

Final Report

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

authored by

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CD	Collection District
DHW	Department of Housing and Works (Western Australia)
DIA	Department of Indigenous Affairs (Western Australia)
JVP	joint venture partner
SHA	State Housing Authority
TAS	Tenants Advice Service

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research project analyses the impact of the New Living urban renewal program in Western Australia upon Indigenous wellbeing in urban communities, as well as identifying the appropriateness of existing and proposed indicators to determine and measure the housing needs and aspirations of Indigenous people.

The program is a government initiative to overcome many of the social, physical, economic and environmental issues that have arisen in public housing estates – a legacy of post-war social engineering projects. It is intended to benefit the whole community, while focusing on improving the housing circumstances of disadvantaged groups. This research has investigated the impact of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing with regard to this broader social context. It highlights the complexities facing governments in overcoming existing levels of disadvantage and meeting the diverse social needs and aspirations of Indigenous people through housing-led initiatives, as well as managing the social and political implications involved in the broader process of social transformation. The findings reveal significant variations in perspectives and perceptions as to whether Indigenous people are benefiting from the program. In some instances, Indigenous tenants experienced both the negative impacts of displacement from their local neighbourhood, and the benefits of relocation to a new home and an upgraded living environment. In other instances, they claimed that relocation had caused social isolation and increased transport costs to access public health services. Each of the seven households who remained in their locality by choice stated they were dissatisfied with some aspect of New Living processes or outcomes. While New Living aims to reduce crime and to create safer, more liveable environments, participants from five of these households claimed they had experienced increased social problems and a sense of community fragmentation since new tenants and residents had moved into their area.

Each of the six case study areas in the research have relatively large, over-represented Indigenous populations and are broadly representative of the diversity of Indigenous populations in Western Australia living in urban contexts in metropolitan and regional centres. These sites – Midvale, Langford, Coolbellup, Rangeway (Geraldton), Carey Park (Bunbury) and Golden Grove (formally known as Adeline, in Kalgoorlie) – have many commonalities, including reasonably stable Indigenous populations over the last decade that have, with the exception of Coolbellup and Midvale, decreased since the implementation of the New Living program. The Indigenous population in Midvale increased significantly in the 2001 census. These variations may simply reflect a stage in the process of the program, for example, the Department of Housing and Works (DHW) expects the Indigenous population in Coolbellup to increase by the conclusion of the program. Despite similar socio-economic status, social mix and tenure, each site has faced distinctive and sometimes difficult challenges, highlighting the importance of distinctive elements that can either strengthen or weaken social capital and community cohesion. In particular, the challenges confirm the need for flexible and locality focused approaches to urban renewal.

The New Living program has been criticised by some housing professionals for its social engineering approach and strong emphasis on creating a 'balanced social mix' through 'mixed tenure' and 'reduced public housing' (Randolph 2001). The findings suggest that, in some instances, the notion of balanced social mix has actually created problematic intersections of age and cultural groupings, leading to volatile or inappropriate outcomes. The goal of reduced public housing requires existing residents to relocate or buy their own homes. These strategies have had mixed success for Indigenous tenants. While many people who purchased land or refurbished houses under the program have benefited socially and economically, the outcomes for social housing (especially Indigenous) tenants are ambiguous. While some were highly satisfied with both the relocation process and their new location, others felt that they had been 'bullied' out of their home through the threat of eviction. A number of housing stakeholders expressed

criticisms of the perceived increased scope and use of debt recovery policies by DHW officers in New Living sites.

An analysis of research findings suggests that flawed assumptions about the causes of public housing problems have, in some instances, led to the development of contradictory, competing and unrealistic urban renewal policy goals and inappropriate strategies to achieve these. For example, firstly, all six Indigenous households who relocated identified the loss of existing social networks as a problem; others identified isolation, distance from hospitals and social services, and costs of transport as problematic. Conversely, Indigenous households who remained in New Living sites identified the effects of households relocating into the area as creating problems. In particular, they blamed the New Living program relocation for increased crime.

Secondly, there are situations where the emphasis on home purchase and relocation practices may increase feelings of anomie and social isolation, rather than building community cohesion and wellbeing for social housing tenants in areas with high home ownership. Several housing stakeholders believed Indigenous tenants are more likely to receive complaints about their behaviour and house presentation in areas of high home ownership. Moreover, stakeholders claimed that few Indigenous people receive the social and economic benefits from home ownership in the renewal areas. Only a small number had purchased their residence, although most of those interviewed expressed a desire to do so. The reasons for limited home purchase included poor financial situation, lack of information about home loan options for low income earners, and increasing housing prices outstripping loan limits.

In summary, the findings suggest that Indigenous individuals and families are more likely to benefit from New Living if they are actively engaged with mainstream society. Concomitantly, the level of positive wellbeing enjoyed by tenants appears to be directly linked to the degree of choice and control they experienced in their situation. These two sets of variables also play off each other to impact negatively upon individual wellbeing. Those individuals and family groups experiencing levels of alienation and/or exhibiting a degree of social dislocation are often already tagged as 'problem tenants'. According to housing professionals, Indigenous tenants in these circumstances had not been consulted or given any real choice in their housing options, therefore they are more likely to continue to experience negative effects and to manifest unhelpful or anti-social behaviours.

While Indigenous people have benefited through New Living projects in some sites, in others it seems that DHW does not have adequate resources, appropriate processes or staff with the necessary skills to deal with difficult tenants. This research suggests that they are simply shunted from location to location when the complaints in one area make it imperative to move them on. Underlying some of the problems at a neighbourhood level are issues based on racial misunderstandings and/or family feuding.

Throughout the New Living sites there are examples of 'whole of government', 'community building' strategies being put in place by government departments, agencies and local government to address Indigenous needs, interests and concerns at the local community and broader societal level. There also is evidence of a small number of instances in some localities where Indigenous needs have been overlooked.

The findings confirm the need to examine the merits of urban renewal for Indigenous people on a site-by-site basis and to plan, implement and monitor the impacts on Indigenous wellbeing in accordance with the principles and processes identified in an earlier study (Walker et al. 2001). They provide insights and highlight implementation gaps to assist DHW in understanding how existing approaches to urban renewal affect Indigenous wellbeing. Equally importantly, the findings confirm the need for the Australian government and other stakeholders to work with DHW to address the social and economic issues experienced by disadvantaged groups (particularly Indigenous people), which extend well beyond housing interventions.

These findings were also used to examine some assumptions about urban renewal strategies – and their role in enhancing social capital, community sustainability and community wellbeing – which have shaped DHW policies and New Living goals. A review of New Living reports (Cameron 2000-1; DHW 2001c; Parry and Strommen 2001) reveals a persistent, questionable expectation by government to use the program to tackle extensive social problems throughout the state. This is primarily due to an equally questionable assumption underpinning most urban renewal projects that these social problems will be eliminated by reducing social housing in specific areas. The research suggests that this is not necessarily the case, with the prevalence of crime, vandalism and anti-social behaviour actually increasing in some New Living sites. The findings confirm that New Living has proved to be a positive experience for many Indigenous individuals and families, such as offering a better house, closer to schools, in a nicer suburb. However, the program cannot single-handedly address the broader social and economic issues facing Indigenous Australians. This suggests that there is a need for more appropriate expectations about its likely effects, coupled with an acknowledgement that the circumstances of some tenants are the result of interrelated issues associated with employment, social and economic disadvantage. Without recognition of these factors, there is likely to be unrealistic expectations on individual housing agencies solely to improve disadvantage.

This Final Report confirms the importance of local governments and agencies assuming a greater role in achieving a whole of government approach together with private sector enterprise partnering and genuine community involvement. Further, the recognition of the specific and diverse needs of Indigenous Australians, their distinctive First Nations status, and the national and international commitment to Indigenous self-determination and reconciliation mean that State Housing Authorities and other government bodies require culturally appropriate and effective governance processes when implementing strategies to enhance individual and collective Indigenous wellbeing.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project summary

This research project analyses the impact of the New Living urban renewal program in Western Australia upon Indigenous wellbeing in urban communities, as well as identifying the appropriateness of existing and proposed indicators to determine and measure the housing needs and aspirations of Indigenous people. The Department of Housing and Works (DHW) says that New Living is 'changing the face of public housing' in the state. The research was designed to ascertain the extent to which this initiative contributes positively to Indigenous wellbeing.

The literature review for the Positioning Paper (Walker et al. 2003a) examined two distinct but related strands of ideas about urban renewal and social indicators of wellbeing. This provides the conceptual understanding of urban renewal in Australia generally, and its impacts upon Indigenous wellbeing in particular.

The Positioning Paper discussed the perceived dilemmas, limitations and possibilities of urban renewal approaches committed to community participation and the promotion of safe, sustainable communities in Australia. Case studies identified in Australia and the United Kingdom provide valuable lessons about appropriate processes and strategies to facilitate sustainable and positive social change in disadvantaged communities (for United Kingdom examples, see the Joseph Rowntree Foundation website, <http://www.jrf.org.uk/knowledge/findings/housing>).

The second strand of the research in the Positioning Paper explored issues pertaining to developing social indicators to measure the effectiveness of urban renewal in social, economic and environmental terms. It discussed the growing interest in Australia in the conception and measurement of social wellbeing indicators and the importance of family and community functioning as key indicators, ideas that are consistent with current trends in the United Kingdom and the United States. Specific to this research, it drew on earlier research findings to emphasise the need to identify and/or develop appropriate indicators to measure Indigenous wellbeing in accordance with Indigenous research principles, frameworks and methodologies (Walker et al. 2002). This report develops an indicative framework (see Chapter 4) to guide an analysis of the New Living program.

1.2 Project aims

The aims of this research project are:

- To review current processes of governance, consultation, and participation and implementation strategies related to the relocation of Indigenous people, choice of new community locations and their impacts on individual and collective wellbeing;
- To develop a framework of principles or category systems relating to Indigenous community wellbeing which serve to deepen understanding of the impacts of urban renewal programs on Indigenous households;
- To consider different approaches and models/options to urban renewal (i.e. in situ and relocation), to identify the potential consequences and relations of each so that SHAs may consider implementing strategies which have most positive/cost effective outcomes for Indigenous people.

1.3 Project methodology

To address each of these aims, the research methodology combines qualitative, quantitative, textual and policy analysis and case study methods. Six urban renewal localities were chosen, three in the Perth metropolitan area and three in regional centres, and are described in detail in Chapter 3. A key emphasis has been the incorporation of Indigenous perspectives in determining the effects of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing. Quantitative data was used to contextualise and validate Indigenous views

with demographic or statistical information. Chapter 2 contains a more detailed discussion of the data collection and analysis to address each of the aims, which are then covered in subsequent chapters.

1.4 Research outcomes

Conclusions drawn from the analysis of the combined qualitative and quantitative data enabled us to identify a range of policy implications, summarised in Chapter 8. In addition, the findings confirm the efficacy of the framework of indicators developed to assess the impact of New Living upon Indigenous wellbeing. This exploratory research applies the indicators framework to consider how the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of urban renewal influence New Living program goals, strategies and tactics, and the extent to which existing program objectives, processes and indicators take account of and impact upon Indigenous and other disadvantaged groups.

It proposes a more culturally relevant set of indicators to measure the program's impact upon Indigenous social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing. These indicators will also assist in the planning, implementation and evaluation of urban renewal programs and in measuring the impacts on Indigenous wellbeing on an ongoing basis.

1.5 Report structure

The report is framed around the questions arising from each of the research aims.

Chapter 2 contains a detailed discussion of the methodology. Chapter 3 provides a background for the research. It outlines the policy context, with an overview of the New Living program and a brief description of the case study sites. Chapter 4 discusses existing indicators of community building and social capital and their links to wellbeing to assess the effects of urban renewal upon Indigenous wellbeing. It presents the conceptual framework to address one of the main aims of the research – the need to assess the effect of urban renewal upon Indigenous wellbeing, addressing the first research question:

What appropriate and inclusive framework of principles or category systems can be developed to further understanding of the impact of urban renewal on Indigenous households?

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss various key aspects of the findings. Chapter 5 examines issues of governance, participation and control. Chapter 6 looks at stakeholder perspectives and experiences of New Living strategies to answer the second research question:

How effective and inclusive are current processes of governance, consultation, participation and implementation strategies related to the relocation of Indigenous people, choice of new community locations and their impacts on individual and collective wellbeing?

Drawing on the outcomes of this discussion, Chapter 7 presents a summary of findings based on the qualitative analysis of fieldwork, the statistical analysis of key variables for the six case studies and a review of local media articles about the perceived effects of the New Living program. It reviews the policy options and outcomes to consider the third research question:

What models and options for urban renewal (i.e. in situ and relocation, either temporary or permanent) can be identified to have what forms of relationships and outcomes for Indigenous households?

Chapter 8 provides a conclusion and outlines the policy implications reflected in the recommendations.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodology used to explore the impact of the New Living urban renewal program on Indigenous wellbeing. The methodology combines qualitative, quantitative, textual and policy analysis and case study methods. Six urban renewal localities were chosen, three in the Perth metropolitan area and three in regional centres, and are described in detail in the next chapter.

While both quantitative and qualitative data were utilised in this research, a key emphasis has been the incorporation of Indigenous perspectives in determining the effect of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing. Quantitative data has been employed throughout the research to contextualise and validate Indigenous views.

Further, this exploratory research considers how the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of urban renewal influence New Living program goals, strategies and tactics, and the extent to which existing program objectives, processes and indicators take account of and impact upon Indigenous and other disadvantaged groups. It proposes a more culturally relevant set of indicators to measure the program's impact upon Indigenous social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing.

2.2 Qualitative research methodology

A qualitative research methodology was employed to identify the effects of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing through interviews, field observations and a literature review. This combination of methods enabled us to obtain different perspectives of stakeholders involved in the New Living program with a view to identifying aspects that work well, those that could be improved, and its overall effectiveness in ensuring the wellbeing of Indigenous households.

An interpretivist approach was employed to develop a greater understanding of Indigenous stakeholders' experiences of the program in different contexts, utilising case studies, interviews, focus groups and document reviews. Interpretation involves explaining the findings, answering the 'why' questions, and identifying patterns to construct an analytical framework. Particular attention has been paid to the structure, meaning and content of participant experience through narrative analysis (Riessman 1993). Case studies providing narrative analysis have been included to enhance the rigour of qualitative analysis and to enable readers to understand, contextualise and develop greater understanding of tenant experiences.

A range of wellbeing categories or category systems (Patton 1990) were identified in the Positioning Paper to inform the field work analysis and to further develop and refine a framework of indicators of urban renewal, relocation and community wellbeing variables (Walker et al. 2001, 2002). Category systems represent a logical analysis of qualitative data into patterns (categories) that emerge inductively from the research. They are employed specifically for qualitative data and play a similar role as indicators used for both qualitative and quantitative data.

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

2.3 Information collection processes

Several key elements of information collection were employed, as follows:

2.3.1 Literature review

The Positioning Paper involved a comprehensive critical literature review and analysis of research reports, policy documents and other secondary publications on issues of urban renewal to inform the fieldwork research. The review canvassed disciplinary and theoretical literature in social and community psychology, planning and urban theory, sociology and policy analysis. Current international and national literature provided a theoretical framework to illustrate the links between assumptions about social disadvantage, urban renewal goals and strategies to achieve these.

In turn, this theoretical framework laid the groundwork for a second analytical framework (see Section 4.3) to measure and critically evaluate urban renewal projects and to identify and/or develop indicators for Indigenous wellbeing in urban renewal areas (Walker et al. 2003). The development and application of wellbeing measures in Indigenous contexts was further informed by national and international literature related to indicators to measure the effectiveness of housing renewal initiatives and their impact on community wellbeing in the broader society.

2.3.2 Policy mapping and program review

A review of DHW policy documents provided an overview of policy goals, strategies and measures of success related to urban renewal in WA. These policy statements of commitment and intent were outlined in the Positioning Paper and confirmed with DHW staff. They provided the basis to ascertain all program stakeholders' understandings of these policies in relation to actual practices identified in the interviews.

The policy mapping also involved the collection of detailed policy and industry related socio-demographic data from sources including ABS and ATSI regional atlas. The data provided a baseline of key issues in each area prior to urban renewal as a comparison with data collected during the research, and a basis for longitudinal analysis in these locations in the future.

In addition, a brief overview of urban renewal approaches in each state was undertaken. Information on New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia was obtained through relevant contacts and policy documents. Information on the remaining states was obtained from Housing Department policy documents, media releases and literature (Arthurson 1998; Hillier et al. 2001; Parry and Strommen 2001; Randolph 2001; Randolph and Judd 1999; Wood et al. 2002). This overview provided comparative data of good practices.

2.3.3 Review and narrative analysis of local media

A search of state and local newspapers in the case study areas was undertaken to gauge community perceptions and identify the key issues pertaining to the urban renewal in each locality. Although the data gathered through the newspapers is not always reliable, it gave a sense of community perceptions and issues. Interviews with tenants and housing professionals in each area were used to validate the reliability of media reports. The information was compiled and analysed to inform interview questions relevant to each area as well as to identify recurrent themes across the areas. Community perceptions were compared within the six case study sites and in relation to other data.

2.3.4 Qualitative data collection

We adopted a responsive approach to the data collection to provide a contextualised understanding for all program stakeholders in line with recommendations outlined in the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2002) overview and findings of urban renewal. This involves being responsive to the diversity of issues and concerns held by different stakeholder groups in the different locations and contexts. As the research progressed, the categories identified in the initial stages were both informed and refined by the issues and concerns that emerged out of the experiences of Indigenous tenants and key housing stakeholders. The collection of qualitative data provided rich narratives revealing both the diversities and similarities of local needs and circumstances across the case

study sites. In turn, the analysis of these narratives enabled the research team to examine how the New Living program implementation has been or could be adapted to local conditions, needs and interests.

Interviews were sought with residents in each New Living area, including continuing and new residents as well as those who relocated. Although the open-ended nature of the interviews using this approach is more time consuming than fixed schedule interviews, it allowed respondents to discuss how various aspects of New Living impacted upon the individual and collective wellbeing of Indigenous people.

Interviews were conducted with a diverse range of Indigenous people, including single parents, married couples and extended families, and ranging in age from youths of 18 to seniors, and included tenants who were employed, unemployed and studying. While the number of interviews undertaken with Indigenous tenants was not sufficient to demonstrate a demographically representative sample, the in-depth interviews with tenants, housing professionals and stakeholders in these six sites provided a wide range of Indigenous experiences of the New Living program which will provide policy makers with a deeper understanding of those issues that affect people's everyday lives but which are generally not the focus of policy (for example, factors which affect tenants' sense of self-efficacy, and experiences of subtle racism and alienation).

The inclusion of tenants who had relocated from New Living areas allowed us to overcome the limits of previous studies (such as Ambrose 2001) which restricted their research to residents within the area before and after urban renewal. We wanted to check whether vulnerable members of the Indigenous community were more likely to be relocated (often as a result of undisclosed variables such as alcohol or substance misuse or anti-social behaviour) as indicated, but not confirmed, in other studies (Hillier et al. 2001; Parry and Strommen 2001). Both the responsive nature of questioning and scope of interviews sought have significantly enriched the findings of this study.

In total, 27 interviews were undertaken with 13 Indigenous households. This sample was not intended to be representative of Indigenous households in New Living sites. Of these, 13 interviews were with tenants in seven households remaining within the six urban renewal localities, and 14 with tenants in six households who relocated to other areas (including other New Living localities) to ascertain their personal perceptions regarding the impact of renewal practices upon their wellbeing (see Appendix 1). Because of the low response to the mail-out, Indigenous perspectives reported in previous studies (Hillier et al. 2001; Parry and Strommen 2001) that used questionnaires to obtain information of relevance to this research were reviewed and the findings incorporated to complement the findings of this research.

Interviews and email surveys were employed with other stakeholders from community organisations, local government, renewal professionals and DHW in each of the six localities to identify examples of best practices and impediments to providing appropriate outcomes for Indigenous people (see Appendix 1). A total of 58 contacts were made with stakeholders. Twenty-four were with housing professionals, of whom at least 40% identified as Indigenous. A further 23 were held with health, financial and other professionals from associated areas, and a further 11 with other Indigenous households in New Living areas, as a consequence of utilising the snowball technique.

2.4 Fieldwork follow-up

The fieldwork follow-up was influenced largely by the initial findings in the Positioning Paper and preliminary discussions with housing stakeholders. It also took account of the suggestions and direction provided through the reference group based on their reading of the Positioning Paper.

2.4.1 Tenant interviews

The fieldwork involved two members of the research team (including one Indigenous researcher). Tenant interviews were arranged through a mail-out to Indigenous tenants

(both tenants in an area and those who had relocated) informing them of the research aims and inviting them to participate.

This process caused considerable delays in the data collection phase. The response rate to the mail-out was extremely low, but the return rate of envelopes was quite high, suggesting that these people were no longer at the addresses given. To obtain data, the research team obtained referrals through housing professionals and other Indigenous contacts in each area. Interviews then occurred on the basis of the snowball sampling technique which Patton (1990: 176) describes as a useful approach for 'locating information-rich key informants'. In each location, attempts were made to interview at least four households. Sometimes several people were interviewed from one household, at other times only one tenant represented the household. The process did highlight the importance of establishing face-to-face contact and open-ended interviews to obtain meaningful information, rather than using questionnaires.

Thirteen interviews were completed with Indigenous households remaining in the New Living areas, and 12 with Indigenous households who had relocated to other areas, to ascertain their personal perceptions regarding the impact of renewal practices upon their wellbeing (see Appendix 1). Some agreed to follow-up interviews. Two interviews were held with Indigenous tenants moving into an area and two with Indigenous home owners. Three telephone interviews were also conducted in response to a mail-out. Findings from interviews with Indigenous tenants from previous studies in Langford and Midvale were used to supplement and compare with interviews in this research.

2.4.2 Semi-structured interviews and/or focus groups

Semi-structured interviews and/or focus groups were held with urban renewal professionals and Indigenous social housing tenants. These were conducted in accordance with AHURI research protocols and ethical guidelines. The decision as to whether to conduct interviews and/or focus groups was made on the basis of participants' availability and preference.

Open-ended questions and interview prompts were used throughout the fieldwork. Tapes were used in those instances where all respondents felt comfortable. In these instances, the tapes were listened to by both researchers and transcribed and checked with participants. The use of two researchers (one Indigenous and one non-Indigenous) enabled the Indigenous researcher to establish a relationship with participants and ask the majority of questions while the other researcher took extensive notes and, if necessary, clarify and verify participant responses at the time. The Indigenous researcher conducted all interviews with Indigenous participants. Interviewer interpretations were checked back with participants at the time.

