



New Living – Urban Renewal in Public Housing in Perth

Shelter WA Occasional Paper 2003-3, by Karel Eringa (September 2003)

New Living is the urban renewal program of the Department of Housing and Works. The program aims “to redevelop older public housing estates to create more attractive living environments, to reduce the Department’s rental presence and to encourage home ownership.” New Living’s goals include:¹

- Reducing crime.
- Improving living standards.
- Reducing whole of government social costs.
- Providing a balanced social mix.
- Increasing property values.

Since its inception in the mid 1990s, the New Living Program has resulted in extensive changes to a range of suburbs with a high level of disadvantage. In the metropolitan area, New Living has affected areas including Balga / Westminster (the “New North”), Coolbellup, Kwinana (the “New Kwinana”) and Midland / Midvale (“Eastern Horizons”). While the peak of the urban renewal activity in the metropolitan area has now passed, New Living is picking up pace in regional centres, including Bunbury, Kalgoorlie, Geraldton, Carnarvon, South Hedland and Albany.

The program’s size and scope make it surprising that, to date, little research has been done into the social and economic impact of New Living. This is all the more remarkable as urban renewal programs, including New Living, tend to be controversial - partly due to their size and partly because they require State Housing Authorities to balance the social and economic needs of local communities with their asset management agendas.²

This paper focuses on the impact of New Living on the social mix, house prices and rents that have occurred since 1996 in ten New Living suburbs across the Perth metropolitan area: Balga, Coolbellup, Karawara, Koondoola, Langford, Lockridge, Medina, Orelia, Parmelia and Westminster. All of the suburbs had a relatively high proportion of public housing before the implementation of New Living. In addition, they are areas where New Living had either just commenced or had not yet commenced in 1996, and was well under way to completion by 2001.

The analysis uses two sets of data. Firstly, the social characteristics of the suburbs are based on data from the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. Secondly, house prices and rents are taken from Shelter WA’s data sets, which are compiled from statistics published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Department of Housing and Works, Real Estate Institute of WA, Valuer General’s Office and Reserve Bank of Australia.

Population and Housing

Table 1 gives an indication of the scope of the New Living program in the ten selected suburbs at both the time of the 1996 Census and the 2001 Census. The table indicates that the public housing presence across the ten suburbs fell from around 1 in 3 dwellings in 1996 to around 1 in 6 in 2002.³ This compares to a fall in the proportion of public housing from 4.8% to 4.1% of all housing across the Perth metropolitan area over 1996-2001.

¹ Department of Housing and Works, *Landstart New Living*, in Shelter WA Newsletter, September 2003

² See C. Cameron, *Redevelopment of Public Housing Estates*, Shelter WA Occasional Paper 2000-1

³ Nevertheless, public housing continued to form a substantial proportion of total rental stock across the ten suburbs. In 1996 public housing represented three quarters of total rental stock, falling to half by 2001.

Table 1: Persons and Dwellings, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1996 and 2001

	Persons		Total Occupied Dwellings		Average Household Size		Public Housing Presence	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2002
Balga	9,412	8,909	3,770	3,596	2.5	2.5	34.3%	23.8%
Coolbellup	5,308	4,850	2,147	2,051	2.5	2.4	31.9%	24.5%
Karawara	2,002	1,609	782	442	2.6	3.6	69.4%	30.0%
Koondoola	4,004	3,921	1,300	1,343	3.1	2.9	20.8%	15.8%
Langford	4,858	4,444	1,677	1,630	2.9	2.7	28.9%	14.6%
Lockridge	2,913	3,546	1,065	1,372	2.7	2.6	27.6%	14.7%
Medina	2,060	2,125	889	946	2.3	2.2	41.9% ¹	8.5%
Orelia	2,785	3,659	1,112	1,498	2.5	2.4	31.3%	9.3%
Parmelia	6,373	6,298	2,154	2,234	3.0	2.8	13.1%	7.7%
Westminster	4,328	4,074	1,662	1,671	2.6	2.4	21.5%	17.0%
NL Suburbs	44,043	43,435	16,558	16,783	2.7	2.6	32.1%	16.6%
Perth	1,244,320	1,339,993	463,850	511,199	2.7	2.6	4.8%	4.1%

