

BUILDING Sustainable Communities

The following is an excerpt from a paper titled *Housing as a Key Element of a Sustainable Community* presented by Ruth Ambler at the National Homelessness Conference in Melbourne in May 1999. The paper presents two examples of South Australian approaches to developing sustainable communities. The first relates to urban renewal and the second describes an initiative of the City of Adelaide. Due to limited space and the relevance of urban renewal in Western Australia, only this example has been chosen for inclusion in this excerpt.

First, some general comments on sustainable communities and what we might mean by that term.

According to the Joint Center for Sustainable Communities in the US, the three pillars of sustainable communities are:

- Job growth;
- Environmental stewardship;
- Social equity.

I would probably define these key “pillars” more broadly as:

- Sustainable economy (including job growth);

- Sustainable environment;
- Sustainable social structures.

Housing is central to all three pillars of a sustainable community. It is an important aspect of economic activity, not only because of the direct benefits to the building industry, but because of the secure base it provides people to enable them to participate in the labour force. It is important to the environment because the way we use our built environment impacts upon our resource use. It is important to our social structures because a house is a home from which people engage in social activities and become part of the community.

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While a sustainable community must include strategies for health care, education, employment and many other areas of public policy and service delivery, the provision of housing is fundamental to the ability of community members to take advantage of other opportunities.

However, as we know, a sustainable community (or any community, for that matter) is less an “entity”, with defined key pillars or elements, than a process. The National Community Building Network (US) has developed 8 Principles of Effective Community Building, which describe some of the processes which need to take place to build sustainable communities.

1. Integrate community development and human services strategies. (Integrate antipoverty efforts and bricks and mortar).
2. Forge partnerships through collaboration.
3. Build on community strengths.
4. Start from local conditions.
5. Foster broad community participation.
6. Require racial equity.
7. Value cultural strengths.
8. Support families and children.

You will note that the first principle stresses the importance of integrating housing with other social measures, a key theme of our discussions here today.

Urban Renewal

The SA Housing Trust realised some time ago that they had a huge asset management problem on their hands. Like many other public housing au-

thorities, they had high levels of 3 bedroom stock located in areas where people did not want to live, which was deteriorating fast.

In 1987 the Trust embarked upon SA’s first public housing estate renewal in Mitchell Park (South of the City).

In the mid to late 1990s, the SA Housing Trust moved into urban renewal in a big way. There are at least five urban regeneration projects going ahead at present, and a further ten or so areas have been identified as either being areas of multiple disadvantage or needing stock replacement or reduction.

The Trust probably embarked on this large-scale renewal to deal with asset management imperatives. However, there was (and is) also a genuine concern for communities who are facing multiple disadvantage as a result of economic factors outside of their control, and a desire to improve not just their physical environment but their life opportunities.

The methodology the Housing Trust uses for identifying areas requiring attention has therefore broadened to examine not only asset management considerations, but also indicators such as unemployment, household income, incidence of crime, poor health outcomes, child protection notifications and education statistics.

The Housing Trust recognised that they were dealing with social issues in which they had limited expertise. The SA government recognised that if urban renewal was to be a success, it could not be solely the Housing Trust’s responsibility. They acknowledged that planning urban renewal means

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planning health responses; involving community services; dealing with economic issues, including jobs; and ensuring that the correct training and educational opportunities are available.

High level discussions on urban renewal therefore began within government, and urban renewal was put firmly on the whole-of-government agenda. Various internal committees were established, including a Departmental CEO level committee. These committees are attempting not only to co-ordinate the work of the Department of Human Services (which encompasses health, housing, and welfare) but also to ensure that education, employment and other relevant areas are involved.

Over the last number of years the Housing Trust has also realised that they can not actually improve areas through urban renewal without involving the local communities. And, as they began to involve local communities, through consultations and the establishment of formal consultative/reference groups, they realised that in many cases these “depressed” communities were also vibrant communities; communities who wanted a real say over the changes in their neighbourhoods. The Housing Trust began talking about – and having a role in - community development. In fact over the last two years the Trust has trained a number of neighbourhood development officers to work with communities in urban renewal areas.

However, while all this is laudable, does this method of government intervention via delivering housing assistance, and of attempting to tie in other social and economic policies, really lead to the development of sustainable communities?

While I do not want to disappoint you, I do not pretend I have the answer to that question. What I do have is some further questions and comments which are pertinent to that question.

