



Final Report

Disadvantaged places in urban Australia: residential mobility, place attachment and social exclusion

authored by

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Preamble

Analysis of Census data can usefully identify spatial concentrations of socio-economic disadvantage and certain characteristics of local populations. However, it is also important to understand residents' views about such areas. People living in disadvantaged communities may have a variety of experiences which can inform much richer insights into both the positive and negative aspects of place.

As part of a larger study on spatially concentrated disadvantage in Australia, we therefore commissioned a survey of residents in four such areas of Sydney. To complement extensive secondary data (including Census) analysis and qualitative fieldwork involving local agencies and other stakeholders, the survey was designed to further investigate:

- the nature and extent of poverty and exclusion
- residents' place attachment—views about their locality
- the functioning of local housing markets.

The survey, involving 801 face-to-face interviews in four outer suburban locations, was undertaken in August/September 2013. This report provides a comprehensive analysis of the survey findings.

Surveyed suburbs

The term 'disadvantaged suburb' is conceptualised here as referring to spatial concentrations of disadvantaged people, as identifiable via the ABS Socio-Economic Index for Areas (or SEIFA) index. Specifically, a disadvantaged suburb was in this research classed as one in which at least 50 per cent of ABS Census Collector Districts (CDs) were in the lowest quintile of the national SEIFA distribution.

The broader study located and mapped such localities in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane (177 in all), identifying four distinct 'disadvantaged suburb' types among them. Only in Sydney, however, were all four types present. Thus, research on residents' place connectedness; their residential mobility behaviour and their economic circumstances was focused on four Sydney localities as shown in Table 1 below (see also map at Figure 1 in main report).

Table 1: Survey locations

Suburb	Disadvantaged suburb typology category			Location
	No	Socio-economic profile	Housing market profile	
Auburn	2	High on overseas movers, high on two-parent families	'Lower price suburbs'—Relatively affordable house prices and distinct low rent market	Western Sydney—middle ring suburb
Emerton	1	High on young people and single-parent households	'Isolate suburbs'—High social rental; median sales prices and rents far below city-wide norms	Western Sydney—outer ring suburb
The Entrance	3	High on residential mobility but low on overseas movers, high on older people	'Marginal suburbs'—Markets detached by distance from mainstream markets; high concentration of low sales prices and rents	Central coast—far to the north of Sydney CBD
Warwick Farm	4	High on overseas movers, high on reduced unemployment and incidence of low status jobs	'Dynamic improver suburbs'—Sales prices and rents moving rapidly towards city-wide norms	Western Sydney—outer ring suburb

Importantly, however, the four chosen areas were not wholly typical of their respective 'typology category' cohort, especially because selection eligibility was limited to suburbs in the lowest decile of the national SEIFA distribution rather than the lowest quintile.

Profiling fieldwork area populations and survey respondents

Consistent with their status as 'disadvantaged suburbs', 2011 census data shows median household incomes in the four chosen areas running at 48–67 per cent of the Sydney-wide comparator. However, reflecting our selection strategy, the four areas varied substantially in terms of respondents' age profile and ethnic diversity. Auburn's 'migrant gateway' function stood out, with a fifth of local respondents having lived in Australia less than five years—far in excess of the other localities.

Housing market structures of the four areas were also diverse, although—in keeping with the generality of disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane—rental housing was over-represented and buying with a mortgage relatively unusual in comparison with city-wide norms. Public housing, however, was only modestly over-represented. Notably, the private rental sector contained substantially larger numbers of family households and older people than respective national norms for this housing market component.

Although satisfaction with housing was generally high, this was less true among home purchasers and private renters. And while most respondents lived in homes classed by survey interviewers as 'good or excellent' in terms of external condition and the state of outside space, a significant minority of rental homes were classed as 'poor or very poor' on these measures. However, it was private rental housing which was most often rated as unsatisfactory in these respects, with 18 per cent of such homes deemed poor or very poor on external condition and 25 per cent as regards the condition of outside space. Comparable figures for public rental homes were about half these levels.

Residential mobility

Overall, the findings on residential mobility suggest that local housing markets in disadvantaged areas can perform a significant 'home ownership gateway' function. Owner occupier markets were dominated by first home buyers, many of whom had moved into the locality from elsewhere and many of whom aspired to leave the neighbourhood when feasible.

Rental markets, meanwhile, were mainly characterised by local and/or within-tenure churn. Nevertheless, the gross inflow of non-local movers into private tenancies was significant, with a quarter of the entire private rental population having arrived from other areas within the previous five years. It is possible that many of those concerned will have been drawn into their new home area from less disadvantaged places by the availability of more affordable rental property. By comparison with home buyers, however, far fewer private renters expected their next move to involve area exit.

More generally, and largely reflecting the locally high representation of private rental housing, residential mobility was relatively high in the selected suburbs. Less than half of respondents (46%) had lived in their current home for more than five years.

Despite high satisfaction with current homes, more than a third of respondents expected to move within two years. For most aspirant movers (59%) motivating factors included disliked aspects of the current home itself (especially inadequate size or perceived insecurity). However, for more than a third of aspirant movers (more than half of such home owners) 'problematic' features of the neighbourhood were a motivating factor. Dominant area-linked dislikes were related to community safety and poor access to services.

Nearly half of aspirant movers (48%) envisaged a local move, perhaps suggesting that dissatisfaction with 'place' can be very local and specific. However, a third hoped to move out of the region altogether—to a distant part of Sydney or beyond. Among aspirant movers, in

each major tenure most expected 'within tenure' mobility. However, more than a third of such private renters (36%) expected to jump to home ownership, while a quarter of such public housing tenants hoped to transition into community housing.

Views about the local area

Generally, residents of the four suburbs viewed their area fairly positively—more than two-thirds (68%) expressed a feeling of local belonging. Despite this, however, more than a third (37%) said that, given the opportunity, they would leave their neighbourhood. Only in The Entrance was this group much smaller (17%).

Across the main housing tenures, home buyers stood out somewhat as more inclined to perceive the local presence of certain social problems than the population-wide norm. Similarly, aspirations to exit the neighbourhood were more commonly voiced by this group. Perhaps linked with this, analysis by respondent age group shows that those most likely to wish for a move away was the 30–59 cohort. And, albeit bearing in mind the relatively small sample size of the highest income group (>\$15 000 per month), this cohort appeared most likely to aspire to leave their current area.

On balance, respondents believed that their localities had recently been experiencing positive change. Nearly a third (32%) considered their area had improved over the previous two years while just over a fifth (22%) took the opposite view. In The Entrance the balance was negative; that is respondents perceiving recent deterioration outnumbered those seeing improvement. The result here may be associated with the tendency of older people (strongly represented in The Entrance) to take a negative stance in this respect.

Across all four areas, the balance of views on anticipated future neighbourhood change was more strongly optimistic (46% expecting improvement versus only 24% expecting deterioration).

Notably, the most positive balance of views—about both recent change and future expected change—was recorded in Warwick Farm. This finding is apparently consistent with the area's socio-economically determined designation as a 'Type 4' or 'dynamic improver' suburb.

Community spirit and social connectedness

Consistent with most respondents identifying with their neighbourhood in terms of 'local belonging', a clear majority (62%) believed their area to have a strong sense of community. Illustrating substantial community connectedness, almost half (47%) agreed with the statement: 'I visit my neighbours in their homes', with a similar proportion (49%) reporting membership of a local community group or club (usually a social or sports club).

There were some inter-tenure variations on perceived community spirit and reported community connectedness. Owners were markedly more likely to belong to local organisations than tenants, and the public renter group stood out as having a notably low proportion of respondents who had recently attended a local event (29% compared with 44% across all tenures). As well as the relatively high incidence of disability in public housing, this finding might reflect the location of public housing in terms of accessibility to local centres. This latter hypothesis appears consistent with the finding that nearly a quarter of public renters had difficulty in getting to places of importance whereas this was true for less than a tenth of all respondents.

While more likely to report 'community connectedness' in terms of visiting neighbours or attending local events, higher income groups were somewhat less likely to feel a sense of neighbourhood belonging, perhaps indicating that their social interactions extended beyond the local area.

Poverty and social exclusion

In terms of recently having had to forgo necessities, having experienced problems in paying for essential items or services, or in having had to seek external financial help, an average of 33 per cent of households in the four areas had been directly affected by financial poverty during the previous year, two-thirds higher than the national (and Sydney-wide) norm (20%). Such deprivation rates were, thus, typically 65 per cent 'above normal'. While deprivation rates were highest among public renters (at 50%), the rate for private tenants (41%) was only fairly marginally lower.

Extending beyond income poverty, and recognising that social exclusion is a nuanced and multi-faceted concept, the analysis drew on responses to a diverse range of survey questions to distinguish between, and to separately measure, distinct 'exclusion dimensions'. Using advanced statistical techniques, respondents were classified with respect to five discrete dimensions of social exclusion:

1. neighbourhood
2. civic engagement
3. access
4. community identity
5. economic.

Across the four survey locations, some two-thirds of all households were classed as socially excluded with respect to at least one of the five dimensions 1–5 listed above. While true for 50 per cent of home buyers, the comparable figure for private renters—the group most widely affected—was 72 per cent.

While there was little clear consistency on exclusion rates across the four localities, the areas in which exclusion tended to be higher were Emerton (Type 1 area) and Warwick Farm (Type 4 area). However, while rates generally tended to be lowest here, The Entrance (Type 3 area), had high rates of exclusion on both 'access' and 'economic' dimensions.

Although the incidence of each form of exclusion varied fairly modestly according to household type, diversity was relatively marked in respect of *exclusion from neighbourhood* (less likely for those with children) and *economic exclusion* (more likely for families and less likely for age pensioner households).

Patterns of social exclusion for the different housing tenures were highly diverse. However, while economic exclusion was far more prevalent in the rental tenures, outright owners exhibited the highest rate of exclusion on three of the other four dimensions.

Factoring-in both the incidence of exclusion for each tenure and the representation of each tenure across the four areas, private rental housing stood out as accounting for the largest share of all 'excluded households' on all five dimensions. Applying the survey findings on the incidence of exclusion by tenure to the whole 'disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney' cohort, it is estimated, by inference, that home owners will account for a majority of excluded households under three of the five indicators. The private rental sector nevertheless remains the dominant location of *economically excluded* households in areas of this kind and accounts for around double the state housing proportion of excluded households *across all five measures*.

While the four area populations were fairly similar in terms of the distribution of 'exclusion severity', there were much more contrasting patterns in relation to housing tenure. Strikingly, outright owners exhibited the highest incidence of 'multiple exclusion', but also a relatively large proportion of households with no exclusion.

Policy implications

A number of policy implications follow from our findings. The finding that community spirit and social connectedness can be strong in disadvantaged areas could be read as suggesting that, whatever their problems, such areas have important strengths on which policy interventions should be built. While the perceived local incidence of crime and disorder may be problematically high, it would seem that certain issues of concern—such as car hooning—could be relatively easily addressed.

As the research has shown, some disadvantaged places can play an important ‘gateway function’ for newly arriving migrants. There may be a need for additional resources or other interventions to support the communities concerned. Associated research has shown that housing market dynamics have been reducing the attractiveness of ‘lower value areas’ in Australia’s major cities from the perspective of lower income groups in need of affordable housing. Measures to enhance well-located affordable rental housing supply could help to counteract these pressures.

The study findings challenge the traditional policy-maker orthodoxy in which disadvantaged areas have tended to be equated with public housing estates and disadvantaged populations with public housing tenants. As regards measures to tackle exclusion from the local neighbourhood and from civic engagement, these would be more logically directed towards outright home owners. And with respect to the all-important issue of economic exclusion, the problems manifest in disadvantaged suburbs are overwhelmingly found in the private rental sector.

More broadly, the study findings suggest that in addressing the problems of disadvantaged places there is a need for a stronger policy focus on the private rental market. Supporting this case is the observation that—in contrast to its profile, nationally—private rental in disadvantaged suburbs is dominated by the family and older person households for whom insecure housing must be considered especially unsuitable. Furthermore, it is in the private rental market that poor physical conditions are most extensive.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and research questions

Census analysis can usefully identify spatial concentrations of socio-economic disadvantage and certain key characteristics of local populations. However, it is also important to understand residents' views about such areas. People living in disadvantaged communities may have a variety of experiences which can inform much richer insights into both the positive and negative aspects of place. This report builds on a robust tradition in Australia of research which examines residents' views of living in places that appear to be socially and economically disadvantaged (e.g. Peel 2003; Palmer et al. 2004; Randolph et al. 2010).

The report draws on a household survey of 801 residents of four disadvantaged areas in Sydney. For the purposes of this research, the term 'disadvantaged area' is conceptualised as referring to spatial concentrations of disadvantaged people, as identifiable via the ABS Socio-Economic Index for Areas or SEIFA index. The utilisation of SEIFA scores within our methodology for identifying disadvantaged places is detailed below.

The current report forms one among a series of outputs generated by an AHURI-funded multi-year research program 'Addressing concentrations of disadvantage'. Encompassing Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, the work program was structured to investigate three overarching issues:

1. How concentrations of social disadvantage have been conceptualised and how this relates to our broader understanding of the operation and impacts of housing and urban systems.
2. The impacts of spatial disadvantage, and the importance of housing and place in mediating the incidence and experience of residents of disadvantaged areas.
3. How policy, practitioners and communities can respond to spatial disadvantage in 'best for people, best for place' terms.

The study was undertaken through five distinct streams:

1. A literature review on spatial concentrations of disadvantage and associated policy responses (Pawson et al. 2012).
2. Identification and classification of disadvantaged areas, together with analysis of disadvantaged area housing markets (Hulse et al. 2014).
3. Analysis of the spatial consequences of housing and related policies, as embodied in the geographical distribution of associated expenditure (Groenhart 2014).
4. Qualitative case study research focused on six disadvantaged areas in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane (Cheshire et al. 2014).
5. Residents survey of four disadvantaged areas of Sydney—as analysed in this report.

Following on from our literature review, the second research stream involved mapping the spatial distribution of disadvantage across the three cities, analysing and classifying the diversity of the places concerned. Adopting ABS suburb geography as our chosen unit of analysis, we focused on those in the lowest quintile of the national SEIFA ranking (Index of Relative Socio-Economic Disadvantage (IRSD)—hereafter 'SEIFA'). Through a cluster analysis of these areas using socio-economic variables from ABS censuses 2001 and 2011 we identified four distinct types of disadvantaged areas represented in the chosen cities. The methodology employed in this typology analysis is fully documented in a separate report (Hulse et al. 2014). Crucially, as further explained below, this formed the framework for the household survey which is the subject of this report.

Subsequently, to investigate local perceptions of disadvantaged area socio-economic strengths and weaknesses, as well as to probe the role of policy in both generating and countering

associated problems, qualitative case study work was undertaken in six selected localities in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. As reported elsewhere (Cheshire et al. 2014), this work also investigated the experience of living in a disadvantaged area from the local resident perspective.

Alongside in-depth interviews with local agency and stakeholder representatives, the qualitative case study work sought to tap into local perspectives via residents' focus group meetings. Complementing this work, the household survey of residents living in disadvantaged areas was designed to shed light on the functioning of local housing markets, on the nature and extent of poverty, social exclusion, and on the quality of life experienced by local populations of disadvantaged places. Beyond this, the survey was also intended to investigate the utility of the typology framework developed to differentiate disadvantaged areas.

The specific questions we aimed to address via the survey were:

1. How are disadvantaged places perceived by their residents?
2. How do disadvantaged area housing markets operate and how do housing market processes impact on the spatial concentration of poverty?
3. What is the breadth and depth of social exclusion in disadvantaged places, and how does the incidence of such exclusion vary between different forms of disadvantaged place and across different populations?

1.2 Survey fieldwork area selection

As noted above, the survey was undertaken in four disadvantaged suburbs of Sydney. While it had been originally intended to include representation of such areas in Melbourne and Brisbane, the Sydney-focused approach was adopted partly on grounds of practicality, especially in terms of limiting the complexity involved in assembling the address sample (see below) and managing the fieldwork. The decision to focus on Sydney rather than either of the other two cities was influenced by the secondary data analysis finding that only in Sydney were all four 'disadvantaged suburb types' present (see Hulse et al. 2014).

1.2.1 Typology methodology and outputs

Underlying the fieldwork area selection methodology was the approach developed to identify and classify disadvantaged localities more generally. The 177 suburbs thus identified formed the population from which the sample of fieldwork locations were selected. While described more fully elsewhere (see Hulse et al. 2014) the following paragraphs summarise how disadvantaged suburbs of varying types were so designated.

Using the ABS-defined suburb as the unit of analysis, the first step involved making reference to the SEIFA Index. Drawing on 2006 Census data (the most recent available data at the time of the analysis), we identified suburbs within Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane where more than 50 per cent of all component collection districts (CDs) were 'most disadvantaged'. These were CDs in the lowest quintile of SEIFA rankings across Australia. In total, 177 such suburbs were identified across the three cities—91 in Sydney, 50 in Melbourne and 36 in Brisbane (see Table 2 below). In all three cities it was found that these suburbs contained the majority of all disadvantaged CDs, which indicated some spatial clustering of disadvantage.

The next step involved development of the typology using an inductive model where relevant socio-economic data for all identified 'disadvantaged suburbs' were subject to a cluster analysis to reveal distinct suburb types sharing similar socio-economic characteristics. The relevant indicators used for this process fell into three categories: social/residential mobility (Dimension A); lifecycle stage/family type (Dimension B); and change over time in socio-economic status (Dimension C).

Table 2: Summary of typology distribution—no. of suburbs

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Outlier (excluded)	Total	% of all suburbs
Sydney	13	48	13	15	2	91	11
Melbourne	-	25	2	23	-	50	10
Brisbane	1	-	11	24	-	36	9
All	14	73	26	62	2	177	10

Source: Hulse et al. 2014

With two of the 177 suburbs needing to be eliminated from the analysis as ‘outliers’ (see Hulse et al. 2014), this produced four area groupings. While these were defined solely in relation to socio-economic variables, subsequent analysis of housing tenure structures, property sales prices and rents (detailed in Hulse et al. 2014) mapped housing market-related designations onto the four typology categories as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Disadvantaged suburbs typology in socio-economic and housing market terms

	Distinguishing socio-economic characteristics	Housing market designation
Type 1	High on young people and single-parent households	‘Isolate suburbs’—High social rental; median sales prices and rents far below city-wide norms
Type 2	High on overseas movers, high on two-parent families	‘Lower price suburbs’—Relatively affordable house prices and distinct low rent market
Type 3	High on residential mobility but low on overseas movers, high on older people	‘Marginal suburbs’—Markets detached by distance from mainstream markets; high concentration of low sales prices and rents
Type 4	High on overseas movers, high on reduced unemployment and incidence of low status jobs	‘Dynamic improver suburbs’—Sales prices and rents moving rapidly towards city-wide norms

Source: Hulse et al. 2014

1.2.2 Rationale for selection from overall population of disadvantaged suburbs

The selection of survey fieldwork locations from the population of 177 disadvantaged suburbs (as defined above) was integrated within a process of identifying localities for indepth qualitative fieldwork (reported elsewhere—see Cheshire et al. 2014). The aim was to identify eight locations for this intensive fieldwork, four in Sydney and two each in the other two cities. Qualitative fieldwork would be undertaken in six of the eight localities (two in each city), with the other two selected Sydney localities accommodating survey fieldwork only (as shown in Table 6 below).

The selection rationale needed to take account of the multiple aims of the primary fieldwork, including:

- Groundtruthing the typology categories as differentiating between disadvantaged localities in a meaningful way.
- Reviewing the area-based or other relevant policy interventions historically or currently implemented in countering area disadvantage (or social disadvantage in specific areas).
- Exploring the interaction of social disadvantage and locational disadvantage.
- Developing an understanding of housing market processes in disadvantaged areas (of different types).

- Developing an understanding of housing factors/housing market processes in generating and/or perpetuating spatial disadvantage.
- Measuring quality of life in disadvantaged areas.

Crucially, the selection needed to represent as fully as possible each of the four typology categories. However, rather than select areas typical of each category it was decided to give preference to areas with 'extreme values'. This is, in principle, an accepted model for case study selection (Flyvbjerg 2006).

Consistent with the above approach it was decided to prioritise areas with higher rates of social disadvantage. This was operationalised by subjecting the 177 areas to a variant SEIFA analysis where we selected as 'disadvantaged' only those where at least 50 per cent of CDs were in the lowest decile (not quintile) of the national distribution of SEIFA rankings. This reduced the number of 'disadvantaged suburbs' across the three cities from 177 to 68 (see Table 4 below).

