program stakeholders in line with recommendations outlined in *The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) overview and findings of urban renewal*. Although time consuming this is an important design component which should reveal the full affects of urban renewal upon the individual and collective wellbeing of Indigenous people living in urban renewal areas and significantly enrich the findings of this study.

Previous studies (such as Ambrose) although very important, have limited their research to residents within the area before and after urban renewal. There is a risk in such studies of drawing a 'wrong' conclusion based on the assumption that all residents are a homogenous group, each equally likely candidates for displacement. Whereas in fact the UK experience suggests that people displaced by urban renewal are likely to be the most vulnerable in their community, (often as a result of undisclosed variables such as alcohol or substance abuse). Rather than focusing on residents within an area pre and post urban renewal project we intend to interview continuing and new residents as well as people who relocate due to urban renewal.

6.3 Selection of New Living Case Study Sites

The research uses a case study approach in six urban sites in metropolitan and rural areas through WA. The selection of sites and methods of involvement have been further developed and endorsed in full consultation with Indigenous stakeholders.

When an evaluation project requires gathering data from several sites, qualitative methods offer the ability to capture rich data detailing the unique diversities and contrasts of local needs and circumstances. Because it is impossible to anticipate how programs will or should adapt to local conditions, needs and interests, it is impossible to anticipate what standardised quantities could be used to capture the essence of implementation of New Living in various locations. Under such conditions a strategy of naturalistic enquiry is appropriate. For the same reasons it is not useful to select sites as control groups or quasi control groups.

Rationale for Site Selection

The sites are chosen to obtain a sufficient sample of Indigenous people, representative of geographically and culturally diverse contexts in Western Australia. The sample sites take into account different periods of time that the urban renewal projects have been underway although most have been running for at least three years or longer to enable us to gauge the impact of urban renewal on the social, cultural, economic, mental and emotional health and wellbeing Indigenous people. Each of these projects have been reported as having both positive and problematic outcomes for Indigenous people and stakeholders. Discussions held with DHW, ATSIC, DIA and regional housing groups and resource agencies have confirmed that these are highly appropriate sites for this study.

In addition the fact that previous studies have already been conducted at some of these sites provides us with important elements (and indicators) to ascertain whether there have been any change in perceptions and circumstances over time, thus giving us an a sample of both qualitative and quantitative measures.

The next phase of the research involves a Work in Progress Report examining and detailing all relevant data relating to each of the case study communities including a broad socio-economic overview of each of the regions, the main interrelated policies and interagency initiatives which influence the respective urban renewal projects.

Metropolitan Sites

The Perth Metropolitan area is developed around four corridors radiating from the city centre. Discussions with Shelter WA helped to identify case study areas in three of these. It is believed the case studies will encompass various issues, reflecting both positive and problematic aspects of urban renewal.

Coolbellup

Coolbellup is located 22 km south of Perth and 8 km south of Fremantle. The New Living program commenced Coolbellup in 1999 awarded for the best renewal project in Australia by the Urban Planning Institute (2001). At least 16 Aboriginal campsites have been identified throughout Cockburn, mostly on the fringes of North Lake and Bibra Lake. Possible questions to be answered relate to how the City of Cockburn manages the sites, whether the sites have Aboriginal heritage significance and whether they are significant to the local Indigenous population.

Midland Midvale (Eastern Horizons)

Midvale is located in the foothills to the East of Perth. It is part of the local government authority of the City of Swan. Midvale is located within 10 minutes walk from the regional centre of Midland, which has a wide range of facilities including several schools, public transport, recreation and employment opportunities and variety of public open space. The Midvale urban renewal project has been underway for sometime and problems associated with dislocation and breaking up communities have been identified. A report by Shelter WA shows that rapidly increasing housing prices in Midland are making the area too expensive for many families to live in, especially Indigenous families (Shelter WA 2002: 4).

Langford

The New Living project at Langford commenced in September 1999 and involves the refurbishment of 529 dwellings owned by the Department of Housing and Works (29 % of a total of 1830) and the enhancement of infrastructure in the suburb. At the conclusion of the project the Department's presence should have been reduced to 12%. The project is expected to take 5 years. A quarterly newsletter has also been initiated to provide information on key aspects of the project to all residents and key stakeholders.