My first comment is about the dichotomy between community wishes – and ultimately, community control - and asset management imperatives. For example, in the huge Parks redevelopment, there is a strong community of people who have lived in the area a long time. As part of the urban renewal, almost 2,000 Housing Trust dwellings will be demolished and public housing in the area will be reduced from 60% of total stock to 25%. Large numbers of current residents will be moved out. Many of these will not be able to return as the levels of public housing will simply not accommodate them. This is necessary for financial reasons, as large numbers of newly-built houses must be sold to fund the redevelopment. What is the view of the residents about this? A considerable contingent of residents believe that upgrading the existing houses, and doing some stock replacement, would allow their strong community to remain intact. They are asking for better quality accommodation and more life opportunities, but not at the cost of decimating their community.

Mark Peel, referring to the Rosewood Development in Elizabeth, puts the question very well in his 1995 book *Good Times, Hard Times, The Past and the Future in Elizabeth*:

My understanding of the Rosewood project is that the Trust is doing its best to minimise the disruption suffered by relocated tenants, and its special mortgage schemes will help some

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achieve home ownership. But if Rosewood is a demonstration of the likely future for depressed urban areas, then it raises some troubling questions. Given the emphasis on relocating tenants, rather than renovating around them, will the benefits of this particular 'better city' be delivered to those who need them most? Who will actually gain from urban rehabilitation and the privatisation of a public housing area? To what extent does redevelopment and privatisation simply result in rewarding that generation and those groups well served by public housing policy in the 1960s and penalising late-comers?¹

This could well have been written about the Parks. Some may argue that this approach to renewal creates a more sustainable community through a better social mix – but at what cost to the existing community?

This brings me to questions of social mix. Just what is it, and does it lead to sustainable communities? I agree that in an ideal world we would have people of all social strata living alongside each other in one happy community, and I certainly agree that placing people facing multiple disadvantage in the same geographical area is not likely to produce a good outcome for them. I am also aware that some very strong, sustainable communities are very diverse communities. However, I think we need to approach the idea of **creating** "social mix" with caution.

There is some anecdotal evidence, for example, of public housing tenants feeling quite out of place in newly built, upwardly mobile areas such as Golden

Grove in South Australia. This begs the question as to why this appears to be happening in Golden Grove, but does not appear to be happening in some of the older, leafy inner city suburbs.

It raises issues about creating social mix via housing policy, and concern about social mix being seen as some sort of panacea for the social problems faced by some low income people. In the urban renewal process, at least, as Mark Peel notes, it is perhaps more likely to be a method for moving problems from one area to another rather than dealing with them and developing a truly sustainable community.

So, in examining whether the sorts of urban renewal processes outlined above are going to develop sustainable communities (as defined by the "three pillars" I mentioned earlier) I think the jury is out.

Similarly, in regard to the principles of community building I talked about earlier, there are a number of concerns. The integration of bricks and mortar with other social issues is improving. Community consultation processes also seem to be improving.

However, there is still a propensity to leave the community development role to relatively untrained people who are employees of the Housing Trust, who in turn are managed by Trust officers whose primary responsibility is asset management. There is also a lack of clear parameters for community decision-making and a lack of community control.

As noted by Duncan MacLennan:

New Staff at Shelter WA

Many studies within Joseph Rowntree Foundation's Action on Estates Programme showed that even the most ambitious urban regeneration schemes are unlikely to work unless founded on a solid base of community participation. Involving residents late – or in tokenistic ways – is damaging.²

We should perhaps look more closely at urban renewal processes in the UK. For example, in some situations that involve a transfer of assets to a Housing Association, a vote of residents must be taken for the process to continue. I think if we had some such rule here the treatment of local communities by the government and other decision-makers may be quite different.

¹ Peel, M., (1995) *Good Times, Hard Times, The Past and the Future in Elizabeth*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 235

² MacLennan, D., Keynote address, "Overview of UK and European Experience in Urban Renewal" in *1998 National Urban Renewal Seminar, Revitalising Housing Areas*, Adelaide, 1998, p. 47

After more than four years at Shelter WA, *Camille Inifer* has left the organisation, leaving a huge gap to be filled. Camille has developed a wealth of knowledge about social housing issues, both in relation to broad housing policy and operational matters relating to Homeswest. Camille made an enormous contribution to the organisation over the years and has played a significant role in many issues that have resulted in better outcomes for low income people. Camille will be missed greatly.