Table 4: Disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane—2006 SEIFA decile threshold

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Outlier (excluded)	Total
Sydney	13	15	4	5	1	38
Melbourne	-	13	-	5	-	18
Brisbane	1	-	1	10	-	12
All	14	28	5	20	1	68

Source: Hulse et al. 2014

Next, selecting from the suburbs enumerated in Table 4 above, we identified those areas with 'extreme values' in relation to the census variables noted as 'distinctive' for each typology category (e.g. single-parent households and young people for Typology category 1). This generated a set of 18 suburbs (see Table 5 below). Some of the 18 areas were 'extreme cases' in respect of only one 'distinguishing variable', while others scored as such on up to five variables.

Table 5: Disadvantaged suburbs (2006 SEIFA decile threshold): areas with 'extreme values' on one or more variables differentiating their respective typology category

	Typology category			
	1	2	3	4
Sydney	<i>Airds, Bidwell, Claymore, Emerton</i>	Auburn, Wiley Park	The Entrance, Canton Beach, Ettalong Beach	Warwick Farm, Miller, Watanobbi
Melbourne	-	Dandenong South, Meadow Heights	-	Braybrook, Eumemmerring
Brisbane	Carole Park	-	Booval (Ipswich), <i>Russell Island, Bongaree</i>	Logan Central, Riverview (Ipswich)

Note: Place names in italics added to the original 18 to provide for substitution—see text.

1.2.3 ‘Locally informed’ selection

Especially given the need to identify, analyse and evaluate local policy interventions (see above) there is a valid case for incorporating a robust element of local knowledge in case study selection—both on the part of the research team and other knowledgeable stakeholders (e.g. state housing authorities).

Application of such considerations to the areas initially listed in Table 5 above resulted in the substitution of a number of areas as follows:

- Airds, Claymore and Miller—considered over-researched.
- Booval and Riverview—badly affected by 2012 Queensland floods.
- Carole Park and Eumemmering—population too low.

Factoring in the above considerations, the areas selected for primary fieldwork are shown in Table 6 below. As shown in Figure 1 below, the four survey fieldwork locations included three in Western Sydney and one on the central coast far to the north of the CBD.

Table 6: Areas selected for primary fieldwork

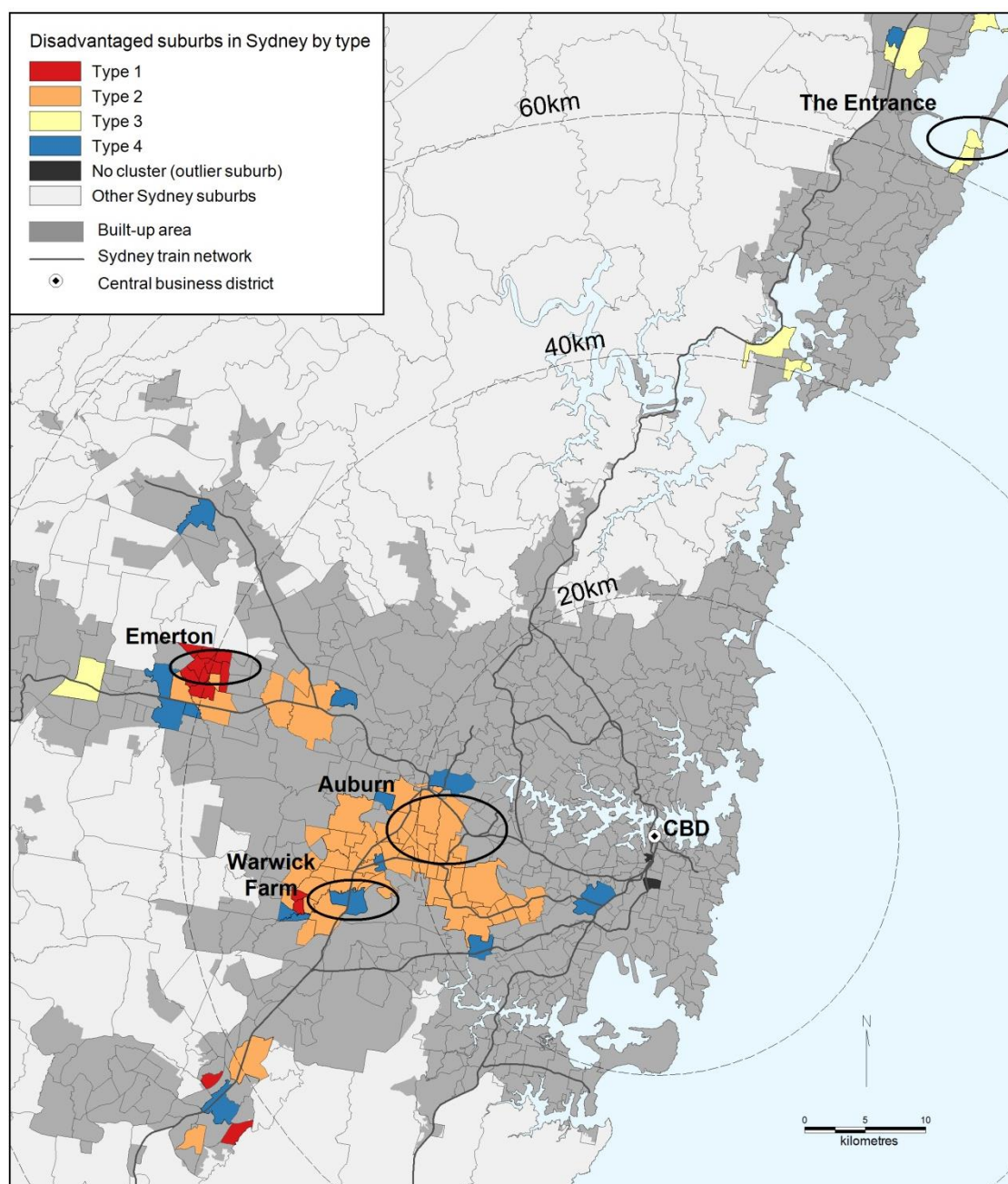
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
Sydney	Emerton	Auburn	The Entrance	Warwick Farm
Melbourne		<i>Springvale</i>		<i>Braybrook</i>
Brisbane			<i>Russell Island</i>	<i>Logan Central</i>

Note: Areas shown in bold were subject to the residents' survey. Areas shown in italics were covered in the qualitative case study work: as well as being included in the survey, Emerton and Auburn also served as qualitative case study areas along with all the named localities in Melbourne and Brisbane.

It should be acknowledged that restricting selection eligibility to suburbs in the lowest decile of the national SEIFA distribution rather than the lowest quintile—see above—will have compromised the extent to which the selected areas may be considered fully ‘representative’ of the typology category concerned. This is, in particular, true for Warwick Farm which contained a much higher body of public housing (34%) than typical for Sydney Type 4 localities (14%). The other three areas may be better exemplars of their respective local area archetypes. These considerations need to be borne in mind in interpreting the survey findings.

Notwithstanding the limitation described above, it can be confidently asserted that the area selection process will have resulted in a cohort of four study localities robustly representative of disadvantaged area diversity in Sydney. Further, given that area selection was embedded within a wider analysis also encompassing Melbourne and Brisbane (see above), we would argue that the survey findings can be interpreted as having important implications for comparable areas in those cities.

Figure 1: Sydney fieldwork locations (suburbs)



Note: Map credits to Margaret Reynolds, Swinburne University.

1.3 Survey sample, questionnaire and fieldwork

The survey sample was constructed from a range of administrative address datasets to achieve an approximately equal number of recent movers and longer established residents. Similarly, through the sample design and through the application of quotas in the course of the actual fieldwork, approximately equal numbers of interviews were achieved for each locality and for each of the three main housing tenures (owners, private renters, public renters)—see Table A2 in Appendix 1. For analysis, the results were re-weighted to replicate the actual household population profile of each area. All of the results presented in the remainder of this report are based on weighted data. Details of our sampling and weighting methods are given in Appendix 1.

As with any sample survey, the results from our fieldwork must be hedged with some qualifications. Even large samples drawn on a simple random basis are subject to sample error such that any result is subject to a calculable margin of error at a stated level of probability. Thus, a random sample of 800 has a margin of error of 3 per cent at the 95 per cent confidence level. Sub-group analysis—that is breaking down a sub-group within a sample of this size will have a larger margin of error attached (at this confidence level). A sub-sample of 200, for instance, has a margin of error of 7 per cent at the 95 per cent confidence level. Any relatively small scale survey of this kind must, therefore, be treated as yielding indicative rather than precise results.

In designing the survey questionnaire, we aimed to explore issues relevant to the study's overarching research themes and the specific issues to be addressed by the survey itself (see Section 1.1). Of particular interest were the housing and place aspects of socio-spatial disadvantage. These dimensions are where this research makes a particular contribution to the understanding of low status urban areas in Australia, complementing studies which have focused on issues such as employment (Baum et al. 2013). Thus we were particularly interested in housing markets and residential mobility in such suburbs. The questionnaire was therefore structured in four main sections focusing on:

- the respondent's current home
- the previous home
- the local neighbourhood
- household living arrangements and resources.

In drafting questions, attention was paid to existing survey instruments developed for associated research projects (especially the Randolph et al. study of social exclusion in Western Sydney—Randolph et al. 2010) and to ABS national survey questions (e.g. as used in the Survey of Income and Housing). It should, however, be acknowledged that the vast majority of the questions included in the survey unfortunately lack any national (or other wider area) comparator. Hence, much of the analysis is necessarily focused on distributions within the study areas rather than comparisons between the study areas and the city (or country) as a whole.

Survey fieldwork was undertaken by Sweeney Research, as commissioned by the research team. Undertaken in July–August 2013, 801 face-to-face interviews were achieved. There was one interviewee per household, with eligibility to participate being limited to those aged 18 or over.

1.4 Report structure

The remainder of this report is structured as follows. To provide a general socio-economic overview of the four selected suburbs, Chapter 2 profiles the areas in terms of housing tenure, respondent age and birthplace, household income and poverty. Chapter 3 analyses the results on patterns of residential mobility; the incidence of recent moves into and within each of the fieldwork areas and respondents' desires and intentions as regards future moves. Chapter 4 focuses on respondents' views about their home area, on any 'neighbourhood issues' of concern and on perceptions as to whether areas have been improving or deteriorating. Next, in Chapter 5, we look at the results related to social inclusion and community vitality. Then, in Chapter 6 we draw on a range of survey variables to construct five measures covering distinct 'dimensions' of social exclusion. Finally, in Chapter 7, we review our findings and discuss implications and conclusions.

Like any research output largely based on quantitative survey evidence, this report contains a large volume of numerical data. Mainly for readability, we have presented some of our results in graphical rather than tabular form. By including 'data labels' to specify graphed percentages,

we attempt to convey as much information by this means as would be communicated by presenting the underlying table itself. However, there are limits to the scope to convey the results in this way because graphical presentation only works for relatively simple messages. The choice of which results to convey via graphics rather than tables is based mainly on this 'practicality' consideration rather than reflecting any judgement about the 'importance' of the issue concerned.

2 PROFILING THE FIELDWORK AREAS AND SURVEY RESPONDENTS

2.1 Demographic and economic profile of population

In this first section of the chapter, we analyse the similarities and differences between the four study areas and compare these with Sydney as a whole. Both for the four suburbs and the metropolitan region as a whole, the data source here is the 2011 census, not the survey itself. Later in the chapter, similar issues are profiled in relation to the survey respondents (rather than to the population as a whole).

As shown in Table 7 below, there were fairly marked differences between the four study areas as regards population age structure. There was a particularly clear contrast between Emerton, with a high incidence of children, and The Entrance where the population was weighted towards the older age groups. By comparison with Sydney as a whole these two areas were unusually 'youthful' on the one hand, and older, on the other. Meanwhile, Auburn's population was distinctive in the high representation of 'young adults'—42 per cent of persons were aged 17–39, well above any other area calibrated in the table. Warwick Farm's population structure was closer to the Sydney-wide norm than any other locality.

Table 7: Population age structure: study areas compared with Greater Sydney (%)

	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	Greater Sydney
0–16	24	31	18	21	22
17–24	15	13	10	11	11
25–39	27	17	19	25	23
40–59	22	24	24	26	27
60–74	8	12	18	12	12
75+	4	3	10	5	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing 2011—Basic Community Profile tables

As regards birthplace, there was again great diversity between the four localities. As shown in Table 8 below, in two of the areas—Auburn and Warwick Farm—the population was largely overseas born, with particularly strong representation of Chinese and/or Indian origins. The Entrance, by contrast, stood out as having an unusually small migrant population component.

Table 8: Population birthplace breakdown: study areas compared with Greater Sydney (%)

	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	Greater Sydney
Australia	32	61	74	37	60
China & SE Asia	19	4	2	10	9
UK and Ireland	0	3	3	2	5
Other Europe	2	1	2	8	4
Pacific	1	9	2	5	3
Indian sub-continent	7	1	0	7	3
Middle East	12	2	0	5	2
Other Asia	1	0	0	1	1
Other	17	11	2	12	8
Not known	9	9	13	13	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing 2011—Basic Community Profile tables

On household type, there was once again no commonality across the four localities. Auburn and Emerton stood out as having an unusually high incidence of large family households. Probably associated with its unusually older-age population, The Entrance had a much higher rate of lone-person households than the other localities or Greater Sydney.

Table 9: Household type breakdown: study areas compared with Greater Sydney (%)

	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	Sydney
Lone person	16	23	41	34	23
Small family (1–2 children) household	57	52	50	53	61
Large family (3+ children) household	22	21	4	8	12
Other non-family household	6	3	5	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing 2011—Basic Community Profile tables

Again drawing on 2011 Census data, Table 10 below demonstrates the extent to which the fieldwork areas were characterised by lower incomes and higher rates of unemployment than Sydney-wide norms. Household incomes in the study areas were typically around a half to two-thirds of the Sydney-wide norm, while unemployment rates were around twice to two-and-a-half times the city-wide figure.

Table 10: Socio-economic status indicators: Fieldwork areas and Greater Sydney compared

Indicator	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	Greater Sydney
Income—2011 gross median monthly household income (\$)	4,162	3,548	3,006	3,079	6,222
Unemployment—% of labour force unemployed	10.7	13.6	14.4	13.9	5.7

Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing 2011

Thus, while all economically distinguished from the wider metropolitan area norm as would be expected (Table 10), the study areas were demographically diverse (preceding tables). This is consistent with the fieldwork area selection strategy of choosing places to represent each of the four disadvantaged suburb typology categories (see Section 1.2.1).

2.2 Housing tenure profile and condition

Having profiled the study area populations, this section moves on to look at housing market structures. After an initial breakdown based on census data, it begins to draw on the survey findings as these relate to housing condition and resident satisfaction.

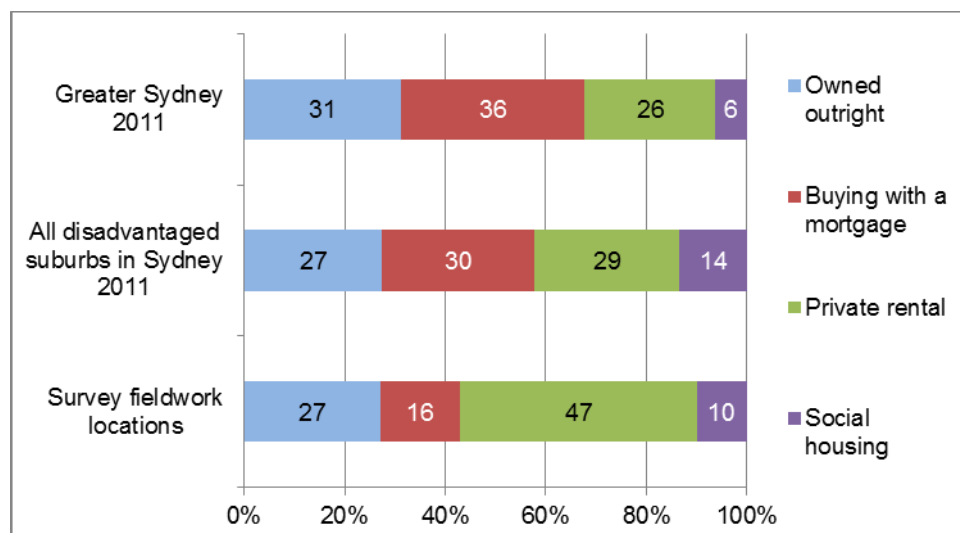
As shown in Figure 2 below, and given that some of those buying with a mortgage may have only very small property debts (e.g. because historic loans have been largely repaid) this group will include some households in similar circumstances to outright owners in terms of their low housing costs. However, since outright owners as a group are very different from those buying with a mortgage in certain respects (e.g. demographic profile), this report generally differentiates between the two groups except where small sample sizes would make this inappropriate.

As emphasised by Table 11 below, there was considerable housing market diversity across the selected suburbs. While public housing was relatively extensive in Emerton and Warwick Farm, it was almost absent in Auburn and The Entrance. Outright home owners generally outnumbered those buying with a mortgage, although not in Warwick Farm.

According to Table 11, rental properties accounted for more than half of all dwellings in all four case study suburbs and in this respect these local housing markets differed considerably from Sydney as a whole. Also, for context, Figure 2 above shows the tenure pattern for all 91 'disadvantaged suburbs' in Sydney (see Table 2 above). Clearly, the fieldwork locations are not wholly representative of this larger suburb cohort. In part, this is likely to reflect the selection approach detailed in Chapter 1—notably the intentional focus on areas in the lowest decile (rather than the lowest quintile) of the national SEIFA ranking.

The tenure pattern for the survey fieldwork locations, collectively, is also highly influenced by the inclusion of Auburn as a relatively large area unit with a very distinctive housing tenure distribution (see Table 11 below). This particularly affects the representation of private rental in the survey areas. Whereas the rate of outright home ownership in the 'fieldwork locations' cohort was similar to the city-wide picture, households buying with a mortgage were relatively few in number (see Figure 2 below). While more extensive in the survey locations than the Sydney-wide norm, social housing was under-represented in comparison with the whole 'disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney' cohort.

Figure 2: Housing tenure breakdown in fieldwork locations: comparison with benchmark distributions



Sources: Survey fieldwork locations based on survey sample—see Appendix 1; Other cohorts: ABS Census 2011.
Notes: 1. Greater Sydney and ‘all disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney’ cohorts exclude ‘tenure type not stated’ and ‘other’ tenure. 2. Community housing included in ‘social housing’.

Table 11: Housing tenure by suburb

		Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	All areas
Owner	Number	2,540	220	421	200	3,381
	Col %	30	31	21	12	27
Purchaser	Number	1,497	112	121	298	2,028
	Col %	18	16	6	18	16
Private rental	Number	3,755	199	1,439	574	5,967
	Col %	46	28	71	35	47
Public rental	Number	415	189	55	556	1,215
	Col %	5	26	3	34	10
All tenures	Number	8,207	720	2,036	1,628	12,591
	Col %	100	100	100	100	100
N=		200	201	200	200	801

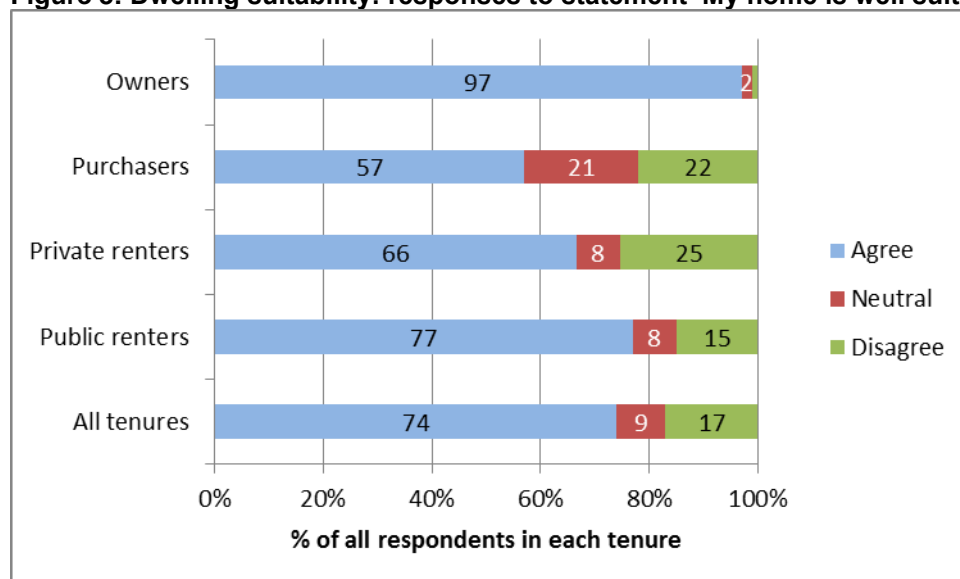
Note: ‘All tenures’ figure is the sum of the specified tenure categories. It does not include community housing, nor boarding houses or other ‘informal’ privately rented accommodation (i.e. where no rental bond has been lodged).

