



# MOSAIC Urban Renewal Evaluation Project: Urban Renewal Policy, Program and Evaluation Review

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Ruming, Kristian

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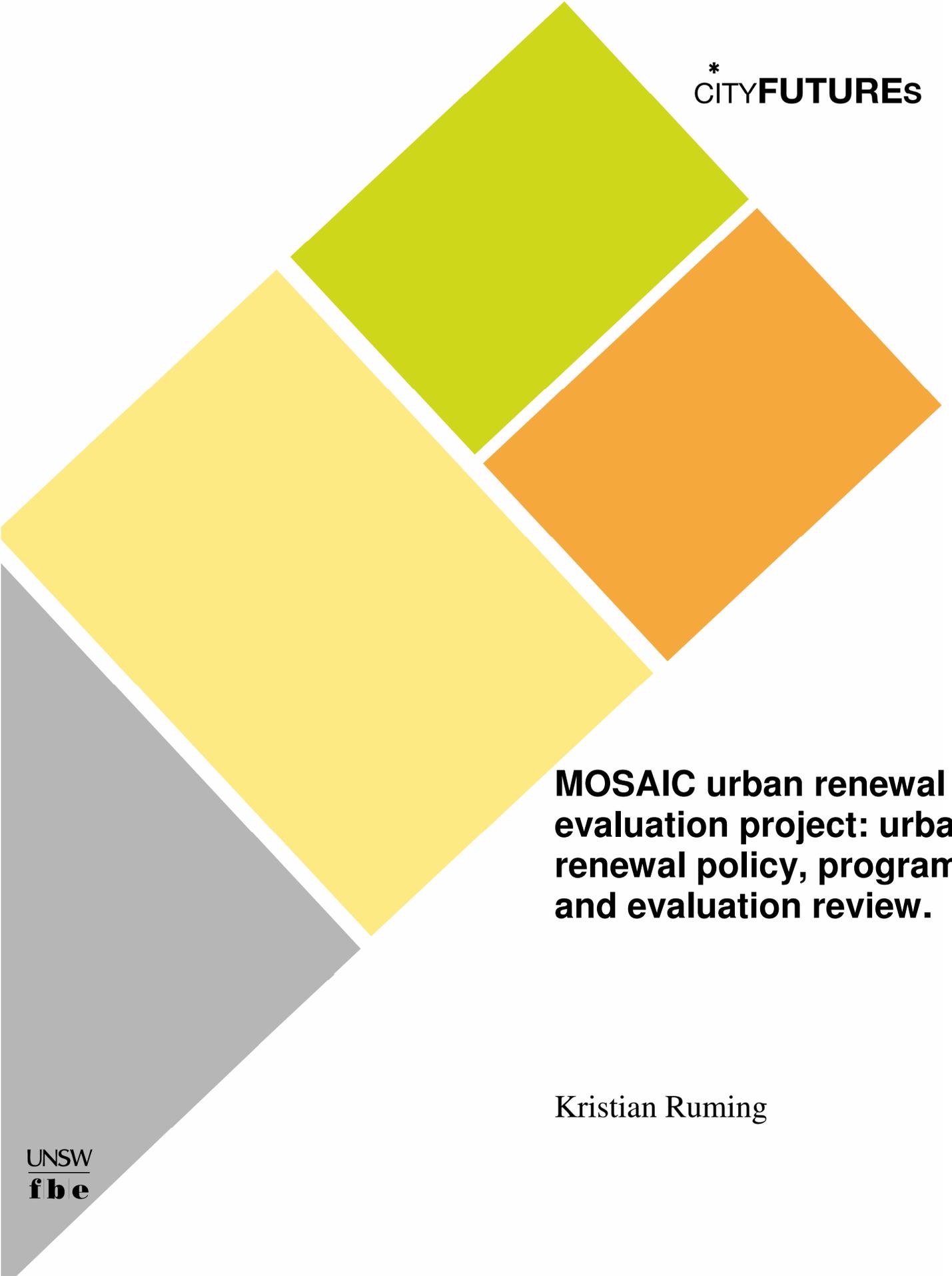
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**MOSAIC urban renewal  
evaluation project: urban  
renewal policy, program  
and evaluation review.**

Kristian Ruming

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**MOSAIC urban renewal evaluation project: urban renewal  
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Kristian Ruming

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### **THE AUTHOR**

Kristian Ruming is a Research Officer at the City Futures Research Centre, Faculty of the Built Environment, University of NSW, Sydney 2052, Australia. Email: [kristianr@fbe.unsw.edu.au](mailto:kristianr@fbe.unsw.edu.au).

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# 1. Introduction

This research paper represents the first stage of a research project into the longitudinal evaluation of urban renewal interventions initiated by the NSW Department of Housing on its estates. The first stage of the project is to develop a theoretical and methodological framework for the monitoring and evaluation of these estates over a ten-year period. This research is funded by an ARC Linkage research grant with the NSW Department of Housing beginning January 2005.<sup>1</sup>

This research paper provides a thorough review of the historical and current best practice in terms of monitoring and evaluating urban/community renewal/regeneration. Drawing on literature and frameworks from across Australia, as well as drawing on the leading international approaches, the research paper provides the foundation on which the NSW Department of Housing's Measurement of Social and Asset Investments in Communities (MOSAIC) framework is built. In total 85 journal articles, policy documents and research reports are reviewed here.

The research paper starts with brief discussion of history and characteristics of social housing estates in the Australian context. Following the wealth of literature/research on these estates, it is suggested that they are characterised by local concentrations of social disadvantage, welfarism and powerlessness, stigma, poor access to services and facilities, isolation, transience, crime and vandalism, and fear and poor public safety. It is in this environment which policy is increasingly engaging in the processes of urban renewal or community regeneration, often implicitly through the process of altering the areas' social/tenure mix, in efforts to improve the social, economic and physical environment of these areas. Further, given the increasingly stringent fiscal environment in which social housing departments operate in the Australian (and indeed, international) context, the evaluation and measurement of the impacts of such interventions is becoming increasingly important. Thus, this section also discusses some of the indicators increasingly used in evaluating the (financial/economic) success of these programs. As such, Rogers and Slowinski (2004) suggest that any evaluation should:

- Have multiple dimensions as the focus for the evaluation;
- Set realistic evaluation goals with regards to the capacity of the evaluation to answer questions of outcome, impact, cause and effect;
- Identify underpinning assumptions;

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<sup>1</sup> Project ID: LP0668205 – Assessing the Effectiveness of Public Housing Estate Regeneration in NSW.

- Undertake systematic and comprehensive data collection using both qualitative and quantitative approaches;
- Have a central concern with learning, development, and understanding change, rather than compliance and accountability;
- Adopt a conceptual approach which supports investigation of mechanisms, process and context as well as impact, outcome and cost; and,
- Give a central role to the community.

Part Two discusses urban renewal and evaluation in Australia. Starting with discussions of New South Wales and South Australia (arguably the states with the longest history of renewal, regeneration and evaluation), followed by Queensland, Victoria and Western Australia, this section explores the historical approaches, research and outcomes of interventions into public housing communities. Special attention is paid to the methodologies and approaches to evaluating the success of each of these projects. Importantly, the approaches advocated by each state are conspicuous in their difference to each other. While providing a historical picture of the policy frameworks in each state, the purpose of this section is to illustrate the current state of play in the Australian context. By exploring the current approaches to evaluation in other states, the framework developed as part of the MOSAIC project seeks to build upon the strengths of these approaches and adapt them to the institutional and social environment of NSW estate renewal interventions. Nevertheless, the theoretical foundations of these approaches are vast ranging from early cost-benefit approaches in NSW, realist and meta-evaluation approaches in South Australia, a logical model in Queensland, a pragmatic approach in Victoria, and descriptive analyses in Western Australia. Each of these approaches is reviewed in light of their potential inclusion in the NSW MOSAIC approach. Of those current state approaches currently being developed or implemented, the Victorian model is positioned as the most relevant to NSW under a hierarchical evaluation model.

Part Three of this research paper explores some of the major approaches implemented internationally in the evaluation of social housing interventions. This section starts with a discussion of the United States and programs undertaken as part of HOPE VI. It is suggested that, given the idiosyncrasies of American public housing and the implementation and evaluation of renewal interventions, that the US approach adds little to understanding renewal interventions in NSW. In contrast, this section positions European policy frameworks (both the UK and EU) as the cutting edge of evaluation approaches and central to developing a theoretical and practical

evaluation framework for NSW. After providing a brief history of urban/community renewal initiatives undertaken in the UK, this section then discusses the *3R's* (regeneration, renewal and regional development) *Guidance* implemented in 2004. *3R's* is positioned as the current state of 'best-practice' in evaluating place-based policy interventions. With its five-stage appraisal and evaluation cycle the *3R's* approach is positioned as a practical means (process) through which interventions of the NSW Department of Housing can be measured and evaluated. Following discussions of the UK model, this section concludes with a review of the *IMPACT* model espoused by the EU. Drawing from the theoretical concerns of 'social exclusion', the *IMPACT* tool is designed to provide assessments of social impacts in spatially and temporally defined programs. While theoretically driven by nine central components, the *IMPACT* model offers an essentially policy based approach to urban interventions, exploring the success of process and program operation, as well as outcomes at the site of the intervention. In this sense, the *IMPACT* approach is seen to offer a unique opportunity to evaluate the processes of urban renewal in NSW, as well as the outcomes.

In conclusion a multi-scaled monitoring and evaluation framework is identified as the most suited to measuring the complex interactions and outcomes of urban renewal interventions as initiated by the NSW Department of Housing. The suggested framework draws on and combines elements the pragmatic approach of the Victorian Department of Human Services (2002) *Neighbourhood Renewal: Evaluation Framework, 2002-2003*, the process initiatives of the UK *3Rs Guidance* which fosters the collection of data amenable to the development of a comprehensive cost-benefit tool, and the theoretical and conceptual approach of the European Union's *IMPACT evaluation tool*. The combination of these tools into a coherent framework will be presented in subsequent publications.

## **Part One: Overview of Urban Renewal**

### **2. Evaluation, Urban Renewal and Social Mix**

Parry and Strommen (2001) identify that in the Australian context, State Housing Authorities (SHA's) increasingly allocated funds to regeneration projects in the 1990s, as they attempted to overcome the high level of disadvantage which characterised, particularly Radburn, estates. The emergence of renewal projects has come to represent one of the most prominent developments in

social housing policy over the past decade (Randolph and Judd, 2006). From the early 1980s to present, hundreds of millions of dollars of public and private funds have been spent on regenerating disadvantaged Australian public housing neighbourhoods (Hughes, 2004). Contemporary Australian urban regeneration policies, aimed at disadvantaged public housing neighborhoods, are generally concerned with the issue of balancing social mix to create more socio economically diverse communities. These urban renewal programs have undertaken a broad mix of renewal activity, ranging from outright physical redevelopment and stock replacement for sale, to community development type initiatives to improve social and employment outcomes for residents (Randolph and Judd, 2006). The major strategy to achieve a more balanced social mix is through diversifying housing tenure, to lower concentrations of public housing and increase owner-occupied housing on estates (Arthurson, 2004). Since the early 1990s there has been a shift by SHAs away from new construction to renewal through upgrading, demolition and building of new housing via joint ventures (Arthurson, 1998). As part of this trend, tenure mix is positioned as a strategy, which can break up the concentration of disadvantage on estates. It is suggested that such strategies are furthered by large state government debt, cuts to funding under the CSHA, and increased privatisation. Randolph (2000) suggests this interest in renewal stems from a growing realisation that something had to be done with public housing estates that were suffering from the combined impact of declining investment, falling asset values, increasing concentrations of people with social disadvantages, and rising management costs.

Randolph and Judd (2006) suggests that the fundamental problems facing SHA's in Australia are due to an increasingly stringent environment of fiscal restraint and policies that have moved decisively against direct provision of lower income households. It is suggested that as a result of the recent shift in the subsidy system from public housing to rent assistance, the social base of public housing has narrowed to the point where the sector now has an explicit welfare role and for most tenants has become a tenure of 'last resort' (Randolph and Wood, 2003). As a result, it is identified that fringe estates are often characterised by a spatial mismatch due to their geographically distinct location from job rich areas, spatial mismatch between workers and job opportunities, and location discrimination arising from neighbourhood stigmatisation often having an adverse effect on employment outcomes (Hughes, 2004). In this context it is suggested that redevelopment is seen by many SHA as a solution to the multiple problems confronting estate developments, such as: the physical limitations of the existing stock, funding constraints and the concentration of socio-economically disadvantaged tenants on estates (Bowey, 1997).

Further, Arthurson (2004) suggests that the negative effects of residing in these types of low-income mono-tenure neighbourhoods include:

- Lack of access to social networks, which link residents to job opportunities;
- Limited role models to integrate residents into the appropriate behaviours of wider society. This factor is linked to problems of crime, low education retention rates, poor health and high unemployment;
- Postcode prejudice and stigma associated with residing in areas that are perceived as negative and undesirable places; and,
- Decreased access to a range of health, education and community services due to service overload within particular areas.

The year 2000 saw a number of publications centred on urban renewal and regeneration in NSW. The importance of urban regeneration as the central notion of public housing management in Australia is exemplified by the convening of the *Creative Approaches to Urban Renewal: A Conference on the Redevelopment of Public Housing* in Perth. As part of this conference two papers discussed changing policy initiatives in Sydney's western suburbs. As part of this conference Randolph (2000) highlights the increasingly important role the notions of social capital and exclusion play in renewal projects. However, in critiquing the literature that has emerged in Australia over the disadvantaged nature of public housing estates and the potential lack social capital, Randolph suggests one of the main criticism of social capital approaches is that they tend to ignore the importance of "place" and locality in the definition of what communities are. In contrast, the advantage of social exclusion/inclusion as a framework for policy action is that it focuses on the interconnectedness of the problems – and this clearly means that policy responses need to be equally interconnected – to create "joined up" policies for "joined up" problems in the jargon as well as the place based nature of these problems (Randolph, 2000).