¹ As at 30 June 1995. By 30/6/96 the Homeswest presence in Medina had dropped to 23.6%

Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Selected Social and Housing Characteristics for Suburbs and Postal Areas Western Australia, 1996 and 2001, *ABS Catalogue No. 2029.5*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Basic Community Profile, Perth (SD505), *ABS Catalogue No. 2001.0*, 1996 and 2001, Landstart, Transforming Communities, Changing Lives, undated, Homeswest, Homeswest's Market Presence in Western Australia, 1996 and 2002

Table 1 also shows that the number of residents fell in seven out of the ten suburbs and fell marginally (by 1.4%) overall, compared with a 7.7% increase in the Perth metropolitan area as a whole. At the same time, the total number of occupied dwellings increased marginally (by 1.4%) across the ten suburbs. However, there was substantial variation between the various areas. For instance, housing stock fell by 43.5% in Karawara, but increased by 28.8% in Lockridge and by 34.7% in Orelia.

As a result, the average household size in the New Living areas was the same as the Perth average in both 1996 and 2001. In addition, this indicator was relatively uniform in most areas, with two exceptions. Firstly, in Koondoola the average household size was relatively high at 3.1 persons per household in 1996, falling to 2.9 in 2001. Secondly, in Karawara the indicator increased sharply, from just under the Perth median in 1996 to 3.6 persons per household in 2001.

Table 2 indicates that in addition to a relatively high average household size, Karawara is also characterised by a very low median age (24 years in 2001 compared to the Perth average of 34), a large fall in the proportion of people over 65 years (from 11.4% of the population in 1996 to 5.2% in 2001), a low proportion of residents who were born in Australia, and a very low median individual income (\$203 per week compared to the average of \$273 across the ten New Living suburbs and the metropolitan average of \$376).

These statistics are in keeping with anecdotal evidence from locals, which indicate that New Living has resulted in the demolishing of a number of high density flats. Families who previously rented with Homeswest have moved out of the area and young people studying at nearby colleges and Universities, often from various ethnic backgrounds, have moved in.

Table 2: Selected Characteristics, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1996 and 2001

	Median Age		People over 65 years		Australian Born		Indigenous		Median Individual Income	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
Balga	32	33	9.8%	11.0%	63.0%	61.8%	6.1%	4.7%	\$202	\$268
Coolbellup	33	34	10.3%	12.5%	68.2%	67.4%	7.1%	6.0%	\$199	\$282
Karawara	28	24	11.4%	5.2%	46.0%	39.3%	6.1%	2.9%	\$191	\$203
Koondoola	28	31	5.3%	7.8%	61.9%	59.5%	6.8%	6.7%	\$227	\$274
Langford	29	32	7.1%	8.6%	56.7%	56.2%	5.1%	4.1%	\$224	\$281
Lockridge	31	31	8.7%	8.5%	63.7%	64.3%	7.4%	7.0%	\$197	\$294
Medina	33	34	14.5%	14.2%	64.8%	65.2%	7.6%	6.2%	\$205	\$263
Orelia	33	32	11.8%	10.6%	62.4%	61.2%	6.0%	3.6%	\$209	\$313
Parmelia	27	30	5.4%	7.5%	65.7%	65.5%	4.6%	3.9%	\$237	\$289
Westminster	33	35	11.4%	13.1%	60.3%	56.8%	5.1%	4.3%	\$212	\$266
NL Suburbs	31	32	9.0%	10.0%	62.3%	61.2%	6.0%	4.9%	\$210	\$273
Perth	33	34	10.7%	11.2%	64.0%	62.9%	1.4%	1.5%	\$304	\$376

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Selected Social and Housing Characteristics for Suburbs and Postal Areas Western Australia, 1996 and 2001, ABS Catalogue No. 2029.5

On the whole, it is clear from Table 2 that Karawara is the exception, rather than the rule. With some exceptions noted elsewhere, the other nine New Living suburbs are roughly comparable, and between 1996 and 2001 moved closer, to the Perth average in terms of median age, proportion of people over 65 years old and proportion of Australian born residents. On the whole, these statistics show some evidence of a changing social mix in these suburbs.