As an indicative yardstick of property quality, survey interviewers were instructed to rate the external condition of each respondent’s dwelling, and also to assess the immediate surroundings. As shown in Table 12 below most properties in the sample were judged good, very good or excellent in terms of the three measures. However, 10 per cent were classed as poor or very poor in terms of external dwelling quality, with 15 per cent of landscape/garden surroundings similarly judged. While these scores contrasted distinctly between owner occupied and rental tenures, it was the private rather than the public rental dwellings which garnered the highest negative scores on all three indicators.

Table 12: External condition of dwelling and immediate surroundings (%)

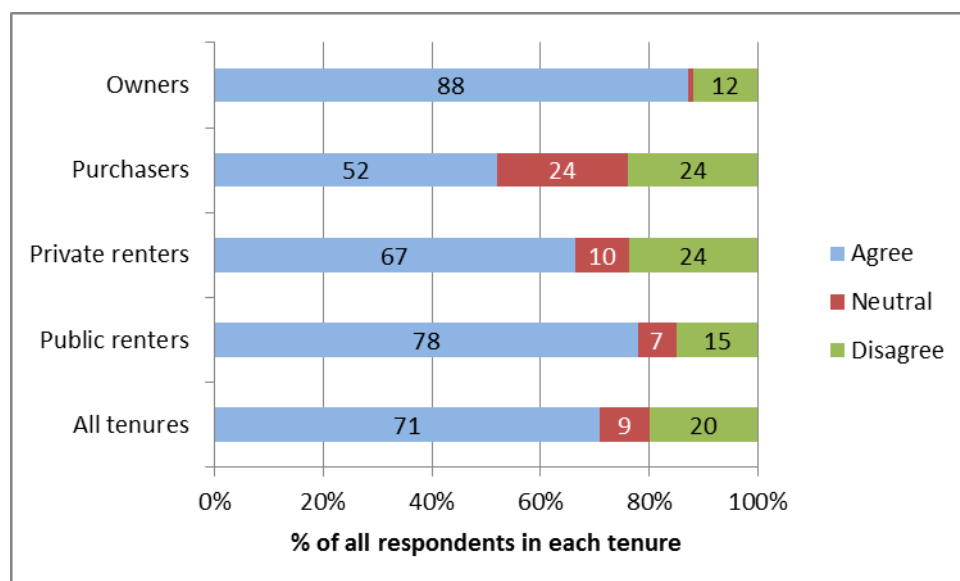
		Owner	Purchaser	Private rental	Public rental	All tenures
External condition of dwelling	Excellent or very good	52	19	20	19	28
	Good	47	79	63	74	62
	Poor or very poor	1	2	18	7	10
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
External condition of landscape/garden	Excellent or very good	51	17	14	22	25
	Good	47	79	61	65	60
	Poor or very poor	2	4	25	13	15
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
External condition of street	Excellent or very good	20	10	8	6	11
	Good	74	86	76	85	78
	Poor or very poor	6	4	16	9	11
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=		153	102	283	263	801

Whether or not related to the condition of their dwelling and its immediate surroundings, respondents were generally happy with their homes in terms of their suitability and other characteristics (see Figure 3 and Figure 4 below). In certain tenures, however, appreciable numbers regarded their current dwelling as problematic. Notably, it was among home purchasers and private renters that this was particularly evident. This could imply that in both these tenures a significant minority of residents were restricted to ‘unsuitable’ and/or ‘unsatisfactory’ homes due to affordability constraints. Strikingly, satisfaction among public renters was relatively high.

Figure 3: Dwelling suitability: responses to statement ‘My home is well suited to my family needs’

Sample sizes: Owners—153, purchasers—102, private renters—283, public renters—263

Figure 4: Responses to statement 'I am very satisfied with my home'



Sample sizes: Owners—153, purchasers—102, private renters—283, public renters—263

Note: Albeit in response to a question asked in a slightly different way, the HILDA survey (Wave 12) reported 90 per cent satisfaction with the current home across Australia, <https://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hildadictionary/onlineadd/srchKeyword.aspx>.

2.3 Survey respondent demographic and economic profiles

Returning to socio-economic profiles, and complementing the census analysis reported above, this section draws on the survey data to relate respondent characteristics (age, birthplace, household type and economic status) to the four localities and to the respondent's housing tenure.

2.3.1 Age group and birthplace

While almost half of all respondents (47%) were persons aged between 30–59, age distributions differed considerably across the four areas (see Table 13 below). In contrast to Auburn's relatively youthful profile, the incidence of persons aged over 60 was higher in Emerton and The Entrance. As shown in Table 13 below, respondent age profiles also differed very substantially by tenure, with public renters and (especially) outright owners skewed towards older age groups, while the private renter cohort was much younger than the other tenure cohorts. These inter-tenure differences probably explain much of the variation at area level. It should, of course, be acknowledged that our analysis here relates to the person in each household who self-selected as the survey interviewee.

Table 13: Respondent age group and household membership by suburb (%)

Age group	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	All areas
18–29	26	14	16	13	22
30–59	45	50	47	61	47
60+	30	36	38	26	31
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=	200	201	200	200	801
Household includes children	50	48	32	40	46
Household includes age pensioner(s)	29	31	32	20	28
Household includes working age adults only	28	25	39	42	31

Table 14: Respondent age group and household membership by housing tenure (%)

	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public rental	All tenures
18–29	15	10	33	4	22
30–59	8	87	55	54	47
60+	77	3	12	42	31
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=	153	102	283	263	801
Household includes children	20	65	59	21	54
Household includes age pensioner(s)	62	2	16	41	38
Household includes working age adults only	30	33	30	39	31

Notable in Table 14 are the highly distinctive profiles of each tenure on household type. By comparison with those in other tenures, home buyer and private rental households are much more likely to contain children. Indeed, the high incidence of children in private rental (59%) is particularly striking, since this is far above the national average for the sector—40 per cent in 2011 (Stone et al. 2013). Similarly, older people also appear highly over-represented in private rental in the study areas. While persons aged over 65 accounted for only 4 per cent of all private renters nationally in 2011 (Stone et al. 2013), households including age pensioners were 16 per cent of all private renter survey respondents—see Table 14 above. These findings have quite far-reaching implications, given concerns that the limited security of tenure afforded to private renters in Australia undermines the suitability of private rental for families and older people (Stone et al. 2013).

Across the survey areas, the majority of respondents (59%) were born outside Australia (see Table 15 below). However, this was strongly influenced by the high foreign-born representation in Auburn which (consistent with Typology 2 and Typology 3 area norms) contrasted dramatically with the equivalent profile in The Entrance (see Table 15).¹

Strikingly, as shown in Table 15, a fifth of Auburn respondents had been living in Australia for less than five years, a far higher proportion than in the other three areas. Recent migrants

¹ This pattern among survey respondents is reasonably consistent with the diversity shown in Table 8 in relation to the population as a whole (as shown by the Census).

originated from a wide variety of countries, but among respondents who had entered Australia within the previous five years some 45 per cent were from the Indian subcontinent.

Table 15: Respondent birthplace by suburb (%)

Respondent birthplace	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	All areas
Australia	27	58	86	45	40
Overseas—in Australia <2 years	8	2	1	3	6
Overseas—in Australia 2–5 years	12	4	1	6	9
Overseas—in Australia 5–10 years	16	6	1	12	13
Overseas—in Australia over 10 years	36	30	11	35	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=	196	201	200	198	795

Table 16: Respondent birthplace by housing tenure (%)

Birthplace	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public rental	All tenures
Australia	53	37	31	53	40
Overseas	47	62	67	47	59
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=	152	101	280	262	795

In terms of housing tenure, foreign-born representation was, as might have been expected, much greater among private renters and house buyers; lower among outright owners and public renters (see Table 16 above). The higher representation of overseas-born population in Auburn and Warwick Farm is consistent with the distinguishing features of the ‘Type 2’ and ‘Type 4’ suburbs these areas represent (see Chapter 1): both these typology categories featured a relatively high incidence of recent movers from overseas addresses. Only 1 per cent of all respondents reported being of Indigenous descent.

2.3.2 *Economic status and the incidence of deprivation*

As shown in Table 10, all the study areas were, as expected, characterised by median incomes well below the Sydney norm. Albeit that income data collected via household surveys is acknowledged as typically imperfect,² the high incidence of low incomes is confirmed by interviewee responses. As shown in Table 17 below, these suggest that a third of households received incomes of under \$2000 per month. Among outright owners and public renters, this was true for a majority of respondents (Table 18 below). Only in Auburn did any substantial proportion of respondents report receiving a monthly income exceeding \$15 000 although, as might be expected, this was the norm among home buyers.

² As in most household surveys seeking data on this topic, there was an appreciable incidence of non-response on this question, with around 24 per cent of respondents failing to indicate their household income.

Table 17: Respondent income by suburb (%)

Monthly gross household income bracket	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	All areas
<\$2k	38	28	34	40	37
\$2–5k	26	46	51	50	35
\$5–15k	17	15	14	10	16
>\$15k	18	10	1	0	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=	133	154	172	152	611

Table 18: Respondent income by housing tenure (%)

Monthly gross household income bracket	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public rental	All tenures
<\$2k	56	3	33	53	37
\$2–5k	25	28	46	17	35
\$5–15k	17	13	17	11	16
>\$15k	2	56	4	18	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=	128	74	219	190	611

A high concentration of low income households is associated with spatial disadvantage. However, this is a raw measure as—even disregarding possible under-estimation—simple household income data does not fully capture how households are ‘doing it tough’ or differences between households facing varying living costs. First, there is the simple fact that such costs are related to the household’s size. Second, there is the influence of a family’s housing situation. For example, while those living in homes owned outright face minimal routine housing costs, private renters are fully exposed to the market cost of housing which, in Sydney, is high in relation to low-waged employment—even in ‘disadvantaged areas’ (see Hulse et al. 2014). As well as being asked about their actual incomes, therefore, respondents were also quizzed on whether they had experienced any one among a series of ‘problems’ (or ‘deprivations’) during the past year due to shortage of money. These questions are based on a suite of ‘hardship measures’ originally developed in the ABS Household Expenditure Survey 1998–99 (Bray 2001).

As shown in Table 19 below, the overall incidence of specified ‘deprivations’ was higher in the study areas than national or city-wide norms. While 29 per cent of households in the four suburbs had experienced at least one such ‘poverty problem’ in the previous year, the comparable figures for Sydney and Australia were in each case 20 per cent.

While significantly above city-wide or national norms, the ‘excess’ incidence of deprivation in the study areas might be seen as somewhat modest. Here, however, it may be appropriate to consider the possible ‘distortion’ resulting from the much greater size of Auburn compared with the other three localities (see Table 11). This is relevant here because the incidence of deprivation was not as high in Auburn as in the other areas (see Table 20 below), thereby depressing the collective four-area score. If we instead look at the *average* incidence of ‘deprivation’ across the four suburbs, this was 33 per cent or 65 per cent higher than the national (and Sydney-wide) norm (20%). This is, nevertheless, perhaps a smaller margin than

might have been expected and is an important finding to be borne in mind when considering the depth of socio-spatial polarisation in urban Australia.

Table 19: Incidence of ‘deprivation’ in study areas—comparison with city-wide and national norms

Problem encountered during the previous year	Study areas		Sydney	Australia
	Overall	Area average		
Had trouble paying utility bills on time	21	22	15	14
Had trouble paying car registration or insurance on time	7	8	6	6
Pawned or sold something	4	6	2	3
Went without meals	3	5	2	3
Unable to heat the home	6	6	3	3
Sought assistance from welfare/community orgs	6	8	4	3
Sought financial help from friends or family	8	11	7	7
None of the above	71	67	80	80
N=	801		1,223	11,714

Source of Sydney and Australia figures: ABS Household Energy Consumption Survey 2012. Note: ‘Overall’ refers to the simple incidence of each form of ‘deprivation’ across the entire sample. ‘Area average’ refers to the average incidence across the four localities.

The proportion of survey respondents who had recently experienced at least one listed form of deprivation varied considerably between the four areas—see Table 20 below. In Warwick Farm and Emerton the incidence of such ‘deprivation’ was considerably higher at 38 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively. Among renters, across the four areas listed, forms of deprivation were much more common—affecting 41 per cent of private renters and 50 per cent of public renters (see Table 21 below). Moreover, with the sole exception of ‘had trouble paying utility bills on time’, all listed forms of deprivation were much more commonly reported among renters.

Table 20: Incidence of ‘deprivation’ by area (%)

Problem encountered during the previous year	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	All areas	
					Overall	Area average
Had trouble paying utility bills on time	21	28	18	21	21	22
Had trouble paying car registration or insurance on time	5	8	9	11	7	8
Pawned or sold something	2	6	10	6	4	6
Went without meals	1	4	9	6	3	5
Unable to heat the home	5	4	9	6	6	6
Sought assistance from welfare/community organisations	4	10	9	7	6	8
Sought financial help from friends or family	5	13	15	9	8	11
None of the above	73	63	69	62	71	67
N=	200	201	200	200	801	

Note: 'Overall' refers to the simple incidence of each form of 'deprivation' across the entire sample. 'Area average' refers to the average incidence across the four localities.

Table 21: Incidence of 'deprivation' by housing tenure (%)

Problem encountered during the previous year	Owner	Purchase	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Had trouble paying utility bills on time	2	21	30	31	21
Had trouble paying car registration or insurance on time	1	2	11	12	7
Pawned or sold something	0	0	7	7	4
Went without meals	0	0	5	6	3
Unable to heat the home	2	1	8	13	6
Sought assistance from welfare/community organisations	1	1	9	12	6
Sought financial help from friends or family	1	2	13	12	8
None of the above	96	75	59	50	71
N=	153	102	283	263	801

As shown in Table 22 below, some 12 per cent of respondents reported having encountered two or more among the listed forms of deprivation during the previous year. Again, such households were far more numerous among renters than owners, but similarly represented among private and public renters.

Table 22: Extent of 'deprivation' by tenure (%)

No of poverty indicator problem types encountered during previous year	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
0	96	75	59	50	71
1	3	22	21	28	17
2	0	2	11	12	6
3 or more	1	1	9	11	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N=	153	102	283	263	801

2.4 Chapter summary

Consistent with their status as 'disadvantaged suburbs', 2011 census data shows median household incomes in the four chosen areas running at 48–67 per cent of the Sydney-wide comparator. However, reflecting our selection strategy, the four areas varied substantially in terms of respondents' age profile and ethnic diversity. Auburn's 'migrant gateway' function stood out, with a fifth of local respondents having lived in Australia less than five years—far in excess of the other localities.

Housing market structures of the four areas were also diverse, although—in keeping with the generality of disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane—rental housing was over-represented and buying with a mortgage relatively unusual in comparison with city-wide norms. Public housing, however, was only modestly over-represented. Notably, the private rental sector contained substantially larger numbers of family households and older people than suggested by national norms.

Although satisfaction with housing was generally high, this was less true among home purchasers and private renters. And while most respondents lived in homes classed by survey interviewers as 'good or excellent' in terms of external condition (90%) and the state of outside space (85%), a significant minority of rental homes were classed as 'poor or very poor' on these measures. However, it was private rental rather than public rental housing that was most often rated as unsatisfactory in these respects, with 18 per cent of such homes deemed poor or very poor on external condition and 25 per cent as regards the condition of outside space. Comparable figures for public rental homes were about half these levels.

In terms of recently having had to forgo necessities, having experienced problems in paying for essential items or services or in having had to seek external financial help, an average of 33 per cent of households in the four areas had been directly affected by financial poverty during the previous year, two-thirds higher than the national (and Sydney-wide) norm (20%). While deprivation rates were highest among public renters (at 50%), the rate for private tenants (41%) was not greatly lower.

3 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

3.1 Background

A key issue for the research overall, and for the residents survey in particular, is the way that housing markets function in disadvantaged places. By channeling poorer people into such an area or preventing them from leaving, they may act as a ‘disadvantaging’ dynamic. Equally, high rates of mobility can be associated with transiency and lack of local connectedness. Why people move can also suggest the degree to which an area may be locking in disadvantage—that is those moving into a location as a ‘last resort’. Similarly, observed local mobility patterns may indicate the extent to which an area is generally seen as an attractive place, or one from which to escape.

While housing market processes may act to ensnare some residing in disadvantaged places through necessity rather than choice, for others the local availability of accommodation within their means may provide a welcome foothold from which to ‘progress’ in the wider urban housing market. For example, the possibility that certain types of disadvantaged neighbourhoods might feature a local housing market operation beneficial to local residents and broader urban systems was implicit in UK research on such localities. This research conceptualised some neighbourhoods as ‘transit’ and ‘escalator’ areas ‘provid[ing] affordable housing for those at a generally early stage of housing progression’ (Robson et al. 2008, p.2698). Thus, whether ‘poverty neighbourhoods’ are necessarily problematic for their residents is highlighted by some as an open question, as in Galster’s (2013) comment that: ‘Areas of concentrated disadvantage... may operate as poverty traps ... But others may operate as springboards launching residents into improving life trajectories’ (p.324).

Given the aspiration for the survey to shed more light on these issues, the sample was structured so that approximately half of all respondents were ‘recent movers’—people who had moved to their current home within the previous two to three years. However, as explained in Section 1.3 and Appendix 1, the data were also re-weighted so that recent movers are appropriately represented—rather than over-represented—in the weighted results reported in this chapter (and throughout the report). A number of survey questions were specifically targeted at ‘recent movers’ defined for this purpose as those who had moved to their home within the previous five years.

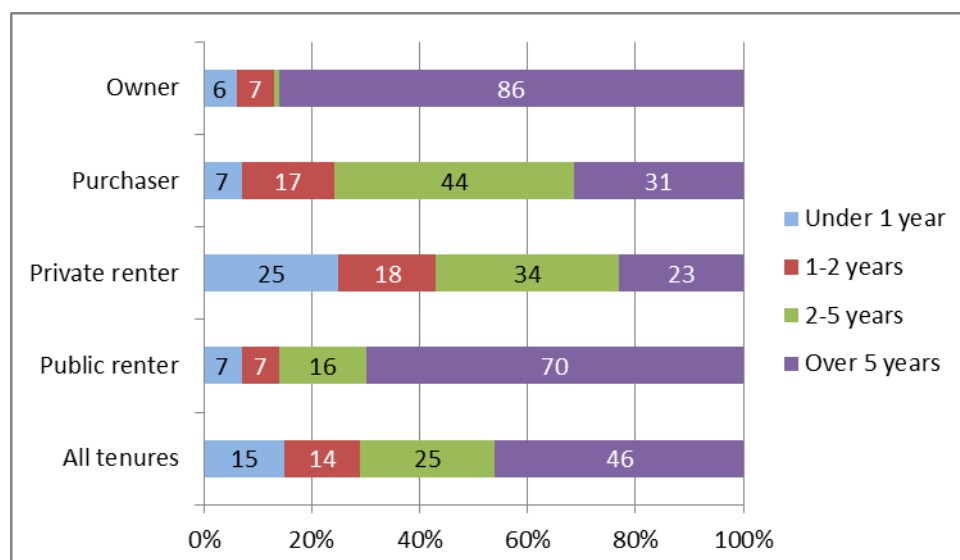
3.2 Moves to the current home

3.2.1 *Recent movers*

As shown in Figure 5 below, over half of all respondents (54%) had moved to their current home within the previous five years. This is a substantially higher rate of residential mobility than typical across Sydney (33% of households recorded as having moved in the five years preceding the 2011 Census).³ In part, this can be attributed to the relatively high rate of private rental housing across the four case study areas—particularly in Auburn (see Table 11). Across the four ‘fieldwork location’ suburbs, more than three-quarters of private renters (77%) and more than two-thirds of those buying with a mortgage (68%) had lived in their current home for less than five years compared with only 14 per cent of outright owners and 30 per cent of public renters.

³ In this sense the fieldwork locations were not entirely typical of all ‘disadvantaged suburbs’ as identified in our research. Across all 177 such localities in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, only 30 per cent of households had moved in the five years preceding 2011. At least to some extent, the higher rate in the four survey locations reflects the fact that one of these areas—Auburn—had a much higher rate of private rental housing than the norm for all disadvantaged suburbs (see Table 11).