At the same conference Woodward (2000) – the then NSW Department of Housing Regional Director of the South Western Sydney Region – positioned community renewal as the quiet revolution gathering speed through many towns and cities in New South Wales. This renewal process as envisaged by the Department allows the carefully planned separation of land uses and particularly the segregation of public housing tenants into discreet homogeneous communities that is being replaced by multi-purpose land use zoning and pro-active policies of integration. Under this framework of community renewal it is suggested the estates are being redesigned,

refurbished and broken up to mix tenure. Poor quality housing is demolished, refurbished or sold. Residents are becoming empowered to be part of the decision making process. Partnerships are being forged with the private sector and support agencies (Woodward, 2000). While community renewal is positioned as the central tenet of current Department management strategies, no evaluation process to measure (qualitatively or quantitatively) the outcomes of these processes is suggested, rather Woodward (2000) refers to the previous work undertaken by Stubbs (1998) as justification for continued renewal projects.

In addition Hassell (1997) in their discussion of the New South Wales Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) suggest that the social issues associated with public housing estates include the local concentration of social disadvantage, welfarism and powerlessness, stigma, isolation, poor access to services and facilities, fear, crime, vandalism, depression, alcohol and drug dependency, transience, poverty and unemployment. In addition, the lack of social mix in neighbourhood's means there is little opportunity for intergenerational support. In a similar vein, Hall (1997) suggests that (British) estates, which are subject to renewal projects, are characterised by a mix physical and social problems (table 1). It is this blend of social and physical disadvantage, which increasingly seem to be overcome by policies, which alter an areas social mix.

**Table 1: Physical and Social problems which characterise house estates (Hall, 1997)**

<p><b>Physical Issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Structural faults and poor housing stock, especially poor insulation and heating;</li> <li>- An impersonal and alienating physical environment;</li> <li>- Some peripheral housing estates have experienced the problems of vandalism and decay associated with high levels of housing voids;</li> <li>- Lack of variety in housing types and sizes;</li> <li>- Physical isolation, including external physical barriers such as major roads and railway lines; and,</li> <li>- The distance between estates and other parts of the city.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Social Issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Concentrations of marginalised people, such as the disabled, single-parent households and households containing no employed adults;</li> <li>- Health problems;</li> <li>- A high level of benefit dependency;</li> <li>- Crime, including drug abuse and vandalism;</li> <li>- A young population, with many ` youth' problems such as poor educational achievement, and lack of recreational opportunities;</li> <li>- Residents of some estates have been characterized as insular in their world-view, and apathetic;</li> <li>- A high rate of population turnover frustrates community cohesion; and,</li> <li>- Many peripheral estates suffer from social stigmatisation by outsiders, particularly from employers.</li> </ul>

## 2.1 Social Mix

Along with numerous other countries, Australia is currently exploring solutions to the problems of large public housing estates, built mainly in the period following the Second World War to address the then shortage of housing (Arthurson, 1998; Randolph and Wood, 2004). The physical problems of ageing and poorly designed housing reflect only part of the difficulties as estate residents are increasingly characterised by poverty, low education levels and high unemployment (Arthurson, 2002). Further, in light of recent debates and issues concerning the disadvantage nature of public housing estates Stubbs et al (2005) suggest that social mix, as presented by SHAs, is often positioned as the panacea for social and economic problems. The principle strategy of social mix is the proposed break up of large estates through sale of land for private sector redevelopment while retaining or buying back some land or housing for public housing. In the US the introduction of social mix through the redevelopment of public housing, has primarily been achieved through the Federal HOPE VI program, began in 1993. Under the HOPE VI program, severely disadvantaged public housing estates are in part or totally demolished and renewed using planning and implementation grants. In a similar vein Randolph and Wood (2003) suggests that demolition is an increasingly common approach in the Australian context to reduce physical concentrations of stock with renewal at lower densities. In the UK context there has been a recent resurgence of interest in creating mixed income communities on social housing estates through the UK regeneration policy as part of the Blair Labour Government's focus on tackling social exclusion (Arthurson, 2002).

Social mix signifies not only an approach to urban renewal, but also set of widely accepted urban orthodoxies. It is suggested that through tenure diversification (which leads to social mix) a 'balanced' and therefore more stable community can be achieved (Ruming et al, 2004). The objective of social mix is therefore to normalise estates, de-stigmatise their populations, and provide the benefits that are seen to accrue from living in conventional residential areas. The benefits of social mix which are said to flow from tenure diversification include:

- Promotion of greater social interaction and social cohesion;
- Better community "balance";
- Encouragement of mainstream norms and values;
- Creation of social capital;
- Overcoming place-based stigma;
- Improved non-shelter outcomes:
  - o Opening up of job opportunities;

- Attracting additional services to the neighbourhood;
- Reduced crime and anti-social behaviour;
- Improved educational opportunities;
- Leading to sustainability of renewal/regeneration initiatives (Randolph and Wood, 2004)

While ‘social mix’ is increasingly positioned at the centre of public housing renewal strategies more recent reviews of social integration call into question the uncritical acceptance of the ‘social mix’ orthodoxy (Stubbs at al, 2005). Internationally, very little research exists to test the suggestion that altering an areas social mix has positive impacts for public tenants (Ruming et al, 2004). However, within the literature three interrelated and common themes arise. The first theme concerns the difficulties of fostering the requisite social contact between public tenants and homeowners in order to actualise the anticipated benefits of integration. Second, some researchers question whether placing residents with different income levels in the same neighbourhood creates tensions rather than social cohesion through raising awareness of class differences (Ruming et al, 2004). The third questions the assumption that the presence of middle-income homeowners facilitates the provision of additional services to the regeneration area (Arthurson, 2002). According to Randolph and Wood (2004) this implies that social mix has to be seen more in terms of the positive benefits it may generate for housing management problems on larger estates, rather than on concerns about ‘balanced communities’ *per se*. Further, Arthurson (2002) suggests four major impacts arising from varying social mix on the estates: first, the supply of public housing stock ultimately decreases; second, the effects on existing estate communities as tenants are relocated; third, questions about moving disadvantaged tenants around rather than addressing the sources of problems; and finally, the identification of what aspects community regeneration is targeted to assist. In conclusion Arthurson (2002) suggests that within Australian estate regeneration policy, there are major expectations that social mix strategies will assist in creating inclusive, cohesive and sustainable communities. However, the integrity of claims made for social mix remains inconclusive and it is questionable whether the social benefits the policies purport to generate or the envisaged communities will eventuate. Put simply, urban renewal programs address some of the physical symptoms of disadvantage but not the underlying causes – the social and economic marginalisation of the populations on these estates. In other words, these kinds of ‘renewal schemes *improve the place but at the expense of the community*’ (Randolph, 2000, p11, original emphasis).

Thus, in an effort to apply the broad (policy) objectives of social mix, by the mid-1990s most Australian states had implemented estate renewal programs (Randolph and Wood, 2003). Most of these were primarily concerned with physical aspects of the estates and the underlying problem of the falling asset values. These programs tended to be positioned as initiatives capable of improving the social aspects of estates by marketing and sales policies thereby engineering social changes through a greater mix of tenures and therefore household types. However, there has also been a growing recognition that there was more to renewal than just physically upgrading the property and selling it off as the introduction of initiatives aimed at improving social and employment aspects of estate communities become increasingly prominent (Randolph, 2000). Thus, Arthurson (1998) suggests renewal is increasingly positioned as an approach which can confront the two major causes of social disadvantage: social class segregation and the differential equity of access to services in the redevelopment area as compared to others. Nevertheless, despite the increasing funding allocated to regeneration/renewal projects, Parry and Strommen (2001) identify the limited level of evaluation and lack of a common approach, making cross analysis, both between estates and States, difficult.

In her review of literature on urban renewal projects, Bowey (1997) highlights seven major themes:

- 1) A concern with localised areas of acute disadvantage often characterised by concentrations of single housing tenure and limited social mix, a lack of access to basic amenities, community facilities and employment opportunities and poor housing and residential environments;
- 2) Areas may be subject to a “cycle of decline” where people who are better off socially and economically move from the area as problems exacerbate and people with lesser resources move in;
- 3) There has been a shift in recent years from a “bricks and mortar” approach to a more holistic multi-sectoral approaches which address physical, social and economic objectives;
- 4) The importance of partnership is stressed in the literature on regeneration, although there is no single or ideal model of what constitutes a partnership;
- 5) The importance of involving the community in the process of urban renewal is stressed;
- 6) The need to understand the relationship between the renewal estate and its surroundings, in terms of the impact of regeneration activities on adjacent residential areas; and,

- 7) While the need for monitoring and evaluation of regeneration initiatives is stressed in the literature, there has been scant regard paid to this aspect. It is also commonly suggested that measures of performance more often focus on inputs rather than the long-term effects on people's lives and the neighbourhood.

Given the shift in focus between asset and community based approaches to renewal, in the Australian context, the policy response to issues of deprivation and social disadvantage of public estates have been characterised by six primary strategies:

- Wholesale (or substantial) asset disposal (including demolition and redevelopment) to reduce concentrations – mainly termed urban renewal projects;
- Partial asset disposal (or 'stock trading') to achieve greater "mix";
- Asset (or physical) improvement strategies to aid marketing and increase asset values;
- Management-based strategies (e.g. 'intensive tenancy management', community housing management) – to reduce costs of management;
- Whole of government approaches (e.g. 'place management', focus on service delivery); and,
- Community development (or social) strategies – building community cohesion, social capital, employment and skills training, early intervention strategies, etc. (Randolph, 2000, Randolph and Judd, 2000b).

Further, in their review of urban renewal programs across Australia, Randolph and Judd (2006) suggest that (despite some variance reflecting local priorities and policies) objectives commonly include:

- Improving the asset value of the remaining stock;
- Addressing major repairs and maintenance backlogs;
- Changing the mix of housing stock to meet increasing demand from smaller and older households;
- Improving the quality of public spaces, infrastructure and community facilities;
- Reducing stigmatisation and improving integration with surrounding communities;
- Improving community safety and security;
- Increasing the level of social and economic participation and 'social cohesion'; and,
- Improving integration between the delivery of housing and other community services.

Given the variety of policy interventions mobilised as part of renewal programs Hall (1997) argues that regeneration policies (in the British context – although equally applicable to the Australian context) have tended to focus on solving ‘internal’ problems, which are related to the nature of the estate, and have ignored ‘external’ problems, which are related to structural factors and the relationship between the estate and the city. In ‘inward’ looking approaches the main aims of physical regeneration being to transform the experience of living on estates and the nature of the resident population by making the estates more attractive to people who have other choices. However, physical improvements *alone* are unsustainable. These are contrasted with emerging ‘outward-looking’ approaches, which seek to overcome physical and social isolation directly, improve access to employment, and place more emphasis on strategic, citywide or ‘linked’ partnerships. While ‘outward’ looking strategies are important there are a number of problems associated with their implementation: first, political problems (how to develop and maintain political and community level support), second, economic problems (economic regeneration strategies may be beyond the reach of the city subregion or the entire city), and third, programming and planning problems (how and to what extent does a successful outward approach depend on successful implementation on inward looking approaches) (Bowey, 1997).

While urban renewal policy may include a mixture of the objectives outlined above, Randolph and Wood (2004) suggest that it is possible to differentiate between two main forms of intervention: urban renewal and community renewal. The former refers to asset management policies that are primarily focused on the physical renewal or redevelopment of the estate. These strategies vary between jurisdictions and locations but generally include improvements to housing design and maintenance, improvements to the public domain (streets, parks, etc.) and infrastructure upgrades and in some cases more radical de-concentration strategies involving disposal of public housing stock for private residential redevelopment. Often these are associated with efforts to improve the image of these estates, in large part to ensure sales policies are successful (Arthurson, 2002). But in doing so, there is usually a positive outcome in terms of reduction in neighbourhood ‘stigma’ (Randolph and Judd, 2006). In contrast, community renewal programs focus on social outcomes. These can range from a few highly targeted initiatives concerned, for example, with crime prevention, employment and training, or youth and family support programs and service-level agreements with other government agencies, to more sophisticated, whole-of-government interventions and partnerships with non-government community service providers and the private development industry (Randolph and Judd, 2006). From the NSW Department of Housing’s perspective, community renewal is about:

- Prioritising effort towards those places of public and community housing which are clearly at a disadvantage, whatever the reason for that disadvantage;
- Marshalling resources;
- Partnerships;
- Local management;
- Commitment for the long term; and,
- People and their communities (NSWDoH, 2000).

As defined by NSWDoH (2000), community renewal at its heart is positioned as a group of strategies that: engage priority communities in setting agendas for action including asset management issues; work with people using community development principles; develop participatory structures such as neighbourhood boards; build local management structures and develop interagency collaboration. It is identified that the common themes of community renewal include: activities must be done with, not for or to the community; government at all levels, non-government and private sector agencies must collaborate with each other and the community; the community must identify what its community boundaries are; resources must, at the same time, be marshaled at the community level yet services linked to the mainstream operating in the wider town or region; physical, social, education, health, crime, employment and cross cultural issues must be tackled together; community capacity building and consultation must precede any large-scale programs; services need to be accessible locally; there needs to be a lead agency; there needs to be both quick and visible impacts as well as long term projects; and there must be diversity of activity and incomes. The Department is developing 6 major strategies as part of its Community Renewal agenda:

- 1) Improving the homes, the parks and the places to meet;
- 2) Managing the estates – putting people before property;
- 3) Bringing services to tenants;
- 4) Developing training and employment schemes;
- 5) Building the capacity of communities and creating community connectedness; and,
- 6) Increasing diversity on the estates (DoH, 2000).