Indigenous People

Table 2 does reveal one substantial difference between the ten New Living suburbs, which is that the proportion of Indigenous people is substantially higher than the Perth average. However, between 1996 and 2001 the proportion of Indigenous people fell in each of the ten suburbs, from an average of 6.0% of the population of the ten suburbs in 1996 to an average of 4.9% in 2001. This compares to an increase in the proportion of Indigenous people from 1.4% to 1.5% in metropolitan Perth as a whole over the same period.

Table 3 reveals that between 1996 and 2001, the number of Indigenous people fell in nine out of the ten New Living suburbs. The decrease ranged from 2.9% in Koondoola to 26.4% in Langford and 61.8% in Karawara. Overall, the Indigenous population in the ten suburbs fell by 19.3%, compared to an increase in the number of Indigenous people in the Perth metropolitan area of 16.4% over the same period. A different way of looking at these figures is that in 1996, the ten suburbs were home to 15.4% of Perth's Indigenous people; by 2001 this had fallen to 10.7%.

The one exception to the trend was Lockridge, where the Indigenous population increased by 14.4% (from 216 to 247 people) over the five year period. However, the total population of Lockridge increased by 21.7% over the same period, producing a fall in the proportion of Indigenous people (from 7.4% to 7.0%).

Nevertheless, on the whole it is clear that there has been a substantial decline in both the number and the proportion of Indigenous people across the ten New Living suburbs. This is in keeping with the substantial reductions in the proportion of public housing in these areas (see Table 1) and the relatively high proportion of Indigenous tenants in public housing (currently around 20%).

Table 3: Indigenous People, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1996 and 2001

	Population		Change 1996- 2001	Number of Indigenous People		Change 1996- 2001	Proportion of Population		Change 1996- 2001
	1996	2001		1996	2001		1996	2001	
Balga	9,412	8,909	-5.3%	576	421	-26.9%	6.1%	4.7%	-22.8%
Coolbellup	5,308	4,850	-8.6%	379	289	-23.7%	7.1%	6.0%	-16.5%
Karawara	2,002	1,609	-19.6%	123	47	-61.8%	6.1%	2.9%	-52.5%
Koondoola	4,004	3,921	-2.1%	272	264	-2.9%	6.8%	6.7%	-0.9%
Langford	4,858	4,444	-8.5%	250	184	-26.4%	5.1%	4.1%	-19.5%
Lockridge	2,913	3,546	21.7%	216	247	14.4%	7.4%	7.0%	-6.1%
Medina	2,060	2,125	3.2%	156	132	-15.4%	7.6%	6.2%	-18.0%
Orelia	2,785	3,659	31.4%	166	131	-21.1%	6.0%	3.6%	-39.9%
Parmelia	6,373	6,298	-1.2%	291	245	-15.8%	4.6%	3.9%	-14.8%
Westminster	4,328	4,074	-5.9%	219	177	-19.2%	5.1%	4.3%	-14.1%
NL Suburbs	44,043	43,435	-1.4%	2,648	2,137	-19.3%	6.0%	4.9%	-18.2%
Perth	1,244,320	1,339,993	7.7%	17,198	20,015	16.4%	1.4%	1.5%	8.1%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Selected Social and Housing Characteristics for Suburbs and Postal Areas Western Australia, 1996 and 2001, ABS Catalogue No. 2029.5

Housing Tenure

Figure 1 highlights that substantial changes to housing tenure in the ten New Living suburbs occurred between 1996 and 2001. In 1996, 23.1% of households in the ten suburbs owned their home – substantially lower than the metropolitan average of 36.9%. Rates of home purchasing in the New Living suburbs were higher than the Perth average (35.6% compared to 32.0%), and the rental sector (including public, private and community housing) was substantially larger than the Perth average: 37.3% compared to 25.7%.