We took this opportunity to reassess the staffing needs of the organisation and have split the position into two part time positions.

Glynis Menezes has been employed as the Administration Officer. Glynis has held a number of positions in the Indian Overseas Bank and brings a range of experience and skill to Shelter WA.

Catriona Cameron has been appointed as the Community Development and Policy Officer. Catriona has a range of experience in community development and policy related areas including positions with: local government; the Residential and Community Care Advocacy Service; The Association for the Blind of WA; and Family and Children's Services.

Both Glynis and Catriona have settled in well and are proving to be a great asset to the organisation. We welcome Catriona and Glynis to Shelter WA.

Ministry of Housing Update

Following previous information, we can now report that the Ministry of Housing was launched on 16 June 1999. At this stage there is nothing further to report regarding the structure of the Ministry, however, Minister Hames also outlined a number of new initiatives, including:

- All existing rental stock in the metropolitan area over 10 years old that are in poor condition will be upgraded. It is estimated that about 300 houses a year will be refurbished with the program extending over the next 10 years. This program is in addition to the existing New Living program and tenants with a proven track record will be given first option on these properties.
- A scheme to help unemployed tenants find a job and eventually own their own home is to be introduced. This is a partnership between Homeswest and local Job Network outlets and is to be trialled in Kwinana and Rockingham in 1999/2000.
- A project focused on accommodation for older people will be trialled in Mandurah, Bentley and Tuart Hill. The units will incorporate design features suggested by seniors and will be evaluated for consideration in future seniors housing.
- The implementation of a training initiative for Ministry of Housing staff aimed at improving customer service.
- The Government Employees Housing Authority has committed \$4 million to maintenance work on the authority's properties across the state.
- The reintroduction of the Aboriginal Tenants Advocacy Service which was piloted in 1996. This service was developed to provide culturally appropriate support, advice and advocacy to resolve tenancy and housing problems.
- Fourteen Aboriginal communities will join the Aboriginal Housing Directorate's Management Support Programs for Aboriginal Communities.

National Shelter Update

New Project Officer

While National Shelter has not employed a worker since being defunded in June 1997, funding from the Cavill Foundation enabled it to continue to produce its journal *National Housing Action*, maintain basic national administrative operations, and meet the costs for unfunded State Shelters to attend Council meetings.

The good news is that we have received another grant from the Cavill Foundation that has enabled us to employ a project worker until December 1999. Carole Croce has been appointed to the position and has a strong policy background with experience both in Australia and the USA. Most recently, Carol was employed with the Australian Youth Policy and Action Coalition (AYPAC) which was also defunded last year.

At our May meeting, we agreed that the focus of the project will be on the relationship between housing, health, social security and employment and how these factors impact on developing/maintaining sustainable communities. The first stage will be to undertake a literature search, which will be followed by a detailed project scope.

National Council Meetings

Two National Council meetings have been held since the last newsletter, one in March and another in May. The major items of discussion include the following:

- National Shelter developed a submission to the Senate Inquiry identifying the impact of the proposed tax reform on housing.
- A planning session identified four key result areas for National Shelter, those being:
 - 1 Reposition housing as a key social policy issue.
 - 2 Position National Shelter as an authority on housing policy.
 - 3 Continue to improve the capacity to operate as an unfunded organisation.
 - 4 Investigate sources of ongoing funding for National Shelter.

From this a number of strategies have been identified to guide our work over the next 12 months.

- Keith Ogborn - Assistant Secretary, Housing in the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services met to discuss the CSHA and related matters.
- Anthony Albanese, the Federal opposition spokesperson for Housing met with us to discuss Labor's position on housing.
- NSW is coordinating a national project on the cost of homelessness. Through five case studies, the project compares the cost of moving out of homelessness with the costs associated with staying in public housing and staying in the private rental market.

Housing Advisory Committee Update

HAC is an independently chaired committee with representatives from a number of peak consumer organisations, Homeswest, the Department of Social Security, the Minister's office and the Aboriginal Housing Board. The committee advises the Minister for Housing and the Executive Director of Homeswest on Homeswest policies and programs as well as identifying housing needs in the community.