Regional Sites

Carey Park (Bunbury)

The City of Bunbury is located in the South West region of Western Australia, approximately 175 Km south of Perth. Bunbury is the largest city in one of the state's most rapidly growing areas encompassing a diverse range of industries, including mining, agriculture and tourism. New Living in the Bunbury area falls under the banner of 'One Bunbury' which the DHW describe as '... much more than just a residential development and redevelopment project', claiming it will build stronger communities through improvements to landscaping, open space, security and roads. (DHW 2001b)

Rangeway (Geraldton)

Located approximately 4.5 hours drive north from Perth, Geraldton a port city is the hub of the mid west, which incorporates a broad industry base including agriculture and pastoralism, mining, fishing, manufacturing and tourism. The area remains significant for Aboriginal people, whom traditionally were drawn to the area for its abundant resources (City of Geraldton 2002).

Adeline (South Kalgoorlie)

The City of Kalgoorlie-Boulder is located 600 km east of Perth. The city is a regional transport hub, providing a linkage between Perth and the eastern states and having one of Australia's busiest regional airports. Kalgoorlie's economy is still primarily dependent on the mining industry.

A public housing forum conducted by Shelter WA and Homeswest in 1998 painted a bleak picture of public housing in the in the Kalgoorlie-Boulder region. Aboriginal housing was found

to be particularly problematic. Key problems indicated included extensive waiting lists for public housing, lack of culturally appropriate housing for Indigenous residents and high housing costs. Waiting lists were particularly long for larger homes with several bedrooms. (Shelter WA 1999). It is believed that a large fringe dweller population in the area has been growing due to homelessness in Kalgoorlie. A need was identified to locate public housing stock in areas that are sensitive to the locations of four distinct sub-groups in the Aboriginal community and to provide housing that can accommodate extended Aboriginal families (Shelter WA 1999). In August 2000 the Department of Housing and Works announced that it would spend \$2 million per year for the next two years on the suburb of Adeline, as part of the New Living program.

6.4 Development of Indicators of Indigenous Wellbeing

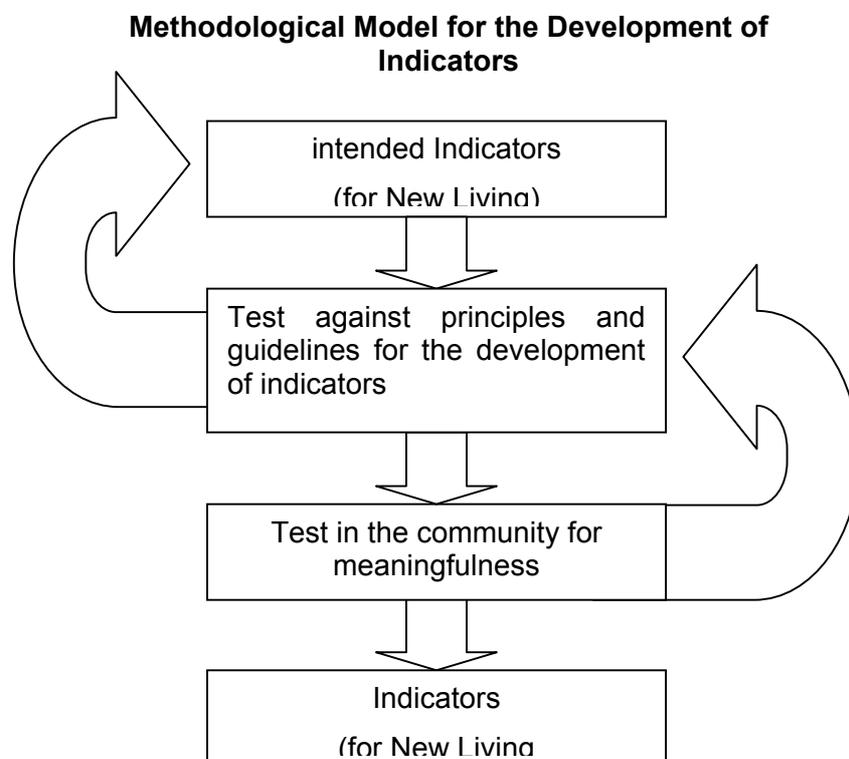
Research is always about extending the knowledge base and filling in the knowledge gaps. As Zubrick et al (2000:5) states 'we should look for indicators in a comprehensive search of the knowledge base.'