2.4.3 Email questionnaires

Urban renewal professionals who were unavailable for interviews or focus groups were invited to participate in a questionnaire via email. In total, 22 questionnaires were sent out and 19 responses were received, providing both a high response rate (86%) and high quality information. This allowed flexibility and enabled urban renewal professionals to reflect on the questions and to provide empirical evidence. Information obtained through interviews was checked back via emails. In addition, several urban renewal professionals who were interviewed continued the dialogue by email. Copies of email responses to questions were printed and analysed in accordance with the wellbeing category systems.

2.5 Key research questions and topics

The key research questions and topics were both informed by, and used to refine, the existing indicators framework pertaining to Indigenous wellbeing. Employing the data collection techniques described above (individual and household interviews, small focus groups and email questionnaires), stakeholder groups were asked particular questions about the effects of the New Living program on the social, cultural, emotional, physical

and economic wellbeing of Indigenous tenants from each of their perspectives. Specific topics and key questions which provided the focus for interviews are detailed below.

The questions provided a basis to review the category systems relating to Indigenous wellbeing discussed in the Positioning Paper and to consider specific social indicators of Indigenous wellbeing. All stakeholders were asked questions regarding processes and structures for Indigenous community participation and involvement in all phases of the New Living project.

In answering the broader questions regarding the effects of New Living strategies upon aspects of Indigenous wellbeing, the research sought to answer more focused questions with specific implications for housing policy:

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

2.5.1 Indigenous tenants

Indigenous respondents, including existing and new residents and relocated tenants, were asked how the New Living project has positively or negatively impacted upon their family units. They were asked to discuss their perspectives about:

- Any actual measurable or perceived changes in their own and/or others' social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing;
- Any actual measurable or perceived changes to their housing and health circumstances during the implementation of the New Living program.

Questions focused on tenant satisfaction with their experience, issues related to health, access to transport and services, and perceptions about the physical and social aspects of their locality. Tenants were also invited to discuss other issues and to suggest people who had moved in or out of the area who might be willing to be interviewed.

2.5.2 Project partners: Department of Housing and Works, local government and joint venture partners

Stakeholders involved in the development and/or implementation of the New Living program were also asked questions directly related to the key elements and indicators of the conceptual framework. The questions were designed to ascertain the extent to which aspects of Indigenous social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing are taken into account within each of their existing policies and practices, structures and processes. Stakeholders were asked to discuss:

- Existing guidelines and/or practices which acknowledge, recognise, promote or enable Indigenous cultural practices, diverse needs and aspirations, associations with the land and so on (to ascertain effects of the program on Indigenous social, cultural and emotional wellbeing);
- Processes and structures to improve the economic conditions of residents/community, such as increased employment, training and community education opportunities and possibly industry initiatives (to ascertain effects of the program on Indigenous physical and economic wellbeing).

2.5.3 Department of Housing and Works

In addition, and related to issues of governance and accountability, 11 DHW policy and field officers were asked questions to ascertain the congruence between stated policy goals, objectives and guidelines and the actual practices which impact on the general wellbeing of Indigenous tenants (see Section 5.2).

2.5.4 Local government respondents

Local government officers were asked about specific initiatives developed and/or implemented in their area to recognise, include and address key issues for Indigenous people that impact upon their social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing. For example, community development officers were asked about any sporting or employment initiatives designed to improve Indigenous social and economic wellbeing. They were also asked to comment upon policies, practices and reconciliation strategies, such as memorandums of understanding and historic sites or trails, developed by local councils to positively affect Indigenous cultural and emotional wellbeing.

2.5.5 Other stakeholders (health and housing community development professionals)

Other stakeholders comprised professionals involved with tenants through their work in housing, health, social services and tenant advice. They were asked how the New Living project has positively or negatively impacted upon Indigenous tenants as individuals or family units (including existing and new residents and relocated tenants), in particular:

- Any actual, measurable or perceived changes in their own and others' regard for their social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing;
- Any actual, measurable or perceived changes to their housing or health during the implementation of the New Living program.

2.6 Data analysis

The categorisation and analysis of qualitative fieldwork data was informed by the revised indicators framework described in Chapter 4. The data analysis was used to test and affirm the relevance and efficacy of qualitative and quantitative indicators included in the social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic categories of wellbeing in the framework. The indicators framework was employed to assess the impact of New Living strategies on Indigenous wellbeing, based on the findings drawn from an analysis of primary and secondary data sources. In addition, the findings derived from qualitative and quantitative data analysis were used to inform the other key research aims.

2.6.1 Qualitative data

The questions asked of the stakeholder groups (see Section 2.5) were collated and analysed in accordance with, and to inform, each of the respective elements of the indicators framework. The analysis was undertaken to provide a description of urban renewal strategies, processes and outcomes from stakeholder perspectives and an appreciation and understanding of complexity and diversity of issues underlying the experiences and outcomes reported. These findings were also used to examine some of the assumptions about urban renewal strategies – and their role in enhancing social capital, community sustainability and community wellbeing – which have shaped DHW housing policies and New Living goals.

2.6.2 Quantitative data

In addition to the qualitative data analysis, we undertook a quantitative analysis of selected social and economic characteristics obtained through ABS Census data. These characteristics, located within the respective social and economic wellbeing categories within the indicators framework, were included to measure changes in Indigenous wellbeing in the three metropolitan New Living sites. The findings from the qualitative data analysis were discussed in relation to analysis of ABS data to explain anomalies, trends and changes in population variables and other indicators such as employment, education and overcrowding to consider how each of these factors influence urban renewal outcomes with respect to Indigenous wellbeing.

The Census data collects information about a number of demographic characteristics that are significant indicators of social and economic wellbeing for individuals and populations. The variables measured in this research are levels of disadvantage (across all social and

economic indicators), overcrowding, access to a motor vehicle, transport, income, tenure, rent and length of time in dwelling (housing stability). Comparisons of demographic changes in the populations in the three metropolitan localities over a 10 year period between 1991 and 2001 were made using disaggregated data at a Collection District level. The findings are described in Chapter 6.

This comparative analysis of demographic changes using quantitative data assisted the researchers to identify whether the number of Indigenous people had increased or decreased in New Living areas, and whether they were likely to be experiencing greater or lesser levels of social and economic disadvantage. The data was compared with overall Western Australian State and Perth populations statistics to determine whether changes in indicators of wellbeing could be attributed to the program or simply reflected general changes occurring in the wider population. This data was only available for Perth and surrounding suburbs, and therefore only these areas in the study have this level of analysis.

ABS baseline data from the *Social Atlas of 1991 and 2001* (and the 1996 Aboriginal sub-file) was analysed to identify patterns within and around the urban renewal areas for comparisons between sites and changes in patterns over time. In addition, the analysis considers the extent to which the New Living program has impacted upon these patterns.

3 RESEARCH CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

3.1 The policy context

The New Living urban renewal program is a government initiative undertaken in partnership with local governments and private enterprise to overcome many of the social, physical, economic and environmental issues affecting public housing estates – a legacy of postwar social engineering projects. It is intended to benefit the whole community while focusing on improving the housing circumstances of disadvantaged groups, including Indigenous people.

The Positioning Paper for this research describes the historical background to urban development since the 1950s. In summary, there were progressive shifts in government assumptions about the physical and social causes of the initial social problems which urban development was intended to address, such as physical determinism, poverty and cycles of disadvantage, and inclusion and exclusion in areas with a high percentage of public housing. These assumptions helped inform approaches to public housing design and distribution. Current policy and practice draw on the successive lessons of the past to encompass the most practical elements of urban development, providing a number of positive examples of urban and community renewal in WA and throughout Australia.

Nevertheless, as discussed in the Positioning Paper, there is still some contention among housing stakeholders in the contemporary policy context regarding the efficacy and appropriateness of the New Living program goals of lowering crime, reducing social stigma, improving community social wellbeing and developing sustainable communities. There are also criticisms of the social and physical housing strategies used to achieve these, such as 'improving' the social mix, tenure diversification, neighbourhood beautification and housing renovation and refurbishment. Several state, national and international studies (Ambrose 2001; Bohl 2000; Everingham 2001; Randolph 2001) have shown that urban renewal can have unintended negative effects such as gentrification and the consequent effects of dislocation, increased disadvantage, alienation and anomie among disadvantaged groups. These studies confirm the need for participatory community development approaches throughout all phases of urban renewal projects. Other studies (Tonts et al. 2001; Wood et al. 2002) have identified a range of complex issues that can impede effective community participation and decision-making processes, especially among minority and disadvantaged groups. The main issues affecting genuine participatory approaches include lack of education, low self-esteem, language barriers, and a high degree of scepticism and suspicion towards government.

Finally, these issues highlight the need to consider the role of governance and accountability in urban renewal. As discussed in the Positioning Paper, governments need to strike a balance between community engagement and empowerment, with the exercise of government responsibility when undertaking community change and sustainability.

This Final Report focuses on the main research aim of identifying the effects of urban renewal on Indigenous social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing. Very little research has been carried out in this area to date. The indicators framework developed considers how wellbeing is inextricably linked to issues of governance and partnership. It is also linked to persistent political questions about Indigenous self-determination and connections to place, as well as more generally recognised variables of wellbeing.

One of the most common criticisms of urban renewal programs throughout Australia is that residents are forced to relocate because of the reduction in public housing, the associated emphasis on home ownership, increasing property values and increased private rental costs. According to Bohl (2000), these strategies impact negatively on those people already experiencing the most disadvantage. Their effects are of particular interest in this research because they have important social justice implications for

Indigenous people who experience significant levels of disadvantage in health, education, employment and housing. The research examines whether Indigenous people are likely to be relocated to areas with fewer social opportunities and limited access to education, employment and transport. Furthermore, research evidence suggests that Indigenous people are likely to be subjected to discrimination and uncontrolled prices if they have to increasingly rely on the private sector to obtain housing in their area of choice (Focus 2000).

While there is evidence to suggest that urban renewal programs have positive outcomes, Bohl (2000) describes instances where they have led to the displacement of people and break-up of communities, further disadvantaging those most likely to be affected (that is, the elderly, the unemployed and/or culturally marginalised groups). Urban renewal has also been criticised as a form of gentrification impacting upon disadvantaged groups living in public housing in inner city suburbs (Badcock 2001; Shaw 2000; Smith 2002). This Final Report explores whether or to what extent these concerns are likely to impact negatively upon different Indigenous groups.

Some of the research literature and policy documents draw on aggregated data on crime statistics and home ownership variables to suggest that urban renewal is a positive and worthy aim. Few Australian studies research its impacts upon individuals, households and communities, particularly Indigenous Australians (Hillier et al. 2001; Parry and Strommen 2001). Few international studies examine the immediate and longer-term effects upon residents in communities or relocated, or among disadvantaged groups.

A few studies show that a genuine commitment by government and industry partners to foster public participation in the process (Wood 2002) is likely to result in more positive and representative outcomes to meet the needs of different groups (e.g. the elderly, Indigenous, single parents). This Final Report examines the extent to which New Living strategies are culturally appropriate and foster representative and inclusive participation.

3.2 New Living program overview

The New Living program is a housing-led program for urban renewal in socially and economically depressed areas where there is a high level of public housing in urban and regional WA. It is an important vehicle for achieving the aims of the state's Housing Strategy 'to deliver affordable, appropriate and sustainable housing (irrespective of tenure arrangements) in Western Australia in the medium to long-term' (DHW 2001: 4). According to DHW officials, the program focuses on the refurbishment and sale of housing stock, rather than demolition and redevelopment to bring about improvements in 'blighted areas'. Generally these areas are regarded as the consequence of previous policy or design 'mistakes' or well-intentioned but misguided assumptions about social housing. Some media release documents also attribute the changing social demographics to existing problems in public housing areas. Discussions with DHW officials, and the examination of policy statements and media release documents, suggest the persistence of assumptions about the need to change the social and tenure mixes to improve social housing areas, rather than developing whole of government strategies to improve the social and economic circumstance of those groups living there.

3.2.1 Program aims

The key aims of the New Living program, as identified in DHW policy documents, are to:

- Reduce the public housing presence in most areas to between 10% and 20%;
- Refurbish houses for sale;
- Reduce the social stigma caused by the density of inappropriate and outdated public housing;
- Upgrade and refurbish public rental housing;
- Improve the social mix;

- Create a satisfied community;
- Encourage a sense of added security for residents by eliminating areas that provide venues for anti-social behaviour (DHW 2001).

As discussed in the Positioning Paper, these aims are intended to positively address social, economic and environmental issues experienced by disadvantaged groups in areas with high concentrations of public housing – a legacy of outdated public housing policies and practices. Although such aims are salutary, international and national literature suggest that contemporary strategies remain guided by theories underpinned by assumptions of human behaviour which, lacking wider causal interconnections, are often contradictory and problematic. These issues are explored further in this research in the light of the experiences reported by tenants and other housing stakeholders.

Currently there are no program specific strategies and only limited whole of government linkages outlined in the New Living program to actually address the economic wellbeing of disadvantaged groups. The economic benefits attributed to New Living in media releases appear to be based on the assumption that people who become home owners will build equity through housing price increases. However, strategies based on this assumption do not address existing issues of poverty and unemployment experienced by a significant percentage of the population in New Living areas.

3.2.2 Underpinning policy assumptions

Consistent with contemporary international urban renewal policies and practices, the New Living program attempts to address and move beyond the negative consequences of past social housing approaches. Even so, several theoretical approaches and policy discourses have influenced contemporary social housing policies and strategies, including urban renewal developments. As discussed in the Positioning Paper, New Living has been influenced by elements of each of the following theoretical approaches and discourses:

- Physical determinism;
- Cycles of disadvantage;
- Concentration of the urban poor;
- Social inclusion/exclusion;
- Social capital.

3.2.3 Policy influences

The New Living program is also influenced by international, national, state and local government policies in relation to its impact upon the wellbeing of disadvantaged groups, including Indigenous people. The most relevant of these policies are:

International and national

- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which spells out the right to adequate and appropriate housing and economic development and to freely engage in cultural practices.

National, state and local

- Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement;
- Whole of government linkages across portfolios, as well as the various tiers of government;
- Agreement for the Provision of Housing and Infrastructure for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People in Western Australia;
- The triple bottom line, being social, economic and environmental goals, also referred to as community sustainability (Western Australian Government 2001);

→ Provisions for cultural heritage.

Local

→ Housing strategies;

→ Memorandums of understanding and agreements with Indigenous people, governments, community and private sectors;

→ Partnerships with community and private sectors.

The Positioning Paper highlighted the inherent tension between New Living program goals and the dilemma this seemingly poses for DHW in meeting social justice goals and the needs of the population as a whole (as stated in the DHW vision). The complex and sometimes contradictory policy assumptions underpinning urban renewal are examined by applying and further developing the conceptual frameworks initially developed by Walker et al. (2001) for evaluating housing programs designed to strengthen Indigenous communities and contribute to Indigenous wellbeing. Walker et al. (2002: 28) proposed theoretical/analytical frameworks 'by which to establish indicators to measure and make judgements about these more complex linkages in Indigenous contexts'. In applying these frameworks, this exploratory research considers how the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of urban renewal influence New Living goals, strategies and tactics, and the extent to which existing program objectives, processes and indicators take account of and impact upon Indigenous and other disadvantaged groups. It also proposes a more culturally relevant set of indicators to measure the program's impact upon Indigenous social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing.

3.3 The implementation process

There are a number of stages in the New Living program implementation process. Firstly, DHW, in conjunction with other departments and private partners, identifies pockets of social housing experiencing social, physical and economic decline. Once the negotiations are underway with other partners, DHW informs the local community and encourages them to become involved in the planning. There is some scope at this stage to identify houses to be refurbished and retained as rental properties and those to be sold. At the commencement of the program, houses that require more than \$30,000 for renovation are demolished and the land sold (Van der Meer and Nichols 2003). At this point, a New Living site manager carries out all negotiations at the interface between tenants and DHW. Relocation officers notify individual clients in writing that their house is within an area identified for urban renewal. They then meet with clients to discuss the options available, including assistance into home ownership, staying where they are or relocation (see Section 5.3). Those who choose to relocate are given a choice of areas, and generally a better type of house. They are placed on the priority waiting list and are contacted as soon as a house is available. All clients have the right of refusal without jeopardising their right to a decent house.

DHW emphasises the importance of community development processes and individual household involvement for the effective implementation of the project. Staff have indicated that the implementation process is intended to both protect tenant rights and contribute positively to their wellbeing. The opportunity for clients to choose between the strategies of relocation and in situ placement (which are described in detail later) is also designed to promote individual and community satisfaction and wellbeing.

3.4 New Living research sites

The six case study sites selected in metropolitan and rural areas within WA provide the main source of data for the research findings. These are the three metropolitan sites of Coolbellup, Midvale and Langford, situated in the southern, eastern and central land corridors within Perth, and three sites in major regional centres, Carey Park (Bunbury), Rangeway (Geraldton) and Adeline/Golden Grove (Kalgoorlie).

The selection of sites and methods of involvement were developed and endorsed in consultation with Indigenous stakeholders and steering committee members. Discussions with DHW, ATSIC, Department of Indigenous Affairs (DIA) and regional housing groups and resource agencies confirmed the appropriateness of the sites.

3.4.1 Rationale for site selection

The sites were chosen to obtain a broad sample of Indigenous people from culturally and geographically diverse contexts in WA. The Indigenous population is over-represented in each of these sites (5.1% to 7.1%) compared with the overall Indigenous population in Australia (2.7%).¹

The sites also reflect different stages of progress of the urban renewal projects, with most running for three years or longer. In addition, two of the selected sites, Langford and Midvale, were the focus of previous evaluation research into the effect of New Living urban renewal on new and existing tenants and residents (Parry and Strommen 2001; Hillier et al. 2001; Van der Meer and Nichols 2003). These studies, using similar research methodologies, provided important baseline data (and indicators) for comparative analysis to ascertain any change over time in tenant perceptions, circumstances or program outcomes (such as safer environment and reduced crime). Although these studies examined the effects on all tenants, and not specifically on Indigenous people, they nevertheless provide some relevant information from interview responses with Indigenous tenants and from housing stakeholders working with Indigenous tenants. Information summarised from these responses is cited in this research, and compared with the experiences of tenants and housing stakeholders interviewed in this research.

3.4.2 Description of metropolitan sites

The Perth metropolitan area is developed around four corridors radiating from the city centre. Discussions with Shelter WA helped to identify the case study areas in three of these. They encompass both positive and problematic aspects of urban renewal.

Coolbellup

Coolbellup is located 22 kilometres south of Perth and 8 kilometres south of Fremantle. It has good public transport and access to the freeway system, and extensive recreational parks. There is a diverse European population base and a high Indigenous population compared with state population figures.

The New Living program commenced in Coolbellup in 1999. Prior to that time, and despite its potentially good infrastructure and position, the suburb was perceived to have a poor reputation. Negative attitudes evident in the mid-1990s were attributed to changing demographics, empty houses and reported pockets of fear surrounding high rise flats. In 2001 it was awarded national recognition for the best renewal project in Australia by the Urban Planning Institute for its design and community focus.

Midvale (Eastern Horizons)

Situated in the foothills east of Perth, Midvale, a suburb 15 kilometres from the Perth CBD is located within 10 minutes walk from the regional centre of Midland, which has a wide range of facilities including schools, public transport, recreation and employment opportunities and public open space. It has been described as:

a working-class suburb which became run down, both physically and in terms of community spirit, following the demise of the Midland Railway Workshops and Abattoir, and other local industries (Van der Meer and Nichols 2003: 3).

The Midvale urban renewal project commenced in 1999. Without any corresponding employment initiatives, the unemployment rate of 14% remains significantly higher than the national average of 6% (ABS 2002). It has become a catchment area for white-collar

¹ Indigenous people are about 21% of public housing tenants in WA, with approximately 3.5% of WA's population being Indigenous.

workers from the Department of Land Administration and other departments. Since Midvale New Living commenced, problems associated with dislocation and breaking up of Indigenous communities have been identified. Shelter WA (2002: 4) reported that rapidly increasing housing prices in Midland are making the area too expensive for many families to live in, especially Indigenous families.

Langford

Langford is situated south of the Canning River, approximately 25 kilometres from Perth in a semi-rural environment. It is well serviced by public transport and roads. The New Living project commenced in September 1999 and follows on from the Langford Living urban renewal project. There is a large Indigenous presence compared with the Indigenous state population.

The project involves the refurbishment of 529 DHW dwellings (29% of a total 1,830) and the enhancement of infrastructure. It is planned to reduce DHW's presence to 12% by the conclusion of the project. A quarterly newsletter provides information on the project to all residents and key stakeholders.

3.4.3 Description of regional sites

Carey Park (Bunbury)

Bunbury is located in the south-west region of the state, 175 kilometres south of Perth. It is the largest city in one of WA's most rapidly growing areas, encompassing a diverse range of industries, including mining, agriculture and tourism. New Living in the area falls under the banner of 'One Bunbury' which DHW (2001b) describes as 'much more than just a residential development and redevelopment project'. It is claimed that stronger communities will be built through improvements to landscaping, open space, security and roads, a contention that highlights the link between physical determinism and social capital.

Rangeway (Geraldton)

Located 450 kilometres north of Perth and approximately 4.5 hours drive, the port city of Geraldton is the hub of the midwest, which incorporates a broad industry base including agriculture and pastoralism, mining, fishing, manufacturing and tourism. The area remains significant for Aboriginal people who traditionally were drawn there for its abundant resources (City of Geraldton 2002).

Initially a catchment area for port and industry workers, Rangeway has been reportedly plagued by 'social and physical decline'. This has been attributed to poor housing maintenance, poor suburb design, Indigenous family feuding, youth issues and increased unemployment in social housing areas in the Geraldton surrounds.

Golden Grove (formerly Adeline, South Kalgoorlie)

The city of Kalgoorlie-Boulder is located 600 kilometres east of Perth. It is a regional transport hub, providing a linkage between Perth and the eastern states and having one of Australia's busiest regional airports. The economy is still primarily dependent on the mining industry. Adeline, a suburb of Kalgoorlie, was originally developed in the early 1970s under the Radburn concept, considered a highly appropriate design to meet the population needs at that time. Houses linked by laneways facing into a central open community space were designed to promote access between neighbours and families. Adeline's social problems have been 'related to the design of the suburb, its social economic structure and the type, use and density of Homeswest housing'. According to the Minister for Housing, 'there has been a significant shift with regards to the demographics of Adeline, resulting in the current design being unsuited to resident needs' (DHW 2003b). This reflects a major change from being a working-class suburb for miners to one with high unemployment and a high Indigenous population.