Figure 5: Length of residence in the current home by housing tenure (%)



Sample sizes: Owners—153, home buyers—102, private renters—283, public renters—263

3.2.2 Inter-tenure moves

Reflecting the relatively high rate of residential mobility in the private rental sector, some two-thirds of all those moving to their home in the previous five years were private tenants (figure based on raw data underlying Figure 5). However, an even higher proportion—some 72 per cent—had also privately rented their previous home (see Table 23 below). At 68 per cent, the figure for home owners was similar, while only 22 per cent of recently moving home owners had transitioned within the tenure. In accordance with the characteristics of a ‘transit’ type disadvantaged area (Robson et al. 2008), this indicates the extent to which housing markets in areas of this kind provide a home ownership ‘gateway’ function. This also appears consistent with the notion of the disadvantaged area housing market as a springboard for aspirational households who move in to access first home ownership with the intention of later exiting to ‘trade up’. In this respect—although perhaps less so in relation to the private rental market (see below)—our findings seem to accord with conclusions of a UK study which questioned the hypothesis that ‘deprived areas are cut off from the rest of the housing system’ (Bailey & Livingstone 2007, p.46). Also notable is the extent of ‘churn’ within social housing and the lack of any ‘stepping stone to home ownership’ function of this tenure. Former public housing tenants were completely absent among new home buyers.

Table 23: Respondents moving to the current home in the previous five years: previous tenure by current tenure (%)

Previous tenure/living arrangement	Current tenure			
	Owner	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Owner	22	8	0	11
Private renter	68	72	17	68
Public renter	0	3	53	4
Living with parents/relatives	9	7	6	8
Other (e.g. boarding house, couch surfing)	2	10	24	8
Total	100	100	100	100
N=	92	161	91	344

The relatively large incidence of ‘other’ previous tenure circumstances reported by recently moved public renters could be associated with new tenants formerly homeless or otherwise living in ‘non-tenure’ accommodation—such as boarding house or similar.

3.2.3 Inter-area moves

Somewhat under half of all those moving into their home during the previous five years (42%) had moved ‘within the neighbourhood’ (respondent defined)—see Table 24 below. However, this varied substantially by tenure. While this was true for 51 per cent of those moving into private rental properties, the corresponding proportion for home owners was only 22 per cent. Most among this latter group (58) had moved from ‘elsewhere in Sydney’ or beyond. The degree to which the fieldwork areas have been attracting new purchasers into them may suggest that their disadvantaged status creates no mental barrier for such households. Combined with the results set out in Table 23 above, this suggests that the owner occupied sector in the chosen suburbs facilitates entry to home ownership by people moving from other places.

Among recent movers into social rental homes, close to half (45%) had moved ‘within the local area’. However, while over a third (35%) had moved from another part of the sub-region, very few were from more remote parts of Sydney.

The private rental sector stands out as the tenure with by far the highest proportion of ‘local’ moves. Two-thirds of recent private tenant moves (66%) had been local. Relevant here is the consideration that private rental is the most fluid housing tenure in terms of the ease (and expense) of moving from the resident’s own perspective. Moreover, given Australia’s ‘light regulation’ private rental regime, it is the tenure in which it is most likely that a move will take place ‘involuntarily’—that is, at the instigation of the landlord rather than the tenant (e.g. when the owner wishes to liquidate their asset through sale).

In seeking a new home, someone facing a landlord-instigated move might be particularly likely to prioritise their immediate locality. Bearing all this in mind, it is therefore worth highlighting that a third of ‘disadvantaged area’ private rental recent movers were non-local in origin (see Table 24 below). And, because of the sector’s very high overall turnover (see Table 24), this implies that around a quarter of all private tenants in the four suburbs at the time of the survey had moved into the area within the previous five years.

Table 24: Respondents moving to the current home in the previous five years: previous location by current tenure (%)

Location of previous residence	Owner	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Within the neighbourhood	22	51	32	42
A different neighbourhood within the local area	9	15	13	13
A different neighbourhood but within the region (e.g. western Sydney)	11	13	35	13
Elsewhere in Sydney	53	9	6	21
Elsewhere in New South Wales	3	4	1	3
Another state	2	4	0	3
Overseas	0	5	15	4
Total	100	100	100	100
N=	92	161	91	344

3.2.4 Reasons for moving

Among reasons given for moving from the previous home, the most common property-related factor was the need for a larger dwelling, and the third most important the availability of schools/educational facilities (see Table 25 below). The need for more space had been the main motivation for almost a third of those who had moved into (or within) home ownership. This latter finding may be associated with entry into home ownership when couples form. With 'end of tenure' cited as the main reason for only 12 per cent of recent moves, there was little indication of unwanted landlord action as a major factor in triggering residential mobility.

More generally, these results seem to confound any expectation that, in areas of this kind, mobility motivations might be dominated by desperation—such as rent/mortgage issues or safety concerns. Rather, the pattern of motivating factors seen here appear not dissimilar from the explanations associated with household mobility generally.

Table 25: Respondents moving to the current home in the previous five years: Main reason for moving from the previous home (%)

Reason for moving	Owner	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Size of home—too small	32	15	8	19
End of tenure	2	16	7	12
Schools/educational/training facilities	20	1	0	6
Rent/mortgage issues	3	6	4	5
Condition/Quality of home	0	5	7	4
Size of home—too big	4	3	0	3
Location/proximity to destinations	1	3	4	2
Safety issues	0	3	4	2
Employment/place of work	0	3	2	2
Mix of people	0	2	0	1
Poor sense of local community in previous area	0	1	0	1
Public transport services	0	1	4	1
Bad landlord	0	1	1	1
Nothing property/area related—e.g. personal reasons	23	20	22	21
Other/don't know	13	23	36	21
Total	100	100	100	100
N=	138	221	154	513

3.3 Views about the current home and possible future moves

3.3.1 Potential movers

Asked to calibrate their agreement with various statements about their current home, views appeared somewhat mixed. On the one hand, most residents were content with their homes—see Figure 3 and Figure 4. On the other hand, more than half (of all respondents) indicated a wish to move (see Table 26 below). With 71 per cent of private renters wishing to move or expecting to do so within the next two years, this appeared to be—by some margin—the most problematic tenure. Perhaps more surprisingly, however, more than half of all home owners voiced an aspiration to move. Notably, the margin between 'want to move' and 'expect to move'

was largest among outright owners. Arguably, these results suggest that more than a third of this group (37%) were ‘trapped’ in their current home—that is wanted but did not expect to move. In part, this might reflect the high proportion of older home owners whose capacity to move might be limited by age.

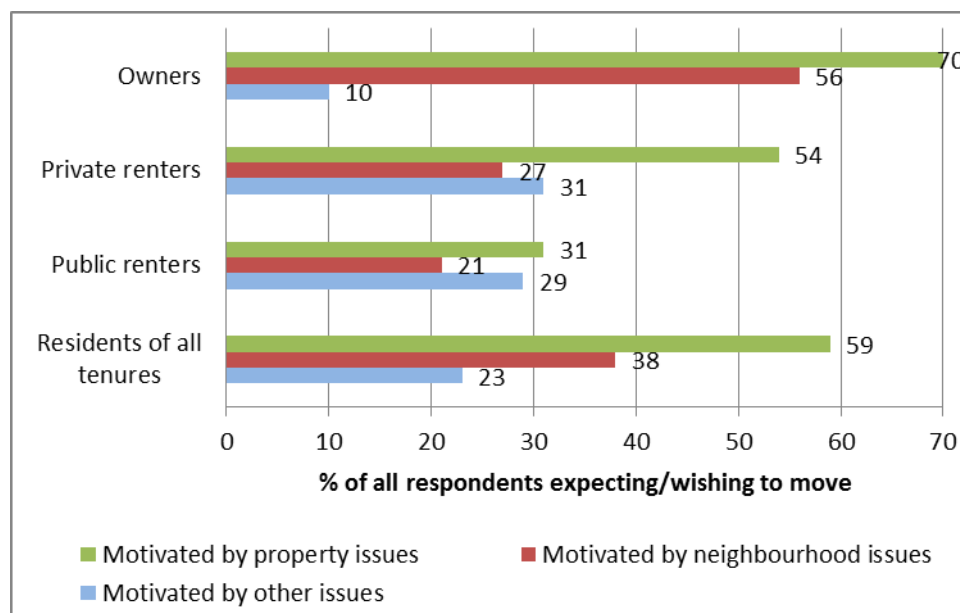
Table 26: Views about the existing home: % agreeing with given statements

Statement	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
(a) I would move out of my current home if I had the opportunity	51	51	64	35	53
(b) I expect to move out of my current home within two years	14	28	56	18	37
‘Trapped’—difference between aspiration and expectation ((a)–(b))	37	23	8	17	16
(c) Would like to move or expect to move	41	53	71	37	57
N=	153	102	283	263	801

3.3.2 What motivates mobility aspirations?

Among respondents wishing or expecting to move, most (59%) cited ‘property-related’ (rather than ‘place-related’) factors as prompting this (see Figure 6 below). In a study targeted on ‘disadvantaged places’ it must count as a significant finding that the major driver of the desire to move is attributes of the individual dwelling rather than the area. Nevertheless, as shown in Figure 6, just over a third of those likely (or wishing) to move (38%) were motivated in part by place-related factors. Such factors were particularly important for aspirant movers within the home owner sector—more than half of whom (56%) cited such issues as a contributory factor in their desire to exit their current home.

Figure 6: Factors prompting desire/expectation to move (%)



Base: all respondents wanting/expecting to move within two years. Sample sizes: Owners—71, private renters—195, public renters—120.

Note: For 21 per cent of respondents, both property and neighbourhood factors were relevant.

The need for a larger home was the main ‘property-related’ consideration for those considering a move (see Table 27 below), although the ‘security’ of the home was a significant concern among home owners.

Anxieties about ‘community safety’ were the dominant ‘area-related’ motivation for aspirant movers (see Table 28 below). This is consistent with the popular image of disadvantaged places. However, ‘anti-social behaviour’, as such, was ranked highly only by public housing tenants and this could be around issues of (a) immediate neighbours—perhaps associated with targeting to complex needs households, or (b) greater awareness of anti-social behaviour among tenants as a result of the NSW Housing Department’s publicity around the issue.

Table 27: Respondents wanting/expecting to move out of the current home for property-related reasons: main specific factor cited (%)

Property-related factor	Owner	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Size of home—too small	51	57	32	53
Inside condition of the home	3	17	18	11
Security of the home	22	1	6	11
Structural problems	0	8	15	5
Rent/mortgage issues	0	6	0	3
Outside condition of the home	0	2	5	2
Other	1	4	14	3
Not stated	23	4	8	12
Total	100	100	100	100
N=	22	89	61	172

The other dominant area-linked dislike was related to poor access to services. These echo findings of other studies citing lack of access to services and amenities in deprived neighbourhoods—such as ‘Those who live in better neighborhoods ... have access to better schools, and likely also to a whole range of externalities ... associated with higher status neighborhoods and communities’ (Clark & Maas 2013, p.4).

Observations that concentrations of poor people tend to coexist with poor quality public services are longstanding (Powell et al. 2001; Fisher & Bramley 2006). A recent UK study, for example, found clear evidence of ‘environmental injustice’ in the form of poorer street cleaning services in less affluent areas. ‘[Street cleaning] is supposed to be a universal public good, yet outcomes are significantly worse for deprived groups and areas. Their social and economic disadvantages are compounded by having to experience dirtier, less attractive streets and public spaces’ (Bramley et al. 2012, p.758).

It has been argued that poor localities in Australia are protected by key features of the urban governance framework—in particular, the state (rather than municipal) provision of key public services such as education and justice (Burke & Hulse 2015). Nevertheless, Australian research suggests that schools drawing on areas with disadvantaged populations will generally record lower achievement than national norms. This follows from the empirical finding that ‘school average student characteristics (particularly socio-economic indicators) are very strong predictors of school average performance’ (Holmes-Smith 2006, p.2). While it has no direct implication for the quality of the educational service (i.e. as in a ‘value added’ measure), this

observation is consistent with the idea that schools in ‘disadvantaged places’ are likely to be ‘low performing’ establishments—and reputed as such.⁴

Table 28: Respondents wanting/expecting to move out the current home for area-related reasons: main specific factor cited (%)

Area-related factor	Owner	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Safety of the neighbourhood	63	34	46	50
Access to schools/educational/training facilities	28	5	0	17
Anti-social behaviour (e.g., drugs, alcohol, graffiti)	6	15	40	12
Problems with neighbours	0	9	2	4
Mix of people	1	5	0	3
Cost of living in the area	0	5	0	2
Other	0	7	9	4
Not stated	2	19	1	9
Total	100	100	100	100
N=	26	55	66	147

Historically, the most ubiquitous form of ‘neighbourhood scale intervention’ has involved physical construction of neighbourhoods and communities. ‘[Other] initiatives have targeted policy areas such as education, employment, crime, health and well-being’ (Manley et al. 2013, p.3). Earlier work by these authors suggested that ‘... because of selective migration or spatial exclusion, there is still ... a case to be made for investments in neighbourhoods as a means to redistribute advantage and provide social facilities for communities. Thus, it appears logical that, in order to tackle neighbourhood inequalities, place- and person-based policies should go hand in hand’ (pp.3–4). In the UK context, however, Griggs et al. (2008) concluded that such policy streams tended to have been ‘developed separately and sometimes in isolation from each other’ (p.1).

3.3.3 Future location and housing aspirations

In terms of their likely destination, aspirant movers were split almost evenly between those preferring/expecting to move locally (i.e. ‘within the local area’) and those considering more distant places. Consistent with the high proportion of private renters moving to their current home from within the locality (see Table 24), this cohort stands out in Table 29 below as having a particularly high propensity for local onward moves. While it is characterised by high rates of residential mobility, the private rental sector does not appear associated with a large degree of geographical mobility. On the other hand, 40 per cent of home owners contemplating a move wished or expected to relocate beyond their current home region. The relatively low proportion of public renters preferring or expecting a ‘within neighbourhood’ move could reflect aspirations to re-locate out of a block or estate considered problematic.

Most respondents wishing or expecting to move envisaged buying their next home (see Table 30 below). However, while virtually universal among current home owners, this was true of only 12 per cent of public housing tenants—probably reflecting the limited incomes of the latter and a recognition that such incomes could never facilitate home ownership. Most private renters contemplating a move (54%) were realistic enough to recognise that this would

⁴ It must be acknowledged that the relatively large scale of private education in Australia (a third of students at non-government schools) complicates analysis of this issue.

probably involve a move within the tenure. A quarter of public housing aspirant movers hoped or expected to transition to community housing.

Table 29: Preferred/expected destination of possible movers (%)

Preferred/expected destination	Owner	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Within the neighbourhood	34	51	17	43
A different neighbourhood but still within the local area	3	3	27	5
A different neighbourhood but still within the region	22	21	24	21
Elsewhere in Sydney	21	18	13	19
Elsewhere in New South Wales	18	4	14	10
Another state	0	0	2	0
Overseas	1	1	0	1
Don't know	0	1	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N=	70	194	120	384

Table 30: Possible movers: Expected housing tenure or living arrangement in new accommodation (%)

Expected future housing tenure or living arrangement	Owner	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Owner occupation	98	36	12	56
Private rental	1	54	5	32
Public housing tenancy	0	4	52	6
Community housing tenancy	0	0	25	2
Move in with parents/relatives	0	0	1	0
Other	0	1	4	1
Don't know	0	5	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N=	70	194	120	384

3.4 Chapter summary

Overall, the findings on residential mobility suggest that local housing markets in disadvantaged areas can perform a significant 'home ownership gateway' function. Owner occupier markets were dominated by first-home buyers, many of whom had moved into the area from elsewhere and many of whom aspired to depart the locality again when feasible.

Rental markets, meanwhile, were mainly characterised by local and/or within-tenure churn. Nevertheless, the gross inflow of non-local movers into private tenancies was significant, with a quarter of the entire private rental population having arrived from other areas within the previous five years. It is possible that many of those concerned will have been drawn into their new home area from less disadvantaged places by the availability of more affordable rental property. By comparison with home buyers, however, far fewer private renters expected their next move to be out of the area.

More generally, and largely reflecting the locally high representation of private rental housing, residential mobility was relatively high in the selected suburbs. Less than half of respondents (46%) had lived in their current home for more than five years.

Despite high satisfaction with current homes, more than a third of respondents expected to move within two years. For most aspirant movers (59%) motivating factors included disliked aspects of the current home itself (especially inadequate size or perceived insecurity). However, for more than a third of aspirant movers (more than half of such home owners) disliked features of the neighbourhood were a motivating factor. Dominant area-linked dislikes were related to community safety and poor access to services.

Nearly half of aspirant movers (48%) envisaged a local move, perhaps suggesting that dissatisfaction with 'place' can be very local and specific. However, a third hoped to move out of the region altogether—to a distant part of Sydney or beyond. Among aspirant movers in each major tenure most expected 'within tenure' mobility. However, more than a third of such private renters (36%) expected to jump to home ownership, while a quarter of such public housing tenants hoped to transition into community housing.

4 VIEWS ABOUT THE LOCAL AREA

4.1 Background

In exploring resident views about their local area, the survey was designed to complement the findings of qualitative fieldwork undertaken in parallel, as part of the same research study. Despite the common recognition that their home area was stigmatised by outsiders, that fieldwork suggested a high degree of place attachment and community pride within disadvantaged areas (Cheshire et al. 2014). In providing a more structured means of measuring such sentiments, the survey was also commissioned to add value beyond the purely factual information available about such areas from census datasets.

In addition to the familiar problem of negative stigma attached to the areas of concentrated disadvantage (Galster 2012), there is also established evidence that residents of public housing estates—that were traditionally considered as sites of disadvantage—are less likely to have overlapping community associations (e.g. Taylor 1998).

Other recent research (Palmer et al. 2004; Forrest & Kearns 2001; Peel 1995) indicates that an important function of the community is the provision of mutual support, and communities develop on the basis of joint hardships and social disadvantage. In the literature, a number of key studies indicate that residents of low-income neighbourhoods are likely to have more local connections and stronger sense of place attachment (Lupton 2003; Forrest & Kearns 1999). As an example, Lupton's (2003) study confirmed that strong community ties existed (p.111) and a number of community events took place (p.112) in most of the 12 disadvantaged communities surveyed in England and Wales. The terms 'the community' and 'the people' were cited as positive aspects about their local area, and supportive informal relationships included looking out for elderly neighbours, childcare, keeping an eye on neighbours' houses when they were away and helping with shopping. Lupton (2003) illustrated poverty, limited travel opportunities, and the lack of ability to buy goods and support services promoted these community ties (p.209).

There is a widespread concern that even the most targeted area-based policies may lose effectiveness because of 'selective leakage' from target areas via residential mobility processes (Manley et al. 2013). However, the empirical evidence for such leakage is relatively thin and associated claims may be often over-stated (Bailey 2012, p.7). This could imply that residents of deprived neighbourhoods who improve their situation retain substantial place attachment to the locality—or that they are simply rooted in the area by inertia.

4.2 Perceived pros and cons of the home area

By and large, residents of the four suburbs viewed their area fairly positively. More than two-thirds of respondents (68%) agreed with the statement 'I feel I belong in this neighbourhood' (see Table 31 below). Identification with the locality was somewhat more common in The Entrance than in the other three areas. However, only half of the respondents saw their locality as having an appealing physical appearance, with the figure for Auburn being particularly low.

Equally, while respondents believing their area was 'a safe place to live' were in the majority in all four suburbs, the predominance of this view was considerably lower in Emerton and Warwick Farm (see Table 31). Consistent with this pattern, the latter two areas stood out from the others in that a majority of respondents saw crime as 'a problem' in their locality. At the same time, even in The Entrance, more than a third of respondents (34%) took this view. The forms of crime and disorder most widely perceived as problematic were car hooning⁵ and drug abuse.

⁵ For non-Australian readers, this term describes anti-social behaviour perpetrated in a motor vehicle. It can include speeding, street racing, burnouts and playing loud music. As the Queensland Government puts it: 'Hooping includes

However, while levels of concern about the former were similar across the four areas, the other named crime and disorder issues evoked substantially differing levels of anxiety across the four suburbs. For example, as shown in Table 31, whereas only 26 per cent of Auburn respondents saw graffiti and vandalism as a problem in their area, the comparable figure for Emerton was 64 per cent. As a rule, levels of concern about these phenomena were higher among Emerton and Warwick Farm respondents than in the other suburbs. Across all areas, the single most important issue of concern to residents was car hooning.

These views are consistent with the perception that crime rates are higher in socially disadvantaged areas. 2010 UK figures showed that in the country's most deprived areas 19 per cent of households were victims of crime in a 12-month period, whereas the comparable proportion for the least deprived areas was 14 per cent (Brunton-Smith et al. 2013).

Also noteworthy are the relatively low levels of support for the statement: 'There are good employment opportunities within or accessible to the area'. The inter-area differences appear partially explicable by the locations of the four areas; Auburn, in particular, is relatively well-located with respect to central Sydney (see Figure 1), while Emerton and, especially The Entrance, are remote and/or poorly linked by transport routes.