Randolph and Wood (2004) argue that in the Australian context, to date, the majority of housing renewal programs have been centred on asset improvement and housing management outcomes rather than social or community outcomes, despite recognition that many of the problems are social in nature.

Randolph (2000) suggests that urban regeneration centred on comprehensive asset based renewal are preferred in many cases as they offer a way for SHA's to improve the financial return of the assets under their control. Both by providing immediate returns through the sales of properties and also by the potential for revaluing the asset values of those properties that remain in public ownership, this provides an immediate financial incentive for such a policy. This has positive impacts on the financial viability of public housing providers; however, rarely do sales provide sufficient return to allow for a one-for-one replacement ratio. Only if land is cleared and redeveloped to higher densities can stock numbers be maintained. The upshot of such renewal interventions is the potential creation of slum landlordism and increased waiting list for public tenants as the availability of housing decreases. Upgrading, demolition and building new stock is seen as a means of overcoming physical limitations, aligning the stock to meet tenant's needs and increasing its value. However the extent to which redevelopment offers a solution to existing problems on public housing estates has been questioned, with some theorists arguing that current redevelopment projects may be more about relocating the poor to improve the environment rather than trying to solve the cause of the concentration of disadvantage (Randolph, 2000). Arthurson (1996) argues, therefore, for a comprehensive approach, which has as a major focus the needs of the existing community and addresses social, economic and physical aspects of redevelopment (cited in Bowey, 1997). Thus, Randolph (2000) suggests that over the long run the problems of housing authorities and, more importantly the people they house and who are characterised by social disadvantage, are not addressed by physical renewal. This focus on asset and physical renewal is, in part, due to a focus on value for money and financial outputs, the need to demonstrate tangible housing management outcomes and a requirement for 'hard' data by policy makers, often facilitated through quantitative evaluation methodologies (Randolph and Judd, 2006). However, the effectiveness of such quantitative data and evaluation methodology has been questioned, as they are limited by:

- Lack of specificity and measurability of renewal objectives;
- The problem of gathering spatially defined data that relate to estate boundaries and therefore specifically to the objective of the renewal program;
- Poor definition of short and longer term objectives and outcomes;
- Lack of an "audit trail" linking initiatives, expenditures and outcomes;
- Lack of baseline data and benchmarks as a basis for determining quantifiable targets; and
- Difficulties attributing *causality* and *additionality* to local renewal programs as opposed to broader external social and economic factors (Randolph and Judd, 2006).

Following Randolph and Judd (2006) the issues of *causality* and *additionality* cannot be over emphasised, as they represent the central component of renewal evaluation. Here *causality* refers to the extent to which any outcome is attributable to a particular intervention or set of interventions, while *additionality* refers to the component of change over and above what would have occurred without the intervention (ODPM, 2004b). The measurement of both *causality* and *additionality* is often extremely difficult in place-based renewal projects given the wide range of processes acting on the area and the multiplicity of policy initiatives that might contribute to particular outcomes (Randolph and Judd, 2006). As such, Murtagh (1998) has emphasised the importance of qualitative techniques to obtain more fine grained data on the policy process and to identify who the winners and losers of renewal are, as well as to ‘challenge the techno-rational approaches to evaluation’ (p.129) that have predominated in an era of value-for-money economic rationalism.

Thus, in an attempt to reconcile the social and physical aspects of renewal Randolph and Judd (2000b) offer a 12-point framework for neighbourhood renewal in Australia:

- Government policy and action must focus coherently at the local level in a new range of co-ordinated and explicit *spatial* policy programs and initiatives – *locality matters*, but all levels of government must act in concert;
- There is a need to move beyond simplistic notions of ‘place management’ – effective renewal is much more than just a top-down approach of integrated service delivery – important though this may be;
- New community based (and community led) institutional structures are needed that will encourage and facilitate effective community involvement in local decision making on neighbourhood-based renewal initiatives, with proper controls for accountability, transparency and a clearly defined role within local democratic structures;
- A well thought through and adequately funded national coordinated community training and skills development program that is ongoing and builds on and disseminates good practice;
- There is a clear role for a national lead to be taken by the Federal Government – the States do not have the capacity to coordinate a coherent national policy response on their own;
- There is a strong case for a major new separate funding mechanism *outside* current State and Federal Department structures to break away from the silo mentality of service

- providers and to take the strain of managing the entire problem away from the state housing authorities;
- A long term strategy (10 years) with a structured approach to policy development, including monitored pilot projects, commitment to acting on the outcome and clear exit strategies for what has happened once funding is removed;
  - A major new role for local government as the *key* facilitator between the stakeholders in each locality is needed, with adequate funding;
  - The role of the partnerships with charitable/non-government sectors, employment and skills/training agencies, community sector and business and private funders is also critical – government can't do this on its own;
  - Policies will need to provide a flexible framework to allow different solutions to emerge in different areas reflecting local needs and conditions;
  - A *national* system to disseminate good practice and policy innovations to all involved in the process is required in order to break out of the state-based perspectives that limit learning from others; and,
  - There is a crucial need for properly trained and skilled professional staff to facilitate and motivate agency and community involvement.

Given the increasing prevalence of initiatives promoting social mix, urban regeneration and community renewal, evaluation is increasingly positioned as a means of identifying and monitoring change. In the framework presented by Randolph and Judd (2000b) evaluation and the ability to effectively measure the outputs of renewal projects is central. In the case of the British Local Strategic Partnership Program (LSP), the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004a) argue that evaluation goes beyond performance management by seeking to understand the impact of actions (rather than simply whether or not outcomes have improved), what does and does not work, and why. Without evaluation it is difficult to know if actions have been effective and money well spent, or how to improve performance in the future. In the Australian context, Arthurson (1998) suggests that, as of the late 1990s, no work assessed whether independent, objective evaluation was being used to monitor the processes and outcomes of Australian redevelopment projects. Randolph and Judd (2001) take this further to suggest that, despite the importance of processes, evaluation thus far (due primarily to the urgency to implement strategies) have been, at best, patchy. In the Australian context, the majority of available research comes from of the evaluation of site specific programs with relatively few large-scale systematic

evaluations (Randolph and Judd, 2006). Evaluation is positioned as critical to providing information to guide further decision-making.

Briefly, following Randolph and Judd (2001), evaluation frameworks have ranged from economic analyses right through the spectrum to sociological approaches that attempt to deal with much more intangible outcomes, such as social cohesion and social capital. Economic approaches are seen to be more appealing given the demands for all governments for financial efficiency. Management approaches, which use performance indicators, are also attractive as they can provide quantitative evaluation of performance against objectives. Two of the first programs to show a major interest in evaluation were the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) in New South Wales and the Salisbury North Urban Improvement Project (SNUIP) in South Australia. While both of these initiatives are discussed in more detail in following sections, it is important to note that both programs included asset and non-asset objectives (crime reduction, economic rejuvenation, integration of estate with surrounding area, acceptance levels, tenant satisfaction, housing asset sustainability). The NIP identified key aspects of evaluation methodology including surveying tenants, evaluating against key housing management criteria, financial assessment and social impact assessment against indicators of social disadvantage. From this review it is suggested that NSW has a stronger emphasis on financial analysis (including Cost Benefit Analysis), performance indicators and quantitative data, while SA more sociological in nature, focussing on perceptions of residents with regard to satisfaction with housing, access to services, community identity, inter alia. Randolph and Judd (2001) suggest that both the NIP and SNUIP evaluation frameworks are identified as *performance oriented approaches*, involving the identification of a set of performance indicators related to a set of program/project objectives. As part of a performance monitoring system it is necessary to: 1) define (or redefine) objectives; 2) determine performance indicators and measures (each objective should have 2 or 3 indicators, which are broken into Core, Supplementary and Context); 3) establishing baseline positions and comparable benchmarks; 4) setting appropriate targets (Randolph and Judd, 2001). With an increasing emphasis on the evaluation of estate-based interventions, the selection and collection of indicators of change are progressively more central to renewal programs.

### 3. Indicators

Urban regeneration evaluation frameworks are increasingly following an indicator-based approach by including contextual measures to identify the baseline assessment of the area, the conditions within which the strategy is operating and the effects of policy actions. Indicators can contribute to assessing the combined performance of individual agencies/ interventions, the overall effectiveness of partnerships to improve economic well being or the cost-effectiveness of the main regeneration activities. Burke (2000) argues that one of the major developments to improve service delivery emerging out of the new managerial revolution has been a performance indicator. A performance indicator may be defined as standardised information by which progress towards efficiency and effectiveness objectives may be measured (SGS, 2000). There has been an assumption that such indicators will (a) be used and (b) actually improve service delivery. The role of the performance-oriented approach in management is:

- Quality control in service delivery;
- Emulation of best practice in a particular area; and,
- To provide information to all stakeholders, central administrators and consumers of services alike.

Within this broad approach a benchmark may be defined as the best available ‘score’ on the performance indicator based on the performance of organisations delivering a similar service under comparable conditions – thus representing ‘best practice’ (SGS, 2000). However, most indicator-based approaches do not provide answers as to why differences exist, but merely highlight issues and in so doing raise further questions (Hemphill et al, 2004). However, (in the British case) the Select Committee (UK Parliament, 2003) has expressed a general concern at the lack of intellectual sophistication and rigor in evaluation of regeneration outputs and that much of the supporting evidence is narrowly focused, subjective or anecdotal (cited in Hemphill et al, 2004). In general, indicators are divided into performance or social categories.

Given the interconnected and multifaceted influences of public housing estates and associated interventions and the fact that the resources for an area’s regeneration often extend far beyond the designated areas, Hemphill et al (2004) suggest that the selection of appropriate indicators is inherently difficult. Although it is possible to set indicator parameters for certain regeneration outputs (number of jobs created; amount of private sector investment levered), it is difficult to extend the same rationale to more specific sustainability criteria (quality of life, community enterprise and the social economy). It is suggested that the development and selection of

indicators is a long and complex process, where the selection of some may be obvious, but in other situations either it is not clear which indicators are the most appropriate, or the data to evaluate the preferred indicator are not available. Green and Champion (1991) illustrate that there is no recognised common practice to select indicators for analytical use, with current practice often characterised by an ad hoc and piecemeal approach. Hatry *et al.* (1977) suggest that the selection of performance measures should focus on: appropriateness and validity; uniqueness, accuracy and reliability; completeness and comprehensibility; controllability; cost and feedback time. Therefore, indicators must be scientifically sound, technically robust, easily understood, sensitive to change, measurable and capable of being regularly updated (cited in Hemphill, 2004).

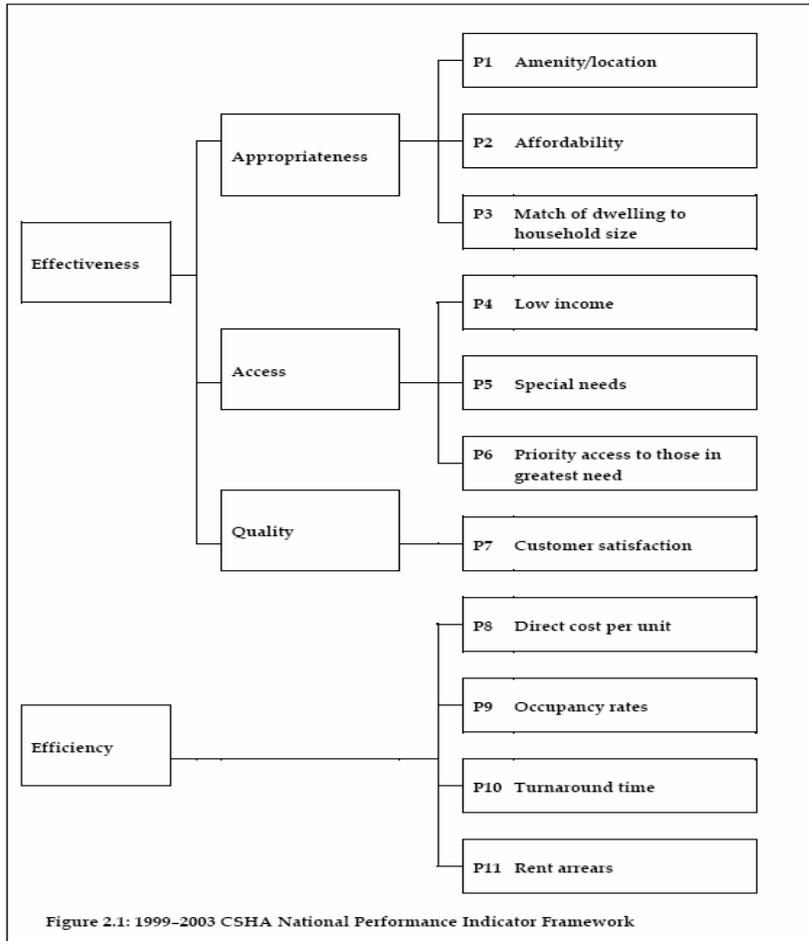
Since it is not always possible to directly measure and construct primary indicators, indirect indicators will sometimes be substituted leading to gaps between the indicator construct and the measure. Situations can occur where a change in the indirect indicator can take place without a corresponding change in the indicator under consideration or other factors can impact on people's perceptions. A related issue is fluctuations in statistics associated with the timing of data collection figures due to cyclical variations. **Timeliness** is therefore a major issue. The **validity** of the measure of the indicator is also affected by the quality of the data collection and the representativeness of the population under investigation. A social indicator should be simple enough to be interpreted by a general user and the public, even if only specialists can understand its theoretical foundation and measurement methodology. **Relevance** or the face validity of an indicator is important if users are to regard the indicator as credible. If research is to make a difference, the focus must be **appropriate**, that is indicators selected for investigation inform government priorities. **Robustness** refers to stability of the indicators over time and the availability of data to measure trends, whole-of government objectives and benchmarks against others. **Manageability** refers to the ability of the research team to obtain and analyse the data and the ability of Government programs to implement the findings of the study (Armstrong and Rutter 2002).