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

particularly problematic. Problems included extensive waiting lists, lack of culturally appropriate housing for Indigenous residents and high housing costs. Waiting lists were particularly long for homes with several bedrooms. A large fringe dweller population in the area has been growing due to homelessness in Kalgoorlie. The forum identified the need to locate public housing stock in areas sensitive to the locations of four distinct sub-groups in the Aboriginal community and to provide housing that could accommodate extended Aboriginal families (Shelter WA 1999). In August 2000, DHW announced that it would spend \$2 million per year for the next two years on the suburb of Adeline, as part of the New Living program. DHW is planning to retain 99 rental properties and build eight new properties and 26 pensioner units in Golden Grove.

3.5 Comparisons between research sites

A comparison of the key features of the case study localities is shown in Table 1. With the exception of Golden Grove and Rangeway, these projects are developed in partnership with private companies through a tendering process. It is possible that differences between project partners could influence individual outcomes. The proportion of DHW properties and the coverage of the New Living project in relation to suburb size may also influence outcomes. Golden Grove had a higher DHW presence than other areas, although the overall aim is to reduce this to between 11% and 12%. With this goal to be achieved by 2008, the full impact upon Indigenous wellbeing remains to be seen.

The financial costs of the projects vary considerably, depending on the number of properties identified for refurbishment compared with properties sold. Additional costs for the renewal of parks and roadscapes are negotiated and often shared with local government. In Golden Grove, which is the lowest costing project, Kalgoorlie-Boulder and DHW have an agreement to share the infrastructure costs on a 50-50 basis.

Table 1: Comparison of New Living projects

Locality	Starting and completion dates	Project partners	No. of properties owned by DHW	% of total properties in area	Projected % of DHW properties by end of project	Estimated cost
Coolbellup	1999-2006	Mirvac-Fini	750	32%	12%	\$29 m
Midvale	1999-2006	Midland Project Management	144	22%	12%	\$15.7 m
Langford	1999-2005	Voran Consultants	529	29%	12%	\$16.8 m
Carey Park	2001-06	Pindan Group	255	12.4%	10%	N/A
Rangeway	1996-2007	Managed internally by DHW	143	N/A	12%	N/A
Golden Grove	1999-2008	Managed internally by DHW	228	49%	12%	\$2 m x two years

Note: Estimated project costs include all expenditure including refurbishments, land development, infrastructure improvements and fees.

4 URBAN RENEWAL AND INDIGENOUS WELLBEING

4.1 Introduction

The second key aim of the research entailed determining/developing indicators of Indigenous wellbeing in order to assess the effects of urban renewal upon it. It seeks to address the first research question: *What appropriate and inclusive framework of principles or category systems can be developed to further understanding of the impact of urban renewal on Indigenous households?* It draws upon the conceptual, analytical and operational frameworks and principles identified by Indigenous stakeholders in earlier AHURI research as important for the provision of services that recognise and facilitate equal partnership and Indigenous self-determination (Walker et al. 2002). These frameworks confirm the need for social indicators in evaluation and research that recognise and support Indigenous rights, interests and aspirations, in accordance with policy goals and organisational purpose (Walker et al. 2002: 57).

These principles were applied as a framework of analysis to the field research findings of Indigenous perspectives to assess the effects of New Living goals, strategies and practices upon Indigenous wellbeing. In other words, the principles of self-determination and socially just outcomes were applied to the set of category systems of wellbeing and program indicators identified for further investigation in the Positioning Paper. As the authors noted in earlier research:

Such a position challenges housing funding bodies to establish housing evaluation policies, processes and practices aimed towards Indigenous self-determination, social transformation and cultural integrity (Walker et al. 2002: 13).

This chapter briefly reviews the indicators identified in the Positioning Paper, and discusses refinements to these based on discussions with stakeholders and a review of additional literature. In the spirit of research by Zubrick et al. (2000: 5), the indicators developed are intended to extend our knowledge base and fill the knowledge gaps, rather than establish a prescriptive set of indicators to be used as a checklist of performance.

The proposition put forward by Walker et al. (2001) is that such a conceptual framework needs to take account of the wider social, political, historical, cultural and economic context which impacts upon all services and programs in communities. There are several other points to be considered with respect to developing a meaningful framework:

- Given that no single program can be expected to address all social issues attributed to communities in decline or experiencing significant disadvantage, any framework needs to have broader application to plan, implement and assess effective programs and/or whole of government interventions on individuals and communities;
- Desired goals to enhance community wellbeing at a programmatic level need to contribute to wider social outcomes;
- Frameworks need to recognise that indicators of wellbeing may differ for non-Indigenous and Indigenous populations, and within the diversity of Indigenous populations;
- These elements are dependent on the existence of good democratic governance, including recognition of Indigenous rights to self-determination, processes for just distribution of services, equality and partnerships and reconciliation.

The Positioning Paper identified two phases in determining social indicators of Indigenous individual and community wellbeing to assess the effect and effectiveness of urban renewal programs. The first phase involved a comprehensive audit of wellbeing indicators which were outlined in the Positioning Paper and disseminated to a range of stakeholders, including the reference group, for further discussion and refinement. The second phase involved continuing to review relevant AHURI research and contacting urban renewal managers in other states to identify best practices, issues and measures

of success pertaining to building social capital and sustainable communities and their impact upon individual and family wellbeing.

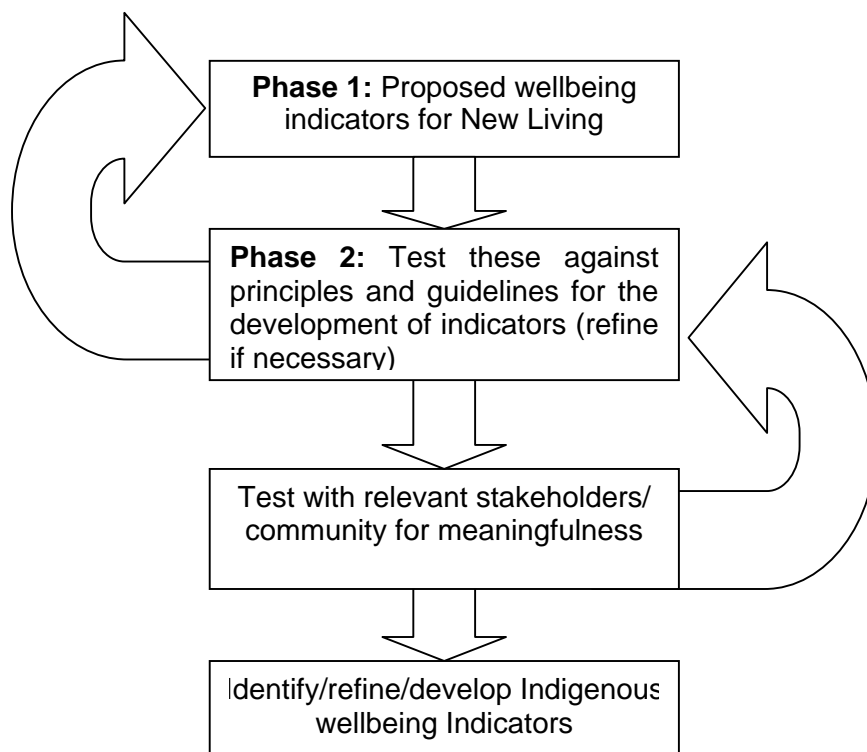
4.2 Wellbeing indicators for urban renewal

This Final Report includes a proposed set of indicators to determine Indigenous wellbeing that could be applied in the development, implementation and evaluation of urban renewal projects.

In the Work in Progress Report (Ballard and Walker 2003), a range of questions on various aspects of wellbeing were identified for the fieldwork follow-up with stakeholders. These provided a basis to review the category systems of social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing discussed in the Positioning Paper and to consider the relevance of specific social indicators of Indigenous wellbeing. Employing appropriate data collection techniques identified in Chapter 2 (individual and household interviews, small focus groups and email questionnaires), stakeholder groups were asked particular questions to ascertain their perspectives about Indigenous social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing. All stakeholders were asked questions regarding the processes and structures for Indigenous community participation and involvement in all phases of the New Living project. These latter questions take account of the proposition regarding the importance of governance as a dimension of attaining and demonstrating or measuring wellbeing. They also recognise that state government departments have acknowledged the importance of taking account of Indigenous perspectives in government programs, and most, including DHW, have incorporated processes to achieve this.

Figure 1 illustrates both phases. The second phase involved refining indicators for Indigenous wellbeing on the basis of participant discussion and clarification, narrative and category analysis and consensus derived from focus groups and the reference group.

Figure 1: Methodological model for development of indicators



4.3 Category systems and indicators of wellbeing

Various studies (Hillier et al. 2001; Spiller Gibbins Swan 2000) confirm that indicators of wellbeing encompass a range of complex and interrelated factors which have relevance in specifying practices, processes, design attributes and other critical factors or minimum criteria to ensure the likely effectiveness of urban renewal programs.

The category systems (Patton 1990: 402-6), and broad indicators, identified in the preliminary literature review in the Positioning Paper, provided the analytical focus for the second phase. This framework of principles and indicators of individual and community wellbeing was further developed and refined inclusive of Indigenous wellbeing in Table 2. As discussed earlier, these category systems represent a logical analysis of qualitative data into categories that emerge inductively from the research.

The research reviewed these wellbeing categories on the basis of the qualitative data obtained and analysed from fieldwork findings. At times, the relationship between category systems and indicators appears blurred. For the purposes of this research, category systems reflect the broad categories – social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic psycho-social, and spiritual – which contribute to individual, community and societal wellbeing and quality of life, while the indicators are the particular measurable elements that constitute each of these categories of wellbeing.

At times, the categories and indicators are interchangeable. Many of the indicators within these category systems are overlapping and interrelated; for example, while economic wellbeing is an independent category, the indicators of employment and access to economic infrastructure also contribute to social wellbeing. The category systems and indicators proposed here are based on discussions with Indigenous stakeholders and/or incorporate Indigenous views from the literature and studies regarding urban renewal.

The category systems and social indicators to assess the effects of urban renewal on Indigenous wellbeing were refined with regard to notions of wellbeing. As discussed earlier, overarching and incorporated into this model is a framework of human rights principles developed by Walker, Ballard and Taylor (2001) who argue that the framework of principles provides a set of guidelines to apply to all stages of developing, implementing and evaluating programs, policies and processes in Indigenous contexts.

The further development and operationalisation of this wellbeing framework, while exploratory, is a particular strength of this project for future housing policy. Within the context of this research, the framework is useful for guiding policies and practices to achieve and measure Indigenous wellbeing across the dimensions or categories identified in Table 2. These encompass and extend those identified in other contemporary studies on wellbeing frameworks (Trewin 2001) to consider Indigenous perspectives and experiences.

Table 2: Framework category systems and indicators of wellbeing

Wellbeing categories	Individual wellbeing		Community wellbeing	
	+ve indicators	-ve indicators	+ve indicators	-ve indicators
Economic wellbeing	Ability to meet cost of living Economic independence	Living in poverty Lack of low cost rental housing	Equal/just distribution of resources Equal access to services and funding	Lack of access to resources Lack of affordable housing
Physical wellbeing	Health Safe and secure housing	Overcrowding Poor housing conditions	Access to health services Safe, well lit streets and public places	
Social wellbeing	Access to family support	Crime	Social cohesion in response to state	High levels of housing vacancies,

Wellbeing categories	Individual wellbeing		Community wellbeing	
	+ve indicators	-ve indicators	+ve indicators	-ve indicators
	<p>Access to community health services</p> <p>Adequate economic infrastructure</p> <p>Education and training opportunities</p> <p>Employment</p> <p>Economic independence</p> <p>Housing</p> <p>Just provision of government welfare services and resources</p> <p>Conditions foster social capital transactions</p> <p>Building stronger communities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Knowledge and skills → Volunteering → Networks and partnerships → Community leadership → Local solutions to local problems <p>Community capacity in finding innovative responses to social issues</p>	<p>Vandalism</p> <p>Geographic and psychological dislocation from existing socio-cultural networks, family structures, neighbourhood locations and existing ties of education and employment</p>	<p>and local mechanisms of community guidance, governance and management and justice</p> <p>Existence of processes to facilitate and maximise</p> <p>Indigenous involvement in programs</p>	<p>High incidence of crime</p> <p>Low levels of collective esteem</p> <p>Lack of skills and confidence</p> <p>Low levels of participation</p> <p>Low levels of adult literacy</p>
<p>Emotional wellbeing</p> <p>Psycho-social or mental wellbeing</p> <p>Quality of life and spiritual wellbeing</p>	<p>Spiritual relations</p> <p>Self-value</p> <p>Social interaction</p> <p>Cultural inclusion</p> <p>Place bonding and attachment</p> <p>Social capital and sense of community and place</p>	<p>Dislocation</p> <p>Sense of loss of place</p> <p>Lack of ties with community</p> <p>Loneliness</p> <p>Depression</p>	<p>Social cohesion</p> <p>Willingness and capacity to engage in acts of reciprocity and sharing to build social capital</p>	<p>Widespread alienation, anomie</p> <p>Mental health</p> <p>Community disintegration</p> <p>Levels of suicide</p>

Wellbeing categories	Individual wellbeing		Community wellbeing	
	+ve indicators	-ve indicators	+ve indicators	-ve indicators
Cultural wellbeing	Quality of life and spiritual wellbeing, linked to social wellbeing Emotional bonding Attachment to place	Geographical and psychological dislocation from existing socio-cultural networks, family structures, neighbourhood Inability to carry out cultural practices	Strong notion of group/cultural identity Traditional and contemporary links to land recognised	Breakdown of cultural hierarchy
Societal wellbeing Social and political wellbeing	Individual and community relations Self-efficacy Self-expression Self-determination Culture and identity Participation Sense of control and choice	Pessimism about the ability of leadership to represent, leading to a sense of alienation and abandonment	Democracy and governance Indigenous rights and self-determination Partnership Recognition of Indigenous needs, interests and aspirations is evident in government policies and practices Dual accountability	Lack of Indigenous control over housing resources

4.3.1 The indicators framework

Trewin (2001) suggests that conceptual frameworks of wellbeing should be able to map the conceptual terrain, show relationships, identify gaps and classify counting units. He states that effective social indicators can be derived using families, households, transactions and events as units of measurement.

The ABS system of social statistics has identified a range of factors that contribute to social wellbeing. These include health, family, community, education and training, employment, economic independence, resources, housing, crime, justice and culture. Trewin distinguishes between individual factors that contribute to social wellbeing (including educational attainment, income and life transitions) and social factors (including social capital transactions, social change and economic wellbeing).

Consistent with these factors, Zubrick et al. (2000: 4) have established a set of indicators of social and family functioning (with specific attention to child health) to measure policy trends and changes in Australian community wellbeing. These indicators 'describe important aspects of Australia's social capital, and in doing so extend and balance the measures of economic capital that are routinely used to chart national progress and capacity'. Both Trewin and Zubrick et al. emphasise the importance of transactions or functions that create or increase social capital as crucial measures of social wellbeing.

Drawing on the ideas of both Trewin and Zubrick et al., this second phase of the research focuses on social, community and family transactions and functioning to develop wellbeing indicators that include Indigenous perspectives. This would allow the specific evaluation of the impact of urban renewal programs on Indigenous wellbeing. For this reason, stakeholders were asked about Indigenous participation and involvement in urban renewal and other local events, and the perceived level of cultural awareness and acceptance within the community.

In addition to the qualitative indicators, quantitative indicators used by ABS to measure changes in the community were used. In doing so, this revised indicators framework supplements and informs the quantitative data that measures demographic changes in the community (ABS 2002).

4.3.2 Social capital

This section discusses how social capital indicators align with the indicator framework developed by this research. While Zubrick et al. focus on the individual and family units to measure wellbeing, Trewin focuses on transactions and events to measure social capital at a community or societal level. These studies locate the processes that enhance social capital between individuals and within communities as crucial to building and sustaining stronger communities, and hence as key indicators of social wellbeing. One proposition of Spiller Gibbins Swan (2000) is that indicators that describe and measure social capital at a programmatic or societal level can help to inform and offset economic cost benefit analysis when evaluating urban renewal programs such as New Living. Spiller Gibbins Swan (2000) refer to the inadequacy of performance indicators which only measure a project's net present value (NPV) to determine economic efficiencies. They emphasise the importance of social indicators to provide additional information in assessing the distributional consequences and worth of a project to society.

It is precisely this additional information about the impacts of urban renewal projects for Indigenous people in relation to wider societal implications that is being sought in this study. Such information is essential to affirm that programs and strategies that alleviate existing levels of disadvantage and associated social costs need to be considered alongside economic efficiency measures and discursive practices. This approach is consistent with the emphasis on the triple bottom line by government agencies, such as DHW, when making policy decisions as it gives equal weight to economic, environmental and social concerns (Walker et al. 2002).

While this is a compelling argument to attempt to establish social capital indicators, there are nevertheless some problems in doing so. A number of studies have employed 'social capital' as a measure to assess the effects of specific strategies of urban renewal, whether relocation or in situ developments (Gauntlett et al. 2000). As the discussion below suggests, however, there are no clear connections. One significant issue is the development of demonstrable and realistic indicators of social capital. Even if there is agreement about the indicators to be utilised to usefully measure social wellbeing, it may be problematic to employ social capital indicators at a programmatic level. Given the competing and interconnectedness of local and global factors that impact on individual and community wellbeing, it may be difficult and unrealistic to attribute either the enhancement or decrease of social capital in a community to one particular program or set of strategies.

Despite the problematics surrounding social capital, the researchers agreed that, given its widespread usage, it was important to explore these issues to ascertain the usefulness of the concept in measuring aspects of social wellbeing in Indigenous contexts.

The second phase of 21 of the methodology to determine wellbeing indicators involved two things: firstly, identifying the presence of social capital indicators in the analysis of interviews with stakeholders and tenants in each of the six case study sites; and secondly, assessing the adequacy and relevance of these widely accepted indicators as a measure of Indigenous social wellbeing. Discussions pertaining to the fieldwork analysis can be found in the following chapters.

The social capital indicators examined within this second phase were drawn from local studies by Hillier et al. (2001) and Gauntlett et al. (2000), and a key Australian study by Cox (1995). With the exception of 'level of civil society', the indicators or measures of social capital discussed below are located within/across the appropriate wellbeing categories identified in Table 2. Hillier et al. (2001), for example, drawing on Gauntlett et

al. (2000), suggest that indicators of social capital can be either positive or negative and reside in the presence or absence of the following factors/measures:

- Level of economic capacity (economic wellbeing);
- Rates of crime (including vandalism) (social wellbeing);
- Rates of welfare dependency (economic wellbeing);
- Health outcomes (physical wellbeing);
- Patterns of employment/unemployment (economic wellbeing);
- Level of civil society (as defined in Cox's terms – this is a multi-factor indicator) (social/political wellbeing).

These measures are widely accepted, and information is collected in aggregated form and readily available through the ABS Census and other surveys. Their presence or absence across the economic, social and physical dimensions of wellbeing are also indicators of the existence and scope of social capital within a given community or population. Other studies (Gauntlett et al. 2000; Tonts et al. 2001) suggest that social capital is more the glue that binds or the processes that occur between individuals and groups and institutions, therefore we need to look for indicators that underpin and can measure these transactions and processes. Cox (1995), for instance, suggests that there are other elements which are specific indicators necessary for building stronger communities.

Drawing upon Cox (1995), Hillier et al. (2001) employ a number of indicators as positive measures of a strong, cohesive and functioning community. These include demonstrating the presence of:

- Knowledge and skills;
- Volunteering;
- Networks and partnerships;
- Community leadership;
- Local solutions to local problems;
- Community capacity in finding innovative responses to social issues.

It is proposed that these elements are both the means and ends of effective community participation processes. Given that a number of national and international studies have highlighted the importance of community participatory processes for effective urban renewal outcomes and community wellbeing, these elements are included in the indicators framework as a measure of community wellbeing. At the same time, knowledge and skills contribute to self-confidence and self-efficacy and the ability to be self-determining, so constitute indicators of individual wellbeing.

Hillier et al. (2001: 4) summarised six key aspects within the social capital framework developed by Cox (1995: 16-19):

- Trust: a reciprocal respect for each other shared by members of a society, that includes a positive regard for difference and a sense of mutuality;
- Co-operation: a willingness to be involved in shared enterprises that do not depend on an immediate and concrete equality of exchange but are based on a give-and-take in which reciprocation is achieved in a more complex way;
- Time: that the social world (including employment) is organised in such a way that people have the capacity to engage with their fellow citizens;
- Voluntarism: both the capacity and the willingness to be active in society of people's own volition (formally and informally);

- Community: the sense that the immediate society within which people live and work is something which they are part of;
- Democracy: that the social and political structures (at all levels) are based on the involvement of citizens in ways that incorporate all the above.

While this framework is widely applied in mainstream contexts, the analysis of Indigenous tenants' experiences in this research suggests that it may be culturally biased and therefore have less relevance as a framework for measuring the effect (either causal or co-relational) of New Living on Indigenous social wellbeing.

Although it is widely suggested that urban renewal projects have the potential to increase social capital (both through the process and as a goal or outcome), Wood (2002) questions the links automatically assumed between urban development, social capital and community sustainability. It is a relationship that requires confirmation through empirical research.

4.3.3 Place, identity and belonging

An important aspect of this research is an exploration of a sense of 'place' and how it is linked with identity and belonging, and the contribution it makes to individual, family and community wellbeing in Indigenous contexts. The second phase of the research sought to identify and measure the relevance and existence of these elements, based on fieldwork responses and other studies. As Table 2 reveals, current DHW New Living program indicators do not take elements of psycho-social or spiritual wellbeing into account in measuring community outcomes.

Discussions with housing professionals were undertaken to determine if the elements of the wellbeing indicators framework are considered by policy makers and developers engaged in urban renewal in WA. There is some evidence of DHW recognising the importance which people attach to place and sense of belonging in the planning and development of New Living sites. For example, a survey of media release statements for each project makes it clear that governments, joint venture partners (JVPs) and renewal professionals place great emphasis on the physical aspects of an area to engender a sense of belonging and community satisfaction. Urban renewal suburbs are often renamed and provided with a walled and treed 'entrance statement' which defines the community, creates a new 'sense of place' and instils a 'sense of belonging', ownership and community pride. Often this focus on the physical aspects is combined with attention to activities and processes to bring people together, to celebrate a sense of shared purpose and to create a sense of social cohesion and wellbeing (Van der Meer and Nichols 2003). These are positive aspects that can be observed, defined and affirmed by resident perceptions in determining and giving weight to their presence.