By 2001, the rental sector in the New Living suburbs had fallen to 29.5%, compared to the Perth average of 23.7%. The proportion of fully owned homes in the New Living areas increased (to 25.5%), but remained well below the metropolitan average (35.9%). However, the proportion of homes being purchased increased to 38.7%, compared to the metropolitan average of 34.1%.

Two suburbs stand out in Figure 1. Firstly, the rental sector in Karawara accounted for 72.0% of all dwellings in the suburb in 1996. While this proportion fell to 51.6% in 2001, this is still more than twice the Perth average. As discussed above, these statistics are in keeping with anecdotal evidence from local people, that families who previously rented with Homeswest have moved out of the area and young people studying at nearby colleges and Universities have moved in.

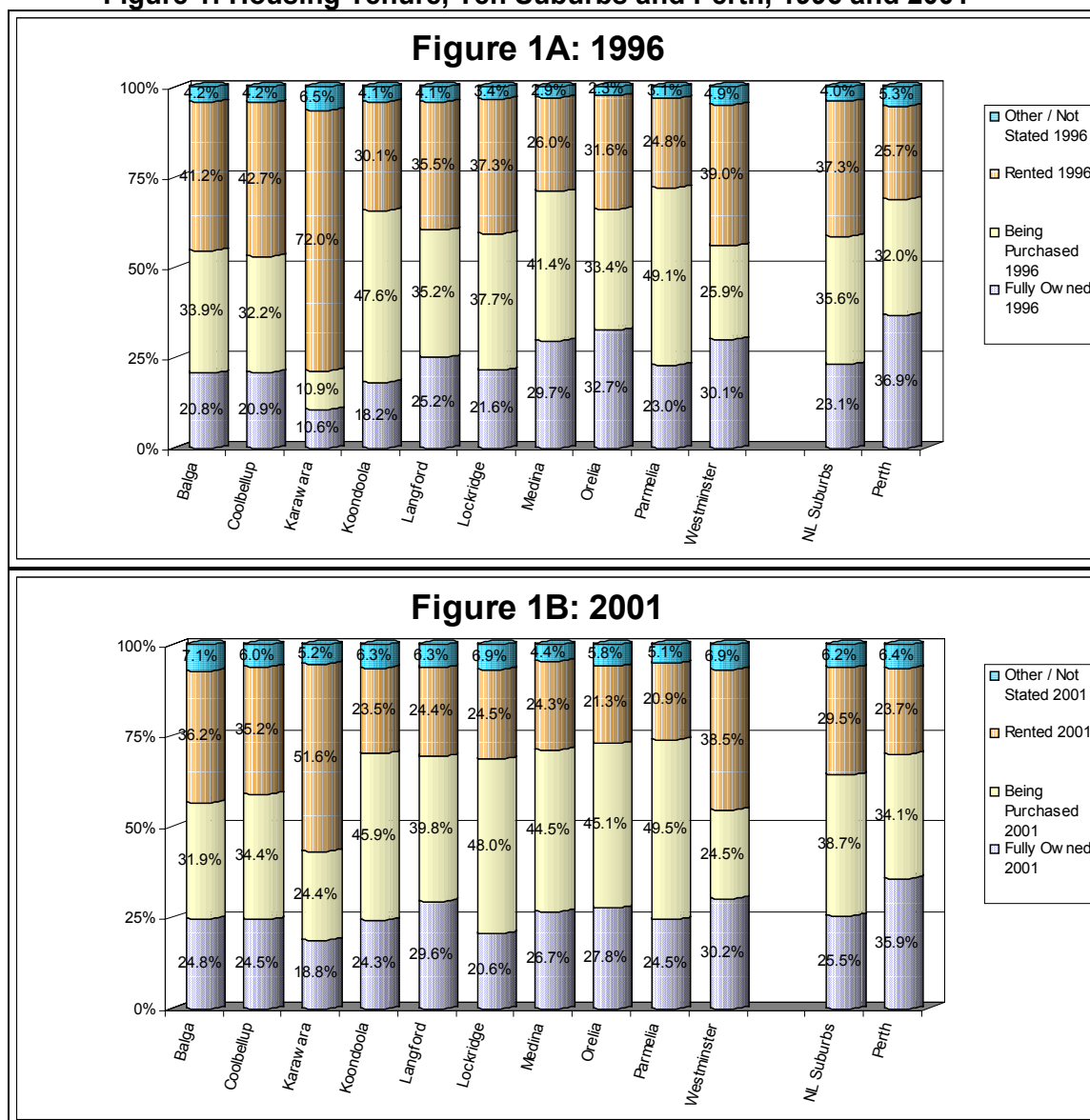
Secondly, the proportion of rental properties in Parmelia was below the metropolitan average in both 1996 and 2001. At the same time, Table 1 shows that this suburb recorded the highest rate of home purchasers (just under 50%) across the New Living areas in both 1996 and 2001 and the lowest public housing presence in both years. Finally, Tables 1 and 2 show that there were relatively few people over the age of 65 years, the average age was relatively low and the household size was above average.