Most of the indicator reports in the 70s and 80s were descriptive and produced according to the major functional service provision roles of Government Departments, such as health, housing, education, etc (Armstrong and Rutter, 2002). In this environment the development and implementation of a more comprehensive system of social accounts that included non-economic descriptions of well being, which could be used for setting social goals or establishing the impact of government programs, was only partially achieved. Evaluators, therefore, first turned to

mapping the program logic of programs and then to measuring performance in terms of outputs and targets. Although outputs showed what programs were delivering, such as the numbers of clients seen or trends in the occurrence of truancy, they still did not demonstrate whether the programs were having an impact i.e. what were the outcomes for society (Armstrong and Rutter, 2002). Although social indicators are increasingly recognised as vital to evaluating the success of social policy interventions, the federal government has tended to focus on the extent to which public housing has enhanced the job and education prospects of tenants. A focus on increased job performance has become an important part of the way that neo-liberal governments have sought to counter welfare dependency (Mee and Moore, 2004). There has been little research on the impacts of performance indicators for public housing management in Australia thus far. In addition to these potential problems there are clear difficulties in interpreting performance measures due to the lack of comparable data between states and from residents in other tenures. Finally, from a geographic point of view Mee and Moore (2004) argue that many of the aspects of performance that are measured in the performance indicators are profoundly effected by the neighbourhoods where public housing is located, limiting the explanatory power of broad quantitative measures. In addition it is suggested that conventionally the evaluation of urban renewal has focussed on the physical goals of the renewal (Randolph and Wood, 2003; Arthurson, 1998; Randolph and Judd, 2000b). Indicators of outcomes of physical aspects of redevelopment projects are well established in the housing development field and can be included in the specification of urban renewal projects. However, the social success of the process typically has been gauged in an ad hoc manner by assessing the ease with which redevelopment properties have sold and identifying any change in the attractiveness of the area of public housing tenants.

Following Mee and Moore (2004), social indicators serve different purposes than agency performance indicators. A social indicator was defined by the OECD as a 'direct and valid statistical measure, which monitors levels and changes over time in a fundamental social concern' (OECD, 1976, 14). Although agency performance measures are necessary to monitor the outcomes of programs, social indicators are necessary to monitor the general well being of children, families and communities. Performance measures inform managers and internal stakeholders; social indicators provide information for societal learning. Developing a set of social indicators to determine housing need, and thus the most appropriate locations for public housing to be further developed, retained or perhaps sold, needs to be able to take into account how public housing is meant to be performing (Mee and Moore, 2004) (see figure 1).

**Figure 1: 1999-2003 CSHA National Performance Indicator Framework.**



Armstrong and Rutter (2002) provide an overview of the difficulties in developing and using spatial indicators to evaluate government programs. Social indicators are statistics, which, similar to economic statistics of the national accounts, are intended to provide a basis for making concise, comprehensive and balanced judgments about the conditions of major aspects of society. Given this increasing emphasis on social indicators, Rogers and Slowinski (2004) suggest that the specification of goals for the social outcomes of redevelopment is an essential step to ensuring that the evaluation becomes a standard part of redevelopment projects. However, social outcome indicators are complex as they relate to a range of intangibles that must be evaluated over time and include both quantitative data about outcome as well as qualitative data about residents' perceptions of the redevelopment.

Although performance indicators are used to measure program activity or results, social indicators ‘cannot be used to evaluate whether a particular social program is effective. Rather, social indicators can be used to assess whether and how the broad thrust of policy is addressing important social issues’ (OECD, 2001, p.9). This does not mean that some indicators do not measure individual program outcomes, but rather that when indicators are used at a society level they are usually termed “social indicators”. In general, performance indicators evaluate specific projects and programs while social indicators are directed towards larger social goals. Social indicators have their problems. Among the difficulties inherent in developing social indicators are:

- Selecting a framework to guide the development and analysis of the indicators;
- The difficulty of obtaining a reliable across-government comprehensive database that would be continuously up-dated;
- The different contexts, policy goals and programs that indicators could serve;
- Different definitions, and contexts;
- Appropriate criteria to guide the selection of the indicators; and,
- The diversity of views about how indicators should or could be used (Armstrong and Rutter, 2002).

In their study of the British City Challenge program (see section 9) Robinson et al (1995) identify the possibility that while an indicator may improve in gross terms, the gap between the site of regeneration and the surrounding areas may still increase. It is also recognised that it is difficult to attribute the result of an action as some impact may take a number of years to follow through (e.g. educational attainment), while problems also arise in attempts to determine what actually causes change in an indicator. This is essentially the argument behind discussion of *additionality* and *causality* (ODPM, 2004a; Randolph and Judd, 2006). In a practical sense, the discussion of the LSP program in Britain (see section 9) suggests that indicators reflect the priorities of individual strategies. In choosing indicators, projects should consider the following issues:

- Are the indicators few enough to focus attention on what is really important, yet sufficient in number to provide a balanced view of performance? (A balance will probably be necessary across themes/priority areas, and between long-term and short-term measures.)
- Is there an existing national indicator which could be used, which will have been developed by people with specialist expertise in the area and thoroughly tested, and for which comparisons will be available?

- If there is no suitable national indicator, have other localities already developed a measure that could be borrowed?
- Will the indicators be meaningful to local service users (and perhaps to a sub-groups of users)?
- Will the indicators support diagnosis and continuous improvement?
- Have you made a critical assessment of the availability and quality of data on which the indicators will be based?
- How robust are the indicators?

In addition, while it may be possible to identify indicators, the question of targets remains important. Even when priorities have been agreed and indicators chosen, partners (in the LSP case) or individual state departments often find it difficult to agree on targets (i.e. the point which indicates an acceptable level of success). In part this reflects the nature of the priorities of a program as targets for outcomes, which are usually affected by many external factors, which are often long-term and are more difficult to define and use than targets for outputs that are under the control of service deliverers themselves. There may be insufficient information about trends and the likely impact of actions to be sure that targets are not arbitrary (Robinson et al, 1995).

## **Part Two: Urban Renewal and Evaluation in Australia**

Following the above discussion of the broad changes in public housing policy in the Australian context, the increasing shift towards development initiated under the social mix and mixed tenancy paradigms, the increased need for the general quantification of state interventions, and an increased emphasis on the development and measurement of performance indicators, this section explores the history of urban and community renewal policies across the state of Australia. Special attention is paid to the manner in which the outcomes of social housing interventions are measured and evaluated against the objectives of the various policies. Further, this section explores the theoretical and conceptual basis on which each of these evaluation frameworks are based. Special attention is paid to frameworks drawing on *Social Cost-Benefit Analysis*, the *Realist Approach* to evaluation, and the *Logical Approach* to evaluation and *Meta-evaluation*. While not necessarily rating the value of such interventions (especially given that many of the recent policy interventions have little or no data available), this section attempts to position the multiple means and approaches to evaluating public interventions, confirming the old adage, that

there are many ways to skin a cat. The section starts by exploring New South Wales and South Australia, the states with the longest history of renewal and regeneration, and, thus, evaluation. This is followed by discussions of Queensland and Victoria, both of which have implemented new evaluation strategies in recent years. Finally, in the absence of any centralised evaluation strategy, Western Australia is discussed.

## **4. New South Wales**

In the Australian context NSW has perhaps the longest history of evaluation of urban renewal/regeneration policies with numerous studies originating from the NSW Department of Housing, advocacy groups and academics. Despite a relatively large range of studies compared to others States, no coherent evaluation framework has yet been developed in NSW (Randolph and Wood, 2003; Randolph and Judd, 2006). Nonetheless, according to Hughes (2004), the NSW Department of Housing has invested approximately \$150 million to 2001 towards the community renewal of its public housing estates, with activities focusing on:

- Improving the houses and public spaces;
- Preventing crime and anti-social behaviour;
- Developing opportunities for employment and training;
- Better and more responsive housing management;
- Reducing concentrations and diversifying social mix;
- Increased tenant involvement and participation;
- Improving access to and co-ordination of services; and,
- Building community capacity and social networks

Focusing on primarily physical interventions, the first overt urban renewal program to address many of these issues was the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. The Neighbourhood Improvement Program was to later evolve into the Community Renewal Strategy and the current Community Regeneration program.

### **4.1 The Neighbourhood Improvement Project and its Evaluation**

Initiated in 1995, the vision of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) was to remove the stigma associated with public housing estates and to ensure that they look and operate in a way comparable with other residential areas. These estates often have high: turnover; refusals of

offers of housing; rent arrears; vacancy rates; and levels of complaint about anti-social behaviour (Hughes, 2004). High priority estates remain the focus of the Community Renewal Strategy with the impact of the concentration of socially excluded individuals evident in a number of housing management indicators.

The NIP suggested that there is a complex interaction between the physical design factors and the non-tangible 'social' factors that influence the quality of the living environment on the DoH estates (Hassell, 1997). Essentially the NIP suggested that the 'de-Radburnising' of the estates could address many of the social and economic problems apparent on estate developments; however, it does also suggest that this is not sufficient in itself. It also calls for increased community and stakeholder participation and consultation (although the level to which this is achieved is disputed, see Stubbs et al, 2004). According to Hassell (1997) the objectives of the NIP are:

- Improve physical amenity;
- An holistic approach to client services;
- Improved estate appearances;
- Greater security, safety and privacy;
- Improved tenant control over private areas;
- Better living spaces;
- Better use of open space;
- Efficient use of funds and resources;
- Integrated provision of community services;
- Community ownership of the process and outcomes;
- Removal of estate stigmas;
- Improved access value and DoH Regional purchasing power;
- Introduction of asset management principles in the DoH's management; and,
- Encouragement of private sector involvement.

Under the NSW NIP strategy, super-lots, which are largely of the Radburn style estate layout, were seen to provide some opportunities for subdivision and boundary realignments, which inline with tenure and social mix paradigms (section 2.1), potentially allowed the building of new housing for sale to private residents. The NSW program differed from other strategies in Australia, as it did not involve tenant relocation. Such an approach is in line with work of Arthurson (1998) who suggests that long-term changes to social mix implemented gradually,

without resident relocation, are likely to have less negative impacts on the lives of tenants than changes implemented quickly and requiring large scale relocation of residents. One of the first focused discussions of the renewal of public housing estates was produced by Hassell (1997) with the release of the *Campbelltown Neighbourhood Improvement Program Strategic Plan*. This paper explores the NIP for NSW DoH Campbelltown estates: Airds, Ambarvale, Claymore, Macquarie Fields, and Minto. According to Hassell (1997) the NIP process is broken into three stages: Research, Analysis, and Design. The outcomes of these processes, in turn, highlight issues related to the social and physical disadvantage which characterise areas of public housing and which need to be rectified in order to improve the lives of tenants. Physical alterations include new fencing, carports, streetscape enhancements, new street addresses, all of which alleviate the problems of estate developments (table 2).

**Table 2: Problems and solutions identified under NIP (Hassell, 1997)**

<b>Problems of NIP estates</b>	<b>NIP solutions</b>
The proliferation of 'Radburn' influenced cul-de-sacs and walkway, which influence levels of ownership, identity and security.	Street frontage for all dwellings
Private space open to parks leading to potential intrusion	Re-defining private open space
Existing walkway network as site of fear and crime	Streets should replace walkways as the principle pedestrian network
Parks in public housing estates do not have public or road frontages	Street frontage parks
Dominance of cul-de-sacs	A connected street network
Minor roads are too wide, encouraging high speeds	Road design for safety
Public housing neighbourhoods physically contained with clear boundaries	Physical integration with surrounding neighbourhood. Visual integration is also important.
Poor quality of existing fields and reserves	The equitable provision of safe, useable open space
High levels of unused open spaces	Rationalised unused open space
Dominance of townhouses	Partial or complete redevelopment of town house precincts

In the context of physical and social disadvantage, which characterise areas of public housing, the NIP was to offer a number of strategies designed to improve the condition of these areas. These interventions were to:

- 1) Improve social integration with the surrounding suburbs;
- 2) Offer a greater social mix within DoH neighbourhoods to lessen the load imposed by highly disadvantaged multi-problem households;
- 3) Increase pride, ownership and involvement in community affairs by residents;
- 4) Increase choices for residents to take more responsibility and exercise more rights in relation to their housing and the management of their neighbourhood;

- 5) Offer an integrated and multi-faceted approach to the problems of the neighbourhoods, which acknowledge the needs for intersectional action, and a whole of government approach to evaluation.