There are also negative aspects which impact adversely on individual, family and community psycho-social and emotional wellbeing. A few studies (Parry and Strommen 2001; Wood 2002) have highlighted concern for tenants who are relocated and experience a sense of dislocation – a loss of place and sense of belonging, and a break in community ties – and diminished social capital. An important aspect of this research has been to explore the experiences of relocated Indigenous tenants and contextualise this within the broader history of dislocation and disproportionate levels of disadvantage experienced by Indigenous people in relation to the wider community. As noted by Indigenous psychologist Pat Dudgeon (2000), Indigenous identity is linked to cultural heritage and country, cultural practices, and connections to their community and history. Dudgeon et al. (2002) claim that it is crucial that Indigenous people are given the opportunity to define their own sense of place (alluding to self-determination, self-definition and the sense of self-efficacy and control experienced (Bandura 1997)) as an important variable of wellbeing. Memmott (2000) emphasises the importance of traditional links with place or space (rather than structures) in creating culturally significant living areas among Indigenous Australians. His work highlights the enduring relationship many Indigenous groups maintain with their traditional land.

4.3.4 Indigenous self-determination and governance

The discussion shows the interrelationship between many of the indicators within the wellbeing categories being developed in this research. For instance, while capacity, skills and knowledge are elements of social capital, they are also essential prerequisites necessary to achieve self-determination and governance. There are two levels of indicators considered with respect to the latter. At an individual level, self-determination and self-governance refer to the conditions that foster characteristics such as self-efficacy and self-reliance which contribute to individual wellbeing (Bandura 1986, 1997). At a community or social level, issues of governance are about finding an appropriate balance between community rights to participation and governmental responsibility and responsible government, issues that are equally relevant for Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups.

Several studies (cited in Wood et al. 2002) caution against using notions of community building, social capital and community governance to justify placing all responsibility back onto individuals and communities. Indigenous leaders and community groups are critical of governments using superficial community development and participatory processes that allow them to engage in 'buck passing' and lip service (Wood 2002). Governments have a fundamental responsibility to secure individual rights to housing, health, education and employment to achieve overall community wellbeing. Article 11 of the United Nations Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognises 'the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for themselves and their family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions'. Governments have a responsibility to ensure that processes are in place with the necessary resources to facilitate community participation in determining appropriate and inclusive policies, programs and services in these areas. A report by the Council of Australian Governments (2002) acknowledges the need for more flexible regional specific programs to achieve Indigenous wellbeing.

Article 1 of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights asserts that 'All peoples have the right of self-determination'. An earlier study by the authors suggests that Indigenous participation in community governance is essential for the realisation of Indigenous self-determination and the achievement of culturally appropriate outcomes in housing in urban and regional contexts (Walker, Ballard and Taylor 2002: vii). As discussed earlier, the evidence of a recognition of and commitment to Indigenous self-determination and community governance are indicators of individual and community elements of social and political wellbeing.

According to the Australia Institute (2000), self-determination involves people or a community 'having a right and ability to determine its own priorities and design its own instruments of governance'. Drawing on this notion, Indigenous self-determination requires funding and partnership arrangements that recognise, facilitate and allow Indigenous governance, and enable Indigenous bodies to determine their own priorities and strategies. Indigenous self-determination requires a commitment to genuine partnership and dual accountability that 'acknowledges that Indigenous people have fundamental rights to have access to funds and services which can contribute to their social and economic wellbeing' (Walker et al. 2002: 27).

Consistent with this broader issue of governance, the research identified those processes that facilitate and maximise Indigenous involvement in all phases of the New Living planning, implementing and monitoring and evaluation cycle. Similarly, when measuring Indigenous self-determination, the researchers asked tenants whether they felt that they had control over the process, and whether their needs and interests were met throughout the process.

4.3.5 Participation and community involvement

The links between community participation, democratic decision-making processes and community building and community wellbeing are widely accepted (Stevenson 1998). Wood et al. (2002) also acknowledge a growing recognition that neither the state nor the

market can adequately or appropriately provide for disadvantaged communities without their active and continual involvement. Wood et al. (2002: v) claim that urban renewal is not a sustainable process without active community involvement. It is also recognised that consensus achieved through community participation generally reflects dominant discourses and practices which can overlook Indigenous tenant needs and concerns. As Stevenson (1998: 136) argues, neither the state nor its agencies should be regarded as 'a neutral forum to which a plurality of interests have equal access'. Bohl (2000: 773) is also sceptical of achieving genuine participation and decision making within 'very low income housing' projects. These concerns are supported by findings from a study of six urban/community renewal sites in New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria by Wood et al. (2002). Their study of community participation identified a low 'collective self-esteem' as a result of poverty, drugs, poor literacy and anxiety. They concluded that the combination of 'poverty, stigma and unfair treatment' poses significant barriers to community participation in urban renewal projects (Wood et al. 2002: 37).

The literature pertaining to urban renewal emphasises the importance of using appropriate developmental or 'community development' processes to achieve a sense of community (Ife 1995; Stringer 1997). Few studies provide any clear strategic direction forward, but there are a few examples of creative approaches in WA (Shelter WA 2000) where marginalised groups, including Indigenous groups, have been effectively engaged in community building processes, with highly successful outcomes. In particular, the cultural mapping by the Community Arts Network of WA employed in the New North, New Living project has proved effective in this regard. Cultural mapping entails identifying and documenting local cultural resources including tangibles (e.g. galleries, craft industries, distinctive landmarks, local events and industries) and intangibles (e.g. memories, personal histories, attitudes and values) (Commonwealth Department of Communication and the Arts (1994) cited in Kasat 2000: 33). Kasat outlines a two-pronged approach used with two distinct groups (youth and people with disabilities) in New North, New Living in order to:

- Increase participation, address the perceived lack of safety in the community, strengthen networks, engage these groups in creative activities, and raise awareness of issues affecting people with disabilities; and at the same time
- Form the basis of a participatory consultation strategy that would contribute to policy formulation.

This approach is based on the belief that:

an action based consultation method that is participative and engaging will allow for young people to explore issues in a creative manner, assisting young people in formulating their own solutions to the issue of safety, community participation and community ownership (Kasat 2000).

4.4 Demographic, social and economic indicators

There are a number of ABS Census characteristics which are included in the wellbeing framework to identify specific trends and changes for Indigenous people in comparison to the wider population. Demographic variables including marital status, number of dependents, Aboriginality and several characteristics known to indicate issues of significance were chosen to inform the analysis. The following were included as indicators in the social and economic categories within the wellbeing framework:

- Levels of disadvantage (across all social and economic indicators);
- Overcrowding (more than six people);
- Access to a motor vehicle;
- Work travel;
- Income;

- Tenure ;
- Rent costs;
- Length of time in present dwelling (housing stability).

These indicators are used to gauge the impact of key characteristics on the neighbourhood as a whole and to provide a broad picture of the positive and negative influences of urban renewal strategies on individual and community social and economic wellbeing.

4.5 Reviewing current New Living indicators

This section identifies existing New Living goals, performance indicators (including indicators of wellbeing) and intended program outcomes stated by DHW (see Table 2), and reviews the extent to which these align with the indicators developed in Table 1 to take account of Indigenous wellbeing. This process enabled the researchers to consider the appropriateness of existing DHW indicators to measure Indigenous wellbeing, in light of the revised wellbeing framework which incorporates Indigenous perspectives based on an analysis of fieldwork findings and further literature. It also provided a basis to identify additional indicators that better measure the effect of the New Living program on Indigenous and wider community wellbeing.

This methodological process confirmed the relevance, appropriateness and feasibility of the wellbeing framework for monitoring and evaluating the New Living program on a site-by-site basis. Fieldwork responses gathered from all stakeholders were analysed in accordance with the wellbeing categories/category systems (Table 2) to identify perspectives and experiences.

Based on urban renewal literature and studies by Hillier et al. (2001) and Gauntlett et al. (2000), particular questions were asked to consider the efficacy/relevance of social capital indicators (as discussed in Section 4.3.2) to measure the intended outcomes of the New Living goals, 'improving the social mix' and 'creating a satisfied community'.

Table 3: Existing and proposed New Living indicators and Indigenous wellbeing framework

New Living goals (DHW)	Existing performance indicators	Existing wellbeing measures	Intended outcomes	Proposed wellbeing indicators (including Indigenous)
Reduce public housing to between 10% and 20% ?? [elsewhere the target is given as 11% to 12%]	Specify level of reduction Specify economic demographics pre- and post-renewal (ABS Atlas)	Rents and purchase prices of house within affordable range for people on low to moderate income	Create sustainable communities	ECONOMIC Refer to social mix and community satisfaction below
Refurbish houses for sale	Specify number	Rising housing prices Local businesses rejuvenated		
Upgrade and refurbish public rental housing	Specify number of houses refurbished Level of occupancy pre- and post-renewal			

New Living goals (DHW)	Existing performance indicators	Existing wellbeing measures	Intended outcomes	Proposed wellbeing indicators (including Indigenous)
Reduce social stigma	Increased level of rental occupancy (or reduction in rental vacancies Increased level of purchase at specified prices Increase in property prices		Increase social capital Build and strengthen communities	SOCIAL Resident perceptions Community perceptions Number of houses purchased by Indigenous households Perceived sense of safety Increased level of activity on streets (walking dogs, jogging, kids playing etc.). Relationships between family, friends, work colleagues Social structures
Encourage sense of added security for residents by eliminating areas which provided venues for anti-social behaviour	Removal of anti-social venues (e.g. dark streets, drains, enclosed bus shelters) Increased street and park lighting Reduction in crimes (burglary, vandalism) Reduction in security call-outs	Lighting, security patrols, increase use of public spaces		
Improve the social mix	Specify social and economic demographics pre- and post-renewal (ABS Atlas)		Contribute to community wellbeing	Resident and relocated tenant perceptions Level of community involvement Perceived sense of community
Create a satisfied community	Lower turnover of rental properties Reduction in graffiti, vandalism etc. Reduction in vacancy rates Access to services, health, shopping, transport etc.	'Entrance statement' Estate name Rents and purchase prices of house within affordable range for people on low to moderate income Attractive landscaped environment Increase in local business Transport proximity Urban landscaping and beautification, e.g. trees and parks		EMOTIONAL Resident and relocated tenant perceptions Level of community involvement Perceived sense of community
				CULTURAL Indigenous names for specific/significant heritage sites

New Living goals (DHW)	Existing performance indicators	Existing wellbeing measures	Intended outcomes		Proposed wellbeing indicators (including Indigenous)
			Triple bottom line	SOCIAL/	Good governance Partnership Indigenous self-determination

The existing DHW performance indicators and social indicators only capture some of the elements of wellbeing listed in Table 2 and do not seem to include family and social functioning, identified by Trewin (2001) and Zubrick et al. (2001) as important measures of and crucial to social wellbeing. While DHW measures economic and community wellbeing, this does not extend to other categories such as emotional, spiritual and cultural wellbeing. Further, existing New Living categories/indicators do not adequately address developments at a local community or individual household level – an issue suggested by interviews with tenants and housing stakeholders (see following chapters). Nevertheless, individuals and families are important units of measure believed to ultimately impact upon a community’s social capital (Trewin 2001; Winter 2002; Zubrick et al. 2001) and can provide vital measures of program effectiveness. Discussions with Indigenous households identified very real and positive outcomes and overall satisfaction at an individual household level in each of these New Living sites. This highlights the potential for DHW to utilise the indicator framework to monitor program impacts upon Indigenous and community wellbeing.

Fieldwork findings (discussed in the following chapters) confirm that existing wellbeing indicators and measures are useful to gauge the extent of social capital for individuals, and within and between groups. For example, existing mainstream indicators of social capital to measure community and social wellbeing require evidence of all members of a community engaging in volunteering and reciprocity. Cox’s (1995) social capital measures can usefully inform a consolidated set of indicators to inform the analysis, especially in measuring community relations. For example, applying the indicators framework to measure the impact of New Living tenure diversification upon community relations means that evidence of the elements of trust, cooperation and voluntarism within Indigenous and non-Indigenous interactions and within and between groups in the community needs to be sought.

The concept of trust or ‘reciprocal respect for each other’, which includes a positive regard for difference and a sense of mutuality, was seemingly missing, as indicated by the experiences of Indigenous tenants and other stakeholders. Moreover, discussions about cooperation, reciprocity and voluntarism within the field suggest that Indigenous people were reluctant ‘to be involved in shared enterprises’ in the broader community because of lack of confidence and capacity, feelings of being marginalised or of being different, and other complex issues.

Because these social capital indicators reflect a particular set of values and cultural bias, it is questionable as to how adequate or useful they are as a measure of Indigenous community wellbeing. For example, they fail to capture legitimate and important transactions of volunteering and reciprocity that occur within Indigenous extended family and community but do not necessarily extend to support Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations. As a consequence, these intra-group and familial transactions may be overlooked when using current measures for determining the impact of the New Living program on Indigenous people. For instance, existing DHW measures do not necessarily consider how tenure diversification strategies, integral to the New Living goals of improving the social mix and the creation of a stronger, satisfied community, may erode or enhance social capital from an Indigenous perspective.

Other elements of Cox's social capital framework to measure the deeper, social and political components of community building and social cohesion that impact on community societal wellbeing include:

- Community: the sense of being a part of the immediate society within which people live and work;
- Time: the temporal and organisational capacity to engage with fellow citizens;
- Democracy: the active, productive and participatory involvement in the social and political structures (at all levels) of all citizens in ways that incorporate each of the six key elements.

These elements of social capital, while important measures of community wellbeing, fall short in capturing the critical social and political elements of Indigenous individual and community wellbeing. As several other studies have shown, the existence of political and social equality, partnership and self-determination are critical measures of Indigenous community wellbeing (Smith 2005), and the existence of a sense of self-efficacy, belongingness and acceptance are crucial indicators of individual wellbeing (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment and Youth Affairs 2001a, 2001b). The wellbeing framework developed in this research attempts to overcome any shortcomings with current measures of community wellbeing, including Cox's social capital framework, and provides a conceptual and analytical framework to assess the particular impact of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing.

5 ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE, PARTICIPATION AND CONTROL

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of issues of governance, consultation and participation to foreground the second research question: How effective and inclusive are current processes of governance, consultation, participation and implementation strategies related to the relocation of Indigenous people, choice of new community locations and their impacts on individual and collective wellbeing? It follows with analysis of perspectives of DHW stakeholders, tenants and other housing professionals in responses to the fieldwork questions.

A review of the policy influences in social housing reveals that the ideology of welfare provision which underpinned notions of social democracy has increasingly been eclipsed by the liberal ideology of economic rationalism, small government, individual accountability and self-responsibility (Jacobs and Arthurson 2003). This shift has been accompanied by discourses of governance and governmentality, with an emphasis on management, economic efficiency and accountability (Dean 1999) and, more recently, community partnership and sustainability (Wood et al. 2002). Attitudes and corresponding practices towards welfare have shifted focus to label the poor and unemployed as welfare dependent and to measure social wellbeing on the basis of economic independence.

As a consequence, service provision has increasingly become a targeted response for the most disadvantaged groups, rather than a more widespread universal strategy of governmental responsibility. It has been argued that, in the process, governments avoid scrutiny for their failure to provide economic wellbeing at an individual level via government assistance or at a societal level through the economic and employment infrastructure. While the shift in discourse is subtle, it is nevertheless destructive for the social wellbeing (including sense of self-efficacy, identity and self-worth) of disadvantaged groups. Jacob and Arthurson (2003) have discussed the implications of this in relation to housing management practices and responses to tenants charged with anti-social behaviour.

These studies confirm that governance has become an increasingly complex area for State Housing Authorities (SHAs) – balancing the rights of one group (home owners/ investors) along with those of another (tenants) who are often adversely affected by social and economic structural inequities. The analysis and findings of this research need to be read and understood within the context of balancing these competing claims. Applying the indicators framework to measure the possible implications of these shifts for Indigenous wellbeing requires consideration of issues of governance at the cultural interface (Walker et al. 2002). As outlined in Chapter 4, governance is an important indicator of wellbeing. This earlier study by the research team identified the need to ensure that Indigenous rights to self-determination and to equal partnership and control over services and programs that impact on Indigenous wellbeing.

Accordingly these elements are included in the indicators framework as critical to Indigenous social and political wellbeing. As the discussions in Chapter 4 suggest, they are interlinked with and have implications for community wellbeing and social capital and for individual self-efficacy.

5.2 Issues of governance

In applying the indicators framework to consider these aspects of governance, this research considered the extent to which appropriate structures to ensure Indigenous priorities, needs and interests are incorporated within local management practices and structures in New Living localities. DHW is one of many government agencies that utilise whole of government strategies and partnerships to improve client services and community outcomes. This research sought to find out whether the WA government's

urban renewal policy and practice provides the social and economic benefits/outcomes for Indigenous people to overcome existing disparities in wellbeing between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. To examine the alignment of DHW strategies and practices and the wellbeing indicators framework, DHW officers were asked questions about their governance and accountability processes and practices in meeting Indigenous needs and priorities. The research team were particularly interested in the basis/criteria used to operationalise tenure diversification, make determinations about existing tenancies, and allocation for Indigenous residents. In accordance with the methodology, DHW officers were asked:

- Whether Indigenous people are housed on a priority needs basis;
- Whether any whole of government mechanisms and measures are in place;
- What measures (if any) are in place to show that the quality of lives of residents (including Indigenous people) has improved through, for example:
 - Increased access to a range of essential services; and/or
 - Improved service delivery by DHW.

According to officers interviewed, the governance procedures for New Living are quite specific and differ in some ways from other redevelopment programs. While DHW's housing programs are based on the government's triple bottom line of economic, environmental and social goals, it seems that New Living policies and practice include both social justice and social control discourses. As one officer stated:

Because the New Living program is about refurbishment, it allows us the scope to be more flexible and considerate than redevelopment programs where we go in and demolish houses.

And as another stated:

I like this role because it enables us to be ethical in our approach with clients. After all, it is their home, they live in it – not ours – we just manage it. Although there are economic considerations, we can keep the client's wellbeing at the forefront of our operations.

Other relocation officers reiterated the importance of client wellbeing. Most DHW officers confirmed that it is departmental practice in New Living locations to attempt to meet Indigenous housing needs and priorities. One said that Indigenous clients were 'definitely regarded as requiring priority assistance and their cases treated on the basis of individual merit'.

One housing manager also stated that all staff undertake cross-cultural training to have a greater understanding of the difficulties facing Indigenous people and their diverse housing needs and aspirations. The manager emphasised the importance of this training for staff working in urban renewal.

Overall, the interviews and email responses from staff affirm DHW's commitment to culturally sensitive, client-centred governance. In contrast, 16 Indigenous tenants and several Indigenous stakeholders were critical of the department's practices. There were at least 26 negative comments regarding service delivery with respect to New Living.

Several housing professionals were highly critical of DHW's practices towards Indigenous tenants. One claimed that:

New Living is used to 'manage' some of the more difficult tenants through relocation to some out-of-the-way place.

Another alleged that urban renewal allows DHW to deal with anti-social tenants (many of whom are Indigenous) without risking potential political issues:

By talking up New Living, the department can move Aboriginal people out of these state housing areas without creating bad publicity.

In each of the six New Living sites, the research team heard stories of Indigenous people reportedly evicted or being threatened with eviction. Other Indigenous tenants, family members or Indigenous workers reported various incidents about Indigenous tenants who had been evicted. While these anecdotal accounts lack the reliability of other data sources, they are suggestive of the need for improved information collection about the local experiences of Indigenous households and for more formalised mechanisms to identify the incidence of cases of threatened or actual evictions.

According to one housing manager, eviction notices only ever happen 'as a last resort' and are the end result of several warnings over time. Another DHW officer stated that evictions of Indigenous families from New Living areas have generated negative perceptions of the program.

According to the Tenants Advice Service), it can be very difficult for Indigenous households to maintain street standards in the urban renewal areas:

Aboriginal families struggle to give matters, such as gardening or keeping the children's play area looking neat, priority in their already difficult lives. Once attention is drawn to them, however, checks will be run on their accounts and their 'history', formal inspections will be scheduled, requirements to complete rent rebate and verification of income forms imposed...

it can be more expedient to terminate a difficult tenancy than to address multiple issues such as provision of supports, repair costs, monitoring standards and accounts or progressing a transfer to more suitable accommodation (TAS 2003).

This is supported by media reports in various New Living localities that were critical of DHW operations. Headlines such as 'Tag team works to boost eviction clout' (Andrusiak 2003) and 'Tenants face eviction' (Touhey 2003) potentially generate and reinforce any negative perceptions. Discussions with Indigenous tenants, Indigenous health workers and housing professionals affirmed the existence of these negative perceptions. All DHW officers interviewed rejected the idea that the relocation scheme is used as a deliberate strategy to move anti-social tenants out of an area prior to New Living commencing.

5.3 The implementation process

An important aspect of the research involved identifying whether the implementation process takes account of the specific needs of Indigenous people when determining appropriate tenure options. According to DHW staff, all tenants are given the option of remaining in their existing property, or relocating to another house in the same area, an adjacent area or other area of their choice before renovations take place. Indigenous tenants are also informed about the range of purchase options available (Keystart, Goodstart and the Aboriginal Home Ownership Scheme) and given the option to buy their existing house or choose from a selection of houses in different suburbs. Those in properties that need substantial renovation are encouraged to relocate.

In the initial stages of development, the New Living site manager carries out all negotiations at the interface between tenants and DHW. Relocation officers notify individual clients in writing that their house is within an area identified for urban renewal and arrange to meet them within an appropriate timeframe to discuss the options available. These include:

- Assistance into home ownership, which includes buying their current property at reduced cost (providing it is not cited for demolition);
- Staying where they are (providing the house is not cited for demolition or sale);
- Relocation, with adequate options of locations and housing type. In cases where this is the most desired option, DHW offers incentives to encourage tenants to relocate.

These strategies of relocation and in situ placement are discussed below.

The majority of DHW officers interviewed emphasised that tenants are given considerable lead time (within reason) to make their decision. Most comments were similar to one officer's observation that:

tenants were generally pleased with the outcomes once they had time to take it all in and make a decision.