Shelter WA is a key member of HAC and is funded to provide some research and resource capacity for HAC members. Some of the key issues dealt with by the committee since the last newsletter include:

POLICY

There have been changes to four areas of policy relating to: domestic violence; bond assistance; maintenance and allocation zones.

Domestic Violence Policy

A group of community agencies and individuals came together in November 1997 to look at Homeswest's Domestic Violence policy and practices. The Domestic Violence Working Group (DVWG) prepared a submission that was subsequently endorsed by the Housing Advisory Committee. Following a number of meetings between the DVWG and Homeswest, Shelter WA entered into an agreement to coordinate the re-writing of the Domestic Violence Policy. The new policy has now been finalised and an information sheet has been produced outlining the key areas of change and the outstanding issues around which agreement could not be reached. Please refer to the information sheet for further

information.

Bond Assistance Policy

At the February meeting of HAC, Homeswest tabled changes to the Bond Assistance policy for comment by the committee. HAC subsequently developed a response which included the following key points:

- It supported the proposal that Homeswest:
 - ⇒ pay a bond float to the Bond Administrator; and
 - ⇒ conduct an income type survey for existing bond account holders in default.

- It opposed the proposals that:
 - ⇒ a three month residency clause be implemented that would require applicants to have been residing in Western Australia for a minimum of three months;
 - ⇒ bond assistance approvals be subject to the applicant passing a credit check; and
 - ⇒ applicants be required to make their first installment of the loan repayment, in advance, immediately upon approval.

- In addition, HAC recommended the following changes:
 - ⇒ regular indexing in line with increase in median private market rents;
 - ⇒ a review of current publicity and promotion strategies; and
 - ⇒ a review of other aspects of Bond Assistance policy.

HAC has subsequently received advice as follows:

- The bond float, income survey and three month residency proposals are to be implemented as proposed.

- Implementation of the credit checks is to be placed on hold to allow more time to develop the necessary data to support this change.
- The advance payment proposal is to be implemented. However, sufficient discretionary powers will be built into the policy for genuine hardship cases.
- In relation to indexing, Bond Assistance is based on four times the media rent for 2 and 3 bedroom accommodation. These levels are reviewed periodically or when customers indicate an increasing shortfall of the Bond Assistance in meeting the cost of the bond. A 1998 survey indicated customers were satisfied with the current levels and it was agreed that there be a further review in June 1999. Ad hoc customer surveys of the City Office have revealed that customers are still quite happy with the current levels.

Maintenance Policy Review

Homeswest recently undertook a review of the Maintenance Policy and developed a matrix of proposed changes that was tabled at HAC for comment. It was agreed that individual agencies would respond as appropriate.

The Tenants Advice Service and Shelter WA developed a response which included comments on a large number of issues. At this stage, we have not received a response from Homeswest to our submission and we are not aware which changes have been implemented.

Revised Allocation Zones

HAC was advised at the May meeting that there has been a reduction of zones in the metropolitan

area from 24 to 16 in order to broaden availability of stock within zones and reduce waiting times. The regions affected are Mirrabooka and Fremantle and updated lists will be circulated to Policy Manual holders. If you would like further information, contact your Homeswest office.

SUB-COMMITTEES OF HAC

Rental Operations Policy Sub-Committee

The issue of resourcing this committee remains unresolved and HAC has been advised that this will be determined through the Office of Policy of the Ministry of Housing.

Community Housing Advisory Sub-Committee

The Community Housing Advisory Sub-Committee has been established to: develop the strategic direction of Community Housing in WA; identify and recommend research to be undertaken; and advise (through HAC) on Community Housing policy and program initiatives. It has representation from Homeswest, the Community Housing Coalition of WA, the Federation of Community Housing Collectives, Shelter WA, a regional housing association, a Local Government provider, and an indigenous housing provider. To date three meetings have been held and the key issues under consideration include:

- the budget process;
- the rolling funding rounds;
- selection criteria for community housing funding programs;
- grievance and appeals procedures;
- a common social housing waiting list; and
- the development of a strategic plan for the

Housing Advisory Committee Update continued...

community housing sector.

Commonwealth/State Housing Agreement (CSHA) Sub-Committee

As a requirement of the existing CSHA, the Strategic Plan Advisory Committee (SPAC) was formed to provide advice and information on the development of the Strategic Plan. In response to one of the recommendations of the Ministry of Housing Taskforce, the SPAC has now been disbanded. In the absence of a forum to contribute to the CSHA and Bilateral Agreement process, HAC identified the need to establish a CSHA sub-committee. This matter will be further pursued once the Ministry of Housing is established.