There are two phases to identifying social indicators of Indigenous social and community wellbeing by which to determine/assess the effect and effectiveness of urban renewal programs.

The first phase involves an audit of wellbeing indicators being developed nationally and internationally (and in Indigenous contexts) which will be disseminated through this Positioning Paper to a range of stakeholders for further discussion and refinement. It also involves contacting AHURI research centres and urban renewal program managers throughout Australia for preliminary discussions regarding types of programs, best practices, issues and measures of success particularly indicators pertaining to social capital and sustainable communities and their impact upon individual/family wellbeing.

The second phase of the indicator research involves refining indicators for Indigenous wellbeing through participant discussion and clarification, narrative analysis and category analysis and consensus derived from of focus groups or forums.

Figure 2: Methodological Model



The final output will include a set of indicators of Indigenous wellbeing as well as a set indicating barriers to, or risk factors which can impact negatively on that wellbeing which may help to inform urban renewal projects.

6.5 Framework for reviewing Indigenous Wellbeing Indicators

Both Walker et al (2002) and Barron and Gauntlett (2002) recognise the need to place social/housing indicators in a framework firmly located in human rights. Moreover, they claim that Indigenous rights are fundamental to the development of equitable and sustainable futures for Australia as a nation, which is consistent with approaches that link social policy approaches with citizenship theories which have gained renewed currency.

Walker et al (2002) developed an evaluation/research principle framework that details goals, context principles and action principles which support Indigenous self-determination and the enactment of Indigenous rights that has relevance for this research into identifying indicators Indigenous wellbeing. They claim that many of the principles and goals within the framework also serve as potential indicators, for example they describe Indigenous self determination as 'both a goal and a non-negotiable right — as such it remains a fundamental principle and criteria of all research concerning Indigenous peoples' and as such becomes a key indicator when researching in an Indigenous context (Walker et al 2002:25)

The goals of Indigenous research are to:

- Maximise Indigenous participation.
- Strengthen community/capacity building.
- Increase effectiveness and efficiency (as defined by Indigenous people).
- Increase empowerment.
- Ensure dual accountability and partnership.
- Achieve appropriate representation.
- Gain Indigenous control and ownership (processes/outcomes).
- Realise gender equity and equality.
- Realise Indigenous self-determination

A set of context and action principles which help to guide the research include:

Context Principles

- Recognise and work within an Indigenous cultural/political framework.
- Identify and overcome power differences in gender, cultural knowledge, colonial domination and other variables.
- Identify and work with diversity in culture, environment, language, experience, and background.
- Identify and work with variations in socio-economic and geographic disadvantage/advantage.

Action principles

- Prioritise Indigenous knowledge and experience.
- Contribute to Indigenous interests, priorities and future's orientation.
- Disseminate research findings in appropriate forms for relevant stakeholders.
- Ensure research processes and outcomes benefit Indigenous people.
- Include, and be guided by, Indigenous people in all phases of the evaluation/research.
- Assist Indigenous capacity building (Walker et al 2002:26).

6.6 Evaluation of Program Implementation

Several studies have concluded that the delivery of housing services and urban renewal programs in a multicultural society requires a certain degree of individualisation – ensuring program services are designed to meet the diverse needs of individual clients and groups rather than one size fits all approaches. SGS (2000:8) for example, suggest that evaluators/analysts must adapt evaluation techniques to the particular circumstances of any project. Cobbs et al suggest that indicators need to be developed to answer specific questions (1998). As with any program evaluation in Indigenous contexts, an assessment of New Living needs to, ‘take account of geographic, cultural economic and social diversity of Indigenous people.’ (Walker et al 2002:28)

Client relationships with the program and program outcomes will vary for different household types, which will require the development of qualitatively different dimensions to assess outcomes for Indigenous households. The collection and analysis of individual stories will reveal the unique program relationships and different perspectives within Indigenous households and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people involved with the program. By combining these individual stories it is possible to construct an overview of the patterns of relationships and outcomes for the program. The next phases involves obtaining information from a range of different types of Indigenous households and to identify areas of commonality as well as aspects of individualisation.