Eleven tenants also made statements that supported the need for urban renewal in the case study sites. In Golden Grove and Rangeway, Indigenous participants referred to the areas as 'the Bronx' and another described one of the areas as a 'community in crisis'. At least 18 tenants (including those who had relocated and those who remained in the area) welcomed the DHW intervention with the hope that it would have a positive impact on their everyday lives and wellbeing. While these findings are encouraging, they are based on a small sample and are not representative of all households in urban renewal areas who were transferred.

5.3.1 Community consultation and participation

Over the past decade there has been a resurgence of commitment to participatory processes in the public policy arena at all levels of government. The preliminary review for the Positioning Paper found that the majority of urban renewal programs in Australia have a statement of commitment to community participation and involvement linked with goals such as strengthening community or sustainable communities. There appear to be different understandings with respect to 'participation', 'consultation' and 'community involvement' reflected in the types of processes and structures established and the level of commitment and resources given to achieve these objectives. As Wood et al. (2002: 22) found, alongside the emphasis on improved 'asset performance' and 'stock management' to increase the social mix and diversity there has been a 'distinctive move towards increased levels of tenant and resident involvement in the renewal process'.

DHW staff in the six case study sites stated that the implementation process is designed to encourage community consultation and participation throughout all stages of the urban renewal program. The department emphasises the importance of community development processes and individual household involvement for the effective implementation of the project. Staff identified a number of participation strategies to inform local residents in suburbs intended for New Living initiatives.

At the commencement of each New Living project, local community action groups are encouraged to meet with DHW, private sector partners and local government representatives to discuss development issues. Tenants are informed of community meetings via local newspapers and letters.

One New Living officer described the consultation and participation process as empowering and effective. They stated that the focus of community meetings had changed significantly over time:

Initially, meetings had centred on security issues. A lot of concerns were voiced that the area would become a 'dumping ground' for DHW tenants with anti-social problems. Yes, you could read in inverted commas 'Aboriginal people'. Concerns were generally about how New Living would go ahead if nothing changed and the same problems continued to exist. Recently, however, the focus has shifted. Local residents have started to get interested in environmental and broader social issues in the community...The process has been very empowering – the focus is now very proactive whereas it used to be reactive – there has been a real shift in the community and the purpose of the community meetings.

While most officers were positive about the community participation process in general, some DHW personnel and one renewal partner expressed frustration and disappointment at the lack of Indigenous involvement:

Despite my best attempts, it is very difficult to get Aboriginal people to attend meetings or even come to the office to discuss their circumstances.

Only two DHW officers reported specific strategies to engage Indigenous people in formal consultation processes or to obtain their views informally:

We always let people know about meetings and dates through newsletters and the like. I know there are problems with this, like people don't always read the local paper or newsletters. Of course, people – especially Aboriginal people – can be reluctant to come along. It can be intimidating for them. They can be pretty angry too.

One officer put forward a different view:

People lose patience and don't want to listen to all that victim stuff. Urban renewal affects everyone and they can get a bit fed up having to focus on all the Aboriginal stuff. I actually ask people what they think about different things that are going on for them when I am seeing them about any matters. I write up comments...so that I can refer to a case study of a particular individual or event. I can show you here that I have approached everyone in [New Living site] to let them know what is going on and to encourage them to attend the local meetings.

The responses of some of the tenants and renewal professionals provided a different perspective. Several were critical of existing processes and the failure to actively engage Indigenous people in the consultation process. Research participants, including housing professionals, identified a range of external and individual factors that proved to be significant barriers to Indigenous community participation in New Living.

At least nine participants identified lack of trust and lack of confidence as key factors that inhibited Indigenous participation. Based on the elements listed in the wellbeing framework as indicators of community wellbeing (see Chapter 4), these observations seem to illustrate the lack of social capital in these areas. At least eight Indigenous tenants were highly critical of existing consultation and participation processes. Comments included:

- Community meetings are really just rubber-stamping venues and not open forums.
- These meetings are just an excuse to get on top of the anti-social behaviour in the neighbourhood.
- They are often disguised vigilante groups. It can be pretty scary and uncomfortable
- These so-called community meetings are really just racial hate forums. I went along to one meeting – but you can feel it. People don't really want Aboriginal people having a say.
- Tied to these perceptions, Indigenous tenants expressed feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness:
- There is nothing we can do to change anything. Homeswest are going to go ahead anyway. They already know what they want.

Discussions with renewal professionals suggested that there needs to be less formal and more culturally appropriate processes to enhance community participation, together with clear actions and outcomes to ensure resident and community involvement and to maintain their engagement and interest. As one housing professional stated:

People have to feel comfortable, they have to know what's going on, when things are going happen. They want to know how long until houses are going to be ready, how many houses are going to be kept in the area. They need to be able to have a say about parks, transport, safety – all those things that matter, that are really important to people.

There seems to be some contention between DHW staff and Indigenous tenants about the extent to which Indigenous people are encouraged to be involved in the consultation process. Tenants and housing professionals in Midvale, Coolbellup, Geraldton and Kalgoorlie questioned whether Indigenous people are gaining any of the benefits of renewal projects in these areas. Tenants reported they were not included in the

consultation process and expressed concern about how their specific and immediate needs and input into the future direction of the development in the area were being met:

We didn't even know there was a meeting. When I said that to that woman from the office, I was told we was sent a letter. Well, I didn't get one. I didn't get any apology either.

5.3.2 Government and Indigenous community partnerships

As discussed in Chapter 4, the development of equal partnerships between Indigenous community groups and government agencies is recognised as both a crucial mechanism to obtain Indigenous self-determination, autonomy and cultural integrity and a measure of their existence. These are included in the indicators framework in Table 2 as essential elements for Indigenous social and political wellbeing.

This research was particularly interested in the commitment and capacity of government and industry stakeholders to implement these principles in practice. A scan of the literature shows that SHAs in each state have entered into a range of partnership arrangements in connection with urban renewal. In WA, for example, partnerships include private industry JVPs, as well as memorandums of understanding between industry and local government, and interdepartmental whole of government arrangements pertaining to redevelopment and urban renewal. There are similar arrangements in other states, although Wood et al. (2002: 35) make the point that only New South Wales and Queensland include local communities in their partnerships.

In addition, 19 DHW and local government officers involved with New Living across the six sites were asked about partnerships between government and Indigenous groups. At the time of writing, there was little evidence in WA of memorandums of understanding or partnership agreements between JVPs and Indigenous housing bodies to ensure that Indigenous priorities and interests are taken into account in New Living planning.

Participant responses provided very few examples where partnerships between government and Indigenous groups have been established. Both the Midvale and Kalgoorlie projects provide good examples of positive partnerships in urban renewal sites between state and local governments, and between local government and Indigenous groups or organisations. Some respondents were somewhat sceptical about the effectiveness of these arrangements. Others suggested that there ought to be more formalised processes to establish partnerships.

One DHW officer noted:

Both types of partnership 'value add' to the sustainability of the projects through both local government knowledge of the area and the injection of support or additional resources.

Given the widespread recognition of the need to establish partnerships between governments and Indigenous community groups to overcome Indigenous disadvantage (Council of Australian Governments 2002), this highlights the need for state and local government agencies to develop strategies to establish effective and sustainable partnerships with Indigenous communities.

5.3.3 Client relations

The findings show that client relations were a critical aspect of DHW service delivery that can impact either positively or negatively on Indigenous wellbeing. Interviews with 27 tenants confirmed the importance of establishing positive relationships between tenants and DHW to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes. For example, tenants who said that they had a good relationship with their DHW property manager and/or relocation officer also stated that they had been well informed about their housing options and able to obtain their stated preference.

Nine of the tenants believed that they had very little choice regarding their options for relocation. Most attributed their lack of knowledge about their rights and their options to

not having a good relationship with their property manager. According to housing professionals interviewed, such tenants were usually unaware of their rights, often felt very disempowered and therefore were less likely to feel they could ask questions about their options and more likely to accept a rental property in an area they did not choose.

Four housing professionals also referred to instances of being asked to assist Indigenous tenants who claimed that they had been pressured to relocate. This highlights the importance of developing clear protocols to inform practice as well as establishing good client relations to ensure tenants rights and options are maintained. Both housing professionals and DHW staff suggested that information pamphlets to inform Indigenous tenants about the New Living program and their rights and options with respect to rental and purchase would ensure that all had access to the same information. This would overcome the disparity in client information.

The following case studies reveal the complex, interconnected and at times contradictory program elements that contribute both positively and negatively to different aspects of Indigenous wellbeing.

Case study 1

One household comprising the mother, father and four children were living in a two-bedroom house in one of the New Living sites prior to relocating.

They stated that they had wanted to remain in the area because of their children's schooling and health needs. They had requested a larger house because of overcrowding and reportedly were told that if they wanted to improve their living conditions in the near future they would need to move to another area.

They finally agreed to move to a suburb eight kilometres further away from existing amenities. Both the mother and father said that as a direct result of moving they had experienced additional economic hardship, considerable stress, alienation and a sense of loss of cultural recognition because they did not have any friends or relations in the new area.

Five tenants were quite critical of DHW officers with respect to their own or other family members' experiences of New Living. They used words such as 'heavy handed', 'uncaring', 'quite threatening', 'pressured' and 'outright coercion' to describe these experiences. At least one tenant in each site described their own or someone else's experiences of more frequent and increased levels of pressure and surveillance since the New Living program commenced. One housing professional also claimed that the way some departmental staff implemented the 'tenant liability' policy and debt reclaiming practices were perceived as 'coercive' and threatening by some Indigenous tenants. The following case study describes one tenant's account of living with threats of eviction.

Case study 2

Another Indigenous household comprising a single mother and her three children renting a house in a regional New Living site claimed that her family had been subjected to ongoing pressure and threats of being evicted on a number of occasions.

The tenant stated that her family had lived in the house for several years without any problems before the area was identified for urban renewal. At that point she received a letter warning of eviction because of overdue rent. She explained that had commenced a new job and her salary was paid into her bank account two days after the due date for rent. Because of her situation, the tenant found it difficult to 'save enough money to get ahead of herself'. She reported that she had explained her situation to the housing manager and asked if it could be noted on her file, but was told that this was not possible. She received further warning letters and two visits from the department because of complaints by neighbours, and was told that she could no longer keep her pets at the house. She felt she was under constant surveillance and was highly stressed. She described the manager's approach as 'hostile, racist and insensitive'.

By the time of the interview, the tenant had received a letter from the New Living officer requesting a meeting. According to the tenant, the officer outlined a range of options, including purchasing the property she was in or another house in the same locality. The tenant stated that she could see that she was going to be better off purchasing her own home.

The case study signals the need to ensure that the New Living program does not serve as a catalyst for the possible eviction of vulnerable and low income households. It is also suggestive of the potential positive impacts upon the economic and social wellbeing of Indigenous households who might not otherwise have the opportunity to purchase their own home.

The other key point revealed by the case study is the role played by DHW staff in ensuring the best outcomes are achieved. Based on the discussions with tenants and housing stakeholders, it seems that DHW workers at the 'coal face' can have a significant impact (positive or negative) on the relocation process. According to one tenant:

She did everything she could to make sure we got a good house in an area we were happy with. You could tell she was really, you know, interested in us. She treated us like we mattered.

And as one housing stakeholder observed:

It's okay if they [housing officers] care about people – all people – but often they just think they have to get someone located somewhere with the line of least resistance.

These comments highlight the importance of individual attributes of DHW employees and the need for selection processes and cross-cultural training to ensure they have an understanding and respect for Indigenous issues, values, needs and aspirations.

5.3.4 Tenant placement procedures

An important question in the field research related to the processes for the placement of tenants relocating from and moving into New Living localities. Information from Indigenous tenants in Rangeway, Golden Grove and Midvale and events in a redevelopment area close by Coolbellup show that existing processes can sometimes inadvertently place feuding groups together, generating actual and perceived increases in violence, anti-social behaviour and crime.

New Living strategies and practices may result in unintended outcomes and contradict the stated program goals. As the examples below illustrate, tenure diversification strategies may have resulted in some instances of Indigenous family feuding and increased incidents of violence and anti-social behaviour. This in turn can lead to

breakdown in community relations, increased feelings of marginalisation and alienation among Indigenous residents, and increased fear and prejudice within the wider community. Based on interviews with Indigenous health workers and housing officers in various New Living sites, there are several apparent reasons for this:

- The failure by DHW to recognise the ongoing persistence of the Indigenous cultural practice of feuding;
- The lack of screening procedures in DHW;
- The lack of liaison by DHW staff with appropriate Indigenous agencies and workers which would help to avoid placing feuding families together.

These same Indigenous fieldwork participants claim that the ensuing situations that have developed in these localities have had a negative effect upon the social and emotional wellbeing of individual families and a significant majority of Indigenous and non-Indigenous members of the communities.

In the first example, to illustrate their concerns, housing professionals in Geraldton drove two of the researchers to a street on the edge of Rangeway where the New Living project had commenced. One researcher commented that the street looked 'more like a war zone than a neighbourhood', with three houses (apparently DHW stock) in one street with broken windows. The two housing professionals explained that this destruction had occurred when DHW relocated an Indigenous family from a small town 200 kilometres east of Geraldton to Rangeway. Allegedly, this reignited a feud with another family from the same town who had been relocated previously by the same DHW office. The first relocation into the New Living site had taken place at the request of the family so that they could escape the feuding.

The housing professionals explained that both families were still largely adhering to traditional lifestyles and practices. Feuding and payback are a part of that. They described how this incident of feuding had created an atmosphere of fear for Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents in the surrounding neighbourhood and reinforced stereotypes among the wider population in Geraldton that Indigenous people were not good tenants.

In a second example, residents in the redevelopment area adjacent to Coolbellup stated that they had purchased DHW land under the redevelopment strategy some four years earlier and had felt very positive about the social mix and social tenure strategies. One young couple stated that the DHW initiatives had given them the opportunity to purchase their own home which they otherwise could not have afforded. However, they were critical of recent tenant placements, perceiving these as having an extremely negative impact on their sense of security and social and emotional wellbeing. Another resident stated that because of the arguments and level of domestic violence going on:

I felt so unsafe I was unable to stay in the house alone at night. I had to go over to my mum's a couple of nights when my husband was away.

There was also concern that the situation would impact upon economic wellbeing by keeping prices depressed in their area:

I can't see us being able to send our kids to the local school. Even the principal is at wit's end. I know I risk sounding racist but – well – you owe your own kids more than that. I want [my child] to feel safe when he goes to school.

It was reported that the situation continued to escalate over the next four months because of a long-standing family feud which resulted in an attempted 'drive by' shooting and violent street fighting. This led to a community meeting with the minister and DHW representatives. Local residents were blaming the situation on a 'flow-over' from the New Living program in Coolbellup. According to DHW staff and local interviewees, there was no link between the New Living project and the conflict, but close proximity of the New Living area to the trouble had reinforced widely held perceptions that DHW is moving 'unwanted' tenants into adjacent areas. According to DHW staff, they had:

no way of knowing that someone was about to get out of prison or that they had been feuding with young blokes from another family.

5.3.5 Summary

Feedback from tenants and other stakeholders highlights concerns about mixed tenure and social mix strategies that may contribute to high numbers of complaints about anti-social behaviour. The findings suggest that inappropriate tenant placements can:

- Negatively impact upon the wellbeing of Indigenous families involved;
- Exacerbate already fragile race relations, with potentially detrimental effects upon both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, as the incident above reveals.

Several housing professionals claimed that the New Living program has potential to have a positive impact upon Indigenous and non-Indigenous community wellbeing, provided:

- Appropriate placement processes and adequate provisions are established;
- Genuine choices are given.

The above discussion is suggestive of the need for DHW to establish:

- More sensitive processes to enable people to identify particular family groups that need to be kept apart in their housing placement;
- Increased liaison with Indigenous agencies and workers;
- A comprehensive and ongoing whole of government commitment to community development processes to address the more serious and embedded social problems that exceed the capacity of the New Living urban renewal program.

These findings are supported by other AHURI research (Jacobs and Arthurson 2003) which examined anti-social behaviour interventions in urban renewal localities in Tasmania and South Australia and identified the need for sensitive placement strategies.

6 NEW LIVING GOALS, STRATEGIES AND INDIGENOUS WELLBEING

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in the Positioning Paper, the rationale for urban renewal is based on assumptions concerning the connections between creating a better social mix, social capital, community development and community sustainability. These theoretical assumptions underpinning urban renewal strategies and the claims of enhancing community wellbeing have been subject to criticism. The New Living program has been criticised for its social engineering approach with its strong emphasis on creating a 'better/balanced social mix' through 'mixed tenure' and the reduction of social housing (Hillier et al. 2001; Shelter WA 2003). As Randolph (2000: 9) observes, this is:

based on a core presumption – that high concentrations of public housing are 'bad', that sales of property, after suitable refurbishment are 'good', and that only by reducing the concentrations of public tenure can 'successful', 'sustainable' and 'balanced' communities be produced.

The findings of this research substantiate other studies (Day 1999; Hillier et al. 2001) that suggest that, in some New Living areas, the notion of better social mix has created problematic intersections of age and cultural groupings, leading to volatile or inappropriate outcomes in some instances.

6.2 Relocation

Relocation is a key strategy employed in the majority of localities. All DHW managers and relocation officers interviewed claimed that client preferences are generally met wherever possible. All DHW housing officers stated that existing New Living tenure diversification policies and practices are sufficiently flexible to meet individual household needs and preferences, and that every attempt was made to meet requests for larger or refurbished housing.

DHW administrative records that were available confirmed that most relocated Indigenous tenants had requested both the transfer and the locality for reasons which included:

- To be closer to family networks;
- To improve access to school and/or health amenities;
- To move into something newer and bigger;
- To 'make a new start' by escaping family feuding or peer influences (involving drinking or drug misuse).

Some managers had kept detailed records of all client transactions and were able to identify Indigenous clients, their situation, and reasons for relocation, locality, their housing requests and the outcomes. Where this information was obtained, it supported their assertion that the majority of tenants in these sites appear to have benefited from the relocation process. For example, when New Living commenced in Coolbellup, there were 45 Indigenous households in the area. According to DHW information, as at January 2004 there were still 22 identified Indigenous households living there, although five of these were awaiting transfer to other requested locations. Of the households that requested to remain in the area, nine had moved into larger refurbished homes and, according to DHW staff, were very satisfied.

Some 19 Indigenous households had chosen to move to locations in country and metropolitan areas to be closer to family and specific schools, two had asked to leave the area due to domestic violence or family feuding, five had moved into larger homes to meet extended family needs, and two had reportedly moved because a family member had died in the house.

There are two points worth noting. Firstly, the data only indicates that the households obtained the option of their choice, and does not report on client satisfaction with the outcomes. This shows the need for formalised follow-up mechanisms. Secondly, the information available suggests that some Indigenous tenants chose to move away from their family or peer groups in order to secure their safety and/or improve their housing to increase their individual social, emotional and physical wellbeing. Others availed themselves of the opportunity to move closer to families or specific services.

The complexity and diversity of issues involved in meeting Indigenous family and community needs and aspirations highlight the difficulties in making assumptions about the potential positive and negative effects of tenure diversification strategies upon Indigenous social, emotional and economic wellbeing. It also cautions against making generalisations about Indigenous family and community needs and aspirations that could lead to erroneous or limiting policies and practices in the future. At the same time, it reinforces the worth/strength of developing and utilising a set of indicators in order to assess the impacts of these strategies upon Indigenous and community wellbeing.

The broader picture contrasts with previous WA research (Hillier et al. 2001; TAS 2003) which suggests that relocation can cause undue stress and grief for Indigenous families. Although the researchers had difficulty contacting relocated tenants, several housing stakeholders reported incidents where Indigenous tenants were seemingly negatively affected through the relocation process. Tenant advisory staff stated that the lack of choice of localities left some tenants who wanted to move feeling disempowered by the process (TAS 2003).

Stakeholders involved in housing and social services cited a few instances of Indigenous households being relocated some 100 kilometres away from their place of belonging and familial networks. They described instances of families experiencing considerable distress when isolated from friends and familiar services. While it was not possible to confirm these instances or interview these tenants to obtain their views, tenant advisory staff expressed concerns that relocation practices may inadvertently have weakened Indigenous community links, diminished social capital and created a range of other negative consequences. Examples were also given where relocated Indigenous tenants had subsequently returned to the area to live with their extended family or in public parks. Such an outcome would place the family at risk of eviction for overcrowding and potentially lead to police intervention.

The option of relocation offered, as a means to address one set of issues such as overcrowding, may unintentionally result in unforeseen problems that still impact negatively on a family's physical health and economic wellbeing. An interview with an Indigenous household that had 'successfully' relocated according to DHW illustrates this point. The family, comprising a husband and wife, their four children and her elderly parents, had moved into a large house in an outer suburb to meet their needs. Shortly after moving, one child began to suffer increased asthma attacks from the apparent stress of the change. Being situated at a considerable distance from the public hospital resulted in several taxi trips to the hospital emergency department at great expense. The family were unemployed and unaware as to whether they were eligible for any special benefits. They were obviously worried and distressed during the interview. When we related this story in an interview with the relevant housing manager, they were genuinely concerned. The manager had assumed that clients would contact the office if they were experiencing any difficulties, and agreed that it would be useful to have a formalised follow-up procedure to identify such cases.

While responses from DHW housing managers and relocation officers confirm that they do attempt to 'prioritise tenant needs within a broader context', it is not always possible to provide housing options that meet health and employment requirements and cultural affiliations. One officer agreed that this situation has led to unforeseen or unavoidable problems, as the case studies reveal. Citing similar experiences, the Tenants Advice Service (TAS 2003) suggests that 'Homeswest's eligibility policy and assessment practices are indirectly discriminatory against Aboriginal applicants'.

Tenants and housing professionals suggested that there is a need for comprehensive coverage of issues at the initial interview stage to enable officers to identify possible problems and explore options to satisfy both the department's and the client's requirements. A paper by the Tenants Advice Service (TAS 2003) proposes a range of questions for both tenants and DHW housing professionals to consider as part of their placement interview process, to ensure that tenants are able to make informed decisions and to avoid the likelihood of placements being made with adverse effects.