These statistics suggest that a relatively large number of families with children have are purchasing homes in Parmelia, compared to the other New Living areas, the Perth average and also the neighbouring suburbs of Medina and Orelia. However, the reasons as to why this has occurred to a greater extent in this suburb are unclear, and further research would be required to ascertain this.

Overall, however, the tenure changes in the New Living suburbs are consistent with large scale sell-offs of public housing stock, and indicate that a substantial proportion of this stock was purchased by owner-occupiers rather than investors. This suggests that, at least to some extent, New Living achieved its goal of encouraging home

ownership. It should be noted that it is not clear from this analysis whether the new home owners were long term residents of the areas, or outsiders who purchased into the area.

Figure 1: Housing Tenure, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1996 and 2001



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Selected Social and Housing Characteristics for Suburbs and Postal Areas Western Australia, 1996 and 2001, ABS Catalogue No. 2029.5

House Prices

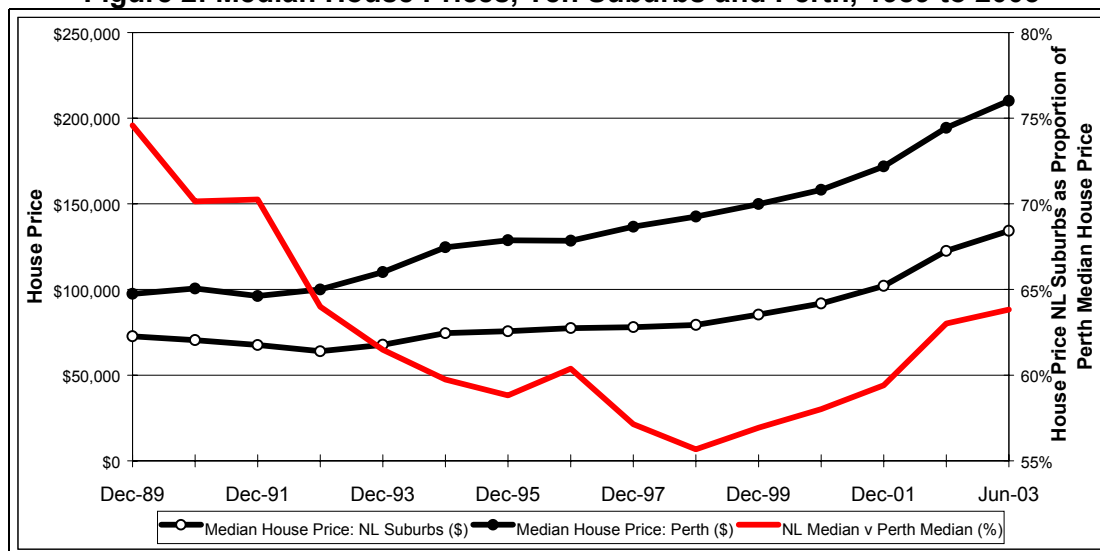
One of the main goals of the New Living Program is to increase property values. Figure 2 and Table 4 indicate that between the December quarters of 1989 and 1998, the median house price for Perth increased by an average 4.3% per year, from \$97,500 to \$142,500. In the ten New Living suburbs, median house prices increased at a much lower rate: from \$72,711 to \$79,330 at an average of 1.0% per year. All ten suburbs recorded lower growth than the Perth median over this period, with growth rates ranging from -0.8% per year in Koondoola to 2.5% per year in Coolbellup.