Facilitate Capacity Building

The need to facilitate capacity building and to take an educative approach in the conduct of research and evaluation with Indigenous people was identified in previous research by on the basis of Indigenous community feedback. (Walker et al 2002:26) This often requires adequate time and additional resources to establish a shared understanding of the language and the benefits to be gained from the evaluation/research process and to maintain good communication and feedback processes. Walker et al identifies the most problematic element of trying to achieve genuine capacity building and feedback, ‘is trying to juggle community time frames and funding body deadlines and the need to undertake activities that fall outside the normal research process’. (2002:27)

6.7 Research Progress

Both the literature review and policy mapping provide the basis of this Positioning Paper. In addition the Positioning Paper also draws on initial discussions with relevant stakeholders to identify specific knowledge gaps related to impacts of urban renewal upon disadvantaged groups, particularly Indigenous groups.

A list of contacts, outlining timelines and purpose of contact is included in Appendix 2. Information is still to be obtained from stakeholders from agencies of state governance in Perth and in regional offices (eg the Ministry for Planning, Department of Housing and Works, Department of Education, Department of Health, Department of Resources Development, ATSIIC, DIA), local authorities, and local Chambers of Commerce.

Interviews

Arrangements are in place to interview Indigenous tenants who have been relocated, remain in situ or moved into renewal estates. Every effort (within ethical means) will be made to contact tenants who have been relocated and to encourage them to discuss their experience. The DHW have been asked to provide statistical demographic data regarding the number of Indigenous people who may have relocated but are no longer in the DHW system’.

Participants will be given written information regarding the research and their prospective role within it. Their informed consent will be sought, emphasising that people can withdraw from the research process at any time. Key Indigenous stakeholders in each site will be provided with a project brief and a request for approval to undertake research. Meetings will be arranged in each region through relevant government agencies, Indigenous community organisations and resources agencies to inform relevant groups.

A range of options to collect data will be employed in each of the areas/regions depending on the number of households contacted via agencies in each of the three groups (relocated, existing/long term, new to area). Data will be collected by personal visit/interview with key personnel with follow-up via telephone and email if necessary. Focus groups and/or community forums will be held if relevant.

This research will concentrate on the meaningfulness of lived experiences among residents in the New Living projects in selected sites. Understanding meaning is a question of 'openness and dialogue' (Greene 1994).

Methodological appropriateness is vital. It will be important to maintain flexible and context sensitive options in obtaining data from households and agency stakeholders (i.e. one to one interviews, focus groups, or forums arranged through agencies) in each of the case study areas chosen. It is possible that two different focus groups will be arranged in country regions. One encouraging existing and new tenants to share their perceptions of the costs, benefits and future possibilities and options of urban renewal for Indigenous community wellbeing. The second encouraging the various agencies involved in urban renewal to discuss integrated policy possibilities from a range of interests and views. Anonymity will be preserved during and subsequent to the entire research process and its outputs.

The information gathered from each of the focus groups and individual interviews will be collated into the category systems identified in the Positioning Paper and methodological references in order to authenticate the work as empirically based representations of program experiences and meanings rather than as biased inquirer opinion.

An important part of this research will be collecting information from Indigenous individuals and households that have been relocated as a consequence of the New Living project. Several steps are being taken to ensure that this information is collected in an ethical and appropriate manner. Firstly meetings are being held with the DHW and the New Living project coordinators in each of regions to obtain their assistance in sending invitations to those tenants who have relocated to another DHW home.

In addition Regional Resource agencies dealing with housing issues on behalf of local Indigenous people will be contacted, and meetings (or small forums) conducted to inform local networks of the project. In accordance with ethical guidelines these agencies will be asked to send invitations to Indigenous people who have applied for accommodation, housing support or other assistance through their agencies as a consequence of urban renewal relocation. These resource agencies have a good knowledge of the local politics and are often able to identify key people in the area. Meetings with workers in these organisations will provide an important coverage of the issues surrounding renewal utilising resource agencies as a conduit to send out information about the research and our contact details to relevant clients is in accordance with ethical guidelines.