Table 31: Respondents' views on their locality by suburb

Statement	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	All areas
	% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with statement				
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood	65	70	80	64	68
The physical appearance is appealing	42	51	79	49	50
My local area is a safe place to live	73	57	74	52	69
There are good employment opportunities within or accessible to the area	33	29	19	47	33
Crime is a problem here	39	52	34	54	41
Graffiti and vandalism are problems here	26	64	39	45	33
Nuisance behaviour from excess drinking is a problem	20	46	37	44	27
Drugs are a problem here	32	50	49	68	40
Car hooning is a problem here	54	51	57	48	53
I would get out of this neighbourhood if I could	41	41	17	42	37
N (minimum) =	181	189	191	180	745

Despite the fact that two-thirds of residents felt a sense of local belonging, more than a third (37%) indicated that they would leave their neighbourhood if the opportunity arose (see Table 31). The incidence of this desire was almost identical across three of the four suburbs although, at only 17 per cent, much lower in The Entrance.

Viewing responses to the above questions by current housing tenure suggests that some, but far from all, of the differences between suburbs may be associated with the differing local housing market structures of the four areas. Thus, the relatively large proportion of Emerton and Warwick Farm respondents concerned about nuisance behaviour due to alcohol abuse

any number of traffic offences, such as dangerous driving, careless driving, driving without reasonable consideration for other people, driving in a way that makes unnecessary noise or smoke, and racing or conducting speed trials on a public road' (Queensland Government 2015, <https://www.qld.gov.au/law/crime-and-police/types-of-crime/hooning/>).

(Table 31) may be linked with the relatively high proportion of public renters seeing this as a problem for their locality (see Table 32 below). With respect to other questions, however, considerable differences in response profiles for different suburbs do not appear potentially explicable in terms of the differing balance of owners, private renters and public renters in each area. For example, since rates of 'neighbourhood belonging' and a desire to leave the locality appear quite similar among residents of each housing tenure (see Table 32), other factors appear to underlie the unusual scores on these variables recorded for The Entrance (see Table 31).

Table 32: Respondents' views on their locality by housing tenure

Statement	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
	% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with statement				
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood	73	49	71	69	68
The physical appearance is appealing	33	44	59	59	50
My local area is a safe place to live	79	63	68	60	69
There are good employment opportunities within or accessible to the area	38	22	31	44	33
Crime is a problem here	45	57	38	49	41
Graffiti and vandalism are problems	34	36	28	42	33
Nuisance behaviour from excess drinking is a problem	10	32	33	36	27
Drugs are a problem here	36	57	35	49	40
Car hooning is a problem here	70	40	49	49	53
I would get out of this neighbourhood if I could	28	49	39	37	37
N (minimum) =	146	93	256	250	745

In analysing views about the 'local area' it is important to recognise the likelihood that respondents will have different interpretations of this concept. Similarly, in analysing such results according to the respondent's housing tenure it needs to be borne in mind that the spatial distribution of different forms of housing will probably vary within each of the chosen suburbs. For example, by comparison with other tenures, private renters are more likely than other groups to live in (possibly high density) flats close to places with 'town centre' characteristics. For some state government tenants, the 'local area' or 'neighbourhood' may be interpreted as equating to a public housing estate.

Notable response patterns on views about the local area include the relatively low proportions of outright owners considering their area as 'physically attractive' or affected by nuisance behaviour associated with alcohol abuse (see Table 32). Perhaps reflecting very locally specific perceptions, such problems were much more widely seen as concerns by renters, both private and public.

Also perhaps significant in Table 32 are some of the scores for home buyers. This group was particularly inclined to perceive their locality as affected by certain social problems—such as crime, graffiti and vandalism, drugs. Perhaps associated with such views is the finding that almost half of such respondents (49%) would leave the neighbourhood if given the opportunity. Some of these views could reflect the relatively high incidence of families with children in this tenure (see Table 14).

By and large, views about the neighbourhood varied relatively little by respondent age (see Table 33 below). However, there were exceptions to this general rule. These included relatively

high rates of concern about drug abuse and car hooning among older people, but less anxiety within this age group than among younger people as regards nuisance behaviour due to alcohol abuse. Interestingly, the age group most likely to aspire to leave their locality was that aged 30–59, rather than the youngest cohort.

Also notable is the somewhat contrasting level of support for the statement: ‘There are good employment opportunities within or accessible to the area’. The full results show that 50 per cent of respondents aged 30–59 actively disagreed with this proposition (as compared with 29% of 18–29 year olds and 39% of those aged 60 or over).

Table 33: Respondents' views on their locality *by respondent age*

Statement	18–29	30–59	60+	All age groups
	% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with statement			
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood	72	63	72	68
The physical appearance is appealing	53	51	46	50
My local area is a safe place to live	72	65	74	69
There are good employment opportunities within or accessible to the area	44	31	26	33
Crime is a problem here	37	45	39	41
Graffiti and vandalism are problems	26	33	36	33
Nuisance behaviour from excess drinking is a problem	35	29	18	27
Drugs are a problem here	30	44	42	40
Car hooning is a problem here	46	51	62	53
I would get out of this neighbourhood if I could	30	45	31	37
N (minimum) =	140	367	239	745

In analysing views about the neighbourhood by income, the most revealing results may be those showing that those within the highest income group are far less likely to feel a sense of belonging and far more likely to aspire to exit the area. As shown in Table 34 below, only just over a quarter of respondents in receipt of monthly gross household incomes over \$15 000 (26%) identified with their area in this way, while more than three-quarters (78%) said they wanted to leave. Only to a very limited extent does this appear associated with views about crime and safety. Whereas the proportion of the highest income group seeing their area as ‘safe’ was somewhat lower than average, the percentage seeing crime as a problem was similar to the norm. However, because of the very small sample size on which they are based, the above results need to be viewed as indicative rather than definitive.

Table 34: Respondents' views on their locality by monthly household income

Statement	\$2k	\$2–5k	\$5–15k	>\$15k	All income groups
	% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with statement				
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood	72	65	67	26	68
The physical appearance is appealing	48	52	32	61	50
My local area is a safe place to live	63	67	72	56	69
There are good employment opportunities within or accessible to the area	29	26	48	40	33
Crime is a problem here	40	38	32	39	41
Graffiti and vandalism are problems	32	43	31	4	33
Nuisance behaviour from excess drinking is a problem	24	30	26	38	27
Drugs are a problem here	36	37	36	40	40
Car hooning is a problem here	62	49	61	57	53
I would get out of this neighbourhood if I could	36	41	29	78	37
N (minimum) =	238	219	76	38	571

Note: Table excludes 190 cases where income was missing

Table 35 below compares views about the locality on the part of recent in-movers as compared with overall norms for the four neighbourhoods. Recent in-movers here were residents who had moved house within five years *and* whose previous home was outside the local area. In some respects, recent mover sentiments differed little from those of longer established residents. Examples included views about local safety and the incidence of crime. Perhaps the most striking difference is the relatively high proportion of recently arrived residents—almost half—expressing a desire to leave their local area. In part, no doubt this can be attributed to the fact that new arrivals will not yet have had time to establish social networks.

Table 35: Respondents' views on their locality: recent in-movers

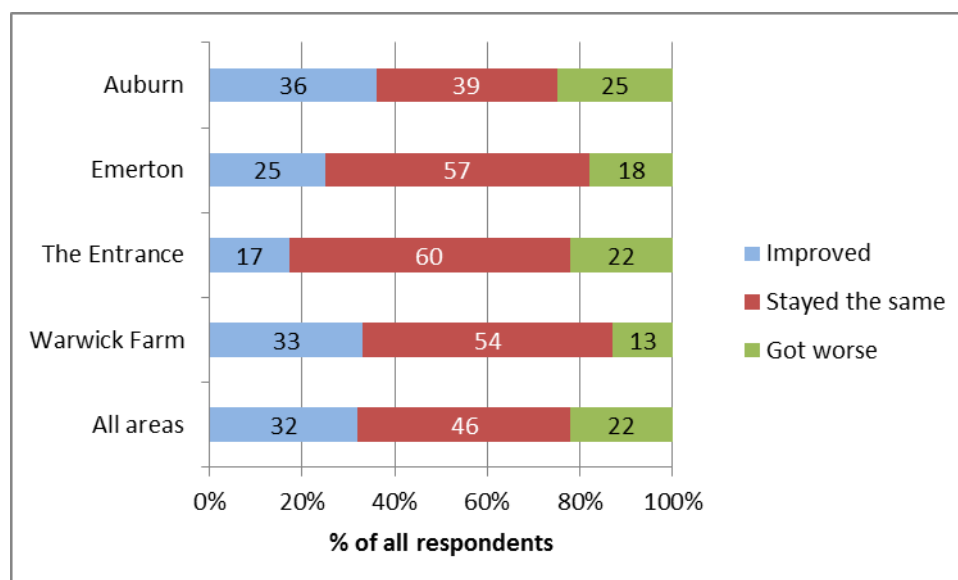
Statement	Recent in-movers	Longer established residents	All respondents
	% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with statement		
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood	50	75	68
The physical appearance is appealing	57	38	50
My local area is a safe place to live	67	74	69
Crime is a problem here	35	45	41
Graffiti and vandalism are problems	16	43	33
Nuisance behaviour from excess drinking is a problem	34	21	27
Drugs are a problem here	33	48	40
Car hooning is a problem here	42	60	53
I would get out of this neighbourhood if I could	47	30	37
N (minimum) =	153	275	571

Some of the differences here may be influenced by the contrasting age profiles of the two cohorts and by associated attitudes and norms. For example, 60 per cent of recent in-mover respondents were aged under 40, whereas this was true of only 17 per cent of longer established residents. Similarly, while only 8 per cent of the former group were aged 60 or over, this was true of 57 per cent of the latter group. This difference might help to explain, for example, the highly contrasting views about various forms of crime and anti-social behaviour.

4.3 Perceptions of local area change over time

Collectively across the four suburbs the balance of views was that local areas were experiencing positive change, corresponding with the findings of the qualitative research conducted in disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane (Cheshire et al. 2014). Nearly a third (32%) believed that their area had improved over the past two years, while just over a fifth (22%) took the opposite view (see Figure 7 below). However, the distribution of opinions differed considerably from one area to another. With those seeing the area as deteriorating outnumbering those perceiving improvement, The Entrance stood out from the other areas. At the other end of the spectrum was Warwick Farm where the balance was particularly favourable, with a net balance of +20 per cent (33-13%) as compared with the four area norm of +10 per cent (32-22%).

Figure 7: Views on changing quality of the local area by suburb: Perceived change in the local area over previous two years



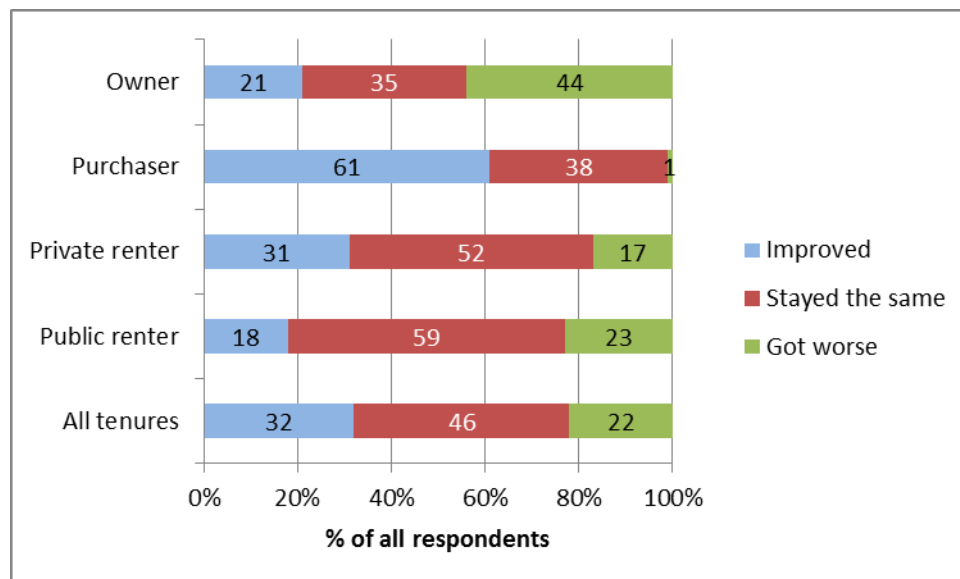
Sample sizes: Auburn—133; Emerton—161; The Entrance—144; Warwick Farm—128. Note: Limited to respondents having lived in the area for at least two years; excludes 'don't knows'.

Analysed by housing tenure, views about recent area change were also quite variable across our four categories (see Figure 8 below). Notably, there was a dramatic contrast between outright owners (the most pessimistic group in terms of the balance between positive and negative perceptions) and home buyers (by far the most optimistic). It is interesting to view this latter finding within the context of the relatively high rate of home buyer concern about certain forms of social dysfunction, and the large proportion of this group aspiring to exit their locality (see Table 32). 'My area is still problematic but it's definitely improving' might be an underlying sentiment.

The relatively favourable balance of views among private renters in Figure 8 is also notable, and somewhat at variance with the survey findings on the external condition of the dwelling and its immediately surrounding environment. As shown in Table 12, private rental scored *less favourably* on these measures than the other tenures. Even among private renters assessed

by interviewers as living in poor (or very poor) condition properties, with poorly kept gardens or in poor condition streets, the balance of respondent opinion was that the local area had improved over the previous two years.

Figure 8: Views on changing quality of the local area by current housing tenure: Perceived change in the local area over previous two years



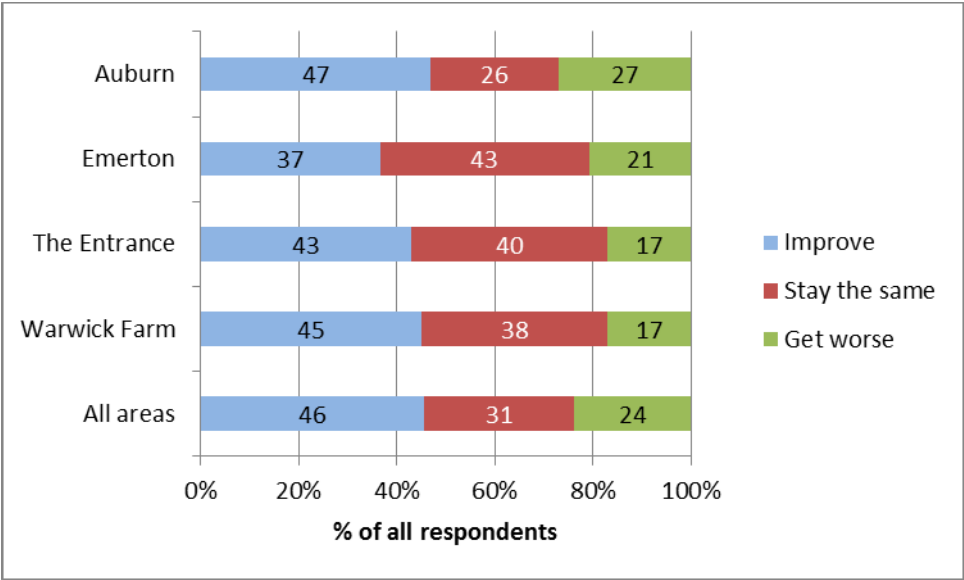
Sample sizes: owners—112; purchasers—71; private renters—189; public renters—192. Note: Limited to respondents having lived in the area for at least two years; excludes 'don't knows'.

Asked about the 'main issue' respondents had in mind when commenting that their locality had recently improved, the most commonly cited factors were [reduced] anti-social behaviour (17%), [improved] shops (17%) and property condition (14%). Among those seeing their area as having recently deteriorated, the only issues mentioned by substantial numbers of respondents were [increased] traffic (37%) and crime (35%).

By and large, future expectations about the trajectory of area change appeared to be more positive than perceptions of recent change. As shown in Figure 9, across all four suburbs the number of respondents expecting their area to improve was about double that anticipating deterioration. One notable difference from the pattern of views on past change is the strongly positive balance of future expectations in The Entrance (Figure 9)—a very different result to that in relation to the recent past (see Figure 7).

Consistent with the analysis of perceived recent change (Figure 7), it was among Warwick Farm respondents that future expectations on neighbourhood change were most heavily weighted towards optimism. This suburb's net balance was +28 per cent (45–17%) as compared with a four-area norm of +22 per cent (46–24%). Taken together with the area's strong showing as regards perceived change in the recent past (see above), this could be interpreted as validating Warwick Farm's classification as a 'Type 4' or 'dynamic improver' suburb. As shown in Table 3, areas in this typology category were characterised as places where the recent socio-economic trajectory had been positive in terms of reducing unemployment and the incidence of employment in low status jobs.

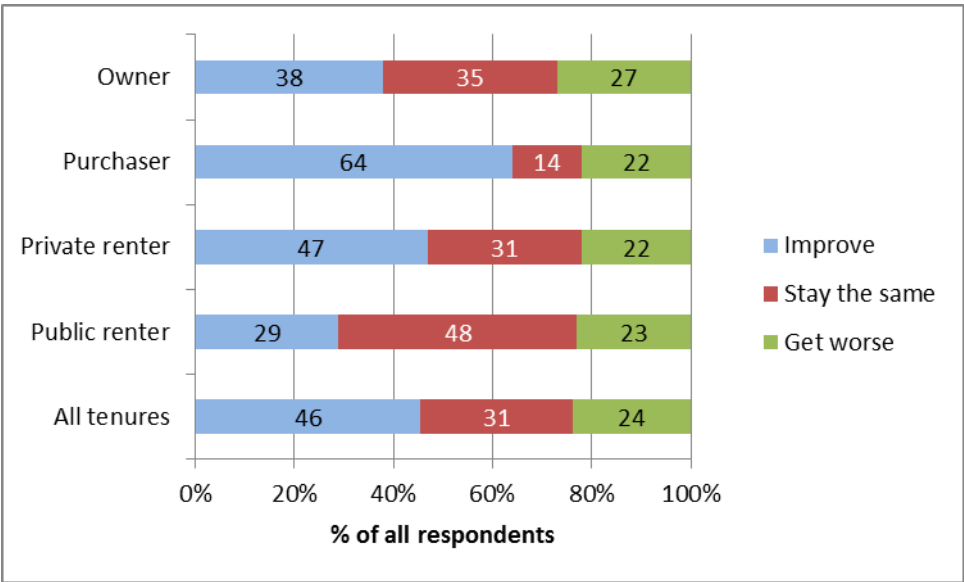
Figure 9: Expectations about future change in quality of the local area by suburb: Expected direction of change in next two years



Sample sizes: Auburn—167; Emerton—166; The Entrance—191; Warwick Farm—165. Note: Excludes ‘don’t knows’.

Similarly, within no housing tenure cohort was the number expecting their area to decline in excess of the number anticipating positive future change (see Figure 10 below). Nevertheless, consistent with perceptions about change in the recent past (Figure 8) optimism was much stronger among home buyers than other groups.

Figure 10: Expectations about future change in quality of the local area by suburb: Expected direction of change in next two years



Sample sizes: owners—147; purchasers—92; private renters—246; public renters—204. Note: Excludes ‘don’t knows’.

Views about perceived recent change and expected future change in the local neighbourhood were also significantly associated with household type. Family households (those including children aged 16 or under) were most positive/optimistic, while those including age pensioners were most negative/pessimistic. For example, 40 per cent of family households believed that

their area had improved over the previous two years compared with only 14 per cent of 'pensioner households'.

4.4 Chapter summary

Generally, residents of the four suburbs viewed their area fairly positively—more than two-thirds (68%) expressed a feeling of belonging in their neighbourhood. Despite this, however, more than a third of respondents (37%) said that, given the opportunity, they would leave their locality. Only in The Entrance was this group much smaller (17%).

Across the main housing tenures, home buyers stood out somewhat as more inclined to perceive the local presence of certain social problems than the population-wide norm. Similarly, aspirations to exit the neighbourhood were more commonly voiced by this group. Perhaps linked with this, analysis by age group shows that those most likely to wish for a move away was the 30–59 cohort. Albeit bearing in mind the relatively small sample size of those with the highest incomes (>\$15 000 per month), this group appeared most likely to aspire to leave their current area.

On balance, respondents believed that their localities had recently been experiencing positive change. Nearly a third (32%) considered their area had improved over the previous two years while just over a fifth (22%) took the opposite view. In The Entrance the balance was negative; that is, respondents perceiving recent deterioration outnumbered those seeing improvement. The result here may be associated with the tendency of older people (strongly represented in The Entrance) to take a negative stance in this respect.

Across all four areas, the balance of views on anticipated future neighbourhood change was more strongly optimistic (46% expecting improvement versus only 24% expecting deterioration).