However, after this time a turnaround occurred: between December 1998 and June 2003, the Perth median house price increased by an average 9.0% per year (from \$142,500 to \$210,200). In the ten New Living suburbs, however, median house prices rose by an average 12.4% per year (from \$79,330 to \$134,167) over the same

period. Seven areas had higher growth than the Perth median, the exceptions being the suburbs in the New Kwinana.⁴

Figure 2 indicates that the median house price in the New Living suburbs was on average 74.6% that of Perth in December 1989. Due to the lower growth rate in the earlier period, this proportion had fallen to 55.7% by December 1998. However, as a result of faster growth in the later period, the median house price in the New Living suburbs had bounced back to 63.8% of the Perth median house price by June 2003.

Figure 2: Median House Prices, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1989 to 2003



Source: Real Estate Institute of Western Australia, Market Update, various editions

Table 4: Median House Prices, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1989, 1998 and 2003

	Median House Price			Average Annual Increase	
	Dec-89	Dec-98	Jun-03	1989-1998	1998-2003
Balga	\$70,300	\$73,100	\$142,958	0.4%	16.1%
Coolbellup	\$65,800	\$82,400	\$150,753	2.5%	14.4%
Karawara	\$110,000	\$131,200	\$241,550	2.0%	14.5%
Koondoola	\$75,600	\$70,100	\$117,218	-0.8%	12.1%
Langford	\$77,100	\$75,400	\$121,170	-0.2%	11.1%
Lockridge	\$68,900	\$72,300	\$120,492	0.5%	12.0%
Medina	\$49,500	\$57,300	\$78,433	1.6%	7.2%
Orelia	\$67,300	\$72,500	\$102,492	0.8%	8.0%
Parmelia	\$69,900	\$73,500	\$103,345	0.6%	7.9%
Westminster	\$84,100 ¹	\$85,500	\$163,258	0.2% ²	15.5%
NL Suburbs	\$72,711	\$79,330	\$134,167	1.0%	12.4%
Perth	\$97,500	\$142,500	\$210,200	4.3%	9.0%

¹ December 1996

² Dec 1996 - Dec 1998

Source: Real Estate Institute of Western Australia, Market Update, various editions

⁴ However, note that 76.3% of the growth in house prices during this period in Orelia occurred during the last twelve months of this period. The corresponding figures for Medina and Parmelia were 58.0% and 61.3% respectively. In the year to June 2003, capital growth rates in the three suburbs were well in excess of the metropolitan average.

Affordability

Whilst to the obvious advantage of existing home owners, the downside of rising house prices and falling rental stock is declining affordability for first home buyers. For instance, in 1996, a family at the top of the second income quintile⁵ could affordably purchase a house⁶ in all but one of the New Living suburbs,⁷ despite average (standard variable) interest rates close to 10%. A decrease in interest rates to 6.7% meant that all ten suburbs were affordable to the same family in June 1998. However, rapidly rising house prices meant that only six of these suburbs were still affordable to the same family by June 2003, even though interest rates had fallen further (to 6.5%).