Mapping Urban Renewal in Australia

Comparisons with other Australian Urban Renewal Approaches and Initiatives

- Contact has been made with urban renewal projects currently being undertaken in other states through Australia.

Contact has been or will be made with other AHURI Centres that have conducted research studies on urban renewal including but not limited to contact with:

- Prof Bill Randolph and Dr Bruce Judd of Urban Frontiers Program, University of Western Sydney to liaise about the links and areas of complementarity between this project and the research they are currently undertaking in Sydney, South Australia and to a lesser and limited extent in Western Australia.
- Patrick Mullins and James Western of the Queensland AHURI.

Dissemination

The Positioning Paper will be disseminated for discussion by the Reference Group and other relevant stakeholders. Regional Members of the Reference Group will be asked discuss of the Positioning Paper either by email or teleconference if this is possible.

After the primary and secondary data is collected from the all of various sources ongoing analysis, interpretation and presentation of findings will be undertaken prior to the development of a Final Report and Research and Policy Bulletin and dissemination of findings.

Interpretation of the analysis will attach significance to what is found, offer explanations, draw conclusions from the case studies, make inferences and extrapolate lessons for New Living and other urban renewal programs. The emphasis is on 'illumination, understanding and extrapolation rather than causal determination, prediction and generalisation' (Patton, 1990: 424).

7 CONCLUSION

The literature review for this Positioning Paper has drawn together two distinct but related strands of ideas about urban renewal and indicators of wellbeing to deepen our understanding about urban renewal in the Australian context generally, and the impacts it has upon Indigenous wellbeing in particular.

The first strand suggests that urban renewal approaches designed to engender community participation and promote safe, sustainable communities are now widespread throughout Australia and follow the lead of major developments in the UK initiated a decade earlier. The UK Area Renewal projects provide a rich source of research findings from which to learn valuable lessons about appropriate processes and strategies to facilitate sustainable and positive social change in disadvantaged communities (see Joseph Rowntree Foundation website <http://www.jrf.org.uk/knowledge/findings/housing>).

The second and related strand overviews the development of wellbeing indicators and examines some of the issues involved in measuring the effectiveness of urban renewal social, economic and environmental terms. Again there is a growing interest in developing indicators of family and community functioning and wellbeing in Australia which follows on from overseas development in the UK and USA. Particular emphasis is placed on the appropriateness of indicators to measure Indigenous wellbeing and outlines the preliminary work in this area with reference to the lessons learned elsewhere and the need to conduct any evaluative research in accordance Indigenous framework. Walker, Taylor & Ballard. 2002 *Developing Paradigms and Discourses to Establish More Appropriate Frameworks and Indicators for Housing Programs*, AHURI

The JRF research findings pertaining to steps for effective renewal highlight the importance of timely and ongoing communication together with good coordination and governance structures and reciprocal accountability at the local community level. JRF have identified the following key areas as having relevance in developing policy and practice in urban renewal:

- Patterns, processes and perceptions of area renewal;
- Community involvement and capacity building;
- Employment and regeneration;
- The lessons of partnership;
- The strategic dimensions of area renewal.

The next phase of our research focuses mainly on the processes and perceptions of urban renewal in WA with attention to how community involvement, capacity building and issues of governance effect Indigenous wellbeing, although findings from other studies make it clear that broader issues surrounding employment, partnership and the strategic dimensions of urban renewal also need to be considered along with social housing to foster social inclusion, and create social capital and strong sustainable communities.

The other important aspect in the next phase of our research involves further developing and validating a set of appropriate indicators that will provide a more inclusive and relevant understanding of the effects of urban renewal upon Indigenous wellbeing. This is crucial as research to date both overseas and in Australia shows that the social goals of urban renewal remain illusive for ethnic and Indigenous groups who continue to experience the same or even greater levels of disadvantage as a consequence.

The proposed indicators set out in Table 6.1 in the previous chapter developed from an analysis of existing policy documents and Media Release Statements will provide the basis for further research. These indicators will also allow us to test the appropriateness of existing goals and to recommend a set of categories and/or indicators which will enable government and joint venture partners to genuinely account for social aspects of the New Living projects at a site specific and more general level with regard for Indigenous wellbeing in a manner which does not currently exist.