Notably, the most positive balance of views—about both recent change and future expected change—was recorded in Warwick Farm. This finding is apparently consistent with the area's socio-economically determined designation as a 'Type 4' or 'dynamic improver' suburb.

5 COMMUNITY SPIRIT AND SOCIAL CONNECTEDNESS

5.1 Background

A number of questions were included in the survey with the aim of gauging respondents' views on community spirit, their identification with their local neighbourhood, and their own community connectedness. Some of these queries have been used in other surveys as 'social capital indicators'. In particular, we took a lead here from an earlier study of disadvantaged communities in Western Sydney undertaken by research team members (Randolph et al. 2010).

The concept of social capital exerts continuing influence among policy-makers (Crisp 2013). Popularised especially by Puttnam (2000), social capital is defined by Van Kempen & Bolt (2012) as 'the means persons or households have as a consequence of social networks, and to reciprocity, norms and trust' (p.446). 'The more diverse the social networks in which people are involved, the better their potential for generating social capital' (Warr 2005 p.286). Thus, making the connection with housing market structures, the argument is that '... where low-income housing is concentrated, a lack of diverse social networks can impede a person from reaching their full capability and potential' (Hulse et al. 2010, p.27).

However, as suggested in some Australian studies (e.g. Peel 2003; Stubbs 2005; Warr 2005), community life in disadvantaged places can have important positive as well as negative features. For example, in a study of Sydney public housing tenants dispersed by the demolition of a stigmatised estate, Stubbs (2005) reported that respondents emphasised the strong community, friendships and networks they had enjoyed in their old neighbourhood. While acknowledging the negative aspects of estate life, such as problem neighbours, drug abuse and theft, many residents saw the positive features of the place as far outweighing such problems. Similar findings had emerged from research on a large public housing estate redevelopment in Melbourne (Hulse et al. 2004).

In our survey questions about community spirit and social connectedness were posed as statements to which respondents were invited to express agreement or disagreement. Unfortunately, there is no scope for comparison against regional or national benchmarks statistics based on similar questions—as in the current research, the Randolph et al. (2010) survey focused on small localities rather than Western Sydney as a whole. Nevertheless, responses in our own survey are potentially valuable in differentiating between sub-groups within each study area, and (potentially) in making connections between survey response patterns and suburb typology category designations. Given its relevance to this chapter, results on 'neighbourhood belonging' are included here as well as in Chapter 4.

5.2 Differentiating respondents by suburb and housing tenure

Consistent with the large proportion of respondents expressing neighbourhood belonging (already cited in Chapter 4), most (62%) believed their area to have a 'strong sense of community' (see Table 36 below). However, Warwick Farm stands out as the area in which an unusually small proportion of respondents had attended any local event and this seems to tally with the relatively low incidence of those believing their area to have a strong sense of community. As regards The Entrance, there may also have been a connection between the notably high proportion of respondents expressing 'local belonging' and the incidence of attendance at local events.

As shown in Table 37 below, home buyers stood out as less likely to have felt a sense of belonging or connections with neighbours. Conversely, however, they were more likely to have attended local events than residents of other tenures. Especially since private renters were also relatively likely to have attended such events, there would seem to be a connection

between community participation and the higher incidence of family households within these tenures (see Table 14).

Table 36: Neighbourhood identification and belonging: % of respondents in agreement with given statements—breakdown by suburb

Statement	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm	All areas
There is a strong sense of community in this neighbourhood	66	61	56	50	62
I visit my neighbours in their homes	47	51	46	48	47
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood	65	70	80	64	68
There is a good mix of people here	88	85	84	80	86
I have attended a local event in last 6 months	46	46	56	25	44
N (minimum) =	196	196	178	185	775

Table 37: Neighbourhood identification and belonging: % of respondents in agreement with given statements—breakdown by housing tenure

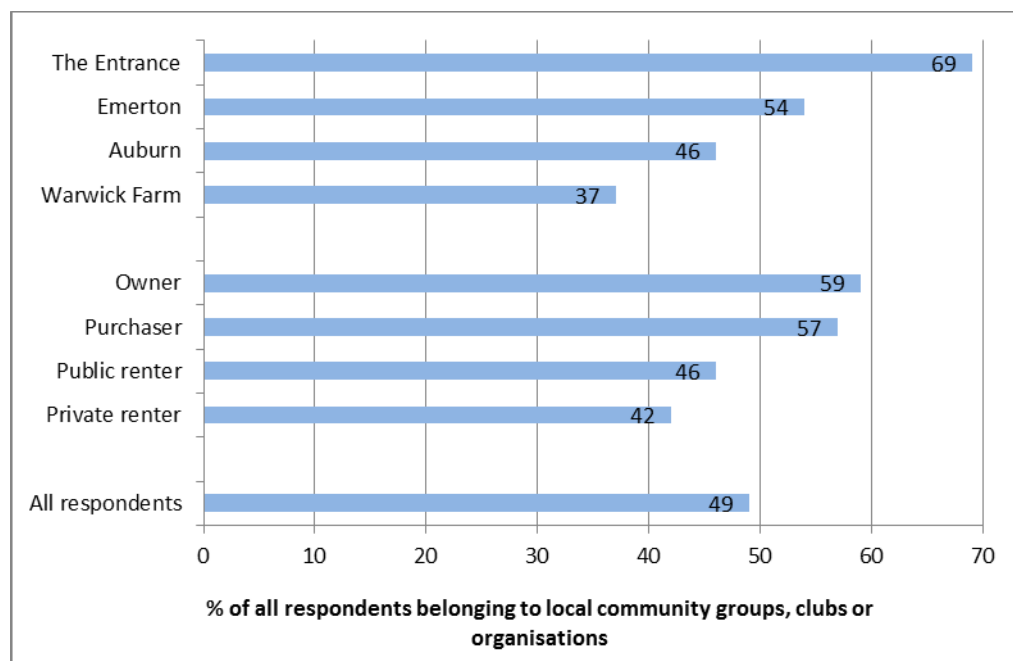
Statement	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
There is a strong sense of community in this neighbourhood	76	44	62	58	62
I visit my neighbours in their homes	51	38	47	51	47
I belong in this neighbourhood	73	49	71	69	68
There is a good mix of people here	84	94	85	83	86
I have attended a local event in last 6 months	38	59	46	29	44
N (minimum) =	148	99	274	254	775

The proportion of those who had recently attended a ‘local event’ was strikingly low among public renters. This is particularly notable given that social landlords sometimes organise social events. In part, this finding might also reflect the location of public housing in terms of accessibility to local centres. This is somewhat borne out by responses to questions on accessibility. Whereas the proportion of all respondents reporting difficulty in getting to places of importance was only 9 per cent, the comparable figure for public renters was 23 per cent. Similarly, while 7 per cent of all respondents said it was difficult for them to use public transport, the figure for public renters was 20 per cent.

Nearly half of respondents (49%) reported belonging to some form of local community group or organisation (see Figure 11 below). The incidence of such memberships was relatively high in The Entrance and relatively low in Warwick Farm, a finding consistent with the contrasting demographic profiles of the two areas—as shown in Table 14, the former area had the highest incidence of older people and the latter, the lowest. And, as confirmed by the age-group-specific results (Table 13) and Figure 11, there is a clear relationship here.

As shown in Table 38 below, such memberships usually related to social or sports clubs.

Figure 11: Membership of community groups, clubs or organisations—summary breakdown by suburb and tenure



Sample sizes: Auburn—200; Emerton—201; The Entrance—200; Warwick Farm—200; owner—153; purchaser—102; private renter—283; public renter—263.

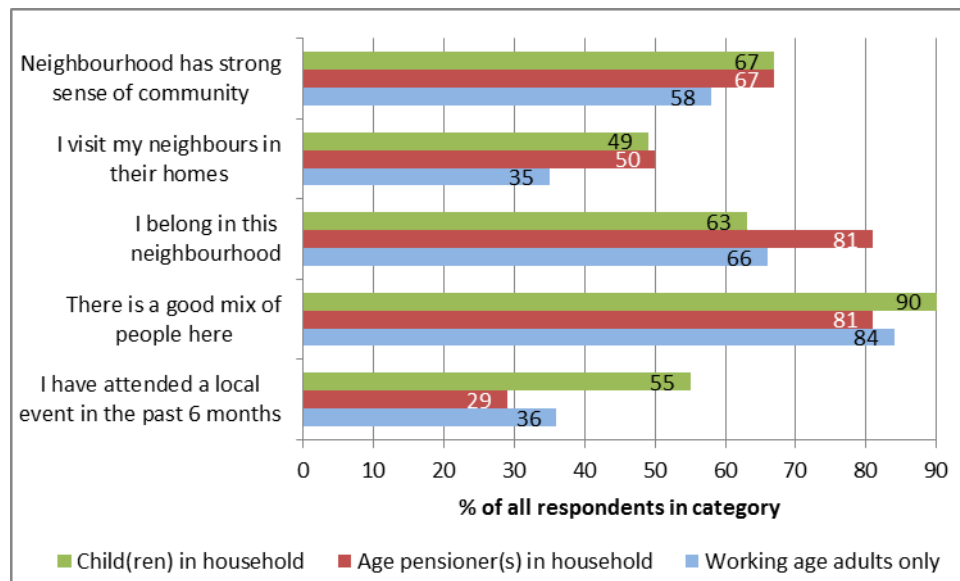
Table 38: Membership of local community groups, clubs or organisations—detailed breakdown by housing tenure (%)

Community group, club or organisation	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public renter	All tenures
Social club	39	26	9	15	20
Local sports club	23	27	16	13	19
Local place of worship	5	4	7	8	6
Senior citizens club	12	0	1	4	4
Local community group	3	0	5	9	4
Other	2	3	6	2	4
Local voluntary group	4	0	3	2	3
School-related group (e.g. parent/teacher)	1	5	3	4	3
Local cultural club	0	2	1	4	1
Local resident/tenant groups/association	2	0	0	1	1
Political party	1	0	0	0	0
Local conservation/environment group	0	0	0	1	0
None	42	43	58	54	51
N=	153	102	283	263	801

5.3 Differentiating respondents by demographic status, income and deprivation status

The expected connection between household composition and 'neighbourhood belonging' was evident in the relatively high incidence of 'pensioner household' respondents (81%) agreeing with the relevant interviewer statement (see Figure 12 below). 'Family household' respondents were much more likely than others to have attended local events, but were otherwise not especially 'neighbourhood connected' compared with the other identified groups.

Figure 12: Neighbourhood identification and belonging: % of respondents in agreement with given statements—breakdown by respondent household composition



While Table 39 below reveals some more striking contrasts between income groups, there is something of an apparent paradox in that the higher income groups were more likely to report 'community connectedness' in terms of visiting neighbours or attending local events, and yet somewhat less likely feel a sense of belonging (it is acknowledged that the small sample size for households with monthly incomes above \$15 000 makes figures for this group less reliable).

Nevertheless, Savage et al. (2005) provide a possible explanation to the above-mentioned lack of connection to the neighbourhood shown by high income households. They describe as 'elective belonging' the observation that better-off people may choose where to put down roots. Women (and indirectly men) perform elective belonging through their mothering activities with children (p.58), and not having children makes achieving a sense of community more difficult for some (p.61). That study provides an additional interesting yet contrasting account of how parenting can threaten feelings of belonging. As one resident participant in the Savage et al. (2005) study explained: '... [my children] have to go quite a long way to play with neighbours and there is a kind of difference which bugs me a bit, people are not very friendly. They are all into their work and have quite a lot of money and are not really interested in stopping and having a chat. Keep themselves to themselves. They are not as friendly as they used to be' (p.61).

Comparing responses to community spirit and social inclusion questions by whether a respondent's household had experienced specific forms of deprivation during the previous year (see Table 22) appears to reveal no consistent pattern (see Table 40 below).

Table 39: Neighbourhood identification and belonging: % of respondents in agreement with given statements—breakdown by respondent income

Statement	Monthly household income				All income groups
	<\$2k	\$2–5k	\$5–15k	>15k	
There is a strong sense of community in this neighbourhood	59	64	71	57	63
I visit my neighbours in their homes	40	45	52	60	47
I belong in this neighbourhood	72	75	67	26	68
There is a good mix of people here	77	86	85	99	86
I have attended a local event in the past six months	33	40	72	92	44
N (minimum) =	253	226	78	38	595

Table 40: Neighbourhood identification and belonging: % of respondents in agreement with given statements—breakdown by ‘deprivation’ status

Statement	Deprived	Not deprived	All households
There is a strong sense of community in this neighbourhood	59	65	63
I visit my neighbours in their homes	52	45	47
I belong in this neighbourhood	59	71	68
There is a good mix of people here	84	87	86
I have attended a local event in the past six months	51	41	44
N (minimum) =	292	483	775

5.4 Chapter summary

Consistent with most respondents identifying with their neighbourhood in terms of ‘local belonging’, a clear majority (62%) believed their area to have a strong sense of community. Illustrating substantial community connectedness, almost half (47%) agreed with the statement: ‘I visit my neighbours in their homes’, with a similar proportion (49%) being members of a local community group or club (usually a social or sports club). These findings suggest existence of substantial social capital in terms of strong social networks in the disadvantaged suburbs of Australia’s major cities.

There were some inter-suburb variations on perceived community spirit and reported community connectedness. Owners were markedly more likely to belong to local organisations than tenants, and the public renter group stood out as having a notably low proportion of respondents who had recently attended a local event (29% compared with 44% across all tenures). As well as the relatively high incidence of disability in public housing, this finding might reflect the location of public housing in terms of accessibility to local centres. This latter hypothesis appears consistent with the finding that 23 per cent of public renters had difficulty in getting to places of importance whereas this was true for only 9 per cent of all respondents.

Higher income groups, while more likely to report ‘community connectedness’ in terms of visiting neighbours or attending local events, were somewhat less likely to feel a sense of neighbourhood belonging, perhaps indicating that their social interactions extended beyond the local area.

6 THE INCIDENCE OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

6.1 Chapter remit and structure

6.1.1 *Social exclusion: conceptualisation and measurement*

Over the past 10–15 years, the focus of Australian policy literature on socio-spatial disadvantage has increasingly conceptualised the issue in terms of social exclusion, that is ‘... inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power’ (Room 1995, p.105). Argued as a broader and more sophisticated concept than poverty, social exclusion has been seen as potentially useful in emphasising ‘the relational processes that contribute to inequality, such as impoverished social networks that lead to material and cultural poverty’ (Arthurson & Jacobs 2003, p.24). Equally, the conceptual value of social exclusion is argued on the basis of its capacity to reference ‘... both current circumstances (observable and subjective forms of disadvantage and opportunity) ... [and] the societal processes that contribute to these’ (Stone & Reynolds 2012, p.7).

Many analysts have seen social exclusion as a nuanced and multi-faceted notion incorporating distinct ‘dimensions’. Burchardt et al. (1999), for example, conceptualised it in relation to an individual’s capacity to participate in five separate types of activity—consumption, savings, production, political and social. Scutella & Wilkins (2010) noted that, especially as the concept has been interpreted by the Australian Government, it ‘is multidimensional in nature and therefore its extent, character, causes and consequences can be understood only by examining the range of dimensions of disadvantage or exclusion that are present’ (p.449).

Typically, the term social exclusion is applied with respect to individuals. For example, using a multivariate model comprising 29 separate indicators of poverty and disadvantage, Horn et al. (2011) estimated that 20 per cent of Australia’s entire national population was experiencing some aspect of social exclusion in 2008, with 5 per cent experiencing ‘deep exclusion’.

However, social exclusion has also been used as a place-based descriptor signifying ‘... the concentration in one place of people experiencing multiple disadvantages and the consequent risk that this exacerbates disadvantage over time’ (Hulse et al. 2010, p.3). In a related discussion, Stone and Reynolds (2012) coined the term ‘socially inclusive areas’. Interpreted with reference to place, social exclusion has been operationalised in recent empirical research on spatial disadvantage in Australia’s cities, notably by Randolph et al. (2010) whose study measured the incidence of six dimensions of exclusion in disadvantaged communities in Western Sydney.

Social exclusion has primarily been linked to public and social housing in the international policy discourse, and many analyses as well as state-sponsored initiatives have been targeted at public housing estates (Marsh 2004; Atkinson & Kintrea 2001). The Australian context differs from many comparable countries given that public housing accounts for only 5 per cent of the total housing stock. Consequently, many low-income households, especially single-person households, those without children and ‘working’ households, are accommodated in the private rental sector (Randolph & Holloway 2007). This may suggest why social exclusion should not be identified as a problem associated with social housing in Australia. Similarly, Parkinson et al. (2014) suggest that ‘lower income private renters living in more disadvantaged areas share many of the attributes and needs as social renters yet policies directed at improving their place-based wellbeing remain underdeveloped’ (p.4).

Interpretations and implications of social exclusion are further discussed elsewhere in this report series (see especially Pawson et al. (2012) and Pawson et al. (forthcoming 2015).

6.1.2 Overview of approach

Drawing on a range of indicators in our survey dataset, this chapter develops synthetic measures facilitating analysis of the extent and depth of social exclusion in our four contrasting disadvantaged Sydney suburbs (see Figure 1). Following the approach adopted by Randolph et al. (2010), and consistent with the identification of discrete ‘domains’ of exclusion (Scutella & Wilkins 2010), the survey included a range of questions aimed at calibrating five distinct dimensions of the phenomenon—neighbourhood, civic engagement, access, community identity and economic. In defining distinct aspects or manifestations of the concept in this way, it is not suggested that each such ‘dimension’ is necessarily of equal concern or importance. From a policy perspective, however, the implications of each differ somewhat.

As well as enabling us to calibrate the incidence of each distinct form of exclusion in each distinct type of disadvantaged suburb, the analysis enables us to identify the comparative incidence of ‘moderate’ and ‘multiple’ exclusion in terms of the number of respects in which an individual household is ‘excluded’. Furthermore, it enables us to compare the incidence of different forms of social exclusion among distinct sub-groups—that is different tenure types and social groups etc. This reflects the perception that certain disadvantaged groups may experience a wider range of social exclusion than others.

Understanding the nature and depth of social exclusion in different types of disadvantaged areas and its association with different tenure types and social groups is crucial in informing the design and targeting of policy responses. However, given that our methodology (as described below) was developed in the course of this study and draws on customised survey data not available for wider geographies (e.g. Sydney-wide) the results cannot be used to calibrate the extent of exclusion in these areas by comparison with wider area norms.

6.1.3 Chapter structure

This chapter first introduces the data used in the statistical application. The next section discusses the analytical approach—that is, factor analysis and cluster analysis, and provides a step-by-step guide to the adopted procedure. This is followed in Section 6.3 by a breakdown of specific indicators of social exclusion affecting different areas, and explores those social exclusion factors as associated with different sub-groups within the population.

6.2 Analytical approach: detailed account

6.2.1 Relevant survey variables

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the survey included a number of questions on residents’ views about the local area, community spirit and social inclusion. The specific survey questions relevant in constructing indicators for the ‘exclusion dimensions’ are listed in Appendix 2. Data collected through the questionnaire on these questions were either ‘ordinal’ with a five-level response format (i.e., strongly agree, agree, neither agree/nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree) or ‘nominal’ with a two-level response format (i.e. yes or no). The questions listed in Appendix 2 in bold type are those subsequently selected to inform the designation of individual survey respondents as experiencing each form of exclusion.

6.2.2 Attributing ‘exclusion’ designations

As a first step in defining which survey respondents were affected by each form of exclusion, a factor analysis was undertaken to identify underlying unobservable (latent) patterns reflected in the survey responses on the variables considered potentially relevant (see Appendix 2 table). The aim here was to ‘reduce the dataset’ to more clearly reveal patterns. If we can summarise a large number of variables into a smaller number of indicators without losing too much information, then patterns within that data can easily be identified.

Typically, factor analysis uses a matrix of Pearson’s correlations of the variables involved, which assumes that the variables are continuous and follow a multivariate normal distribution.

Traditional factor analysis is, therefore, problematic when analysing binary variables (e.g. the nominal indicators used here) and variables with only few item-levels (e.g. the ordinal indicators used here) (Bernstein & Teng 1989).⁶

Alternatively, when handling categorical data, a factor analysis can be performed using a categorical principal components analysis (CATPCA). In the literature, this method has widely been used as a data reduction technique, to detect underlying components of a group of categorical variables, so that the proportion of variance accounted for within data is maximised (see applications in Linting & van der Kooij 2012; Oyhenart et al. 2008; and Correia et al. 2007). An additional advantage that CATPCA offers over traditional factor analysis is that it allows the researcher to specify the optimal scaling (measurement) level given the data (i.e. nominal, ordinal, interval/ratio etc.). Moreover, it neither assumes a linear relationship among numeric data nor does it assume the data follow a multivariate normal distribution.