Further the interventions should:

- 6) Make use of community development principles to support resident involvement
- 7) Emphasise current and future strengths and success achieved by the neighbourhoods should be celebrated and built on;
- 8) Emphasise the development and implementation of a Strategies Plan and Neighbourhood Development Plan, which must demonstrate a strong customer within clearly defined limits. There must be early and visible demonstrations of good faith by responding to issues by residents;
- 9) The tenant services of the DoH should be refocussed to a customer orientation through new recruitment policies, better training, new allocation policies, a quality assurance system and a fair and accessible complaints system; and,
- 10) Human services and facilities must become better integrated and coordinated and more accessible at a local level (Hassell, 1997).

While the document offers an insight to the policy logic of the Department and the actions and objectives enacted in the NIP program, little attention is paid to the process of evaluation. Evaluation is mentioned in the Campbelltown strategy (Hassell, 1997), however, this is in a cursory manner. In fact, the success of the NIP program has been questioned by Randolph et al (2001) who emphasis the need for more stringent evaluation parameters. Randolph and Judd (2000b) suggested that while the DoH, under the NIP, endeavoured to establish a set of indicators of dysfunction and an evaluation methodology, rigorous application proved difficult. While problematic, indicators, such as vacancies, refusals, rent arrears, and rehousing requests, have indicated some success for the NIP. Nevertheless Randolph and Judd (2000b) suggest that the majority of reporting has primarily been of an anecdotal nature and centred on qualitative methodologies, without much methodological rigour. While criticised for its lack of methodological rigour in terms of evaluating the success of its interventions, the NIP evaluation is in line with similar descriptive evaluations projects under taken at the same time, including the *Claymore Integration Project: Follow-up Study* (Centre for Health Equity Training Research and Evaluation, 1998), the *Northfield Precinct One: A Review of the Social Objective* (Biggins and Hassen, 1998) and the *Community perceptions of social outcomes of urban renewal in Rosewood and Mitchell Park* (Carson, et al, 1998a; b), each of which is discussed in more detail in following

sections. The Cost Benefit Analysis of Airds undertaken by Stubbs (1996, 1998) is presented as an exception.

As suggested above, the NIP was subject to an evaluation in 2001 (Randolph et al, 2001) at the request of the Department of Housing. This evaluation presented a mixed review of the success of the program. The evaluation difficulty stemmed primarily from the regional autonomy in the development of local NIPs as the structure of the Department resulted in divergent (and often competing) program objectives across regeneration sites. While this autonomy facilitated focused and specific approaches to estate deprivation and disadvantage, it made the links between estate objectives and program objectives difficult, making an audit of estate based initiatives against the overall framework objectives difficult. Randolph et al (2001) found it impossible to accurately isolate the real impact of renewal expenditure in specific areas as opposed to broader interventions and more general processes operating completely independently of housing renewal or housing management activity (for a review of this issue see Spiller Gibbins Swan, 2000). As part of their review of the NIP Randolph et al (2001) suggest that the next generation of evaluation approaches should address these critical cost-benefit and value-for-money issues more directly (primarily through the implementation of an Audit Trail). The key elements to the evaluation methodology suggested by Randolph et al (2001) were:

- Surveying tenants throughout key cycles of NIP strategies to establish baseline resident satisfaction;
- Evaluation against the key criteria of any NIP interventions, e.g. rehousing, vandalism, rejection rates;
- Financial assessment including improved rental collections, reduced housing management costs, rental affordability outcomes, cost benefit of physical intervention; and,
- Social impact assessments, to measure the cost of a wide range of indicators of disadvantage (Randolph et al, 2001).

The evaluation undertaken by Randolph et al (2001) attempted to build two sets of draft Performance Indicators (PIs) to evaluate the success of Department interventions. The NSW Department of Housing requested the implementation of the agreed housing management PIs through the new IHS database (installed in 1999) to assess the capacity of the system to produce housing management PIs centrally, rather than rely on regional data collection methods. The Housing Management PIs (HMPIs) were based on the set previously agreed within the

Department. In addition the authors developed a set of Asset Management PIs (AMPs), in conjunction with the Department, to monitor the cost effectiveness of interventions to improve the asset base of the estates undergoing renewal (see section 2). Randolph et al (2001), together with the DoH, identified a set of 15 performance indicators with which to assess the impact of the NIP on the seven asset outcomes (table 3).

**Table 3:** Asset-Based outcomes and indicators for NIP evaluation (Randolph et al, 2001)

Outcome	Indicator
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved asset valuation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Valuation data for before NIP commenced (1994) .</li> <li>Asset valuations from the June 1997 valuation exercise vrs asset valuations in 2000.</li> <li>Annual sales record 1994/95 to 1998/99.</li> <li>Comparative house price data for 1994 and 1999.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reduction of maintenance backlog</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No. of dwellings upgraded under NIP.</li> <li>Total NIP expenditure attributed to reduction of maintenance backlog</li> <li>Expenditure attributed to security costs 1994/95 to 1998/99</li> <li>Expenditure attributed to vandalism costs 1994/95 to 1998/99</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Progress against maintenance standards</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Number of dwellings meeting current maintenance standards in 1994/95 vrs number meeting current maintenance standards in mid-1999.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Progress against amenity standards</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Numbers of properties with a clear and adequate street address.</li> <li>Numbers of properties with adequate, defined and secure private open space.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tradeability of stock</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Was it an objective of the NIP to improve tradeability?</li> <li>Numbers of dwellings separately titled in 1994/95 and mid-1998.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dedications to Council</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The total m2 of Common Open Space owned and managed by the DoH in 1994/95 and mid-1999.</li> <li>Current cost of maintaining Common Open Space in 1998/99</li> </ul>

In terms of the five case study areas studied by Randolph et al (2001), a number of conclusions were presented:

- The range of initiatives undertaken on these five NIP estates was considerable, reflecting local perceptions of the actions required to address the significant, and various, problems the estates, their residents and their housing managers were facing. The majority of interventions focused on asset renewal activity; however, a variety of community and economic initiatives were also being undertaken.
- Programs should be clearer in their stated objectives for social and economic change and regeneration. Randolph et al (2001) suggest that there are clear limits to how investment in neighbourhood renewal, which focuses primarily on housing and asset management strategies, can realistically address these kinds of issues. Further, given that the processes, which have the greatest impact on unemployment, dependency, family breakdown, crime, poor health and low educational standards often lie well outside the capacity of public housing interventions, it may be unreasonable to suggest that they can have any impact. It

- is suggested that the way is to develop more extensive partnerships with other agencies and stakeholders if efforts to develop a “Whole of Community” approach.
- Further, the lack of *hard* evidence available to back up these staff perceptions of success was seen as worrying.
  - Objectives at estate level vary considerably in terms of content, embracing general statements about social well being as well as very specific interventions. Some objectives conflate a number of more specific aims or targets issues, making any evaluation of the success in achieving the objective problematic, as its impact on any one issue is likely to be diffuse.
  - Objective setting for renewal programs therefore needs care and realism. In particular, objectives should be specific and well defined. Objectives should not include a mix of general global statements contrasting to highly specific targets (e.g. reducing crime *vs.* upgrade fire safety to building code standards). Objectives should not be compounds of several, often disparate initiatives. Neither should they be different versions of the same thing. Finally objectives should be realistic in what targets are likely to be achieved through the initiatives being implemented (it should be noted that the clarification of objectives remains a problem for more recent DoH interventions).

Therefore, Randolph et al (2001) suggest that housing led solutions have clear limitations as to what aspects of local disadvantage they can address. According to stakeholders the most important successes and shortcomings of the NIP programs varied significantly between estates depending on issues on the estates, strategies adopted, management of the project and the kinds of tenant consultation/participation mechanisms employed (Randolph et al, 2001). It is difficult therefore to generalise about successes and failures. In conclusion Randolph et al (2001) identify six successes and shortcomings of the NIP program, as identified by their evaluation (table 4).

**Table 4:** Success and shortcomings of the NIP (Randolph et al, 2001)

<p><b>What worked:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Physical improvements to ‘normalise’ public housing areas;</li> <li>- Reconfiguration of Radburn layouts and reductions in town house densities in suburban estates;</li> <li>- Improved community perceptions (both inside and outside the estate), related reductions in stigmatisation;</li> <li>- Improved DoH attitudes and management relationships with estate communities;</li> <li>- Improved consultation, participation and empowerment;</li> <li>- Stabilisation of estate communities through reduced turnover rates and decreased problems with crime, nuisance and annoyance.</li> </ul> <p><b>What has not worked:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Management issues including poor project management (including problems with communication, coordination, and the quality of work and reliability of some contractors) on some projects;</li> </ul>
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- Problems with continuity of staffing for NIP projects and lack of responsiveness to issues raised by tenants;
- Service integration issues including a lack of whole-of-government approaches and participation by other service;
- Community consultation issues including inadequate tenant consultation and participation;
- Issues of inadequate resourcing and the failure of specific employment and community initiatives;
- A range of issues arising directly from the process of rolling out physical works on the estates including tenant stress and anxiety about change, equity issues and inconvenience to tenants.

The NIP was discontinued in 1999. In its place a Community Renewal Strategy (CRS) was developed which almost entirely focused on social and economic development (NSWDoH, 2001). The CRS sets out a vision that estates will: look more like the surrounding neighbourhoods; comprise well maintained properties; be managed flexibly at the neighbourhood level; be broken up and diversified to include private housing; and be the subject of agreements with key service providers, such as the Department of Community Services, local government and the police. Interestingly, the CRS recognises that the emphasis on physical solutions in the earlier NIP was not “necessarily appropriate and emphasises the importance of integrating employment and community development initiatives” (NSWDoH, 1999, p7). The CRS has, in turn, been replaced and incorporated into a new Community Renewal Unit established in mid-2003. The focus of the new Unit is to develop the community renewal aspects of the DoH’s current programs further (Randolph and Wood, 2003). The NSW Department of Housing, through the CRS, will be developing a new evaluation framework for the Community Regeneration program early in 2005 and have been strengthening their data collection on social disadvantage, housing management and asset data indicators for this purpose (Randolph and Judd, 2006). Nevertheless, simultaneously to developing and implementing the NIP program in the late 1990s the NSW Department of Housing was formulating a number of other strategies to measure and evaluate the success of their interventions.

## **4.2 Other Early DoH Evaluation/Appraisal**

In 1997 the NSW Department of Housing (NSWDoH, 1997) released its appraisal process for assessing its intervention options. These interventions may include redevelopment and upgrading of physical assets as well as actions to rectify the dysfunctional public housing communities. This process has two fundamental streams, which come together in Project and Program Appraisal:

- 1) *Economic Appraisal* that requires the identification and quantification of all costs and benefits to Government and the community. Economic Appraisal was to be undertaken

for all significant interventions and investments exceeding \$5 million, and should follow treasury guidelines.

- 2) *Housing Options and Appraisal* was designed for public housing projects where there are many, often conflicting, benefits to the tenant, community and Government. It was designed to encourage the search for alternative options and emphasis social goals that underpin the Department's action (NSWDoH, 1997).

The *Housing Options and Appraisal* process include both asset and non-asset interventions not identified under economic appraisal, and comprise of nine steps:

- 1) *Establish there is a problem* – this step outlines the range of indicators (housing management, asset, community development, agency feedback) used to identify the existence of a problem.
- 2) *Identify the problem* – once the presence of a problem is ascertained, this step requires the scope and scale of the problem to be defined, through the application of comparative indicators, and client surveys and post occupancy survey's.
- 3) *Establish project goals and objectives*
- 4) *Develop options* – the formulation of options in response to the identified problems is the key component in achieving effective solutions, including aspects of housing management, capital investment, other agencies, status quo and combination.
- 5) *Identify the value and costs and benefits of the options* – for each option, the costs and benefits arising over the life of the option should be identified, valued and discounted to their present value. (See discussion of Cost Benefit Analysis, section 4.2.1).
- 6) *Analyse and rank the options* – once the options have been identified and the costs and benefits quantified, a rigorous comparative analysis needs to be done on each.
- 7) *Sensitivity analysis* – the analysis is used to assess the possible impact of uncertainty by illustrating what would happen if assumptions made about a key variable prove to be wrong and shows how changes in values of various factors might affect the overall cost of benefit of a particular option.
- 8) *Project recommendation*
- 9) *Review and feedback* – a review of the project outcomes is essential to ascertain whether the intended goals have been achieved and to assist in overall learning and improvement of future projects.

While the *Project and Program Appraisal model* offered a general process for monitoring the impacts of Department interventions, a number of more focus studies were being developed in an

attempt to overcome the issues identified under the NIP. Once such approach was Social Cost-Benefit Analysis.

#### 4.2.1 Cost Benefit Analysis in New South Wales

In their review of financial evaluation and analysis of public housing interventions, SGS (2000) suggest that the literature on urban renewal tends to focus on the concept of *social disadvantage* and the need for a more *holistic approach* to addressing these problems, the fostering of *partnership* and the need for *monitoring and evaluation*. It is suggested that to date five key evaluation techniques have been employed in efforts to quantify public sector interventions:

- *Financial analysis*: that which is concerned with maximising profits given incomes and expenditures over time, each of which are based on the prices of available goods and services. While this technique as an overall evaluation framework has been criticised, it does, nevertheless form the basis of Cost Benefit Analysis, as all cost and benefits are translated into monetary terms.
- *Cost Effectiveness Analysis (CES)*: is used to compare alternatives that are equally effective in achieving a stated goal. Most commonly, the actual output is quantitatively the same for each alternative and the method is applied to identify the least-cost option.
- *Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA)*: This differs from CEA in that costs and benefits are, as far as possible, expressed in money terms and hence are directly comparable with one another. Basic concepts include opportunity cost, willingness to pay and the cost benefit rule.
- *Planning Balance Sheet*: this identifies *communities of interest* and sorts them into *producers* and *consumers*. The objectives of each group are determined and scores are given based on the relative performance of alternatives for achieving the objectives. The technique suffers from the subjectivity of assessments and the problem of the relative importance of objectives.
- *Goals Achievement Matrix*: this technique is similar to the Planning Balance Sheet with the difference being that program goals are identified rather than the objectives of different communities of interest.