6.2.1 Effectiveness of strategies to reduce crime

New Living upgrades of older public housing estates include refurbishment of dwellings, redesigning parks, upgrading lighting and using Safe City designs to assist in reducing crime and making residents feel safer (<http://www.aic.gov.au/avpa/2003.html>). According to local newspaper reports and DHW information brochures, during the research period the majority of urban renewal areas had registered decreased crime statistics. For example, a Landstart publication *Transforming Communities, Changing Lives* (DHW 2003) states that New Living has revitalised whole communities throughout WA. It claims that the program has been directly responsible for a reduction in crime in many project areas and a greater sense of security amongst residents. According to the publication:

Crime in Lockridge dropped an incredible 55% in the first three years of the project;

Criminal offences in more recent projects are showing a 50% reduction in just one year.

Further, it states that the development and wellbeing of the community is a key aspect of New Living.

However, the fieldwork revealed that the reported reduction in crime rates did not accord with the perceptions of tenants or housing professionals. Indigenous tenants in two sites claimed that there had been an increase in crime since New Living commenced. One stated that:

There has been an increase in house break-ins due to new people in the area not having a sense of community.

This tenant also spoke of more crime on the railways. A tenant in another site claimed there had been an increase in vandalism and solvent abuse in surrounding streets. Both said that there was no respect among Indigenous youth for older people or families, with no-one prepared to keep them in check. Another Indigenous tenant stated:

There is considerable fighting between groups. I have felt much less secure since the influx of new families into the area.

Overall, a number of tenants and Indigenous housing workers expressed concerns that New Living relocation practices could increase the likelihood of intra-racial and inter-family feuding and lead to increased crime.

A housing professional from the same area made the following observation when asked whether there had been an increase in crime and why:

The main problem is that these new people are not part of the wider Indigenous network to keep them in line.

Another stated that

Midvale has the worst aspects of practices that have been criticised as 'clumping and dumping' and making slumlords.

6.3 New Living in situ

Several studies critical of relocation strategies have emphasised the positive aspects of renewal in situ maintaining people's sense of community belonging and connection with place. Earlier research (Parry and Strommen 2001) found that the majority of tenants in Langford and Lockridge wanted to remain there. The research identified that the majority of tenants in both localities had either remained in their own suburb or been relocated

within five kilometres (Parry and Strommen 2001: 11). They concluded that the impact of New Living on Indigenous households was relatively minimal and no greater than for the wider population.

However, the Census analysis in this research (Chapter 4) shows that both the level of public housing and the number of Indigenous people as a proportion of the population had declined in Langford, suggesting that the level of 'migration of Indigenous tenants' was higher than implied in their research. A similar decrease in Indigenous households is also evident in Coolbellup, as shown in **Figure 3**, Appendix 3.

Midvale appears to be the exception, with a higher percentage of Indigenous people remaining in the area as well as a considerably large number moving in, but interviews suggest that families remaining in the area are not necessarily happy about the changes that have occurred since New Living commenced. As noted previously, some spoke of higher crime activity, a breakdown in their sense of safety and the loss of community.

The majority of Indigenous tenants in the six research localities who remained in situ stated that the home improvements had made a positive impact upon their families' general health. Their perspective was supported by statements from Indigenous health workers. However, a small number of senior Indigenous tenants who remained in the area stated that they felt less safe and more anxious due to the significant change in tenants (the number of youth) and loss of sense of community. This was a recurrent theme among senior tenants in situ, highlighting the need to consider the familial and demographic suitability of placements in areas where a large percentage of seniors live alone among existing tenants.

6.3.1 Increasing home ownership

Several DHW documents state that increasing home ownership is being strongly encouraged among existing residents to achieve public housing reduction in New Living sites (for example, DHW n.d., 2003b). There are different degrees of success with this strategy. According to interviews with stakeholders, these variations are due to a range of factors including the affordability of housing, the emphasis being placed on in situ or relocation by DHW officers, and the information regarding options given to tenants during their initial contact and subsequent interviews.

Golden Grove provides one of the clearest examples of in situ strategies where the focus is on changing the nature of the tenure rather than the social mix. Affordable refurbished housing with attractive purchasing packages are being offered to all tenants. Golden Grove has a very high percentage of Indigenous residents and a high percentage of low cost housing (approx \$79,000) compared with other localities. While many Indigenous households are in receipt of welfare assistance, home prices and loan options (no deposit and Homeswest partnerships) may assist them to purchase their own home. At least four of the 14 properties sold in Golden Grove since November 2003 were purchased by Indigenous households. According to one Indigenous tenant who is purchasing their own home in the area:

I think this Homeswest strategy is pretty good really. It's good that we are getting a chance to buy something. I didn't think I'd ever have my own place, bringing up kids on my own...I have gone from the constant threat of eviction to buying my own home. I am one of the fortunate ones...I have a full-time job now and I am getting paid good money. I don't know what would have happened to us if I couldn't buy my place.

Despite the focus on home purchase opportunities for Indigenous people, local health workers still expressed concerns that some would not have the ability or credit history to do so and would continue to live under pressure of eviction.

A ministerial media release stated that Golden Grove looks 'set to become a successful suburb in real estate investment terms in the near future' (DHW 2003a). While this will benefit those people who can afford to buy now, TAS, Shelter WA and Indigenous health workers and housing officers continue to express concerns that the gap will remain and

even continue to widen for disadvantaged groups, especially for Indigenous tenants. One local health worker observed:

The prices are going hike. It will still be a case of the haves and the have-nots.

As with other New Living developments, Shelter WA have raised concerns that:

those people that do not feel they can afford to buy now are unlikely to be able to in the future unless their situation changes.

According to DHW staff in Kalgoorlie, this situation is not going to be a problem:

Tenants have been given public reassurance that no household will be forced to move, although those that choose to transfer will also receive attractive relocation benefits.

In contrast to Golden Grove, and compared with the price increases in other New Living localities, real estate prices have increased significantly in Coolbellup. In January 2004, only one Indigenous household had purchased their property, although several expressed a desire to do so. While Coolbellup is also encouraging people to purchase their houses as a means to reduce public housing, according to several Indigenous tenants, Indigenous people are encouraged to relocate rather than stay in the area. One Indigenous tenant stated:

They want to make Coobie too flash for blacks, they ask us if we want to move into a 'bigger, better' house out in the sticks – in Yangebup or somewhere. They need us to move so they that people will buy the houses they've already done up. No-one wants to buy in a street with blackfellas.

TAS and Shelter WA staff have also expressed concerns that the goal of increasing home ownership may inadvertently further decrease opportunities for home ownership for Indigenous households who wish to stay in their local areas.

6.4 The effect of New Living strategies on Indigenous wellbeing

The framework of wellbeing Indicators developed in Chapter 4 provided the basis to structure questions for the fieldwork and to guide the subsequent analysis about New Living goals, strategies and processes. Drawing on information sought from specific stakeholders, this chapter considers the effects of New Living strategies on Indigenous wellbeing. This is a complex area. The fieldwork interviews confirm that specific New Living goals, strategies and outcomes have contributed both positively and negatively to Indigenous wellbeing at an individual household level. Further, there are contradictory and unintended effects of New Living strategies and processes in achieving the broader intended outcomes at a community and societal level. A detailed analysis of stakeholder perceptions and experiences of these strategies is discussed below in accordance with the framework of wellbeing indicators. Because there are other associated factors and government policy programs and interventions, it is difficult to make definitive statements regarding the impact of New Living on community wellbeing for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents in urban renewal areas.

Indigenous respondents (including existing and new residents and relocated tenants) were asked how the New Living project has impacted (positively or negatively) upon the social, cultural, emotional, physical and economic wellbeing of themselves and/or their family units. Questions focused on tenant satisfaction, their experiences and issues related to health, access to transport and services, and perceptions of the physical and social aspects of their locality. Tenants were also invited to discuss other issues and to suggest further contacts. In order to determine how different New Living strategies influence Indigenous wellbeing, responses were collated and analysed for each tenure type. Where relevant, the findings were discussed with regard to research findings from other studies in these New Living sites.

6.4.1 Social wellbeing

Other research on New Living in Midvale (Van der Meer and Nichols 2003) suggests that, irrespective of whether tenants remain in situ or relocate, DHW tenant placement policies and practices have overlooked the importance of family and kinship networks in Indigenous households. The cultural significance of the long-standing practice of family avoidance and feud conflict resolution is seldom acknowledged. Housing professionals have documented instances where failure to take Indigenous values and practices into account has led to inappropriate placements, with negative effects when new tenants move into the area. This signals the need for more sensitive placement practices.

Discussion with DHW officers confirmed that the majority of relocations were definite attempts to provide bigger and better accommodation closer to family and specific services deemed a priority by the client.

Community housing and TAS staff presented a different picture, alluding to other studies of New Living sites (for example, Hillier et al. 2001; TAS 2003). Based on these reports, accounts of unsuccessful relocations (although not quantifiable) appear to be relatively frequent. These include tenants returning to live with family, subsequent evictions after 'getting in with the wrong crowd', becoming depressed, and being unable to continue studies or part-time work. All these factors impact negatively on individual wellbeing and the links with social capital and strengthening community.

These findings reinforce the need to establish monitoring mechanisms to enable formative, ongoing and summative evaluations of New Living projects on a site-by-site basis (as discussed in Chapter 5). This would require data collection of information to gauge the effects on individual and community wellbeing and on particular population groups, for example, the elderly, youth, Indigenous.

6.4.2 Cultural wellbeing

Interviews were held with DHW, local government and JVP stakeholders to ascertain the impact of New Living on cultural elements of Indigenous wellbeing. They were asked whether existing guidelines and/or practices acknowledge, recognise, promote or enable Indigenous cultural practices, diverse needs and aspirations, associations with the land and so on. Local government officers were also asked about specific initiatives to recognise and address key issues concerning Indigenous people in their area. Responses to email questionnaires and interviews in each area identified strategies considered to contribute to Indigenous cultural wellbeing through the recognition of general protocols and/or significant sites in the surrounding locality.

Indigenous stakeholders, including tenants and workers in local Indigenous organisations, were asked whether inclusive practices were in place that recognised Indigenous culture or if there were any measurable or perceived changes in their own and others' regard for their cultural wellbeing.

The Kalgoorlie case study site provides an example of good practice in establishing protocols and practices connecting whole of government agreements with Indigenous representation and control through the Reconciliation Committee. Carey Park resonates with a more explicit display of Indigenous culture since New Living commenced. While the inclusion of Indigenous names or art at the entrance to the site or its surrounds was regarded by some tenants as 'giving them pride' and 'identity', others described these attempts as 'tokenistic', making no change to their everyday wellbeing.

Responses were less favourable in the metropolitan areas. Tenants in Coolbellup suggest that very few initiatives acknowledge Indigenous culture, even though there are at least 16 Aboriginal campsites identified throughout the surrounding areas of Cockburn, on the fringes of North Lake and Bibra Lake. Questions were asked as to how the city of Cockburn manages the sites, whether they have Aboriginal heritage significance and whether they are significant to the local Indigenous population. We were told that local families have been involved in identifying and naming sites in surrounding localities.

The research team saw very little evidence of Indigenous culture when they drove around Coolbellup and visited the local school. One Indigenous participant referred us to a recent 'photo survey' undertaken by the local community association to promote and register community participation as part of the Cockburn Community Development Strategy. The photo survey was intended to represent a range of interest groups and includes youth, sporting groups, seniors and Maori people. However, Indigenous people are not represented at all. The tenant was openly frustrated by this:

It is disgraceful to make claims about community and culture and then ignore us Noongyars. We were here – this was our land around here – but we were not even consulted about what should be happening. Why am I not surprised?

This can be seen as an example where local government practices not only foster perceptions of exclusion and alienation among Indigenous people, but fail to include Indigenous perspectives, needs and priorities within community planning and development. It could be read as a significant cultural oversight, leaving Indigenous people feeling invisible and disregarded, and highlights the importance of putting strategies in place to encourage Indigenous participation at all levels of community. On a positive note, the city of Cockburn has since enlisted the involvement of an Indigenous advisory group to provide input into regional planning which will encompass Coolbellup.

6.4.3 Community involvement and wellbeing

Information was sought from all stakeholders regarding processes and structures for community participation and involvement in all phases of the project. Local government initiatives to include Indigenous people were identified and compared with the experiences and perspective of Indigenous tenants. Responses showed that they were not always aware of the existence of protocols such as those discussed earlier, nor did they regard themselves as recipients of these.

Strategies to meet Indigenous needs and aspirations

The research revealed a few examples where strategies had been developed by local government in partnership with DHW to meet the specific needs and aspirations of Indigenous people. These strategies generally extend beyond, but include, New Living projects. For example, a representative for the city of Kalgoorlie-Boulder confirmed a commitment to address Indigenous issues across the whole community/city rather than focus specifically on the New Living project area. While there is a higher proportion of Indigenous people living in Golden Grove, the strategies are targeted at all Indigenous people and the wider community.

These strategies include the establishment of a Reconciliation Committee to make recommendations to council regarding matters that affect Indigenous people. The committee comprises six voting members, an Indigenous chair and deputy chair, and representatives of government organisations and key stakeholders have non-voting membership. The committee of six voting members enables important business to be actioned in a timely fashion. In addition, the city has undertaken a number of projects in the past two years to specifically address the needs of Indigenous people in Kalgoorlie. These include:

- A mapping and gap analysis of Indigenous services which was a collaboration between the DIA, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Services (then ATSIC) and the city of Kalgoorlie-Boulder (October 2002);
- A Living in Harmony needs analysis which focuses on youth residing in the Golden Grove area (then Adeline) (August 2002);
- A framework agreement between the city of Kalgoorlie-Boulder, ATSIS and DIA, outlining their commitment to work together to address the needs of Indigenous people in the city (October 2003);
- The development of Indigenous Consultation Protocols for the city, a joint initiative with ATSIS and DIA.

The City of Kalgoorlie-Boulder is also involved in the SKY program, a community and youth education facility which is quite specific to New Living. The program aims to holistically address the life skills of youth at risk residing in the Golden Grove area. The facility will be used for community programs and activities during the day.

6.4.4 Physical wellbeing

Stakeholders involved with tenants through their work in housing, health, social services or tenant advice were asked how the New Living project has impacted (positively or negatively) upon Indigenous tenants as individuals or family units (including existing and new residents and relocated tenants), particularly any measurable or perceived changes to housing or health. Indigenous respondents were also asked the same questions. Feedback from several Indigenous tenants and DHW housing officers supports the supposition that the emphasis on refurbishment and improved housing conditions and more appropriate houses will have a beneficial effect upon the health and wellbeing of all tenants, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. These findings are consistent with research in the Positioning Paper that confirmed that urban renewal could significantly improve health, education, crime prevention and the provision of emergency services.

Health workers in both Rangeway and Southern Grove claimed that, while better housing conditions had improved overall wellbeing for the majority of tenants, others were negatively affected by the upheaval and stress associated with relocating. Some relocated tenants stated that they experienced considerable stress and increased financial hardship due to the lack of access to emergency health services and the added costs of taxis and ambulances.

6.4.5 Social and economic wellbeing

Information was sought from all stakeholders regarding processes and structures to improve the economic conditions of residents/community, e.g. increased employment, training and community education opportunities and possibly industry initiatives. Stakeholders, including local New Living managers, were asked what measures, if any, were in place to show that the quality of lives of residents (including Indigenous people) has improved through increased access to a range of essential services and improved service delivery by DHW. They were also asked whether any whole of government mechanisms and measures are in place to demonstrate how New Living has improved outcomes and decreased disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

A range of responses was obtained from DHW, local governments and JVPs. Several housing professionals expressed concern that tenants living in areas with good public transport systems had been relocated to areas with poor access to major centres, impeding their employment opportunities and significantly increasing travel expenses to obtain basic services. However, our findings indicated that the majority of tenants who chose to relocate either did so to increase their employment prospects or were not in the employment market. Similarly, some moved to be closer to services or family and therefore did not appear to be negatively affected.

While there is a widely held perception among Indigenous tenants and community workers that Indigenous people are being pushed out of New Living areas, the research could not substantiate this claim, based on either the quantitative data across the study sites or an analysis of qualitative data across all six sites.

There was little evidence to substantiate the claim made by some DHW staff that New Living provides opportunities for low income earners, including Indigenous tenants, to purchase their own home and accrue a financial base to enhance their long-term economic security. Housing professionals report that New Living makes housing less affordable for low income earners unless they have the opportunity to purchase a home in the initial phase of urban renewal. Real estate prices have increased in all New Living areas and risen as much as 30% in two years in Coolbellup, for instance. Golden Grove appears to have the highest increase in home ownership by previous tenants, and remains the site with the least increase in prices. The data suggests that property prices

in urban renewal areas in metropolitan areas have remained relatively moderate, and mortgage levels are commensurate with income, suggesting that more information and promotion of housing loan options needs to be made available to Indigenous tenants. Research by Greive et al. (2003) shows that low income earners, including Indigenous people, are no more at risk of housing payment default than other groups, reinforcing the need to ensure Indigenous tenants are provided with housing loan options.

6.4.6 Psycho-social wellbeing

There is some evidence to suggest that improvements to the physical appearance of urban renewal areas are likely to benefit the psycho-social and emotional health and wellbeing of the majority of residents who remain in the area. Indigenous tenants welcomed the physical improvements that added to their sense of security and created good recreational spaces. In some instances it was the professional stakeholders who expressed concerns that the physical enhancement would alienate Indigenous people, and this emphasised the need for Indigenous involvement in developments and in housing design. For instance, several Indigenous tenants expressed the importance of having a pergola and outdoor cooking facilities in their back garden:

Let's be honest – whitefellas see a mob of blackfellas together in the local park and they get nervous, even when they are doing nothing wrong.

6.5 Demographic, social and economic change in New Living areas

A comparative statistical analysis was undertaken of the 1991 and 2001 ABS Census data for residents of Coolbellup, Langford and Midvale, using those characteristics which are defined in the wellbeing framework to identify specific trends and changes in wellbeing. This analysis both affirms and provides a demographic background for the qualitative analysis.

6.5.1 Tracking demographic change

In addition to including social indicators based on interviews and secondary qualitative data analysis, the wellbeing framework incorporated quantitative data based on a range of population variables/characteristics included in ABS Census data (see Section 4.4). The data analysis involved plotting the changes for each of the variables for the three case study sites in relation to the Perth Statistical Division and WA in order to develop a detailed snapshot of trends and changes over this 10 year period (see Figure 3, Appendix 3). A full description of these variables can be found in Appendix 2. Distinct units and proportions were used to gauge the impact of key characteristics on the neighbourhood as a whole and to provide a broad picture of the positive and negative influences of urban renewal strategies on social and economic wellbeing in these three research sites.

Figure 3 Appendix 3 confirms that there have been some notable changes in demographics and tenure in these sites compared to the wider population during the period 1991-2001.

Employment

Employment statistics are regarded as an important proxy indicator of wellbeing. Unemployment has both social and economic implications for individual and community wellbeing. Several studies (Headley and Wearing 1998; Weston 1998) have shown that work gives people's lives a sense of worth and direction that impacts on individual and family wellbeing. Some studies (ABS 2002, 2004; Saunders and Taylor 2002; Weatherburn 2002) have identified links between unemployment and increased criminal activity. With respect to the three New Living sites, an analysis of this important variable suggests that there has been a decline in full-time employment in Midvale. Despite the slight increase registered in Langford and Coolbellup, both full-time and part-time employment in these areas was still significantly lower than in the wider population. ABS

statistics suggest that it is likely that the Indigenous population in these areas is more likely to be over-represented among the unemployed.

This quantitative data analysis suggests that claims or assumptions that urban renewal of itself will automatically lead to improvements in employment and economic wellbeing are not substantiated. Unless there is an increase in employment in New Living areas, it is unlikely that there will any real change in individual and community wellbeing. This highlights the need for a focused whole of government approach, together with greater involvement of the JVP or local government in developing specific employment strategies in urban renewal locations. In particular, it requires specific culturally inclusive strategies to ensure that Indigenous people are included.

Noteworthy elements include changes in the proportion of Indigenous population in these three localities between 1991 and 2001. Substantial decreases were registered in Coolbellup (17%) and Langford (26%), and an increase in Midvale (17%). Each of these areas had a significantly higher proportion of Indigenous population than the Perth metropolitan area in general.

Social housing rentals

Other changes shown in Appendix 3 relate to Homeswest rental provision. There is still a significantly higher proportion of public housing all three areas (15% compared with 5% across the state), but there has been a decline in Langford and Coolbellup. While the proportion of the population in Homeswest rental accommodation has been declining – in 18 of the 21 Collection Districts (CDs), by an average of more than 15% – the rate of change in Coolbellup and Langford has been far more severe. This pattern represents a significant decline in the amount of low rent housing available, and a corresponding shift in the demographic profiles of these areas.

There was a substantial increase in Homeswest rental housing in Midvale. This single variable suggests that there may be two dynamics being measured or that we are measuring different stages of the same process. More telling is that the same pattern – a decline in Coolbellup and Langford and an increase in Midvale – has been mirrored among a range of demographic variables, including single parents with dependent children, the number of households eligible for low rental payments, and the number of people unemployed.

Further, the analysis confirmed that while still higher than the state population on most variables indicating disadvantage, there has been a decline in the number of sole parents, those without a motor vehicle, people employed in low skill jobs, and decreased overcrowding which correlates significantly with the decline in Homeswest housing in the majority of CDs. This does not necessarily mean that people's circumstances have changed for the better at an individual level. On the contrary, the increases in these variables in other localities, including New Living localities, suggests that the more disadvantaged groups have shifted away from at least 17 CDs during the study period to particular CDs where there are public housing units and flats.

Overcrowding

Coolbellup is the only suburb that has registered a decline in overcrowding since the commencement of New Living. This is consistent with DHW data which showed that, in every case to date, Indigenous tenants in Coolbellup were transferred to larger and better accommodation. There were still tenants scheduled to be transferred into refurbished accommodation. Coolbellup is also the most advanced New Living program, so it is possible that both Langford and Midvale will follow suit, along with a further reduction of overcrowding in Coolbellup.

A few CDs in Midvale and Coolbellup seem to be recipient areas for people who have relocated from elsewhere. This is affirmed by the qualitative data. Housing professionals and tenants from these areas interpret the population shifts as possible attempts by DHW

to transfer or 'manage' difficult families, rather than being strategies to address their housing needs or other aspects of their wellbeing.

The mapping process reveals that the process of achieving the New Living goals to reduce public housing and increase home ownership has had both positive and negative outcomes. On the positive side, several areas registered increased home ownership, a decline in unemployment and higher levels of continuing education (although this may reflect changes in the definition and scope of post-compulsory education). Even so, the demographic changes occurring as a consequence of household movements into and out of these areas may be attributable to processes already in train or outside the influence of government policy. For example, there has been a steady increase in the number of people who own their home, with 17 of the 21 CDs involved in the urban renewal process noting an increase in outright ownership. This suggests that, since people are generally attached to their homes, the urban renewal process increases the likelihood of them retaining rather than selling their houses and moving.