As presented in Table 41 below, the ‘civic engagement’, ‘community identity’ and ‘economic’ exclusion dimensions each have only a small number of survey questions assigned to them. Therefore, in ‘reducing the dataset’, it was necessary to apply CATPCA factor analysis only in relation to the survey questions relevant to the remaining dimensions—that is neighbourhood and access. The operation was run separately for each dimension.

Using factor analysis in this context ‘reduces’ the dataset by minimising the number of indicators while maximising the variance accounted for within data,⁷ in this case slimming down the dataset from 29 to 13 indicators (see Table 41). The percentage of variance accounted for by the chosen indicators is shown in column 4 for the two relevant dimensions.

Table 41: Number of indicators in factor analysis

Dimension of exclusion	No. of survey questions assigned (see Appendix 2 table)	Optimal factor solution	% of variance accounted for by ‘optimal’ factors
Neighbourhood	11	2	54%
Civic engagement	3	3	100%*
Access	11	4	64%
Community identity	2	2	100%*
Economic	2	2	100%*
All	29	13	-

Notes: * factor analysis not used here given the relatively small number of indicators from which to select.

The next step was to include the identified indicators (factors)⁸ in a cluster analysis. This was a useful initial step in calibrating associations between the social exclusion indicators. Given our survey data includes categorical responses, *two-step clustering* is appropriate here since this allows clustering of mixed variables (i.e. continuous and categorical variables). This method initially assigns respondents into pre-clusters before applying a hierarchical algorithm to cluster

⁶ Gorsuch (1983) describes one of the problems associated with non-continuous variables as the presence of factors based on items with similar distributions rather than similar content. Bernstein et al. (1988, p.398) acknowledge that both the substantive (i.e., content-based) similarity as well as similarities of the distributions affect the correlation between any two variables, and variables with similar distributions tend to correlate more strongly with one another than those variables with dissimilar distributions. If item-level data are factor analysed using the traditional method, it is likely to produce at least some factors that are based solely on the similarity of item distribution. Given this, interpretations of factors such as those generated by a survey of this type tend to be erroneous when items that are not multidimensional appear as such.

⁷ We specified and tested different factor solutions and, reviewed the rule of thumb of eigenvalues greater than one as well as the scree plots in determining the optimal number of factors in each case.

⁸ Identified indicators are shown in bold in the Appendix 2 table.

the pre-clusters. We specified four clusters in the *two-step cluster analysis* for each of the exclusion dimension.⁹ This allowed the identification of those households likely to be (most) excluded based on their responses to the survey questions.

Summary output of the analysis

Table 42 below presents the breakdown of cluster membership. The results show that cluster membership was distributed in a fairly balanced pattern for each dimension of social exclusion. This means that there were sufficient numbers of respondents within each cluster, and we could therefore derive reliable conclusions about these clusters. However, some respondents could not be assigned to clusters because of missing data in relation to the key survey questions. This was evident particularly within ‘economic’ and ‘access’ dimensions. The problematic questions were those on monthly incomes, economic hardships, access to local facilities and activities for young children, and access to primary schools. Nevertheless, general patterns are clearly visible within the remaining sample as missing information related to less than 25 per cent of respondents in each case.

Table 42: Number of respondents in each cluster

Dimension	Cluster				Unclassifiable respondents	Total
	1	2	3	4		
Neighbourhood	177	148	273	189	14	801
Civic engagement	113	327	131	225	5	801
Access	227	205	120	144	105	801
Community identity	161	159	152	302	27	801
Economic	202	122	150	130	197	801

As mentioned above, information regarding the significant indicators making the largest contribution to differences between the clusters was generated as part of the output. Therefore, by linking specific survey responses to the selected indicators, it was possible to isolate clusters with households likely to be socially excluded. This is illustrated in Figure 13 below which shows how the indicator values (respondent answers to relevant questions) relate to the clusters identified through analysis of this pattern as representing respondent cohorts ‘excluded’ with respect to each dimension. For example, Cluster 1 respondents were those who were positive about ‘access’ attributes of their home neighbourhood (e.g. agreed with the statement: ‘The area is well-served by public transport’), but not well-integrated into local social networks (e.g. disagreed with the statement: ‘I visit my neighbours in their homes’). Cluster 2 respondents, by contrast, tended to score ‘highly’ on civic engagement (e.g. highly likely to attend local events).

⁹ We used Log likelihood distance for the divergence measure between indicator values, and each respondent belonged to the cluster with the nearest mean. In addition to assigning each respondent to a cluster, the clustering procedure produces some additional information such as cluster sizes, predictor importance (the indicators and their contribution to the clustering process) and cluster comparison. This output also includes an indicator of cluster quality as well as ratio of sizes that can be benchmarked against a rule of thumb of < 3. Our results for each dimension were within these criteria.

Figure 13: Relating indicator values (survey question responses) to identified clusters

Exclusion dimensions and indicators	Factors that make up the clusters				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither/nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Neighbourhood					
My local area is a safe place to live		● ●	●	●	
Car hooning is a problem here		● ● ●		●	
Civic engagement					
I visit my neighbours in their homes		● ●		●	●
Attendance at local events		●		● ● ●	
Membership of local groups		● ●		● ●	
Access					
There are good local facilities and activities for young children		● ● ●		●	
The area is well served by public transport		● ● ● ●			
The area has good access to primary schools		● ● ●	●		
The area has good access to health services		● ● ●		●	
Community identity					
There is a strong sense of community in this neighbourhood		● ●	●	●	
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood		● ●	●	●	
Economic					
Monthly household income*				● ● ● ●	
Difficulty in paying for essentials	●			● ● ●	

Notes: *Monthly income decreases from left to right



Based on this assessment, the numbers in bold type in Table 43 below identify those respondents ‘most excluded’ within each dimension. Thus, as regards ‘neighbourhood exclusion’ those respondents in cluster 2 are those we could classify as impacted. Cluster 1 is the cluster with lowest rankings for the indicators on civic engagement, community identity and economic aspect. ‘Access exclusion’ is applicable to members of the cluster 2.¹⁰

Table 43: The clusters with ‘excluded’ households in each dimension

Dimension	Cluster				Valid total	% most excluded
	1	2	3	4		
Neighbourhood	177	148	273	189	787	18.8
Civic engagement	113	327	131	225	796	14.2
Access	227	205	120	144	696	29.5
Community identity	161	159	152	302	774	20.8
Economic	202	122	150	130	604	33.4

Note: Number of households ‘most excluded’ within each dimension is in bold type. For an approach to measuring ‘social capital’ in some ways analogous to the above process, see Stone & Hughes (2002).

6.3 Dimensions of exclusion: incidence by location, housing tenure and social group

6.3.1 Overview

Calibrated according to the indicators available from our survey, restricted access to services was the most commonly occurring form of exclusion affecting residents in Auburn, Emerton, The Entrance and Warwick Farm. As shown in Table 44 below, around a third of all respondent households were subject to this problem.

The figures in the ‘simple weighted total’ column represent the incidence of each form of exclusion calculated by summing the total (weighted) number affected by each form of exclusion in each of the four areas and expressing this as a percentage of the total (weighted) number of respondents across all four areas. However, the four survey areas had highly varying population sizes, with Auburn accounting for around three-quarters, while Emerton contained only 6 per cent of the four-suburb total (see Table 11). Consequently, there is a possibility that the ‘simple weighted total’ statistic may be substantially influenced by the pattern of responses in the largest-population area. To counteract this possibility, the ‘average value’ column shows the simple mean incidence of each form of exclusion across the four localities.

While the simple weighted totals and average weighted totals for the five dimensions were reasonably similar, there were some differences. For example, as regards economic exclusion, the ‘average weighted’ value was somewhat higher (28% compared with 24%). This reflects the fact that the incidence of economic exclusion (percentage of households affected) was higher in the three smaller areas than it was in the largest area (Auburn).

¹⁰ The clustering procedure indicated two clusters that were likely to be ‘excluded’ in the access dimension given the responses on the indicators. However, a comparison of numbers of residents affected within those two clusters clearly shows that cluster 2 is the ‘most excluded’.

Table 44: Overall incidence of exclusion across the study areas

Exclusion dimension	Simple weighted total (% of all households)	Average weighted total (% of all households)
Neighbourhood	20	20
Civic engagement	17	14
Access	30	33
Community identity	22	21
Economic	24	28

According to both calculation methods explained above, the most commonly occurring form of exclusion was restricted access to services, while the least common was civic (dis)engagement.

6.3.2 Incidence of exclusion under distinct dimensions: detailed analysis

Variability by area

By comparing the breakdown of households defined as excluded under each dimension by location, we can understand which forms of social exclusion are prevalent in which survey areas. As shown in Table 45 below, there was substantial diversity across the four areas on most indicators and no clear ranking of 'best' and 'worst' area across all five dimensions.

The dimension with the most consistent scores was 'access'. The somewhat lower rating for Auburn (Type 2 area) in this respect tallies with this suburb's better connected location (see Figure 1). Across all five dimensions, exclusion incidence was generally highest for Emerton (Type 1 area) and Warwick Farm (Type 4 area). Exclusion incidence was generally lowest for The Entrance (Type 3 area), although even here exclusion on the 'access' and 'economic' dimensions was relatively high.

On what is arguably the single most important measure, economic exclusion, Emerton (Type 1 area) and Warwick Farm (Type 4 area) recorded the equal highest scores, with Auburn the lowest (by some margin). Undoubtedly, an underlying factor here will be the relatively large share of public housing in the former two suburbs and its virtual absence from the latter area (see Table 11). These results are also largely consistent with the simple analysis of income and 'deprivation' (e.g. as in Table 17 and Table 20).

Table 45: Incidence of exclusion by area (%)

Exclusion dimension	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm
Neighbourhood	21	22	14	22
Civic engagement	20	12	10	12
Access	28	36	35	33
Community identity	24	21	12	28
Economic	19	33	28	33

As shown in Table 45, the other exclusion dimension exhibiting most variation across the four areas was 'community identity'. This relates to survey responses on questions about place attachment and perceived local spirit (see Figure 13). Again, Warwick Farm was the 'worst performing' area in this respect, with the 'best performing' being The Entrance.

In noting the relatively high rates of exclusion recorded for Warwick Farm, it should also be acknowledged that these relate to an area classed (according to census analysis) as a

‘dynamic improver’ suburb and one where the balance of respondent views about neighbourhood change was unusually positive (see Section 4.3). An explanation for this apparent contradiction is not immediately obvious.

Variability by household type

By and large, the incidence of each form of exclusion varied fairly modestly according to household type (see Table 46 below). However, diversity was relatively marked in respect of exclusion from neighbourhood (less likely for those with children); community identity (more likely for working age adult-only households), and economic exclusion (more likely for families and less likely for age pensioner households).

Table 46: Incidence of exclusion by household membership (%)

Exclusion dimension	Household contains...			All households
	Children under 16	Age pensioner(s)	Working age adults only	
Neighbourhood	16	20	25	20
Civic engagement	21	19	19	17
Access	29	31	29	30
Community identity	21	18	27	22
Economic	27	16	24	24

Variability by tenure

Patterns of social exclusion by housing tenure exhibited much greater variation. In particular, the incidence of economic exclusion was much higher in the rental tenures than among home owners (see Table 47 below). Once again, this is consistent with the earlier simple analyses of income and ‘deprivation’ (Table 18 and Table 21).

However, other forms of deprivation had different distributions. While the incidence of exclusion in relation to community identity was very similar across the tenures, the remaining three dimensions had highly polarised distributions in this respect. Outright owners registered the highest rates of exclusion on both neighbourhood and civic engagement dimensions, while home buyers experienced by far the lowest levels of exclusion in these respects. This might suggest it is risky to generalise about links between home ownership and place attachment/engagement.

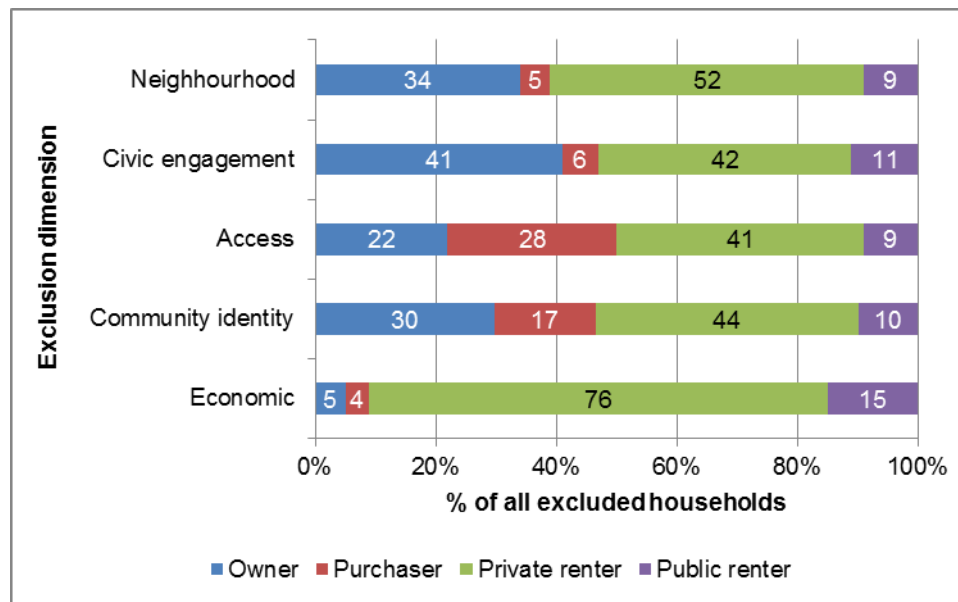
Table 47: Incidence of exclusion by tenure (%)

Exclusion dimension	Owner	Purchaser	Private renter	Public renter
Neighbourhood	26	6	23	20
Civic engagement	26	6	15	20
Access	26	48	26	29
Community identity	24	23	21	24
Economic	5	5	36	40

As shown above, different housing tenures exhibited sometimes quite markedly differing rates of exclusion on the various dimensions. However, the extent to which these rates influence the *total population of excluded people in a given area* is mitigated by the representation of each housing tenure in that population (see Figure 2). For example, while the *incidence* of economic exclusion was highest for public renters (see Table 47), state government tenants accounted

for only 10 per cent of all households in the study areas (see Table 11). The compound impact of these two sets of influences is shown in Figure 14 below. This shows, for each dimension of exclusion, the proportion of the four-area 'excluded' population accounted for by each housing tenure. Thus, while an average of 28 per cent of all households are subject to economic exclusion (see Table 44), private renters accounted for three-quarters (76%) of this population. Indeed, private renters were the largest tenure group on all five dimensions of exclusion.

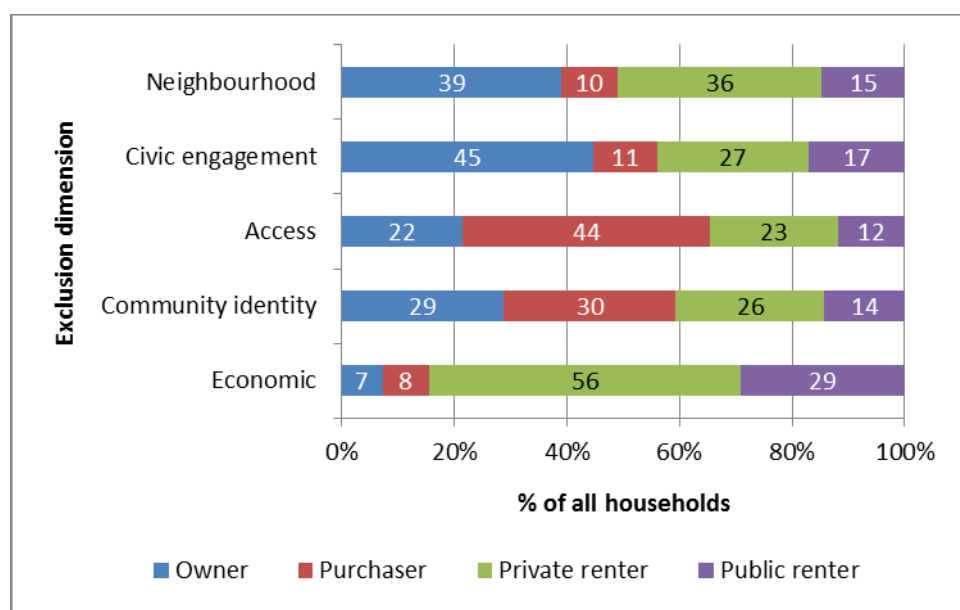
Figure 14: 'Excluded populations' in the study areas: share of total excluded households in each housing tenure



It should be noted that the calculations underlying Figure 14 are based on the 'average weighted total' approach to estimating the four-area incidence of each form of exclusion (see Table 44). Hence, they are not unduly influenced by the relatively large size of Auburn as compared with the other fieldwork location suburbs (see above). These results are, however, affected by the tenure distribution of the chosen survey fieldwork locations—especially by the rates of private rental housing which are high by comparison with the norm for all disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney (see Table 11).

Taking our findings on the incidence of each type of exclusion within each tenure and applying these to the tenure distribution of all disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney (see Figure 2), we can infer a wider finding. The output of this projection is shown in Figure 15 below. Since the whole disadvantaged suburb cohort has a higher rate of home ownership and a lower rate of private rental than the fieldwork locations, the inferred pattern differs somewhat from that in Figure 14. Across the entire 'disadvantaged suburb' cohort, home owners thus account for a majority of excluded households under three of the five dimensions. The private rental sector nevertheless remains the dominant location of *economically excluded* households (56% of the total) and accounts for around double the state housing proportion of excluded households on all five measures.

Figure 15: 'Excluded populations' in all disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney: projected share of total excluded households in each housing tenure



6.3.3 Incidence of exclusion on multiple dimensions

Building on the above analysis, Table 48 below enumerates the incidence of exclusion in terms of the number of dimensions under which a household is excluded. While the 'simple weighted total' and the 'average weighted total' distributions (see Table 44 and accompanying text) do not vary greatly, they are both shown here for completeness. On both measures some two-thirds of study area households (66% and 67%) were excluded in at least one respect.

Given that the highest incidence of exclusion with respect to any single dimension was 30 per cent (or 33% averaged across the four areas) (see Table 44), the proportion affected in at least one respect (66% or 67% on average) appears relatively high. This reflects the fact that substantially different populations were affected by different forms of exclusion. For example, there was virtually no overlap between economic exclusion and civic engagement exclusion. In other words, hardly any of those who were excluded as regards civic engagement were affected on the economic dimension. These results are consistent with findings from the earlier Western Sydney study (Randolph et al. 2010). That study found that while the highest incidence of any individual form of exclusion (of six identified dimensions) was 45 per cent, the proportion of residents affected by at least one exclusion dimension was 80 per cent.

Table 48: Exclusion across multiple dimensions

Incidence of exclusion	Simple weighted total (% of all households)	Average weighted total (% of all households)
No exclusion	34	33
Moderate exclusion (1 dimension)	53	55
Multiple exclusion (2–4 dimensions)	12	12
Total	100	100

Nearly one household in eight (12%) was subject to 'multiple exclusion'—that is subject to at least two of our five dimensions of the phenomenon (see Table 48). However, while this kind of analysis provides a means of calibrating the 'severity' of exclusion, it should not be seen as implying that all five 'exclusion dimensions' are of equal importance. For example, the five dimensions identified here arguably differ in the extent to which they come about through

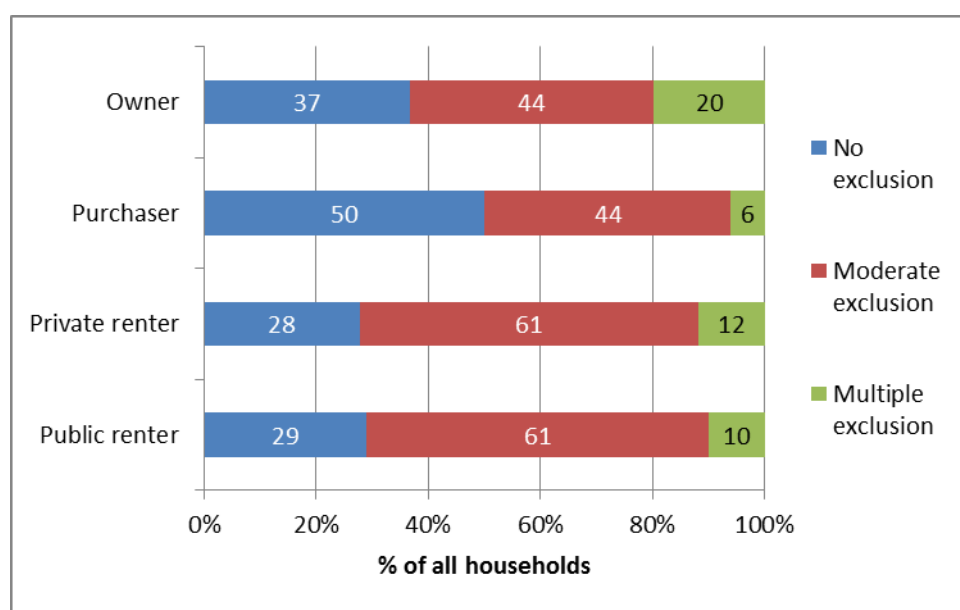
voluntary choice or through force of circumstance. In particular, exclusion in relation to civic engagement is deemed to apply in relation to an individual's reported participation in local events and interaction with neighbours. Some of those 'excluded' on this basis might be people well-integrated within social networks beyond the immediate neighbourhood—including via the workplace—and freely choosing to focus their social lives accordingly. Somewhat at the other end of the spectrum are the 'economic' and 'access' dimensions of exclusion which arguably indicate more concerning issues since they reflect a respondent's capacity to access essential goods and services, and since being 'excluded' in these ways is unlikely to have arisen 'voluntarily'.