The New Living goals 'improving social mix' and 'creating a satisfied community' have particular interest in this research which relates to both measuring their achievement (from an Indigenous perspective in contrast to mainstream measures); and, identifying the implications /or effects of these goals for Indigenous wellbeing.

The next phase of this research will attempt to identify whether Indigenous perspectives about what creates a satisfied community (and what constitutes an improved social mix) vary greatly from non-Indigenous perspectives (as identified in previous studies). Based on the initial literature review it is expected that access to family and extended kin, sense of belonging (comfortableness, not being judged by others) will be important and distinct aspects of satisfaction, along with more shared aspects such as sense of safety, access to services and infrastructure such health, schools, transport etc which have been deemed important by all residents in previous studies (Parry-Strommen 2001).

The research will also examine whether these goals as defined and implemented from a mainstream perspective/dominant value system have any unintended, negative effects upon Indigenous people and their wellbeing. It is apparent from previous research, that improved social mix is intended to overcome the problems associated with placing disadvantaged groups together. As mentioned earlier the assumption is that people will bring each other down, or at best not have the means/capacity to assist each other. In contrast the strategy of bringing groups from different socio-economic backgrounds together is based on the assumption that people will be inspired by and aspire to more positive role models. They will see possibilities, and more life chances will become available (although how is not always evident). As other studies have suggested, counter to the assumptions underpinning changing the social mix that this strategy may actually serve to break-up Indigenous family and extended kin networks and weaken, rather than increase, social capital. Moreover, a number of studies have also emphasised the links between family and place in maintaining a sense of belonging and social, emotional and spiritual well being.

There is strong belief among Indigenous people that the seemingly innocuous 1 in 9 policy associated with improving the social mix refers to a ratio of Indigenous /non-Indigenous people in an areas ensuring that Indigenous are diluted/dispersed through predominantly white neighbourhoods. There are no written statements to confirm these concerns however the fact that 1in 9 policy is also referred to as salt'n'peppering in public housing areas is recognised by many as referring to Indigenous and non-Indigenous tenant placement policy.

Where to from here?

The Final Report will provide perspective rather than universal truths, empirical assessment of a specific program of urban renewal rather than universal verification and context-bound extrapolations rather than generalisations. As such, we aim to offer State Housing Authorities (SHAs) credible and useful information which can be applied in their own worlds of people, politics and programs.

The potential end users of this research are: all SHAs, local governments, local government organisations, welfare agencies, Commonwealth and State government and non-government agencies with interests in housing and socio-economic wellbeing/welfare of Indigenous people (for example ATSIC, DIA, WACOSS, FACS, TAS and Shelter).

It will also be useful to the wider issues of urban renewal. In many cases the scope and identification of social variables involved in establishing sustainable communities will benefit research related to urban renewal in Australia generally.

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8.1 Appendix 1: Comparisons of Urban Renewal Programs in Australian

State		Aims of Physical/environmental initiatives	Social		Economic
			Aims of Community Development Initiatives	Social Development Initiatives	
Western Australia	Renewal & redevelopment are used interchangeably	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To refurbish houses for sale & rent To reduce social stigma through better quality social housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create a satisfied community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To improve the social mix To reduce social housing To reduce social stigma through less quantity of social housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To be self-funding To create local employment To promote home ownership
New South Wales	Renewal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To improve the quality of housing and surrounding infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To involve residents in decision making for their local area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To improve services to the community To improve housing management To diversify tenure To diversify social mix To improve transportation To reduce crime 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create employment and associated training
South Australia (Westwood)	Redevelopment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop a choice of housing styles for both tenants and home buyers To improve, modernise and update housing for Trust tenants 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create greater opportunities for private rental accommodation To improve local facilities and services for residents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create a wide range of home ownership opportunities for home buyers To create employment and training opportunities
Queensland	Separates urban renewal (changing the physical landscape) from community renewal (improvement of quality of life)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To reduce crime through design To beautify the area To improve the quality of housing To enrich the local environment To improve the look & feel of the neighbourhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To link disadvantaged residents to broader community & local community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To reduce social housing To provide greater choices of housing to meet current community needs To improve access to community services & facilities To expand opportunities for young people To improve safety & security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create local employment and training through building

Community development initiatives reflect 'bottom up' processes whereby the government engages the community in decision making that impact on their local area, while social development reflects a 'top down' approach whereby decisions are made by government that impact on the local area (social development often occurs after some type of consultation with the community).