Customer Service Executive Council

Shelter WA is the HAC representative on this committee. Two of the key issues that we have been involved in are:

- a review of the procedures for maintenance contractors attending at people's homes; and
- the review of the Homeswest Customer Service Charter.

Home Finance Advisory Committee

The main areas of work undertaken by the committee include:

- quantitative and qualitative research following a survey of community agencies to try and identify issues and concerns with the home ownership schemes;
- the development of a dispute resolution scheme; and
- the development of a Code of Conduct regarding home visits by representatives from retailers.

OTHER ISSUES

Housing Stock Planning

- In response to concerns about the decreasing level of stock, information is being sought on housing stock planning.

Invitations

Invitations to meet with the Committee have been extended to the Chairman of the Homeswest Board and the Chairperson of the Public Housing Review Panel.

Upgrade of Shelter's Equipment

After struggling with outdated equipment, Shelter WA received a capital upgrade grant from the Lotteries Commission. This has enabled us to upgrade computing equipment and software, our fax and printer. This has made an enormous difference to our work and we finally feel like we've entered the age of technology.

The Commonwealth/State Housing Agreement

The current CSHA is due to expire on 30 June 1999 and still no new agreement has been signed. A draft agreement had been negotiated and agreed to by all States but this has been thrown into doubt with the new Democrats/Coalition deal regarding the Tax Reform Package.

The draft agreement is for four years, does not incorporate any indexation and once again, applies an efficiency dividend. This would result in funding of \$957.609m in 1999/2000, reducing to \$929.18m in 2002/2003. Following the announcement of the Coalition's Tax Reform package, the States and Territories managed to get the Commonwealth to commit an extra \$269m compensation if the GST is implemented. Importantly, State Housing Authorities agreed to this figure based on a calculation that offset the cost of the GST against the revenue to be gained through rent increases. That is, given that public housing rent is set as a percentage of income, rent increases would flow from the 4% rise in benefits that forms part of the

compensation package. Given that the vast majority of public housing tenants are in receipt of a benefit, (approximately 90% in WA), the increase in rents represents a significant amount of income for the State Housing Authorities.

Since then, the Democrats/Coalition deal now stipulates that *public housing rents will exclude GST compensation in the formula for determining the 25% of pensions rent rate* (Democrats Issue Sheet '99 – Housing). Our advice is that the States and Territories are now reconsidering whether they are prepared to sign the CSHA.

With regards to the Bilaterals we can report only that presuming that the CSHA is signed, funds will flow and the States have until December 1999 to finalise their agreements. In addition, the States and Territories are required to enter into a national data agreement and a national research agenda.

There's No Place Like Home

National Conference on Homelessness

In May, Council to Homeless Persons Victoria hosted a national conference on homelessness. The conference followed the National Shelter Council meeting which provided an opportunity too good to miss for Shelter WA.

The conference focused around three key themes:

1. Sustainable communities.

2. Early intervention.
3. Support and accommodation – from crisis to transition.

A copy of the conference papers will be in our library as soon as they are available.

Homeswest Page

(The page where Homeswest has it's say)

The New Living Program

The State Government is changing the face of public housing with Homeswest's New Living Program, involving expenditure of more than \$300 million in the metropolitan area.

New Living is the largest urban renewal project to take place in Western Australia and substantial progress across a number of former public housing estates is being made.

New Living aims to: reduce public housing presence in estates with a high concentration of Homeswest dwellings; refurbish homes for sale to the public and existing tenants; reduce the social stigma attached to areas with high concentrations of public housing; upgrade and refurbish Homeswest rental housing stock; and amongst other things, create a sustainable, revitalised community.

Importantly, New Living is giving hundreds of Homeswest tenants the opportunity to purchase a home (either their current home or another property). Tenants who choose to relocate can choose from properties across the metropolitan

area.

New Living currently involves redevelopment projects in Kwinana, Lockridge, Balga, Koondoola, Girrawheen, Westminister, Karawara, Coolbellup, Langford and Armadale. New projects in Westfield and Midvale are due to come on line in the near future.

The benefits of the two "flagship" New Living Projects, Kwinana and Lockridge (which commenced in 1995) are becoming quite evident. Property values have increased in these areas by 12% and crime rates remain substantially better than the metropolitan average (crime has, in fact, decreased by 55% in Lockridge since the start of the program).