Table 5 shows that as house prices and the proportion of home purchasers rose, average monthly mortgage payments in the ten New Living suburbs increased by 21.9% between the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. This compares to a 3.8% fall for Perth as a whole. However, it should be noted that while all ten suburbs recorded increases in average monthly mortgage payments, the extent of these increases varied considerably, from 2.7% in Parmelia to 54.7% in Karawara.

It should be noted that increases in house prices only explain half of the rise in median monthly mortgage payments across the suburbs.⁸ One possible explanation is that a large proportion of new home owners in these suburbs acquired their property towards the end of the period, rather than at the beginning. However, there further research would be required to test this hypothesis.

Table 5: Rents and Mortgages, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1989, 2001 and 2003

	Median Weekly Rent			Increase 1996- 2003	Median Monthly Mortgage Payment		Increase 1996- 2001
	1996	2001	2003		1996	2001	
Balga	\$60	\$101	\$140	133.3%	\$477	\$593	24.3%
Coolbellup	\$58	\$97	\$160	175.9%	\$459	\$614	33.8%
Karawara	\$60	\$96	\$170	183.3%	\$558	\$863	54.7%
Koondoola	\$80	\$92	\$140	75.0%	\$498	\$567	13.9%
Langford	\$67	\$105	\$145	116.4%	\$542	\$589	8.7%
Lockridge	\$59	\$101	\$150	154.2%	\$500	\$624	24.8%
Medina	\$80	\$104	\$125	56.3%	\$434	\$470	8.3%
Orelia	\$60	\$110	\$125	108.3%	\$542	\$649	19.7%
Parmelia	\$100	\$120	\$135	35.0%	\$600	\$616	2.7%
Westminster	\$75	\$115	\$140	86.7%	\$490	\$632	29.0%
NL Suburbs	\$70	\$104	\$143	104.6%	\$510	\$622	21.9%
Perth	\$120	\$142	\$157	30.8%	\$889	\$855	-3.8%
<i>NL cf Perth</i>	<i>58.3%</i>	<i>73.3%</i>	<i>91.1%</i>		<i>57.4%</i>	<i>72.7%</i>	

Sources: (1996 and 2001:) Australian Bureau of Statistics, Selected Social and Housing Characteristics for Suburbs and Postal Areas Western Australia, 1996 and 2001, ABS Catalogue No. 2029.5; (2003:) Real Estate Institute of Western Australia, www.reiwa.com.au, Town and Suburb Profiles June quarter 2003

⁵ In June 1996, a family at the top of the second income quintile had a disposable income of \$540 per week. By June 2001 this had increased to \$632.

⁶ Defined as spending less than 30% of household income on mortgage repayments.

⁷ The exception was Karawara.

⁸ $R^2 = 0.4742$ using a standard least squares regression between house price growth and mortgage growth. For instance, Orelia recorded 8.0% growth in median house prices over the period and a 19.7% increase in average monthly mortgage repayments, whereas house prices in neighbouring Medina grew at a similar rate (7.2%) but mortgage payments increased by only 8.3%. In any case, the sample size is much too small to draw any conclusions from this relationship.

Be that as it may, Table 5 also indicates that the main impact on affordability in the New Living suburbs have occurred in the rental sector. Between 1996 and 2003, median rents in the ten suburbs more than doubled, compared to a 30.8% increase across the metropolitan area. Rent increases ranged from 35.0% in Parmelia to 183.3% in Karawara.

As a result of these large rent increases, the average median rent in the New Living suburbs increased from 58.3% of the Perth median in 1996 to 91.1% in 2003. Again, this is consistent with a substantial loss of (relatively low rent) public housing stock. It is unclear from the available data to what extent the recent increases in median rent in the New Living areas have been due to the reduced amount of public housing stock, and to what extent they have been due to rent increases in the private sector.

Table 6 presents a tentative answer to this question. This table presents valuations by the Valuer General's Office of the rental value of a typical property in each of the ten suburbs, as well as the average of these valuations for the ten suburbs and across the metropolitan area as a whole.