Of the five suggested methodologies SGS champion Social Cost Benefit Analysis as the methodology best equipped to provide in-depth and comprehensive quantification and evaluation of state interventions. It line with this general support for Social Cost-Benefit Analysis, a number of analyses were undertaken in the years prior to the SGS (2000) publication.

In response to the Hassell (1997) presentation of the Campbelltown NIP, Stubbs (1998) presented one of the first evaluation analyses of the NIP project to the National Urban Renewal Conference. The paper presents an introduction to social cost benefit analysis (CBA looks at the amount spent on an activity, program or capital facility, and examines whether the cost of this activity can be justified in economic terms. The paper argues that CBA should cast the net very widely to look at the full range of costs and benefits associated with the program in order to examine the total impact that the program would have (Stubbs, 1998). Traditionally it is suggested that only direct costs and benefits of a program or activity are identified and incorporated in the evaluation of Department interventions, it is therefore, important to include the full range of indirect or hidden costs in a given situation. Four stages are identified for a CBA:

- Identification of the program objectives;
- The selection of indicators based on these objectives and the costings;
- Identification of how successful the program would need to be in order to give a return (a cost benefit ratio of 1); and,
- Determine how likely or feasible it was that the program would meet these objectives and achieve this result.

These stages are further divided into a nine-stage methodology in Stubbs and Storer (1996) cost-benefit analysis of the Airs NIP (Table 5). In addition, in the findings presented by Stubbs (1998) three main questions need to be asked in relation to the application of CBA:

- 1) *Q: What do the identified problems cost the community?*  
A: It was identified that Airs had a much higher incidence of the indicators of disadvantage. Unemployment was the highest, costing \$22 million per year.
- 2) *Q: How much would the identified problems have to be reduced by to justify the annual expenditure in the NIP?*  
A: Reducing Airs to the state average would save the community \$18 million per year (17 times the cost of the annual program).
- 3) *Q: How likely is it that the NIP would achieve its objectives and a subsequent reduction in social problems?*  
A: The establishment of links between activities and outcomes is always problematic.

**Table 5:** Methodology for Social-Cost Benefit analysis (Stubbs and Storer, 1996)

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Airs was selected as a case study</li> <li>2) Control areas were selected (Green Valley, Cartwright and Miller)</li> <li>3) NSW averages were used as benchmarks, along with a private 'middle of the road' area</li> </ol>
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|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4) Survey of community, Gov. Depts., &amp; Community agencies to identify the problems</li> <li>5) Indicators were selected for each of these issues so they could be costed and quantified</li> <li>6) Data were collected</li> <li>7) Indicators were costed using actuaries, government reports, health and human services economists and other sources</li> <li>8) Total annual costs for selected indicators were calculated</li> <li>9) The feasibility of these returns being achieved was then evaluated.</li> </ol> |
|---|

In line with the findings of Randolph et al (2001) it is suggested that the physical redevelopment of Airds was, by itself, unlikely to achieve a significant reduction in social problems. It is suggested the renewal programs are most successful when combined with community consultation and participation strategies. According to Stubbs (1998) some of the more theoretical aspects of CBA, include: lack of empirical studies and contradictory findings; conflicting objectives of the NSW state government; perceptions of the study area; issues of confronting problems, not symptoms; impact of unemployment; and the need to ensure real participation in the planning and redevelopment of public housing estates. Nevertheless, CBA is positioned as a valuable tool for evaluating social programs.

In the wake of the increased emphasis placed on urban and community renewal, Stubbs and Hardy (2000) published an evaluation of three neighbourhood renewal strategies in South Western Sydney (Airds, Claymore and Minto). The paper starts by reintroducing the advantages of a Cost Benefit Analysis, further highlighting the success of the Airds project. Despite this earlier focus on economic accountability, the evaluation presented here is considerably more qualitative in nature and methodologically covers eight stages: 1) literature review; 2) selection of case studies; 3) development of household survey; 4) survey of residents; 5) informal discussion with residents; 6) structured interviews and focus groups; 7) collection of comparative statistics; and 8) workshop. The findings of the evaluation are centred on seven key indicators of neighbourhood renewal as outlined in table 6:

**Table 6:** Findings of urban renewal in Western Sydney (Stubbs and Hardy, 2000)

<p><b>1) Crime, Nuisance and Annoyance</b> It is suggested that the programs had a positive influence on crime nuisance and annoyance as many residents perceived there to be a change in crime statistics, even though little change had actually occurred. Residents generally reported increased feelings of safety and satisfaction. It is suggested that a reduction in crime will lead to a gradual slowing of housing turn over and a maturing of the population.</p>
<p><b>2) Housing Turnover and Resident Stability</b> Findings suggest that strategies need to be flexible, with residents involved in the urban renewal process from the outset. It was highlighted that in terms of indicators of residential stability, such as vacancy rates and acceptance of housing offers, were positive.</p>
<p><b>3) Resident Satisfaction with Their Area, Housing Provider, and Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies</b></p>

The majority of residents felt more positive about their area, after completion of the program. Residents of areas not yet NIPed were most negative about their area. Better performance by the housing provider in term of repair and maintenance was identified in all areas. The research suggests the need for the combination of both asset and non-asset management strategies.

**4) Communication, Consultation and Participation**

Communication processes appear to have long-term benefits for residents in these areas. The paper suggests that the NIP project was not as efficient or effective as it could have been.

**5) Social Stigma: Resident and ‘Outsider’ Perceptions.**

The high level of physical improvements of the Airds area resulted in positive impact on the way residents viewed themselves. It also seems to have an impact on the way the wider community was viewing Airds.

**6) Asset Management**

The main resident complaint was due to the poor condition of some properties. It is this physical redevelopment where the NIP is positioned as most useful.

**7) Social and Economic Development**

The paper suggests that until recently little attention has been paid to economic development in renewal locations, despite the impact that this can have on the well-being of the location.

As suggested above, Cost Benefit Analyst is presented as a valuable evaluation framework by Spiller Gibbins Swan (SGS, 2000) in their research paper, *Public Housing Renewal in Australia*. The report identified that to date there is no common approach to evaluation, although most projects are subject to financial assessments. Under a CBA analysis general costs and benefits identified suggested by SGS (2000) are illustrated in table 7.

**Table 7: Social Costs and Benefits (SGS, 2000)**

<p><b>COSTS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Opportunity cost on land and improvements</li> <li>- Capital costs – housing and infrastructure</li> <li>- Recurrent costs – housing and infrastructure</li> <li>- Tenant <u>R</u>elocation – compensation paid – extra costs</li> <li>- Tenants <u>D</u>islocation – possible loss of support networks</li> <li>- Reduced Housing Opportunities</li> </ul>
<p><b>BENEFITS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sales of surplus assets up-front</li> <li>- Sales of residual assets on wind-up</li> <li>- Better living environment for public rental dwelling – higher standard dwellings – better neighbourhood amenity – reduced stigma</li> <li>- Reduced social dysfunction generally – possible society-wide benefits as reflected in social indicators</li> </ul>

SGS (2000) champion the CBA approach as the most useful in evaluating renewal projects. It is suggested that under a CBA framework initial consideration should identify direct and indirect costs of renewal (Table 8).

**Table 8: Direct and Indirect Costs and Benefits of Renewal (SGS, 2000)**

*Direct* costs and benefits are those which relate to specific objectives of the intervention. In the case of public housing these include:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The opportunity cost of employing the land and improvements in question</li> <li>- The benefits derived from the proceeds of the sale of land and improvements not being employed</li> <li>- The benefits derived from the proceeds of the sale of all the employed assets at some point in the future</li> <li>- The capital costs of housing and infrastructure</li> <li>- The recurrent costs associated with housing and infrastructure</li> <li>- Tenants <u>relocation</u> costs such as removal costs and compensation, and</li> <li>- Benefits for tenants of high standard dwellings, good neighbourhood amenity and reduced stigma</li> </ul>
<p><i>Indirect costs</i> and benefits relate to the by-product of the intervention. In public housing renewal projects these generally include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Changes in access to social support networks for relocation (often thought to be of an adverse nature and termed <u>dislocation</u> costs)</li> <li>- Changes in housing opportunities for prospective public rental tenants</li> <li>- Benefits for other residents in the neighbourhood of higher standard public rental dwellings, better neighbourhood amenity and reduced stigma, and</li> <li>- Benefits of society wide reduced social dysfunction as reflected in social indicators.</li> </ul>

In order to increase the relevance of a CBA, it is suggested that a *sectored cost benefit analysis* should be used. This is a technique that deals with costs and benefits from the perspective of the public rental sector. Thus transfers of assets in and out of the sector become important and can be included. Vital to CBA is the valuation of costs and benefits. The paper offers a discussion of how real world costs and benefits in a sectored CBA might be valued (table 9).

**Table 9:** Methods for valuing costs and benefits (SGS, 2000)

<i>The opportunity cost of employing the land and improvements in question:</i> the value is simply what the land could be sold for, assessed using normal valuation techniques.
<i>The benefit of selling land and improvements not being employed in the project:</i> this is a simple one-off benefit valued on the basis of willingness to pay as established in the real estate market
<i>Sale of assets on wind-up:</i> this is the financial benefit that must be accounted for, but it is often the case that wind-up is very much in the long term, say fifty years plus.
<i>Capital Costs:</i> the capital costs of housing and infrastructure are clearly up-front cost items that must be accounted for.
<i>Tenants relocation costs:</i> the capital costs of compensating tenants are also up-front items that must be accounted for.
<i>Benefits to Tenants:</i> the benefits of high standard dwellings, good neighbourhood amenity and reduced stigma are quite real but these in themselves are intangible concepts. Nevertheless, it is often held that they have an imputed market value in that consumers are willing to pay market rent for these attributes. It is arguable that public rental is a superior good to private rental, particularly with respect to security of tenure. A further problem with market rent is the fact that market rents are set by the willingness to pay off people who have a different situation to the average public rental client.
<i>Tenants Dislocation Costs:</i> it is strongly advocated by practitioners in the field that these potential costs are minimised, if not removed, by tenancy management initiatives. Nevertheless there have been some examples of disaffected tenants and in some cases there has been discrimination against tenants in predominantly private housing areas. Social exclusion is one possible indicator of these processes.

Indicators suggested as basis of shadow pricing costs include: unemployment rates, proportion low income, child protection notifications, domestic violence assessments, house theft, assaults, adult imprisonment, juvenile detention, community mental health clients, inpatient data. While

many of these indicators many be directly measurable at the local scale, others are more qualitative in nature and more difficult to measure. Examples include:

Reduced Housing Opportunities Costs: these costs potentially arise when a project results in a net loss of dwellings in the overall portfolio. While new stock may be of equivalent value, more ‘normalised’ (reduced public rental), in better condition and more suited to tenants needs, reduced numbers may impact on the waiting list.

Spillover Benefits of Enhanced Neighbourhood Amenity: other residents in the area also derive the benefits of high standard dwellings, good neighbourhood amenity and reduced stigma.

Benefits of Society Wide Reduced Social Dysfunction: these benefits are related to the tenants dislocation costs discussed above with the distinction being that they accrue to society as a whole (table 10).

**Table 10:** Direct and indirect costs and benefits (SGS, 2000)

ITEM	DIRECT/ INDIRECT	BASIS OF VALUATION	INCIDENCE
<b>COSTS</b>			
Opportunity Costs on Land and Improvements	Direct	Market	Authority
Capital Costs – Housing and Infrastructure	Direct	Market	Authority
Recurrent Costs – Housing and Infrastructure	Direct	Market	Authority
Tenant Relocation - Compensation Paid - Extra Tenant Costs	Direct	Market	Authority
Tenant Dislocation - Possible loss of support networks	Indirect	Shadow Price	Relocated Tenants
Reduced Housing Opportunities	Indirect	Shadow Price	Prospective Tenants
<b>BENEFITS</b>			
Sale of Surplus Assets Up-front	Direct	Market	Authority
Sale of Residual Assets on Wind-up	Direct	Market	Authority
Better Living Environment for Public Rental Dwellings. - Higher standard dwellings - Better neighbourhood amenity - Reduced Stigma	Direct	Shadow Price e.g. Market Rent	Tenants
Better Living Environment for Other Dwellings in the Neighbourhood. - Higher standard dwellings - Better neighbourhood amenity - Reduced Stigma	Indirect	Shadow Price e.g. Market Rent Increment	Other Residents in the Neighbourhood
Reduced Social Dysfunction Generally - Possible Society wide benefits as reflected in social indicators	Indirect	Shadow Price e.g. Costs Savings Achieved	Society Generally

While Social Costs-Benefit analysis was increasingly championed as the ideal method for evaluating social housing interventions in NSW in the late 1990s, few studies undertook rigorous analysis of individual projects, with the development of a comprehensive social cost-benefit

analysis remaining to be developed. Nevertheless, CBA has been repositioned to play a central role in the MOSAIC evaluation framework. While interventions by the DoH (through NIP and Project and Program Appraisal) focused on evaluating the impact of interventions in public housing areas they did so in somewhat of an ad hoc manner. As such, 2000 saw the release of perhaps the most comprehensive evaluation framework released by the NSW Department of Housing to date (although note explicitly utilising a CBA approach).