6.5.2 The impact of tenure change

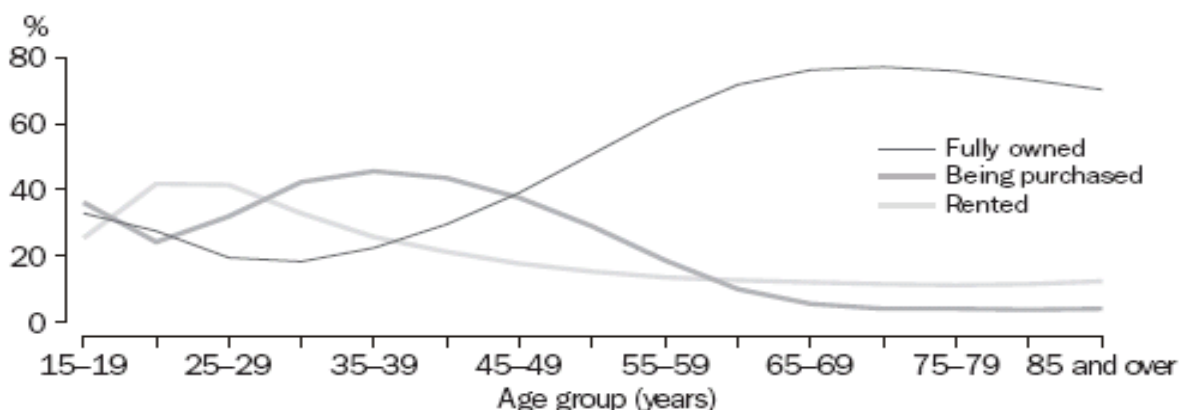
In order to gauge the effects of tenure changes, the key variables were mapped to identify changes in the 10 years between 1991 and 2001. These changes were plotted for each of the 21 CDs in the three New Living suburbs. The data pertaining to these variables was categorised on the basis of minor, moderate or major changes in Homeswest tenure, which show some clear trends.

Each of these three models of change was then compared with the model of housing tenure generated by the 2001 Census in Ageing in Australia (ABS 2001a) to predict patterns of tenure to gauge whether changes in tenure diversification in New Living areas diverge significantly from broader population trends. This model was compared with the same tenure types in the New Living areas to help to identify whether changes to tenure type were more likely to be influenced by changing demographic profiles or associated with New Living strategies.

Home ownership

As Figure 2 shows, it takes a significant length of time for people to purchase their homes outright. Changes between renting, purchasing and home ownership will typically be influenced by the age of a person. According to the ABS report, people generally tend to rent first, and then purchase their own home before owning it outright (those aged 15-19 are most likely living at home). This trend is depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Graph of home ownership model



(a) Excludes all visitors.

Source: ABS data available on request, 2001 Census of Population and Housing.

Areas of minor change in housing tenure in the New Living sites exhibited the same types of changes that typical demographic influences would dictate, based on the model in

Figure 2. Major changes in housing tenure identified in the three sites included a decline in public housing rentals and an increase in home ownership (from zero to 10.6% over the 10 year period). Areas of moderate and major change in the reduction of Homeswest housing appears to have been replaced with a greater than expected increase in outright home ownership. On the surface, this suggests that the New Living goals of increased home ownership and a significant reduction in public housing are being met. The areas of major change appear to have markedly different buying patterns than the demographics would suggest, with older people purchasing (rather than owning their homes outright as their age cohort would normally exhibit, as in Figure 2) and a greater proportion of younger people taking up the opportunity to buy. These changes may simply be artefacts of the significant reduction in Homeswest housing and a corresponding decrease in the population, rather than an increase in the actual number of dwellings owned outright. That is, once Homeswest dwellings have been taken out of the total housing population, all other types automatically gain a greater proportion of dwellings. The qualitative data obtained from stakeholders at the local level suggests that few Indigenous people are represented in the patterns of home purchase and ownership.

Decline in low rent

To identify the impact of DHW's policy of decreasing public housing in New Living areas, the percentage of people paying low rent was directly linked with the numbers of Homeswest properties in each area. The mapping process identified a decline in the percentage of Homeswest tenants paying low rents in both Coolbellup and Langford over the 10 year period (from 50.4% in 1991 to 25.3% in 2001). In contrast, Midvale registered a rise in Homeswest rental properties and an increase in people paying low rents. This may be due to the stage of the New Living project; if so, it would need to plateau and begin to decline now, in order to reach the Homeswest target for Midvale of 11% by its scheduled completion date of 2006.

The data analysis highlights the potentially serious implications of the tenure diversification policy for Indigenous people. In Coolbellup private rentals rose from 5.8% to 10% in 2001 and, based on the Figures in Table 4, comprise approximately 70 of the 721 properties. The void caused by the decline in Homeswest accommodation is only being partially filled in these areas by private rental and community housing. Some housing professionals reported that greater pressure is being placed upon community housing organisations to house former Homeswest clients, especially Indigenous clients. This is consistent with other research which has shown that Indigenous people have limited access to private rental or 'choice' of location (Focus 2000) and, without a suite of strategies to increase home ownership, may continue to face hardship in seeking alternative housing. There may also be unintended policy consequences, for instance, the implications for the Commonwealth government include a greater reliance upon rent assistance for low income earners and other disadvantaged groups in private rental.

6.5.3 Tenure diversification strategies

The fieldwork and other studies (ABS 2002; Shelter WA 2003) suggest that New Living strategies to achieve tenure diversification goals – such as offering low interest mortgages to promote home ownership – have not been particularly effective for Indigenous households. On the contrary, the comparative analysis of data obtained across the three sites shows that the decline in Homeswest rental housing is not offset by an increase in the number of home purchasers using DHW home ownership schemes designed for low to medium income earners. Rather, there is a small decline in the number of people purchasing houses, along with the decline in Homeswest housing in Langford and Coolbellup. In contrast, the increase in Homeswest rental accommodation in Midvale is complemented by a rise in home purchases (Appendix 3).

Information from DHW officers and urban renewal professionals highlights the fact that very few Indigenous people are among those who have purchased houses in these areas. This finding is consistent with information reported in regional areas and the findings of complementary AHURI research on housing affordability (Greive et al. 2003).

The Tables below provide additional details of the key housing characteristics, tenure type and income for these three New Living sites based on Census data (ABS 2002).

Table 4: Occupied private dwellings

Locality	Fully owned	Being purchased	Rented	Total
Coolbellup	502	705	721	2,051
Langford	482	649	397	1,630
Midvale	158	152	204	539

Availability of affordable housing

Table 5 provides information related to the availability of affordable housing, showing median weekly rents in each of the three New Living localities compared with the Perth/Mandurah region. The median individual and household income in each of the three localities is significantly lower than for the wider metropolitan area, although the median rent in each also appears to be in the same proportion in relation to the wider metropolitan area.

Table 5: Comparison of income and housing costs

Locality	Median weekly individual income	Median household income	Median monthly housing loan repayments	Median weekly rent
Coolbellup	\$282	\$547	\$614	\$97
Langford	\$281	\$613	\$589	\$105
Midvale	\$275	\$518	\$609	\$105
Perth/Mandurah region	\$376	\$794	\$855	\$142

While Real Estate Institute of WA Figures and Shelter WA research show that all of these areas have registered an increase in rental and property prices. Table 5 indicates that housing loan repayments are some 25% lower, suggesting that these New Living areas are still providing low cost housing for people on low income. This contrasts with some of the concerns raised by housing professionals interviewed in the field research and in the report on urban renewal compiled by Shelter WA (2002).

Table 6 provides details of the ranking of these three New Living sites in relation to all other 289 suburbs in the wider metropolitan area which are ranked from greatest (1) to least (289). The data confirms that these suburbs are in the lowest 25 quartile of socio-economic status based on each of the variables, including loan repayments and weekly rent. Rent is slightly higher in proportion to income in Midvale compared with Coolbellup and Langford where the ratio of rent or housing loan repayment has remained lower in proportion to income.

Table 6: Financial characteristics ranked

Locality	Rank by median weekly individual income	Rank by median household income	Rank by median monthly housing loan repayments	Rank by median weekly rent
Coolbellup	262	264	273	277
Langford	264	236	277	272
Midvale	270	272	274	271

Implications for DHW's tenure diversification strategies

The above analysis based on the various forms and levels of data comparison and analysis allows us to speculate about the efficacy of tenure diversification strategies in the New Living program. On the positive side there has been an increase in the level of home purchase and homeownership. However, there has also been an increase in the number of home rentals these areas. The median financial characteristics for households in the three metropolitan sites place these households in the lowest quartile of the Western Australian population. Employment remains low, rents and housing repayments while also relatively low still remain outside the means of the majority of Indigenous households. Reports by housing professionals and tenants of overcrowding, lack of access to transport and services still being experienced by Indigenous people in these areas cannot be discounted by the aggregated data.

7 RENEWAL MODELS, OPTIONS AND OUTCOMES

7.1 Introduction

The final key aim of this research is to consider whether specific models and options of urban renewal are more likely to produce positive relationships and outcomes for Indigenous households within the wider community. It addresses the third research question: What models and options for urban renewal (i.e. in situ and relocation, either temporary or permanent) can be identified to have what forms of relationships and outcomes for Indigenous households?

As discussed earlier, underlying assumptions about the role of social housing in urban renewal influence the models and options employed by government. A brief review of SHA policies and case study literature in the Positioning Paper revealed certain understandings, assumptions and expectations regarding the social and/or economic factors that affect, or are affected by, physical improvements to housing and infrastructure of public housing estates. All states and territories have a commitment through the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement to 'reduce crime and anti-social behaviour through forging closer relationships with tenant and community groups' (Wood et al. 2002: 27). In addition, most SHAs are committed to enhancing community wellbeing.

The New Living urban renewal approach encompasses community development goals, whereas some interstate programs distinguish between physical development, community development and community strengthening processes. The following discussion considers how different assumptions about links between public housing and social disadvantage, and the corresponding urban renewal policy practices, impact upon Indigenous wellbeing in WA.

7.2 Contemporary renewal approaches

The policy mapping and review confirmed widespread recognition and appreciation at state and Commonwealth levels of the interconnectedness of problems experienced among (but not confined to) disadvantaged communities in housing estates with high concentrations of social housing. There is considerable similarity between urban renewal program goals. Gibson and Cameron (2001) identified six types of economic and community development interventions, with varying degrees of emphasis. All states make reference to community development in relation to their urban renewal programs, but do not distinguish between either 'top down' and 'bottom up' approaches, or 'process'/'product' orientations. Few reveal any understanding or critical analysis of the possible benefits of a combination of both as has been carried out in the United Kingdom.

- The main variation in strategies, as identified in the Positioning Paper, were:
- Asset based approaches involving disposal, physical improvement and sales of housing stock;
- Community management and community development approaches (Randolph and Judd 1999);
- Whole of government approaches: interagency and interdepartmental collaboration (Spiller Gibbins Swan 2000);
- Partnerships with residents/tenants and local government, non-government and JVPs (Wood et al. 2002).

In their Australia-wide review of urban renewal, Wood et al. (2002) noted the different usages and understandings of notions such as community development, community building and capacity building which tend to influence differences in policy formulation, goal specification and program implementation processes and outcomes. They concluded that there is need for greater precision in the use of terminology and 'more

rigor in descriptions and explanations of program structures and activities' (Wood et al. 2002: 35).

A comparison of urban renewal programs in Australia confirms that, while most have similar aims and objectives, they vary in their emphasis upon community involvement. A matrix of 'National comparison of urban renewal' (Appendix 5) identifies three categories: physical/environmental, community and social development and economic development. These reflect government processes aimed to reduce the stigma of social housing, partly through changing the physical environment and partly through reduction of social housing in renewal areas.

There are a complex and interconnected array of social, economic, cultural, historic, environmental and contextual (local/global) factors that impact upon individual and collective wellbeing and sustainable communities. The complexity of these factors is compounded in Indigenous contexts. Nevertheless, the research has outlined the breadth of the role of housing related strategies designed to achieve individual and collective social wellbeing, and the concomitant degree of social responsibility expected of SHAs to build stronger sustainable communities and to enhance social capital.

The research confirms the need for local government, housing and other agencies to adopt a whole of government approach together with private sector enterprise partnering and genuine community involvement to address these interconnected issues and factors.

Further, the recognition of the specific and diverse needs of Indigenous Australians, their distinctive First Nations status, and the international and national commitment to reconciliation and Indigenous self-determination has significant implications for SHAs and other government bodies. Several major reviews of Indigenous disadvantage have emphasised the need for them to establish effective and appropriate governance processes and practices in the implementation of housing related strategies to enhance individual and collective Indigenous wellbeing.

7.3 Other factors influencing New Living Indigenous wellbeing

Both the literature and our research findings confirm that there are a number of key interrelated variables/factors and strategies that impact on the likely effectiveness of urban renewal programs. Among these are the level of community participation and engagement and strategies to promote community sustainability. This research examined the relationship between these factors and Indigenous wellbeing.

7.3.1 Community development

There has been a resurgence of interest in community development, with an increasing focus on people working together to build sustainable communities (Ambler 1999). The fieldwork confirmed that several of the six New Living projects have a strong focus on community development processes intended to empower individuals and groups to take responsibility for bringing about positive and sustained change in their neighbourhood. Community development places great emphasis on establishing processes and structures and identifying resources to promote individual self-efficacy and to enable individuals and groups to take control of decision making. This approach is particularly evident in Midvale (Van der Meer and Nichols 2003) and to a lesser extent in Southern Grove and Carey Park.

Several key stakeholders stated that it is difficult to establish connections and engage Indigenous individuals or families in the process, an issue also identified by Van der Meer and Nichols (2003). These stakeholders identified strategies to encourage Indigenous participation, such as:

Utilising high profile Indigenous sportspeople who have the ability to generate interest and engagement among different Indigenous groups;

Working through Indigenous controlled agencies and non-government organisations such as the Community Development Foundation (Midvale and Carey Park);

Establishing memorandums of understanding between all stakeholders and with Indigenous participants and an Indigenous representative organisation (Kalgoorlie).

These strategies have been relatively successful in 'lighting the fire' and creating initial interest in Midvale and Carey Park, and gaining significant Indigenous participation in Kalgoorlie. The positive outcomes in these localities offer DHW and local governments a range of alternative community development strategies to increase Indigenous involvement in future sites.

7.3.2 Sustainable communities

An earlier study by Parry and Strommen (2001: 184) examined the elements that contribute to sustainable communities in Langford. One of the propositions developed in this research is that many stated/intended outcomes of the New Living program, such as building sustainable communities, enhancing social capital and economic and social wellbeing, are interdependent variables – all are essential for one another. To identify whether existing goals, strategies and approaches positively contribute to this outcome, an analysis of fieldwork findings was undertaken to consider the key elements that contribute to sustainable communities. Drawing on the indicators framework developed in Chapter 4, the elements considered include relationships that involve family, peers and work colleagues and provide and utilise social infrastructures (Farrar 1999: 116-17), as well as evidence of recognition of and respect for cultural diversity and the promotion of racial equality necessary for effective and productive relationships to achieve sustainable communities (Ambler 1999: 124).

With respect to the first set of elements, families in each of the New Living sites considered that they had positive relationships with local social infrastructures through engagement in sport and schools. However, at least nine Indigenous tenants and Indigenous stakeholders commented on the need to identify key Indigenous stakeholder groups and/or community leaders to help to improve Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations within the broader local community. According to Indigenous housing professionals, while the Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness committees play a major role in some localities, they are still dependent upon key individuals and principals.

The second set of elements necessary for sustainable communities – recognition of and respect for cultural diversity and the promotion of racial equality to be effective for all groups were not readily evident. Rather, most stakeholders in each of the New Living sites were generally negative towards Indigenous tenants, particularly new tenants. The findings also suggested that those initiatives that are established to enhance cultural awareness and harmony are ad hoc, and lack any ongoing mechanisms to foster Indigenous participation and establish or strengthen Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships.

7.3.3 Whole of government linkages

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

The overview of research into urban renewal programs in Australia highlights the many complexities involved in government attempts to straddle the issues of individual housing need for socially disadvantaged groups with the goals of building safer communities and of fostering community self-reliance, sustainability and economic viability.

Policy issues

The research across the six New Living sites highlights the tensions that can exist between the goals of community building and urban renewal. Relocation is an issue for community workers trying to harness local social capital for community building activities.

The competing aims pose difficulties for community renewal workers as well as for the local communities.

The literature review of previous research on urban renewal in WA revealed a degree of negativity towards New Living. In their research into the effects of New Living on tenants in Langford and Lockridge, Parry and Strommen (2001: 57) found that over half (58% of 26 people interviewed) considered that New Living had or would have negative impacts on some individuals. These included anecdotal stories of tenants being relocated to outer suburbs, tightened tenancy management strategies, and concerns about increased waiting times for rental properties. The main concerns related to changing the social mix of the communities, raising questions as to how strategies that generate a substantial change in the make-up of local residents could establish a sense of community. Interviewees believed that these strategies would only increase tensions between public housing tenants and private owners, regardless of whether tenants were relocated or remained in situ. Questions were also raised regarding the fate of relocated clients. In addition to these concerns, Parry and Strommen found that Indigenous people are rarely considered in designing redevelopment projects, either in terms of its effects upon them or in identifying strategies to be more inclusive. Other researchers (Hillier et al. 2001; Parry & Strommen 2001) suggest that urban renewal has a similar impact as gentrification – attracting new home buyers, increasing property values and making housing unaffordable for Indigenous people with low incomes. There have also been criticisms that urban renewal planning designs reflect mainstream values and aspirations, rather than the needs and aspirations of Indigenous residents.

Shelter WA (2003) expressed similar negative views, while acknowledging the evidence of benefits experienced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous clients either through relocation to a new area or a newer house in the same area, or less often through the purchase of their own home. Shelter WA raised concerns that the reduction of public housing through selling off properties would seriously limit tenants' choices for relocation. In addition, the increasing prices of housing in urban renewal areas will make it unaffordable for low income earners, especially Indigenous tenants.

Despite the focus on both real and perceived difficulties and negative outcomes, it is crucial to try to unravel the complexities surrounding issues of developing community and community wellbeing. On the one hand, urban renewal is being undertaken in areas assumed to be, and often publicly represented as, experiencing community breakdown and social stigma, high levels of poverty and social disadvantage. According to New Living program managers at each site, most Indigenous and non-Indigenous tenants who relocated had requested a house in 'a nice area' or 'a newer area'. This was supported by a detailed analysis of local records of interview in one of the sites. DHW data available through local offices indicates that many Indigenous tenants had welcomed the opportunity to move into 'a safer area' and into a 'much nicer, newer and larger house' than they were currently renting.

On the other hand, Cameron (2000-1) argues that some of these 'blighted' or 'disadvantaged' communities are often far more dynamic and intact than has been assumed. Cameron suggests that refurbishment of the area and keeping the community intact may be more appropriate than pursuing a strategy to obtain a 'better social mix' by dispersing public housing tenants to other suburbs. This observation may have merit; as stated earlier, some Indigenous tenants in Midvale claimed that the changing population had resulted in more crime and a reduced sense of safety, a finding supported by TAS (2003). People in Midvale also found the assumptions underlying the strategy of changing the social mix offensive, blaming the victim and reinforcing the stigmatisation of the area (Hillier et al. 2001).

7.4 Barriers to New Living

The research suggests that there are two interrelated factors that impact negatively on the effective implementation of New Living: the negative race relations in certain areas, and the impact of media reporting.

7.4.1 Race relations

A key factor influencing the wellbeing outcomes for individual households and communities is the extent of latent and overt racism that permeates some local communities. This research suggests that the pervasive, often unexamined and sometimes unacknowledged nature of racism can impede attempts to build community and depletes social capital, as defined by Cox (1995), affecting all aspects of community wellbeing.

Whether people choose to remain in situ or relocate, there is a need to establish 'context and situation specific' follow-up and community building processes to ensure the long-term sustainability of New Living projects in each area. For example, urban renewal programs appear to be most effective when such processes are established at a neighbourhood level for people remaining in an area. Tenants and housing workers pointed to the need for orientation or settling-in processes for individuals and families who move to a new area, to avoid feelings of isolation and alienation. Several Australian studies (Randolph and Judd 2001; Randolph 2001) have shown the problems that arise when community building is overlooked; conversely, the New South Wales urban renewal program provides examples of effective community building practices, including strategies to engage Indigenous people in all stages of the process (Randolph 2000). Similar examples have been identified in Midvale and Golden Grove.

7.4.2 The influence of media representations

Articles in local media in each of the New Living areas were compiled and analysed to verify perceptions of tenants and urban renewal professionals and to supplement the analysis of the quantitative data. Appendix 4 shows the key topics covered during the study period. These articles provided additional information regarding outcomes and community perceptions of specific incidents or events. The program has featured regularly in local media, especially with regard to reducing crime. The West Australian newspaper's real estate section has published several feature articles that highlight the positive effects of New Living in the northern and southern suburbs. In particular, the New North urban renewal development has received very positive coverage of a range of outcomes involving all sections of the community, including Indigenous groups. These articles emphasise the physical redevelopment, the enhanced infrastructure and amenities and the increased value of properties.

In contrast, local newspaper headlines in some New Living areas tend to focus on eviction, crime and anti-social behaviour. Indigenous tenants and housing professionals stated that these representations of Indigenous tenants have an adverse impact on Indigenous and non-Indigenous community wellbeing. The indicators framework developed in Chapter 4 takes account of the interconnections between the development and maintenance of social capital and community wellbeing through the elements of trust, friendship, reciprocity and respect (Cox 1995; Putnam 1995). Various stakeholders suggest that negative media coverage can serve to diminish these qualities and has the potential to instil fear and resentment instead.

These findings are suggestive of new insights about the nature of social capital. Most urban renewal literature focuses on the role of individuals and families in establishing social capital, few considering the role of media and its effects on community wellbeing. This research suggests that coverage in WA newspapers tends to diminish and prevent, rather than foster, social harmony and social capital among community members in public housing estates. Headlines such as 'The true cost of bludgers' (West Australian, 23 April 2004), with a picture of an Aboriginal family and an itemised account of the cost of housing them – linked with the loss of jobs for two disabled workers at Centrelink – risks engendering resentment in the wider community.