Table 6 shows that between 1989 and 1996, 'typical rents' in the New Living suburbs rose by just \$1 or 1.3% (from an average \$115 to \$116 per week). This compares to an increase of 9.3% (from \$139 to \$152) for Perth as a whole. In this period, only Balga / Westminster recorded an increase in the typical rent. However, between December 1996 and June 2002, typical rents in the New Living suburbs grew in line with the metropolitan area as a whole (21.1% compared to 24.6%).

Since Table 6 follows the rental value of a single property over time, these results suggest that roughly one quarter of the increase in median rents across the New Living suburbs (as presented in Table 5) was due to an increase in private sector rents, with the other three quarters due to the reduced proportion of public housing stock in these areas.

It should be stressed that the data in Table 6 cannot be directly compared with the data in Table 5 and these results are therefore indicative only. Nevertheless, Tables 5 and 6 indicate that New Living has reduced rental options for people living in these ten suburbs. This is partly because there is significantly less public housing in these areas, and partly because rents in the private sector have increased.

Table 6: Typical Rents, Ten Suburbs and Perth, 1989, 2001 and 2002

	Typical Rent			Increase	
	Dec-89	Dec-96	Jun-02	1989-1997	1996-2002
Balga	\$100	\$115	\$130	15.0%	13.0%
Coolbellup	\$130	\$130	\$165	0.0%	26.9%
Karawara	\$150	\$140	\$180	-6.7%	28.6%
Koondoola	\$120	\$115	\$150	-4.2%	30.4%
Langford	\$125	\$125	\$135	0.0%	8.0%
Lockridge	\$100	\$100	\$130	0.0%	30.0%
Medina	\$95	\$95	\$110	0.0%	15.8%
Orelia	\$110	\$110	\$130	0.0%	18.2%
Parmelia	\$115	\$115	\$140	0.0%	21.7%
Westminster	\$100	\$115	\$135	15.0%	17.4%
NL Suburbs	\$115	\$116	\$141	1.3%	21.1%
Perth	\$139	\$152	\$189	9.3%	24.6%

Source: Valuer General's Office, Residential Value Watch: Metropolitan Rental Values Summary, June 2002

Conclusion

It is beyond doubt that New Living has produced some very positive results. It has cleared a maintenance backlog that other State Housing Authorities have ignored for too long. In the process, the program has substantially improved living conditions and revitalised a range of suburbs across the metropolitan area.

Not surprisingly therefore, the analysis presented in this paper strongly suggests that New Living has had a significant impact on the areas in which it has been implemented. In particular, there is evidence that New Living has reduced the proportion of public housing, has increased house prices faster than the Perth average and has increased the rate of home ownership in most of the ten suburbs included in this study.

At the same time, however, New Living has resulted in increases in mortgage payments and rents in these areas, and has reduced the amount of rental stock. Perhaps most controversially, it has substantially reduced the proportion of Indigenous people in all ten suburbs and the total number of Indigenous people in all but one suburb.

On balance, it remains unclear to what extent New Living has benefited all people involved, and to what extent the State Housing Authority has found a balance between its own asset management agenda and the social and economic needs of the affected communities. In this respect, the falling proportion of Indigenous people across the New Living areas is of concern. However, the claims of some community advocates that Indigenous people and other disadvantaged groups have been severely disadvantaged by New Living have neither been proved nor disproved.

In particular, four key questions remain unanswered:

- to what extent did the increased level of home ownership recorded in the New Living areas benefit existing residents,
- to what extent were Indigenous and other disadvantaged groups of public tenants 'encouraged' to move out of the New Living areas,
- to what extent did these people continue as public tenants in other areas, and
- to what extent was this latter group satisfied with the new location of their public tenancy.

In order to answer these questions, the subsequent history of individual tenants in each of the New Living areas needs to be traced and analysed. While this type of analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, Shelter WA is aware that an AHURI project investigating the effects of New Living on Indigenous wellbeing is currently underway.