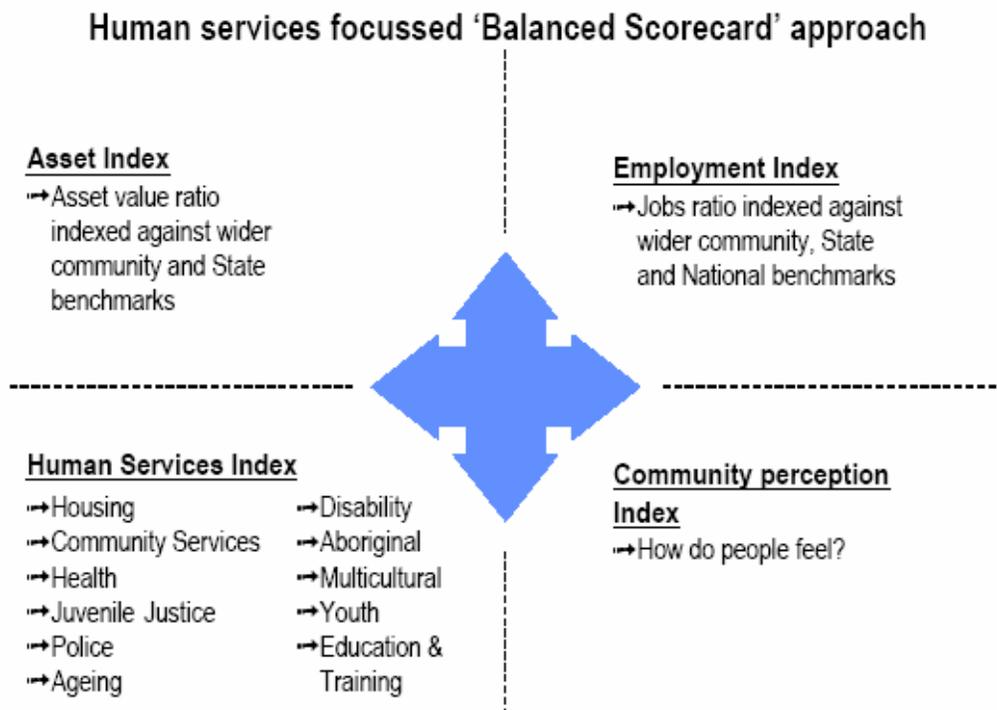
#### **4.4 DoH Current Evaluation: Housing Healthy Communities**

*Housing Healthy Communities* (NSWDoH, 2000) provides an overview of the issues confronting social housing provision in Australia, NSW, and internationally. It argues that in the absence of affordable, appropriate and accessible social housing, there would be detrimental effects on the individual, family, community, taxpayer and government. It is suggested that housing strategies employed in recent years have, to some extent, been successful in reducing some of the physical design, tenancy management and mono-tenure problems of some estates (Woodward, 2000). Following the discussion of the broad tendencies of social housing policy in section 2, *Housing Healthy Communities* suggests that a holistic and collaborative partnership between Government agencies at all levels, the non-Government sector and the private sector with the approval, support and participation of local communities is the only way forward to achieving the long term and sustainable gains required over the next 20 years, which are supported by bottom-up, local community interaction. In addition to the physical, tenancy management, community development and tenure issues pursued through community renewal and intensive management initiatives, a long-term understanding of community development and social capital is also called for.

The final section of the documents explores the *Priority Partnership Program*, which is focused on one of the central Department business objectives of developing much stronger community renewal capacity across the portfolio in partnership with key government, non-Government and private sector stakeholders and to bring the portfolio to a maintained state and retain it in that condition (NSWDoH, 2000). One of the central tenets of this approach is that of Community Renewal (see section 1 for more detail). In terms of evaluating the success of Community Renewal initiatives, the paper provides a section on *An Evaluation Framework: The Balanced Scorecard* (see discussion by SGS, (2000) in section 4.2.1). This paper suggests that what is needed is a “Balanced Scorecard” approach to developing an understanding of what will work

across agencies for the benefit of local communities and society as a whole. The scorecard should relate to both business and service requirements. This approach would assist in better decision-making by blending private sector and community factors. To illustrate this, from a social housing perspective, a key example would be the level of subsidy provided to tenants. It is argued that should the Department simply utilise a private sector indicator to drive decision-making, it would force the sale of many assets in metropolitan Sydney. Given the social service role of the Department, in reality these assets could not be replaced and the displacement effects of such a strategy could lead to unintended negative social consequences, far outweighing any capital raised. The suggested model follows Westacott (1999) and focuses on asset, employment, services provision and community perception to provide an overall picture of impacts of social housing interventions (figure 2).

**Figure 2:** Human Services Balanced Scorecard (Westacott, 1999, cited in NSWDoH, 2000)



In conjunction with the data driven Balanced Scorecard approach, the paper suggests that Best Value inspections had been developed and applied for DoH service delivery across NSW (NSWDoH, 2000). These inspections had been adapted by the DoH from the UK program of Best Value inspections that cover a much wider range of government service agency systems and are a key evaluative and accountability tool utilised in the UK. In essence, Best Value inspections are a

review of coalface services designed to improve service to the public and value for money. Applied to an approach such as the PPP suggested by NSWDoH (2000), Best Value inspections would involve integrated review teams to operate across the state to “stand in the public’s shoes” to assess: the quality of service provided; arrangements to secure value for money; and how well local agencies and teams are set to improve. However, it is argued that what is missing from this evaluative framework is the concept of integrated community development as it is never the role of any one agency in itself, nor is it a program as such. It is these insights, which have lead to the current round of policy and intervention evaluation of NSW Department of Housing interventions (especially under the MOSAIC and Community Regeneration banners). In addition to those policies and publications produced by or for the NSW Department of Housing a number of parallel evaluation programs have been established in NSW to evaluate the performance of social service providers.

#### **4.5 Recent Approaches to Evaluation in New South Wales**

In a somewhat tangential process to the evaluations strategies discussed above, the Albany Consulting Group produced *Assessment of Evaluation Strategies and tools for place management and community renewal project* for the NSW Premier’s Department in 2001. This is an interim report on research into and assessment of evaluation frameworks from place management and community renewal initiatives. The paper positions place management as one of the key management strategies in NSW, focussing on: transforming the silo structure of government; building greater trust in mechanisms and processes of public governance; developing models of effective community development. The paper suggests a number of initial assessment ‘headlines’ regarding the evaluation process:

- Good evaluation is critical to ensure that interventions are not wasted;
- Issues of short term projects, long term problems needs to be overcome;
- There needs to be a much clearer reason why the evaluation is happening and what will happen as a result;
- The invisible (trust, confidence, etc) are as important as obvious, measurable outcomes; and,
- There are methodological issues in conducting rigorous and credible evaluations.

Within the context of these broad considerations Albany (2001) identify three key issues within current evaluation literature and projects: significant evaluation activity around place

management and community renewal is patchy or non-existent; evaluation is hard and riddled with methodological, political, institutional and resource challenges; and the need for better performing evaluations is pressing. Further, there are a number of issues which impact upon these observations as presented in Table 11. The prevailing framework offered by Albany (2001) has eight primary dimensions (table 12).

**Table 11: Issues of Effective evaluation (Albany, 2001)**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Evaluation strategies should reflect a ‘theory of change’ that sets out the assumed links between the type of intervention and the scope and nature of result trying to be achieved</li> <li>- Evaluation has to ‘start before you start’.</li> <li>- Time and money are critical ingredients</li> <li>- Outcomes need to engage with the communities involved</li> <li>- Place and community renewal and their outcomes can be hard to define</li> <li>- It is critical to evaluate what would have happened without intervention</li> <li>- It is difficult creating a control group</li> <li>- Front-end design processes should involve the tying down of long and short term outcomes</li> <li>- There is a need for better and more consistent small-area data collections</li> <li>- ‘Changes over time’ need to be included</li> </ul>
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**Table 12: Dimensions of Evaluation (Albany, 2001)**

Context and expectations	1. Understanding the political, economic and policy context for the original project investment
	2. Understanding the ‘place’ context and issues
	3. Clarifying the expectations for the original investment in the place/community project
	4. Assumptions/expectations about the purpose, scope and outcomes of place management
What	1. What was the original project designed to achieve?
	2. What is the evaluation trying to find out?
	3. What is the scope and focus of the evaluation?
Why	1. What is the evaluation being undertaken? What are you going to do with the information?
	2. Are all the stakeholders clear about the evaluation's purpose?
How	1. How is the evaluation being conducted?
	2. What research and other methods are being used?
	3. Are all the stakeholders happy with the research and other methods being used for the evaluation?
	4. Are the research and related methods appropriate for the purpose of the evaluation?
	5. How are the findings analysed and reported?
Who	1. Who is conducting the evaluation?
	2. Who gets involved in the evaluation process?
	3. Who will determine whether or not the evaluation was adequate and effective?

	4. Who is told about the evaluation, including its design, conduct and presentation?
What Next?	1. Is it clear what will happen as a result of the evaluation?
	2. Do stakeholders have a clear idea of the actions that will happen as a result of the evaluation?
	3. Is there a process in place to monitor what happens as a result of the evaluation?
Evaluation Outcomes	1. What happened/changed as a result of the evaluation?
	2. Who learned what from the evaluation and was that valuable?

Although framed in different language and definitional categories, the suggested framework has many similarities to the IMPACT evaluation tools discussed in section 11, focusing as much on program process as on program outcomes. As the principle author of the Albany (2001) discussion, Steward-Weeks (2002) further presents the findings of the commissioned research into NSW place management and community renewal projects when he presented the evaluation framework (Context and expectations – What – Why – When – How – Who – What Next? – Evaluation Outcomes) to the 2002 Australian Evaluation Society International Conference. In light of the discussion of the framework, Steward-Weeks (2002) offers a series of points, which need to be considered in evaluating renewal projects (table 13)

**Table 13:** Points of consideration in community renewal (Steward-weeks, 2002)

<p>- <u>Understanding different motivation:</u> The conflicting and unresolved expectations of some key audiences (for example Ministers, funding agencies, the media) for quick results are adverse to both good evaluation and the longer-term change strategies of the original projects.</p> <p>- <u>Theory of change: what do you think you are trying to achieve?</u> In the context of place management and community renewal, evaluation strategies should be clear about the assumed links between the type of intervention and the scope and nature of the results that intervention is trying to achieve.</p> <p>- <u>Accepting the Garbage in-Garbage out (GIGO) principle: time, money and commitment:</u> You get out a result whose quality will match what you put in.</p> <p>- <u>What if we did nothing?</u> There is an increasing emphasis placed on the importance of a good “counterfactual” and the virtual impossibility of doing it well in many community renewal projects. There is a recognition from a public policy point of view, the issue often is not so much “did we achieve what we set out to achieve?” but rather “was the way we went about it effective or was there a cheaper, more effective way we could have got the same outcome?” These questions lie at the centre of debates over additionality and causality discussed in section 1.</p> <p>- <u>Involving the community.</u></p> <p>- <u>A common framework: baseline, impact and learning.</u> A good summary of three common themes in place or renewal evaluation is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Creating a baseline measure of the “status quo” and thus providing a reasonably reliable and credible starting point from which to make evaluative judgments about the next to factors.</li> </ul>
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- Using a range of tools and techniques to deliver insights about the program or project's impact on the problems it was designed to engage (however they are defined – hard, soft, output and outcome focused).

- Making sure that the evaluation contributes in some way to learning more about what works and what doesn't.

- Evaluation in a policy and planning framework. There appears to be frustration in many evaluation studies about the lack of a clear and coherent policy framework into which the place or community renewal initiatives are designed to fit.

- Long-term outcomes, short-term results.

- Holistic approach, holistic indicators? There is often a distance between the rhetoric of holistic program and project strategies and performance indicators that remained firmly fixed on a financial bottom line. However, bottom line financial and other "hard" performance data are important and are often conspicuously absent from some evaluations. The evaluation noted that traditional cost benefit analysis treats the "soft" benefits as "intangible", worthy perhaps of a paragraph at the end of the report.

- Monitoring versus evaluation.

In a departure from her previous work on CBA 2004 saw Stubbs et al release *A Preliminary Study of the Social and Economic Impacts of Redevelopment of Minto Public Housing Estate* in an effort to provide a more qualitative based understanding on the effects of neighbourhood renewal. In contrast to earlier evaluation projects undertaken by Stubbs (1996, 1998) this study takes the form as an essentially qualitative and politically (or at least community) centred reading of urban renewal as the author became involved in the process at the request of the local community group. The paper focuses primarily on community opinion and the role of the community in the redevelopment process. The involvement of Stubbs (as the central author and professional researcher) revolved primarily around the development, implementation and analysis of a community survey. The report positions itself as confronting a number of issues involved in the public housing urban renewal process in NSW (as identified in previous studies), including: bringing the voice of those affected by the urban renewal process, providing a more detailed review of the immediate and longer-term social and economic impacts on residents, provide a more detailed understanding of the decisions and processes that affect urban renewal, and making a contribution to reflections on the future sustainability of the public housing sector.