A recent survey has shown residents feel more positive about their community, safer in their community, crime rates are dropping and property values are rising. 76% of respondents, regardless of suburb, support Homeswest's New Living Program, 78% think that Kwinana and Lockridge are now much nicer places to live, 80% agreed the

changes have enhanced their community and 93% think the changes represent a positive step forward.

In addition, through a program of urban consolidation and redevelopment, a number of areas with a high Homeswest presence are also being targeted.

Redevelopment allows Homeswest to improve the quality of life and living environment of its tenants by: providing housing appropriate to their needs; freeing up old housing stock for sale "as is", for refurbishment and sale, or for subdivision and sale; and reducing the public housing presence to 12% of dwellings in the area.

Suburbs prioritised for redevelopment over the next 2-3 years include Ashfield, Doubleview, Scarborough, Innaloo, Midland, Midvale, Willagee, Mt Claremont, Rivervale, Redcliffe, Bedford, Gendalough, Como, Bentley, East Victoria Park and St. James.

Please note that last year, expressions of interest were sought by Homeswest to undertake an evaluation of the efficiency and social

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effectiveness of Homeswest's 'New Living' Program (formerly known as the Estates Improvement Program) in Kwinana and Lockridge, (the first of the estates to be redeveloped). ERM Mitchell McCotter were appointed to do the evaluation and subsequently produced a report. However, the report has not been released to the public and remains an internal document of Homeswest. The Redevelopment Working Group is currently pursuing a Freedom of Information Application to obtain the report.

In addition, Shelter has commented on the redevelopment program in a number of publications including our Special Edition Newsletter in June 1998 and our Information Sheet No. 6, 1999. Please refer to these articles for further information.

Housing Dimensions of Citizenship and Social Exclusion

In May, Shelter WA and the Curtin University School of Social Work presented a seminar by Robina Goodlad titled *Housing Dimensions of Citizenship and Social Exclusion*. Robina is Professor of Housing and Urban Studies at the University of Glasgow and has been involved with housing related issues for the past 15 years. The following is a summary of the seminar.

The seminar introduced the concepts of citizenship and social exclusion, and their relevance to housing, and models of welfare and access. Four case studies provided examples of how the concepts have been applied and evolved in the United Kingdom.

Citizenship & Social Exclusion

Citizenship is the nature of rights and obligations that exist within a community. For example, tenants rights and obligations are experienced in their relationships with landlords, the State, and local authorities. Citizenship is multi-dimensional, with people having membership of a variety of communities. In the United Kingdom, for example, people from Scotland have both local and national identities and this is now reflected in the different tiers of government.

Social exclusion is a process which excludes individuals or groups from membership of a community or communities. The literature on social exclusion has emphasised the process rather than the 'end state'.

Social exclusion is about "relative" poverty. It places emphasis on the fact that exclusion is the result, whether intentional, deliberate or an unintended consequence, of social and/or

economic policies. The process of social exclusion leads to a lack of resources, and its impact is experienced as poverty, as well as limited access to, or exclusion from the labour market, family and community networks, and civic, legal and political rights and processes.

Social exclusion has potential relevance for housing. However the term is not always clearly defined and has been developed in different ways to serve different agendas. There has been ambiguity in the way governments interpret and use the term. For example in Scotland there is a "Social Inclusion" Working Party.

Models of Welfare and Access

The seminar identified three models of welfare. The first is the *market model* which holds that individuals are best placed to determine their needs, and the market is the best distributor of welfare. In housing, for example, this has been put into practice with a shift away from 'bricks and mortar' to increasing Rent Assistance provisions. The market model believes the market is an appropriate way to create welfare. Its focus is on "access", that is assisting people to access services, rather than on "welfare", that is the direct provision of services.

The *formal rights model* is a social rights approach as defined in the post war settlement. In this model, the State played a strong role in service provision, including the areas of housing, education, health and welfare services. It is an approach designed to "even up" the welfare of different people and to some extent prevent social exclusion. The model relied on a combination of active social spending and legal rights reflected in

legislation. It was based on assumptions about the nature of the family, full employment, and the role of the male breadwinner. In this model, the nature of state provision had a paternalistic tone.