Comments by Indigenous tenants and housing stakeholders confirmed that such media representation has a negative effect on their collective esteem and impacts on their

social, emotional and cultural wellbeing. Tenants suggested a range of strategies to counter the negative portrayal and representation of Indigenous people within New Living areas and across the wider community. These include:

- Local newspaper focus on NAIDOC celebrations in schools and in the community;
- Local heritage trails;
- Regular articles about Indigenous role models;
- Commitment to teach Aboriginal Studies K-12 at school to instil pride in Indigenous culture and greater understanding among non-Indigenous children.

These findings suggest that New Living partners may need a more focused approach to reporting positive Indigenous and non-Indigenous interactions and program success stories to establish greater trust and enhance community wellbeing.

7.5 Conclusion

The policy review shows that WA's urban renewal projects have been affected by many of the same issues and complexities as in other states. In some instances, WA has sought to address these with similar strategies. Some practices that urban renewal project teams and communities have established to meet specific challenges and implementation issues may provide insights. The discussion above suggests that improving the role and accountability of media and enacting the commitment to cultural inclusivity in K-12 education are necessary long-term strategies, along with improved housing to increase Indigenous wellbeing.

This research also points to the need to have the necessary qualitative and quantitative data to help identify the protective or risk factors that contributing to wellbeing. For example, it was initially speculated by the researchers that local government involvement with DHW and local groups in all phases of development would lead to a high degree of community ownership and a decrease in anti-social behaviour such as vandalism and harassment. This seems to have been the experience in other states. However, the research revealed that even in those areas, such as Midvale, experiencing strong local government commitment to locational strategies, whole of government partnering and highly organised local groups, high levels of crime remained. This is not to suggest that this is because of New Living, or that these strategies are not working. Rather, it raises questions about the effectiveness of social mix strategies and the relevance of the assumptions on which they are based. Midvale is an area where there has been an increase in social housing, high levels of unemployment, an increase in the number of Indigenous youth, and a high percentage of elderly people living in single units, alongside an increasing 'yuppification' of the area (Hillier et al. 2001). According to local housing professionals, these circumstances have seemingly created a growing sense of the 'haves and have-nots'.

8 CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Overview

This research has attempted to identify whether relocation through New Living has resulted in social dislocation for Indigenous individuals, families and communities. It provides a range of perspectives and empirical assessment of New Living urban renewal to address the key research aims. The indicators framework of wellbeing has guided the research and analysis throughout the Final Report, with the key elements informing the emergent findings, concluding comments and policy implications. These exploratory findings are put forward as context-bound extrapolations for applications in a policy-making context. The discussions, conclusions and recommendations are directed to SHAs, local governments, welfare agencies, Commonwealth and state government and non-government agencies with interests in housing and the socio-economic wellbeing/welfare of Indigenous people (for example, DIA, Department of Family and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, TAS and Shelter WA). They offer credible and useful information that may have relevance within their programs and policy contexts to address the issues that impact upon Indigenous wellbeing, stronger families and sustainable communities related to urban renewal in Australia generally.

The research and analysis discussed here is suggestive that urban renewal has the potential to contribute positively to Indigenous wellbeing, but there is also the risk of further diminishing it. Factors such as choice of area of relocation, first options on home purchase, or a refurbished home in situ are identified as positive attempts to minimise any negative impacts of New Living upon the economic and social wellbeing of all tenants, especially Indigenous people. Although increasing property values were identified as a means of wealth creation for those eligible for housing purchase options, the findings support concerns by Shelter WA (2003) that Indigenous people are more likely to remain 'economically exiled' from home ownership in urban renewal areas.

The research also examined the extent to which different urban renewal models and options and strategies are likely to influence broader social outcomes. The findings suggest that while each of these existing options and strategies are effective in meeting the program's stated goals, they can produce some unintended and contradictory results. A number of key factors identified in the Positioning Paper as necessary to establish sustainable communities were incorporated into the indicators framework and used to frame the field research across the six New Living sites. In particular, the research considered existing management structures including partnerships, and processes and capacity building to support community involvement and decision making and ensure government accountability and equitable resources allocation to meet the diverse needs and aspirations of Indigenous people. It confirmed that all of these factors are required to facilitate sustainable and positive social change in disadvantaged communities and contribute to the social and political wellbeing of Indigenous people. As such, empirical evidence of appropriate implementation structures, processes and practices and their effectiveness serve as important indicators of program effectiveness.

8.2 Findings related to indicators of Indigenous wellbeing

In developing and applying the category systems of wellbeing to the fieldwork research, it became evident that conceptual frameworks and indicators for social capital, community, social mix and quality of life can mean different things from Indigenous and non-Indigenous standpoints. Based on the research findings, it is suggested that the principles and ideas that define social capital from an Indigenous perspective may be derived from a far greater emphasis on family than recognised in Putnam's system.

Discussions with tenants and other participants confirmed the widely accepted notion that family is the focal point of Indigenous community relationships and social cohesion. Ideals of volunteerism and sharing generally take place within, and are often limited by, an extended family network. The extent to which family networks engender levels of

cultural self-sufficiency and self-efficacy in Indigenous contexts is often dismissed or not recognised in the first place. This differs considerably from liberal conceptions of social capital found in the work of Putnam (1993, 1994) and Cox (1995) where the family remains the building block from which people extend outwards.

Moreover, emotional and spiritual connections to place are often critical to the overall sense of wellbeing and quality of life for Indigenous residents (Dudgeon et al. 2002; Memmot et al. 2003: i). The literature suggests that planners and housing managers seldom consider residents' emotional attachment to their place of living and its importance for community belonging and individual and neighbourhood wellbeing. A fuller understanding, recognition of and regard for the role that Indigenous relationships with place, family and extended kinship networks play in creating a sense of belonging and community can help planners, housing managers, service providers and community workers in their efforts to achieve positive community change.

One of the contributions of this research is the development of a deeper understanding of the complexity and diversity of the conceptual issues that need to be taken into account in urban renewal projects. It is evident that many of the existing indicators employed in dominant frameworks do not adequately define or capture the complex relations of 'community' in order to properly evaluate the effect of the New Living programs on Indigenous wellbeing. There is a need for more diverse and inclusive definitions of community, family, social capital and cultural cohesion.

Social and political wellbeing is another key element of the indicators framework explored in the research. This study examined the various strategies employed in the six New Living case studies to involve Indigenous people in the consultation and participation process. Feedback from housing stakeholders reveals good intentions as well as frustration and concern at the failure to engage Indigenous tenants in the community consultation processes. Comments by Indigenous tenants expressed a degree of alienation and discomfort, as well as scepticism and claims of tokenism. The differing perceptions of New Living professionals and tenants highlight the need to establish a multi-pronged approach that is more culturally appropriate and enhances Indigenous engagement in all New Living sites.

An important observation in this research, supported by other studies, is the limitations of existing research and data collection methodologies for determining the effects of urban renewal on community wellbeing generally or for particular population groups. There is a need for ongoing, comprehensive research to continue to build understandings and dispel misconceptions and potentially contradictory assumptions that drive policy decisions to enable governments to act ethically and responsibly in meeting the fundamental needs and rights of disadvantaged groups in society. SHAs are expected to cater for the housing needs and aspirations of individual households and the broader social, economic and environmental wellbeing of the wider community. The current literature and widely accepted discourses of wellbeing suggest that the family is the bridge or connection between individual and community wellbeing (Trewin 2001; Winter 2002). The family is recognised as the cornerstone of building the social capital that in turn cements community and society.

Recognition of this connection requires the development and application of two sets of conceptual and methodological frameworks to measure individual and community wellbeing. Existing conceptual frameworks are limited. For example, at a community level, crime reduction is seen as an important goal and outcome linking urban renewal and community wellbeing. However, if there is no reduction, can we simply assume that the New Living program is not effectively contributing to community wellbeing? A number of studies (ABS 2001; Dunlop 2003) have illustrated the need for new methodologies to gain greater understanding of the inter-causal nature of crime and its reduction in evaluating existing crime prevention programs and developing new policies, as well as understanding their relationship to individual and community wellbeing. Similarly, the interrelatedness of a range of socio-economic variables needs to be considered and

multi-factorial analysis undertaken to consider the interdependency of variables such as health and education outcomes and social wellbeing.

In the process of determining the variables to measure wellbeing at a community level or even among a particular population group (e.g. Indigenous people, single parents, youth, heroin users, the elderly), there is a tendency to confound or obfuscate the variables that provide evidence of program effects upon individual wellbeing at the household level. As a consequence, data that could provide insights at the individual household level is often overlooked in the data collection process. This has been a particular frustration in this research as very few New Living sites had collected or maintained the necessary data to track individual household experiences of urban renewal and gauge their satisfaction with program processes or outcomes. Coolbellup had some of the most detailed individuated data, but during the study period had not followed up with any clients. Other sites could not provide differentiated transfer data and could only estimate statistics on the basis of staff recollection, suggesting the need for improved monitoring and evaluation mechanisms across the board.

8.3 Future policy and research implications

To measure the effects of urban renewal on community or Indigenous wellbeing, it is important to attempt to draw conclusions relevant to individual household, community and societal wellbeing categories. The research has led to the following conclusions:

- At a community level, it is crucial to consider Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations, and the strategies that are necessary to build cohesion and a sense of community amongst the Indigenous collective, as well as between Indigenous and non-Indigenous community groups. Currently, this seems to occur on an ad hoc basis rather than as an institutionalised aspect of urban renewal.
- At an individual household level, it is crucial to consider issues of self-determination, choice and control, connection with place, and sense of belonging as factors influencing individual wellbeing. As noted in Chapter 4, having a sense of choice and control over transactions that impact on our everyday lives reinforces the sense of self-efficacy and empowerment which contribute to both individual wellbeing and community wellbeing. This confirms the importance of continuing to provide housing options for tenants in New Living sites that enable them to exercise genuine choice. Failure to do so is a barrier to individual wellbeing. Having a sense of connection or belonging with place are also important variables linked with cultural recognition and cultural wellbeing.
- At a societal or socio-political level, it is crucial to consider issues of self-determination in terms of political and economic infrastructure and appropriate policies and processes. These elements are important to ensure that Indigenous needs, interests, aspirations and rights are met, and that the just distribution of resources occurs with regard to the social, cultural, historical, political and economic context in which Indigenous disadvantage is located.

These variables are intrinsic to good and current urban renewal initiatives as they have the potential to contribute to individual and community wellbeing and broader social outcomes. However, community level measures (such as decreased crime, economic growth via rising house prices) are typically used to assess the effectiveness of strategies, such as creating better social mix, without necessary regard to the impact at an individual household level. The incorporation and application of multi-level measures is essential as part of any ongoing evaluation of urban renewal programs.

An audit and assessment of evidence-based studies about urban renewal evaluation across Australia would be highly beneficial. Research of this scope would provide an understanding of the methods and frameworks for understanding the effects of urban renewal on individual populations and their interconnection with community. It would also provide opportunities for these groups to shape urban renewal so that it takes account of their interests and aspirations and contributes positively to community wellbeing.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Table 7: Interview schedule for metropolitan case study localities

NL Area	Who	What	When
Langford	Community stakeholder	community contact	15/07/03
	Maddington Aboriginal Medical Service	community contact	15/07/03
	City of Gosnells, Indigenous Project Officer	email questions	9/10/03
	DHW Tenant Relocation Officer	interview	3/2/04
	DHW Project Manager	email questions	30/10/03
	Relocated household (four tenants)	interview	14/11/03
	Relocated tenant	interview	14/11/03
	Boogurlaari, Family support worker,	interview	1/10/03
	Langford household (three tenants)	interview	1/10/03
Coolbellup	Community stakeholder	community contact	15/07/03
	Renewal professional	interview	10/10/03
	Indigenous Housing worker	interview	21/8/03
	Relocated household (three tenants)	interview	22/07/03
	Relocated household (two tenants)	interview	16/07/03
	City of Cockburn, Community Development Officer	email questions	9/10/03
	DHW Tenant Relocation Officer	interview email follow-up	13/1/03
	DHW Project Manager	email questions	30/10/03
	Tenant	interview	16/07/03
Midvale	Community Housing Officer	interview	1/08/03
	City of Swan, Community Development Officer	interview email questions	19/08/03 9/10/03
	Tenants Advice Service Officer, Midland	interview	1/8/03
	DIA officer	interview	16/07/03
	Midvale tenant	interview	12/8/03
	Midvale tenant	interview	17/07/03
	DIA Heritage Section	interview	14/10/03
	DHW Tenant Relocation Officer	email questions	30/10/03
	DHW Project Manager, Landstart	email questions	30/10/03
	Eastern Metropolitan Community Housing Association, Manager	interview	12/8/03
Karniny Aboriginal Centre	interview	1/8/03	

Table 8: Interview schedule for country case study localities

NL Area	Who	What	When
Carey Park	Aboriginal Tenant Support Officer	interview	30/7/03
	Carey Park household (tenants)	interview	29/7/03
	City of Bunbury, Community Development Officer	email questions	9/10/03
	Property consultant	interview	30/07/03
	DHW Tenant Relocation Officer	email questions	30/10/03
	DHW Senior Project Manager, Landstart	email questions	30/10/03
	Community Housing Officer	interview	30/07/03
D Rangeway	Geraldton Resource Centre, Coordinator	interview	06/08/03
	Geraldton Resource Centre, Tenant Advocate	interview	06/08/03
	Geraldton Resource Centre, Indigenous Tenant Advocate	interview	06/08/03
	Geraldton household (three tenants)	interview	6/8/03
	Rangeway Aboriginal Health Centre, Health worker 1	interview	7/08/03
	Health worker 2	interview	7/08/03
	Health worker 3	interview	7/08/03
	Community nurse	interview	7/08/03
	City of Geraldton, Community Services Manager	email questions	9/10/03
	Tenant Relocation Manager	email questions	30/10/03
	DHW Regional Manager	email questions	28/1/04
	DHW Project Manager, Landstart	email questions	30/10/03
Aderline	Tenant Advocate	interview	12/8/03
	City of Kalgoorlie and Boulder, Community Development Officer	email questions	9/10/03
	DHW Tenant Relocation Officer	email questions	30/10/03
	DHW Project Manager, Landstart	email questions	30/10/03
	Non-Indigenous business person	interview	/5/03
	Indigenous household (two tenants and neighbour)	interviews	11/7/03 13/8/03
General	Julian Munroyd-Harris	email questions	16/11/03
	Shelter	personal communication	
	Residents adjacent suburb	personal communication	16/11/03
	Residents adjacent suburb	personal communication	8/1/04

Table 9: Initial New Living project contacts: phase one

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

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

APPENDIX 2: DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

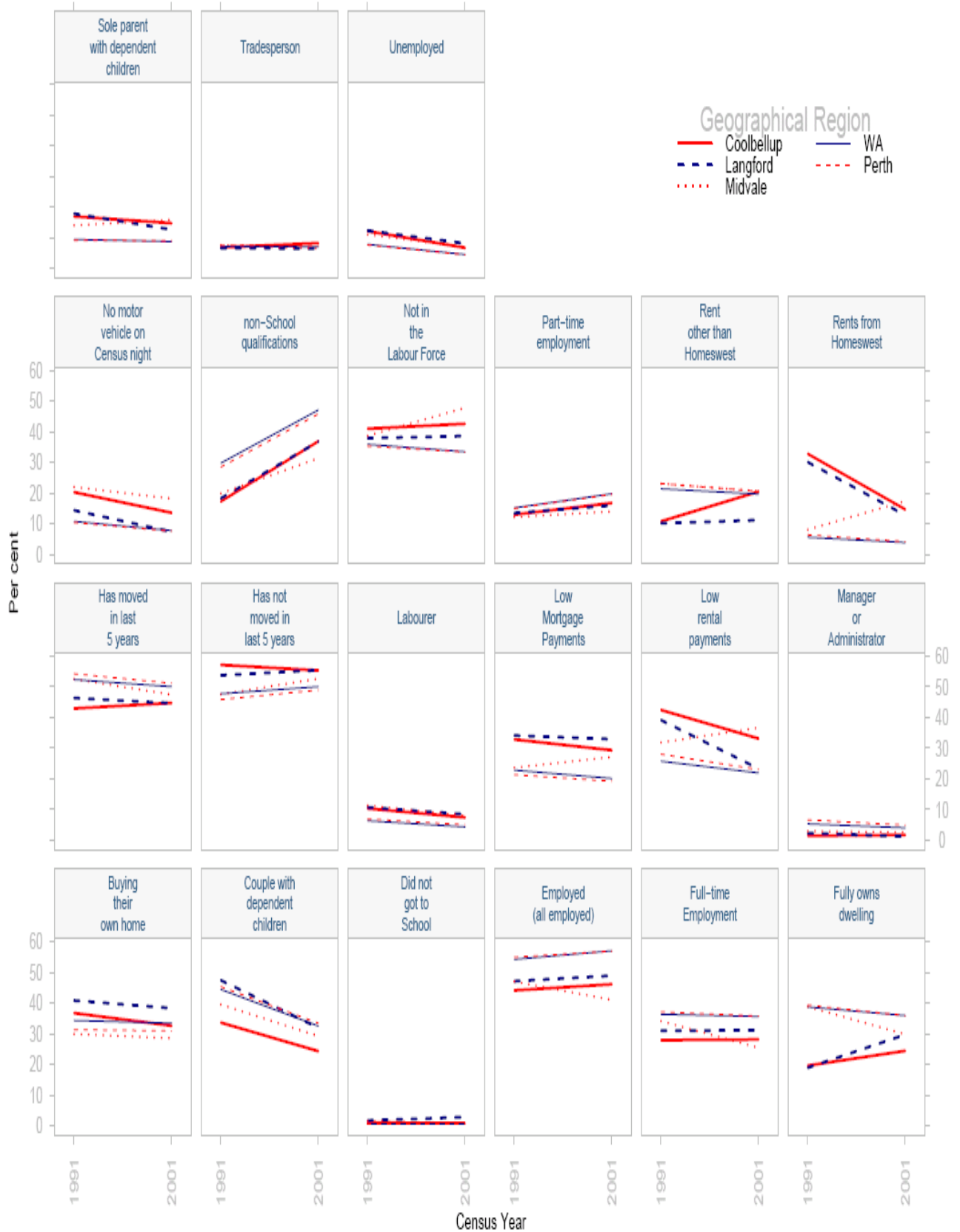
Table 10: Description of variables used in data analysis

Variables used	Technical details of the variable used
Did not go to school	Proportion of people aged 15 and over who indicated that they did not attend school as a child
Couple with dependent child(ren)	Families with two parents and at least one dependent child as a proportion of all families
Sole parent with dependent child(ren)	Family with only one parent and a least on dependent child
Rents from Homeswest	Dwelling rented from SHA as a proportion of all occupied private dwellings
Fully owns dwelling	Dwellings that are fully owned (not being purchased) as a proportion of all occupied private dwellings
Buying their own home	Dwellings being purchased (including rent/buy schemes) as a proportion of all occupied private dwellings
Rent other than Homeswest	All rental housing other than SHA properties as a proportion of occupied private dwellings
Low mortgage payments	All dwellings with a housing loan repayment of less than \$1,000 per month (\$701 in 1991) as a proportion of all occupied private dwellings
Low rental payments	All dwelling with a weekly rental payment of less than \$300 (\$228 -1991) as a proportion of all occupied private dwellings
Full-time employment	Persons employed full-time as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
Part-time employment	Persons employed part-time as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
Unemployment	Unemployed persons as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
Not in the labour force	All persons not looking for work or employed as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
Has not moved in last five years	All persons who were counted in the same house as the previous census as a proportion of all persons aged 5 and over
Non-school qualifications	All persons with a qualification (other than those from school) as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
Manager or administrator	All persons employed as a Manager or Administrator ² as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
Tradesperson	All persons employed as a Tradesperson as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
Labourer	All persons employed as a Labourer as a proportion of all persons aged 15 and over
No motor vehicle on Census night	All dwellings where there was no access to a motor vehicle on the night of the census as a proportion of all occupied private dwellings
Crowded dwellings (more than six people)	All dwellings with six or more usual residents as a proportion of all occupied private dwellings

² see ABS Occupation classification for more detail

APPENDIX 3: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF METROPOLITAN SITES, 1991-2001

Figure 3: Comparative analysis of metropolitan sites, 1991-2001



APPENDIX 4: OVERVIEW OF TOPICS IN LOCAL MEDIA

Table 11: Overview of topics in local media in New Living localities

	Newspaper	Anti-social behaviour and crime	Shortage of social housing	Reducing social housing	Eviction of tenants	Reduction of services	Lowering of crime	Rising house prices
Carey Park	South Western Times 26/6/03							
	South Western Times 3/7/03							
Rangeway	MidWest Times Geraldton 6/8/03							
	Geraldton Guardian 6/8/03							
Golden Grove	Golden Mail	Housing Strategy for Kalgoorlie – Boulder						
Midvale	West Australian							
Coolbellup	Fremantle Gazette 25/7/02							
	Cockburn Gazette 28/10/03							
	West Australian							

APPENDIX 5: NATIONAL COMPARISON OF URBAN RENEWAL

State		Aims of physical/environmental initiatives	Aims of community development Initiatives	Social Social development Initiatives	Economic
WA	Renewal and redevelopment are used interchangeably	To refurbish houses for sale and rent To reduce social stigma through better quality social housing	To create a satisfied community	To improve the social mix To reduce social housing To reduce social stigma through less quantity of social housing	To be self-funding To create local employment To promote home ownership
NSW	Renewal	To improve the quality of housing and surrounding infrastructure	To involve residents in decision making for their local area	To improve services to the community To improve housing management To diversify tenure To diversify social mix To improve transportation To reduce crime	To create employment and associated training
SA	Redevelopment	To develop a choice of housing styles for both tenants and home buyers To improve, modernise and update housing for Trust tenants		To create greater opportunities for private rental accommodation To improve local facilities and services for residents	To create a wide range of home ownership opportunities for home buyers To create employment and training opportunities

State		Aims of physical/environmental initiatives	Aims of community development Initiatives	Social Social development Initiatives	Economic
Qld	Separates urban renewal (changing the physical landscape) from community renewal (improvement of quality of life)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To reduce crime through design To beautify the area To improve the quality of housing To enrich the local environment To improve the look and feel of the neighbourhood 	To link disadvantaged residents to broader community and local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To reduce social housing To provide greater choices of housing to meet current community needs To improve access to community services and facilities To expand opportunities for young people To improve safety and security 	To create local employment and training through building

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