Notwithstanding the above qualification, the four area populations were fairly similar in terms of the distribution of 'exclusion severity' although multiple exclusion was relatively rare in The Entrance (see Table 49 below). In terms of housing tenure, however, there were much more contrasting patterns (see Figure 16 below). The distribution for outright owners is particularly striking for two reasons. First, in terms of exhibiting the highest incidence of 'multiple exclusion'. While this might seem surprising, it can be related back to Table 47 which demonstrates that this group were strongly represented in all exclusion cohorts except economic. Second, the pattern for the outright owner cohort is notable in its relatively polarised distribution. Thus, despite having a substantially higher rate of multiple exclusion than the rental tenures, these latter cohorts contained fewer households wholly unaffected by exclusion.

Table 49: Incidence of multiple exclusion by area

	Auburn	Emerton	The Entrance	Warwick Farm
No exclusion	35	34	32	31
Moderate exclusion	50	52	62	55
Multiple exclusion	14	14	6	14
Total	100	100	100	100

Figure 16: Incidence of multiple exclusion by tenure



6.4 Chapter summary

Social exclusion is a nuanced and multi-faceted concept. While some analysts have worked to devise single all-encompassing exclusion measures, our approach was to distinguish between, and to separately measure, distinct 'exclusion dimensions'. A basket of survey variables was used to classify respondents with respect to five discrete dimensions of social exclusion: (a) neighbourhood, (b) civic engagement, (c) access, (d) community identity, and (e) economic.

Across the four survey locations some two-thirds of all households were classed as socially excluded with respect to at least one of the five dimensions (a)–(e) listed above. While true for 50 per cent of home buyers, the comparable figure for private renters—the group most widely affected—was 72 per cent.

While there was little clear consistency on exclusion rates across the four localities, the areas in which exclusion tended to be higher were Emerton (Type 1 area) and Warwick Farm (Type 4 area). However, while rates tended to be lowest here, The Entrance (Type 3 area), had high rates of exclusion on both 'access' and 'economic' dimensions.

While the incidence of each form of exclusion varied fairly modestly according to household type, diversity was relatively marked in respect of exclusion from neighbourhood (less likely for those with children) and economic exclusion (more likely for families and less likely for age pensioner households).

Patterns of social exclusion by tenure were highly variable. However, while economic exclusion was far more prevalent in the rental tenures, outright owners exhibited the highest rate of exclusion on three of the other four dimensions. In particular, outright owners were strongly represented among those excluded as regards neighbourhood and civic engagement variables. At least in this specific context, these findings might pose questions for studies inspired by the seminal contribution of Saunders (1990) that generalise about links between home ownership and place attachment/engagement without regard for possible divisions within owner occupation.

Factoring-in both the incidence of exclusion for each tenure and the representation of each tenure across the four areas, private rental housing stood out as accounting for the largest share of all 'excluded households' on all five dimensions. Applying the survey findings on the incidence of exclusion by tenure to the whole 'disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney' cohort, it is estimated, by inference, that home owners will account for a majority of excluded households under three of the five indicators. The private rental sector nevertheless remains the dominant location of *economically excluded* households and accounts for around double the state housing proportion of excluded households *across all five measures*.

While the four area populations were fairly similar in terms of the distribution of 'exclusion severity', there were much more contrasting patterns in relation to housing tenure. Strikingly, outright owners exhibited the highest incidence of 'multiple exclusion', but also a relatively large proportion of households with no exclusion.

7 CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In concluding this report we return to the four questions the survey sought to address (see Section 1.1). We then briefly discuss policy implications of our findings.

7.1 Addressing the research questions

7.1.1 *How are disadvantaged places perceived by their residents?*

On the evidence of our survey findings, most respondents of disadvantaged areas are not only satisfied with their homes but also emotionally attached to their neighbourhoods. Two-thirds felt a sense of local belonging, while well over half believed their area had a strong sense of community. Beyond this, nearly half were members of community groups, social or sports clubs. These findings are consistent with the qualitative fieldwork undertaken in parallel with the survey (Cheshire et al. 2014) which highlighted significant levels of community pride in such areas. Further, the optimistic tendency of residents' views about local area change trajectories seems highly inconsistent with any hypothesis that areas containing concentrations of disadvantaged people are essentially 'no hope' places.

Similarly, more than two-thirds of respondents saw their local neighbourhood as 'a safe place to live' and saw its physical appearance as 'appealing'. At the same time, however, a sizeable minority of residents (37% across the four areas) wished to leave their locality, and certain social problems were widely perceived as negatively impacting on localities. Graffiti and vandalism, drug dealing/abuse, and nuisance behaviour resulting from excessive drinking were all considered problematic by at least a quarter of respondents. Car hooning was a concern for more than half.

Across the four areas and within local populations there were some marked differences in view as regards the pros and cons of localities. The Entrance, for example, had an unusually high rate of 'neighbourhood belonging' and a correspondingly small proportion of people looking to exit the area. However, this might be as much associated with the attraction of the area's coastal location as with its 'type 3 area' ('marginal suburb') status. As regards tenure-specific contrasts, home buyers (as distinct from outright owners) were less likely to perceive their locality as a physically attractive and safe place, and more inclined to see it as subject to significant social problems. Linked with this, almost half of home buyers aspired to leave their current neighbourhood—as compared with about a third of other groups.

7.1.2 *How do disadvantaged area housing markets operate and how do housing market processes impact on the spatial concentration of poverty?*

In the owner occupied sector in the study area housing markets, the vast majority of recent purchasers were first-home buyers rather than existing owners trading up or down. This suggests that such markets may provide an important 'bottom rung of the ladder' opportunity associated with relatively affordable house prices. Associated with this is the evidence that, in purchasing a home in one of our study areas, the vast majority of recent buyers had moved from elsewhere in Sydney or beyond. This reinforces the sense in which such areas play a 'home ownership gateway' role and, together with the widely-held home buyer aspiration to move to other areas (see above), suggests that such areas are widely seen as transitional locations for aspirational households.

Residential mobility patterns in disadvantaged area rental markets are different. Those taking up tenancies in our study areas tended to be within-tenure movers, probably to a greater extent than 'normal' (at least within social housing). Particularly among private tenants, house moves were predominantly local. However, because of the sheer scale of private rental sector turnover, the gross flow of those moving into such areas to take up tenancies was still substantial. As many as a quarter of all disadvantaged area private renters will have moved into their current locality within the past five years. While the survey's relatively small sample

size limits our ability to delve further into this issue, it is possible that many of those concerned will have been drawn into their current home area from less disadvantaged places by the availability of more affordable rental property.

In appraising these findings it is, however, important to bear in mind evidence from associated analysis also undertaken in the course of this study (Hulse et al. 2014) which revealed a recent tendency for disadvantaged area house prices and rents to rise faster than city-wide norms, thus reducing the 'affordability discount' enjoyed by local buyers and undermining the efficacy of this housing market function. This tallies with findings from our associated qualitative fieldwork which found that recently declining local housing affordability in disadvantaged places had led to 'rising levels of housing stress in terms of people enduring unsatisfactory living conditions, as well as impacting on quality of life due to the impact of unaffordable housing costs on household budgets' (Cheshire et al. 2014, p.4).

7.1.3 What is the breadth and depth of social exclusion in disadvantaged places, and how does the incidence of such exclusion vary between different forms of disadvantaged place and across different populations?

On average, across the four study areas, 33 per cent of residents were subject to socio-economic deprivation on the basis of Bray's (2001) hardship measure, meaning that lack of money had recently forced them to seek financial help, to sell possessions or to deprive them of essentials—such as needing to miss meals or forgo heating in winter. The local incidence of such deprivation was some two-thirds higher than the national norm (20%). This provides a measure of the extent to which poverty is spatially concentrated in urban Australia.

Calibrated on a slightly different basis, 28 per cent of disadvantaged area residents were assessed as subject to 'economic exclusion'. Additionally, a large proportion of residents were affected by other defined 'dimensions' of social exclusion; that is with respect to neighbourhood, civic engagement, access and community identity. In all, two-thirds of households were affected by at least one exclusion 'dimension' of social exclusion. As implied by these figures, most of those affected were subject to only one form of the phenomenon. To put this another way, substantially different groups of people were affected by different forms of exclusion.

Patterns of exclusion across our four survey areas varied according to the exclusion dimension concerned. Looking across all five dimensions, residents of Emerton (Type 1 area) and Warwick Farm (Type 4 area) tended to have the highest incidence of affected households. However, given the latter area's somewhat atypical housing tenure profile in the context of all Type 4 areas (see Section 1.2.3), it may be unwise to read too much into this area's typology status in this respect.

Especially with respect to economic exclusion, the sharply varying incidence of the problem in different tenures is likely a key factor underlying inter-area differences. Thus, such exposure was strongly concentrated in the rental sectors, with the affected proportion of private tenants (36%) not far short of the comparable public housing figure—40 per cent. By contrast only 5 per cent of home owners were affected. Conversely, as regards exclusion in relation to community identity, household type was a more significant influencing factor, with a contrast between lower exclusion rates for older people and higher rates for working age adult households.

The profile of the total 'excluded population' reflects two considerations; the incidence of exclusion for each group (i.e. what proportion of a group is excluded) and the representation of that group in the broader population (what proportion of the wider population does that group account for). Factoring in these two components it is estimated that, across all disadvantaged suburbs in Sydney, home owners account for the majority of excluded households on three out of the five dimensions (civic engagement, access and community identity). However, while the 'neighbourhood excluded' population is split fairly evenly between owners and renters, the vast

majority of economically excluded households (85%) were renters. Moreover, by far the greater number of these are private renters rather than state housing tenants. Thus, with respect to what is arguably the most important form of exclusion, the issue is largely a private rental problem.

7.2 Policy implications

A number of policy implications follow from our findings. Because these are discussed more fully in the 'wrap-up' Final Report generated by the current project (Pawson et al. forthcoming 2015), and to avoid excessive duplication, these are reviewed only in brief here.¹¹ The finding that community spirit and social connectedness can be strong in disadvantaged areas could be read as suggesting that, whatever their problems, such areas have important strengths on which policy interventions should be built. While the perceived local incidence of crime and disorder may be problematically high, it would seem that certain issues of concern—such as car hooning—could be relatively easily addressed.

As the research has shown, some disadvantaged places can play an important 'gateway function' for newly arriving migrants. There may be a need for additional resources or other interventions to support the communities concerned. Associated research has shown that housing market dynamics have been reducing the attractiveness of 'lower value areas' in Australia's major cities from the perspective of lower income groups in need of affordable housing. Measures to enhance well-located affordable rental housing supply could help to counteract these pressures.

The study findings challenge the traditional policy-maker orthodoxy in which disadvantaged areas are equated with public housing estates and disadvantaged populations with public housing tenants. As regards measures to tackle exclusion from the local neighbourhood and from civic engagement, these would be more logically directed towards outright home owners. And with respect to the all-important issue of economic exclusion, the problems manifest in disadvantaged suburbs are overwhelmingly found in the private rental sector.

More broadly, the study findings suggest that in addressing the problems of disadvantaged places there is a need for a stronger policy focus on the private rental market. Supporting this case is the observation that—in contrast to its profile, nationally—private rental in disadvantaged suburbs is dominated by the family and older person households for whom insecure housing must be considered especially unsuitable. Furthermore, it is in the private rental market that poor physical conditions are most extensive.

¹¹ Actual and possible policy responses to geographically concentrated disadvantage are also discussed much more extensively in Cheshire et al. (2014), an earlier report generated by this study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Fieldwork methodology—sampling and weighting

A1.1 Fieldwork locations

The survey was targeted on four Sydney suburbs to represent the four disadvantaged suburb typology categories as shown in Table A1.

Table A1: Sample locations

Typology category		Suburb	Location
Number	Characteristics		
1	High on young people and single-parent households	Emerton	Western Sydney fringe
2	High on overseas movers, high on two-parent families	Auburn	Western Sydney
3	High on residential mobility (but low on overseas movers), high on older people and lone-person households	The Entrance	Central coast (north of Sydney)
4	High on overseas movers, on reduced unemployment and on reduced incidence of persons in low status employment	Warwick Farm	Western Sydney

A1.2 Assembling the address sample

Within the relevant suburbs, the survey sample was stratified by housing tenure and by whether respondents had recently moved to their current home. Hence, there were essentially six components to the sample as follows:

- owners—recent movers and established residents
- private renters—recent movers and established residents
- public renters—recent movers and established residents.

Given the above stratification requirements, the address sample needed to be drawn from tenure-specific administrative sources. For public housing tenants, we obtained from Housing NSW a dataset containing all occupied public housing dwellings within the specified areas, including the tenancy start date of the current tenant. The initial intention was to define ‘recent movers’ as those having commenced their tenancy in the two years preceding the survey. However, since this generated insufficient addresses we expanded the selection to include all tenancy dates since 2010.

For private rental dwellings we drew on the Rental Bond Board dataset obtained from NSW Fair Trading. This shows all private rental properties associated with a currently outstanding bond, together with the bond lodgement date (treated, for our purposes, as the tenancy start date). For this element of the address sample, recent movers were defined as those with a bond date since after 30 June 2011.

The third and final element of the sample was owner occupier addresses. Unlike the rental tenures, no comprehensive address dataset exists for this cohort. Therefore, adopting a slightly different approach, our focus here was on addresses of owner occupier recent movers. The basic source was the NSW Land and Property Information (LPI) Property Titles database. LPI kindly provided a list of all residential properties in the specified areas subject to a recent change of ownership (since 31 December 2010). To strip out those purchased by investor landlords rather than prospective owner occupiers, we matched the addresses of purchased properties and

purchasing owners. Only where these corresponded were dwellings included as eligible for inclusion in this part of the sample.

The above procedure enabled us to collate five sets of addresses for each of the four fieldwork localities. These formed the overall population of addresses to be issued to interviewers. For the final element of the sample—owner occupier established residents—interviewers were instructed to make random calls at unsampled addresses within the chosen suburbs.

A1.3 Achieved interview sample and sample weighting

Drawing on the sampling method outlined above and applying area-specific and residential mobility status-specific quotas, a total of 801 interviews were achieved. These were split almost evenly across the four areas and between recent movers and others (see Table A2 below).

Table A2: Achieved interviews

Location			Recent mover?		Total
			Yes	No	
Emerton	Tenure	Owned	9	62	71
		Private rent	35	30	65
		Public rental	15	50	65
	Total		59	142	201
Auburn	Tenure	Owned	59	9	68
		Private rent	57	41	98
		Public rental	5	29	34
	Total		121	79	200
The Entrance	Tenure	Owned	32	51	83
		Private rent	35	34	69
		Public rental	31	17	48
	Total		98	102	200
Warwick Farm	Tenure	Owned	19	14	33
		Private rent	23	28	51
		Public rental	75	41	116
	Total		117	83	200
Total	Tenure	Owned	119	136	255
		Private rent	150	133	283
		Public rental	126	137	263
	Total		395	406	801

Overall, the achieved interview sample (801) equates to some 6 per cent of the overall population of the four areas (occupied dwellings). However, given the substantially varying size of each area and the requirement to achieve an equal number of interviews in each, the sampling fraction varied considerably from area to area. Similarly, the requirement to achieve an equal number of recent movers and established residents meant that sampling fractions tended to be substantially higher for the former than for the latter. To compensate for this effect, the sample was reweighted to replicate more closely actual population numbers. For five of the six subsamples (see above) this 'grossing up' process could be achieved by reference to the original address populations (see above). For the final subsample—owner occupier established residents—the weights applied

were calculated for each suburb by reference to the number of owner occupied dwellings recorded in the 2011 census. For each area the number of recent mover owner occupiers was subtracted from this total to generate the relevant estimates as shown in Table A3.

The generally much larger weights for Auburn than for the other areas reflect Auburn's much larger population, as shown in Table A3. The calculated weight for 'recent mover' public housing tenants in The Entrance reflects the fact that the number of interviews achieved with this group exceeded the expected possible total. This might reflect new lettings made after the public housing dataset was provided.

Accommodating supplementary fieldwork

Due to a questionnaire routing error, 227 recent movers who should have been asked about their previous tenure and location were mistakenly omitted from these questions. These were respondents who had only moved once in the previous five years. To remedy the possible bias resulting from the omission of these households, supplementary fieldwork was undertaken to re-contact the relevant respondents. Of the 227 possible contacts, 58 were re-interviewed by telephone, in relation to the omitted questions only. To allow for this modest response rate, new weights needed to be calculated for tabulations involving these variables. This calculation simply involved multiplying the existing 'standard' weight (see Table A3) by 3.91 ($227/58=3.91$).

Table A3: Main weighting calculation

		Population			Achieved interviews			Weights	
		Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab
Auburn	Owner occupier	668	3,369	4,037	59	9	68	11.32	374.33
	Private rental	1,541	2,214	3,755	57	41	98	27.04	54.00
	Public housing	45	370	415	5	29	34	9.00	12.76
	Total	2,254	5,953	8,207	121	79	200		
		Population			Achieved interviews			Weights	
		Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab
Emerton	Owner occupier	39	293	332	9	62	71	4.33	4.73
	Private rental	59	140	199	35	30	65	1.69	4.67
	Public housing	20	169	189	15	50	65	1.33	3.38
	Total	118	602	720	59	142	201		
		Population			Achieved interviews			Weights	
		Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab
The Entrance	Owner occupier	150	392	542	32	51	83	4.69	7.69
	Private rental	691	748	1,439	35	34	69	19.74	22.00
	Public housing	10	45	55	31	17	48	0.32	2.65
	Total	851	1,185	2,036	98	102	200		
		Population			Achieved interviews			Weights	
		Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab	Total	Recent	Estab
Warwick Farm	Owner occupier	84	414	498	19	14	33	4.42	29.57
	Private rental	249	325	574	23	28	51	10.83	11.61
	Public housing	96	460	556	75	41	116	1.28	11.22
	Total	429	1,199	1,628	117	83	200		

Appendix 2: Survey questions relevant to dimensions of social exclusion

Survey question	Dimension	Data type
Statements relating to the local neighbourhood		
My local area is a safe place to live	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
There is a strong sense of community in this neighbourhood	Community identity	Ordinal
I visit my neighbours in their homes	Civic engagement	Ordinal
Graffiti and vandalism are problems here	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
There are good local facilities and activities for young children	Access	Ordinal
There are good local facilities and activities for teenagers	Access	Ordinal
Nuisance behaviour from excessive drinking is a problem here	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
Drug usage is a problem here	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
Car hooning is a problem here	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
Crime is a problem here	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
There are good local public spaces and parks	Access	Ordinal
I feel I belong in this neighbourhood	Community identity	Ordinal
The physical appearance is appealing	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
There is a good mix of people here	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
I would get out of this neighbourhood if I could	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
The area is well served by public transport	Access	Ordinal
The area has good access to primary schools	Access	Ordinal
The area has good access to secondary schools	Access	Ordinal
There are good employment opportunities within or accessible to the area	Access	Ordinal
The area has good access to health services	Access	Ordinal
Attendance at local events	Civic engagement	Nominal
Membership of local groups	Civic engagement	Nominal
Expectations on area future trajectory	Neighbourhood	Ordinal
Recent criminal victimhood	Neighbourhood	Nominal
Monthly household income	Economic	Ordinal
Ease of access to important places	Access	Ordinal
Access to car	Access	Nominal
Ease of use of public transport	Access	Ordinal
Difficulty in paying for essentials	Economic	Nominal

Source: Survey questionnaire

Note: identified indicators (factors) that were used in the cluster analysis are in bold type.

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