8.2 Appendix 2: New Living Contact & List Time Line

When	Who	What
March 2002	Tom Mulholland Department of Indigenous Affairs	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living data and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Jo Walsh Tenancy Advise Service	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Karel Eringar Shelter WA	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Cess Stapleton Manager of the New Living Program	Initial contact and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Jodie Broun Director of Aboriginal Housing WA	Initial contact and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Lex Collard Manguri	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas in Maniana and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Sonia Anglicare	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas in Coolbellup and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Andrew Hughes Bega Medical Service	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas in Kalgoorlie and invitation on to reference group
March 2002	Chris Gabish Geraldton Legal Resource Centre	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas in Geraldton and invitation onto reference group
March 2002	Kathlene Gregory Eastern Metro Community Housing Association	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas in Midland and invitation onto reference group
March 2002	K.T. Bunbury Medical Service WA	Initial contact and brief discussion on New Living areas in Bunbury and invitation onto reference group
July 2002	Midland Action Group	Attended meeting to find out initial info discussed regarding New Living in Midland
July 2002	National Shelter	Find contacts and info regarding urban renewal throughout Australia
July 2002	Linda Smith Indigenous research scholar New Zealand	Request for contacts for New Zealand experience of Urban Renewal
July 2002	Malcom Price Community Renewal Coordinator Queensland Govt for Inala project, Brisbane	Inala has over 7% Indigenous population. To explore the use of Inala as an initial case study and comparison to Perth projects
August 2002	Meredyth Taylor Project Manager SA	Discussion on renewal in SA and the impacts on Indigenous people
August 2002	Edith Mayer Housing Dept SA	Discussion on renewal in SA and the impacts on Indigenous people

August 2002	Bettina Community Development Officer SA	Discussion on renewal in SA and the impacts on Indigenous people
August 2002	Meeting City of Swan (Midland)	Initial discussion on the role of local government in New Living
August 2002	Ian Hafecost Department of Housing and Works	Discussion on 1 in 9 policy
Sept 2002	Community Meeting held by DWH in Maniana	Information session on changing plans in Maniana
When	Who	What
Sept 2002	Bob Thomas, Ian Hafecost, Kerry Fijac, Greg Cash, DHW	Discussion of New Living PP.
Oct 2002	DHW	Received New Living data
Nov 2002	Geoff Barker (Research Consultant)	Initial discussions on his understanding of New Living
Nov 2002	Invest Tech	Discussion on investment in New Living areas
Dec 2002	Tom Mulholland Department of Indigenous Affairs	Working collaboratively to analyse data
Feb 2003	Sustainable Indigenous Communities Housing Conference	Making contacts and initial discussions with Indigenous stakeholders on the impacts of New Living
March 2003	Indigenous stakeholder 1 Maniana	Preliminary discussions on role of housing location and cultural practices
April 2003	Martin Anda	Discussion on the direction of Position Paper and subsequent interviews
April 2003	Workers @ Bethnal Green & Victoria Park Housing Association (UK)	Discussions on Renewal in East London: Managing the needs of different ethnic groups
April 2003	Indigenous stakeholder 2 Kalgoorlie	Preliminary discussions on role of housing location and cultural practices
April 2003	Ken Taylor Senior Advisor, Assisted Housing (for Indigenous people in Canada)	Discussions on governance and Canadian policy directions in renewal
May 2003	Indigenous Stakeholder 3 Midland	Preliminary discussions on role of housing location and cultural practices
May 2003	Ian Hafekost DHW	Discussion on changing locations from Maniana to Langford
May 2003	Julian Munrowd-Harris Senior Project Manager, New Living and Renewal DHW	Invitation on to reference group and discussion on changing locations from Maniana to Langford

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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 Web www.ahuri.edu.au