The third model is the *substantive rights model* that was developed through the formal rights model being challenged in the 1960s and 1970s with the rise of the women's movement, disability movement and other social action groups. It was recognised that formal rights are not the same as substantive rights. In challenging State provision it was realised that the State was not meeting the needs of people who were supposed to be having their needs met.

Case Studies

1. Tenant Participation

Tenant participation is a dimension of housing that was overlooked until relatively recently and had no place between 1945 and the late 1960s. In 1968 tenants organisations in Britain were actively demanding a Tenants' Charter which included the right to be consulted and participate in decision making. The term was "hijacked" by politicians and incorporated into the Housing Act.

The Housing Act's Tenant's Charter outlined entitlements, legal rights and housing management issues, including the 'right to buy' which was strongly opposed by tenants' organisations at the time. The right to consultation was included in the English and Welsh Acts but not in the Scottish Act.

In the 1980s local authorities and housing associations took on the idea that tenants should be more involved. A variety of consultative mechanisms were used ranging from token involvement through to active dialogue, although they often looked the same on paper.

Approaches to tenant participation informed by the citizenship model, rather than a consumerist model,

have a broader understanding of tenants and their representatives. They tend to be more complex in their decision processes with a more complex dialogue that can include trade offs.

2. Tenants Rights in the Council and Housing Association Sector

In 1980 the Housing Act brought together the rights of tenants in the Council and housing association sectors. In 1988 these rights were separated, particularly in relation to security of tenure. This change aligned the rights of housing association tenants with that of private tenants, thereby reducing their status. In practice, the housing associations did not want a reduction of tenants rights and wanted to replicate rights through contracts, which was achieved through their Federation. Meanwhile tenants were opposing the transfer of housing from Councils to housing associations. The housing associations were gaining repossession and evicting at a higher level, not because they were more disposed to do so but because they had a greater percentage of high risk tenants. It would seem that their "small is beautiful" approach provides a better and closer working relationship with tenants. There are however local variations and it is difficult to make assumptions from theory to practice.

This example does highlight the complexity of tenants rights' issues. Many landlords had been influenced by consumerism, with a focus on customer service rather than consideration for the rights and obligations of tenants. There needs to be a balance between the rights of individual tenants and collective tenants. For example, with issues surrounding the succession rights of housing and requests for purpose built housing. A consumerist approach to housing is too narrow and inadequate.

3. Housing Advice

Housing Dimensions of Citizenship and Social Exclusion Continued...

In 1956/57 the first voluntary sector housing advice service was established. In 1977 legislation was passed granting rights to accommodation for some homeless people. In the 1990s there has been an increase in street homelessness and in 1994 the Conservative government decided that the way to reduce homelessness statistics was to reduce the rights in relation to homeless people. For example, homeless people would have to join a waiting list along with all other prospective tenants. At the same time government was promoting housing advice and accommodation agencies to assist people into the private market, be it private rental or home ownership.

The local authorities generally took an approach of fairly applying laws, and advice work was used as a way of assessing whether people qualified for public housing. In the Voluntary Sector housing was seen as a moral entitlement, and voluntary organisations campaigned for policies that would establish substantive rights, ie people are entitled to housing.

4. Scotland

The identity of Scottish people has been strengthened by the movement to devolution. Scotland has had separate legal systems and a different set of institutions and social policies for areas including housing, health and education. In the early 1990s the Scottish Homelessness

Legislation was kept but in England and Wales the legislation was amended and rights reduced in 1996. Rights are being reintroduced by the Labor Government.

Conclusions

- Accounts of social policy can imply that things are always getting better. There is no 'onwards and upwards' in social policy and in social housing there are new and different ways of social exclusion.
- Formal rights are not the same as substantive rights, and rights written in law are not always applied in practice.
- Non-government organisations, local authorities and local actors do make a difference. Everything doesn't occur due to immovable economic forces, people can make a difference. People have different outcomes in different contexts.
- Citizenship does not equal consumerism. Consumerism addresses a narrow set of issues whereas citizenship has a much broader focus.

Role of Shelter WA

Shelter WA is a peak community managed housing organisation established in 1979, which seeks to represent the views of consumers and community groups on major housing issues. Shelter WA aims to ensure that every person has access to affordable, appropriate, secure and safe housing that is free from discrimination. It does this through:

- Coordinating and representing community sector views to government;
- Developing and responding to policy
- Providing education and information; and
- Promoting alternative housing models.