Stubbs et al (2005) suggest that a 'total cost to the community' approach to the assessment of immediate and longer-term social and economic impacts is required if the sustainability of current redevelopment activities is to be properly considered. In addition, following previous work on renewal projects, it is suggested that participation and partnership is vital in any sustainable renewal endeavour. Participation is presented as a method, which can potentially lead to the

desired changes in the absence of any other actions. Nevertheless, the vague and imprecise definition of participation is presented as a potential issue in urban regeneration projects. In addition it is suggested that in the Australian context sustainability does not go beyond the business case, or financial 'bottom line' of housing authorities, to consider the real cost to the community of the decision to divest themselves of housing stock such as environmental or social sustainability. This suggestion runs somewhat contrary to expansions initiated by the NSW Department of Housing under the general heading of 'sustainable communities' to develop and implement a series of employment and training initiatives specifically designed for estate tenants as part of its recognition that 'housing is more than just shelter. It is an intrinsic part of people's lives, the foundation for good health, for strong families and for economic and social participation. Working together with social housing tenants and neighbourhoods we will continue to support initiatives to build and maintain strong, thriving communities' (Hughes, 2004).

In addition, returning to her analytical routes, it is identified that there is a dearth of evaluation literature, which considers the wider financial cost to the community from homelessness to increased waiting lists for public housing. It is here where the Cost Benefit analysis is beneficial (Stubbs et al 2005; Stubbs and Storer, 1996; Stubbs, 1998). In conclusion Stubbs et al (2005) provide some preliminary frameworks for the assessment of the social and economic impacts of the Minto redevelopment under a broad cost benefit framework. A summary matrix of preliminary social and economic costs and benefits identified in the study is provided. The evaluation suggested by Stubbs et al (2005) should, therefore, take into account the potential impacts (focussing on the community of Minto and the community of NSW), which could form the basis of a redevelopment/renewal framework, essentially in the form of a CBA. While NSW has been subject to a long history of evaluation programs (especially under the guise of cost benefit), South Australia offers an equivalent history, albeit one born from different policy contexts and conceptual approaches.

## **5. South Australia**

In the Australian context, South Australia has arguably the most detailed history of evaluation of estate renewal projects. This is, in part, due to the more pronounced role of public housing, through the South Australian Housing Trust, plays in housing the South Australian population.

## 5.1 Early Descriptive Evaluation

The most recent round of evaluation of urban renewal projects in South Australia was initiated in 1998 with the release of three reviews of the social objectives of specific projects (Carson et al, 1998a; b; Biggins & Hassen, 1998). Carson et al (1998a; b) explore the community perceptions of social outcomes of urban renewal in Mitchell Park and Rosewood respectively. The objectives of these studies were to investigate community perceptions of social outcomes of the urban renewal process, with particular reference to the quality of life and sense of community evident after the redevelopment of the area. Central to these studies are the notion of “quality of life”, which is seen to be composed of three areas: living standards; environmental and infrastructure factors; and sense of community. These papers (Carson et al, 1998a; b) present a descriptive overview of urban renewal and offer almost identical findings. In a summary of the key findings it is suggested that urban renewal in both instances:

- Redevelopment has been successful in its own terms;
- As a result of redevelopment, both areas are perceived by residents as: quieter, safer, more attractive, friendlier;
- Residents believe the redevelopment had been worth doing;
- The majority of residents intended to stay in the areas;
- Household incomes have slightly increased since the redevelopment and there has been a drop in the unemployment rate;
- The majority of residents know enough people locally to get help if needed;
- In the Rosewood case, schools in the area provided opportunities and encouragement for involvement in community activity;
- Residents showed a lack of confidence in the likelihood that the improved appearance of streetscape and houses will be sustained over time;
- Residents perceive a lack of community focal point now that shopping and other services are located outside the areas.

Three methodologies were employed: ABS census data on housing, employment and education; Focus group discussions with residents and others associated with the community; a survey of a stratified random sample of residents.

Biggins and Hassen’s (1998) study of *Northfield Precinct One: A Review of the Social Objectives* equally presents a descriptive analysis of urban renewal in the South Australian context. Methodologically the study centred on a review of census data, interviews with key stakeholders,

focus group interviews, and a survey of a random sample of 150 residents. The key findings were centred on six core themes:

- Resident satisfaction (residents generally reported a high level of satisfaction with living in the area);
- Choice of location (the survey showed that choice of residential location was based on different priorities depending on family type);
- Services and facilities (residents considered having access to open space and parks as most important, but also important were the availability of medical facilities, local shops and being able to visit friends and relatives);
- Sense of community (a high proportion of residents thought the neighbourhood was a friendly place to live and many had made new friends);
- Integration and social cohesion (it is suggested that the redevelopment appears to overcome many of the potential problems of integrating in the area); and,
- Residential amenity (residents felt that their community was a safe place to live).

While these studies (Carson et al, 1998a; b; Biggins and Hassen, 1998) are inherently descriptive and relatively straightforward, compared to current evaluation frameworks, their role in measuring qualitative features related to community and social capital cannot be underestimated, especially as they are identified by later strategies (Rogers and Slowinski, 2004) as potential methodological approaches to social and community indicators which are increasingly central to urban and community interventions from social housing providers (NSWDoH, 2005).

## **5.2 Salisbury North Urban Improvement Project (SNUIP)**

One of the most heavily studied urban renewal projects in South Australia (and indeed Australia as a whole) is the Salisbury North Urban Improvement Project (SNUIP). The SNUIP was initiated by the City of Salisbury and the South Australian Housing Trust to address the needs of a disadvantaged community by improving the amenity and quality of the physical environment, upgrading the range and condition of housing, renewing community infrastructure and supporting local communities through community development initiatives (Randolph and Judd, 2000a). Inline with the majority of approaches to urban/community renewal/regenerations, the SNUIP was implemented to address the needs of a disadvantaged community by improving the amenity and quality of the physical environment, upgrading the range and conditions of housing, renewing community infrastructure and supporting local communities through community development initiatives. However, as was increasingly the case in renewal projects, monitoring and evaluation

were positioned as vital in assessing the impact of the project and whether the interventions achieved the desired outcomes (Randolph and Judd, 2000a). This desire for a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation framework for the SNUIP prompted a service of studies in the following years.

The first study into the SNUIP was initiated by Arthurson (1999) who undertook the *Salisbury North Urban Improvement Project: Evaluation of Stage One Key Performance Indicators*. In response to the requirement that evaluation be undertaken at the end of stage one of the project Arthurson (1999) provides a descriptive evaluation of the Salisbury North renewal project Stage One. This evaluation explored issues related to:

- **Social Development** (improve community stability and wellbeing; involving the community and relevant stakeholders to promote community ownership of the project)
- **Urban Improvement** (create an environment in which people want to live; improve public amenity, infrastructure and environmental quality to service the future needs of the community; establish an efficient and effective traffic management plan to meet the needs of pedestrians, cyclists and motorists)
- **Asset Performance** (protect and increase over the long-term the value of public housing assets)
- **Financial Performance** (provide an appropriate financial return for all stakeholders, relative to their respective risk)
- **Economic Growth** (develop initiatives to stimulate local industry and employment)

The evaluation report (Arthurson, 1999) reveals that overall the objectives for Stage 1 of Salisbury North Urban Improvement Project were being met. Despite encouraging results from this initial evaluation a more comprehensive framework was deemed needed.

As a result, the *Salisbury North Urban Improvement Project: Monitoring and Evaluation Framework, Final Report* was released by Randolph and Judd (2000a). The monitoring and evaluation framework was required to:

- 1) Produce one document that contains agreed pre-conditions (both good and bad), key result areas, project objectives, key performance indicators, activities, performance and assertions (opinions and judgments) supported by qualitative and quantitative data where it is cost effective to collect it;
- 2) Develop an ongoing process throughout the project to check progress against set objectives and desired outcomes;

- 3) Assess the impact, efficiency and effectiveness of project initiatives and whether strategies are achieving intended outcomes;
- 4) Provide advice on how to achieve the identified outcomes of the project, including identifying continuous performance indicators for monitoring the project on a stage-by-stage and at completion of project basis;
- 5) Provide feedback on stage reports based on the identified performance indicators. Feedback was to be used to inform the policy actors (Steering Committee, the Salisbury Council and the SAHT) in initiating refinements to future stages;
- 6) Focus on accountability, informing policy and practice and performance of the project in the extent of achieving outcomes;
- 7) Ensure accountability of the efficiency and effectiveness of public expenditure to the government and the broader community; and,
- 8) Inform future urban regeneration policy and practice.

The framework offered by Randolph and Judd (2000a) for monitoring and evaluating the social, economic and physical outcomes of the project was required to provide:

- 1) A recommendation on the scope of the monitoring and evaluation process including management arrangements, timeframes, key milestones and reporting dates;
- 2) Clearly define and prioritise objectives and outcomes of the project;
- 3) Determine baseline data and other sources of data required to assess the level of improvement and/or impact of the project;
- 4) Methods of data collection at the local level and an indication of what measurements need to be put in place;
- 5) A breakdown of relevant indicators based on agreed objectives of the project;
- 6) Key aspects of timing, continuity and frequency of evaluations across the project; and
- 7) Identification of monitoring and evaluation responsibilities, reporting requirements and a detailed breakdown of financial and human resources.

In an effort to provide a long-term framework for evaluating interventions, the various sets of objectives identified by the Randolph and Judd (2000a) were broken down into two types:

**1. Overall Program Objectives** – set at the commencement of the project and which apply for the life of the program

2. **Stage Objectives** – those set for individual implementation stages at the commencement of each stage. These are not necessarily identical to overall program objectives, or as objectives for other stages, but will include overall objectives relevant to a particular implementation stage.

In an in-depth discussion of the objective of the SNUIP, Randolph and Judd (2000a) identify fourteen program objectives. These objects appear to strongly reflect the particular interests and priorities of the two key stakeholders. Further, the commitment to community involvement and partnership led to an agreement between the Community Reference Group and the Steering Committee. This document includes a list of eight “mutual objectives for the project” which had a somewhat different emphasis. The emphasis here was more on community perceptions, sense of pride, community spirit and self-reliance compared with the fourteen objectives outlined. The issue of core objectives was further complicated by a list of twelve “key issues for the community” which follow the Partnering Agreement objectives. Three main conclusions were made from this analysis of policy objectives at SNUIP. Firstly, that there was some inconsistency in setting of objectives both in terms of their content and measurability, particularly where Project Objectives have been translated into Stage Objective, Targets and Actions. This made long term evaluation of the Overall Project Objectives problematic. Secondly, the significant differences in Project and Stage Objectives (and the likelihood of changing objectives throughout future stages) confirmed the need for the monitoring and evaluation model to clearly differentiate between overall project and stage-related performance. Thirdly, it was suggested that consideration should be given to reviewing the current Project Objectives list to include additional objectives identified in the Partnering Agreement and the Stage 1 Project Agreement. These cover community spirit, capacity and self-reliance, efficient and effective traffic management and stimulation of local industry and employment as indicated in table 14.

**Table 14:** Performance indicators for SNUIP (Randolph and Judd, 2000a).

Key Result Area	Objectives	Key Performance Indicators
1. Social Development	1.1 Improve community stability and well being.	Reducing Trust vacancy rate to metropolitan average
	1.2 Involve the community and relevant stakeholders to promote community ownership of the project	Establish a Community Reference Group and ensure involvement in key issues
2. Urban Improvement	2.1 Create an environment in which people want to live	Improving trend in home buyer interest
	2.2 Improve public amenity, infrastructure and environmental quality to serve the future needs of the community	Improving trend in the Salisbury North Community Perception Survey
	2.3 Establish an efficient and effective traffic management plan to meet the needs of pedestrians, cyclists and motorists	Reduced number of accidents recorded in the area
3. Asset Performance	2.4 Protect, and increase over the long-term, the value of public housing assets	Improving trend in Trust's property values
4. Financial Performance	4.1 Provide an appropriate financial return for all stakeholders, relative to their respective risk	Achieve agreed financial budgets and returns
5. Economic Growth	5.1 Develop initiatives to stimulate local industry and employment	Create 20 jobs or traineeships for local unemployed residents

Although a set of project objectives were agreed upon, there was no indication of priority accorded to the individual items listed, suggesting that they were of equal importance. However, this was unlikely to be the case, especially in terms of decisions concerning funding and resourcing. Further, Randolph and Judd (2000a) suggest that those objectives that were consistently ranked most important by stakeholders overall relate to wider community objectives, community involvement and community stability i.e. objectives about creating broadly more sustainable communities, rather than those more specifically focused asset issues. After reviewing the objectives of the divergent interests in the SNUIP, Randolph and Judd (2000a) presented a list of the revised set of “tiered” program objectives (table 15). These were structured as follows:

- *Primary Objective:* an overarching statement of the general aims of the Program.
- *Secondary Objectives:* three broad objectives reflecting the three main areas of intervention desired to increase the physical, social and financial viability of the area.
- *Tertiary Objectives:* which offer the fine-grained outcomes of intervention, which are aggregated to illustrate success at the Secondary and Primary level.

**Table 15: Tiered Program Objectives for SNUIP (Randolph and Judd, 2000a)**

Primary Objective	Secondary Objectives	Tertiary Objectives
To improve environmental and housing quality, social wellbeing and the economic viability of Salisbury North as an attractive and desirable living environment well integrated with surrounding communities	1. PHYSICAL VIABILITY To develop an attractive, safe and desirable living environment where people will want to live by improving the quality of housing, community facilities, public open space, and infrastructure in the area	1.1 To improve the provision of community facilities and the quality, amenity and safety of public open space in the area
		1.2 To improve the quality and integration of public infrastructure
		1.3 To improve road and pedestrian safety through an effective traffic management plan
		1.4 To improve the quality and amenity of public and private housing to better match consumer needs and community standards and increase demand for housing in the area
	2. SOCIAL VIABILITY To increase community stability, cohesion, pride and self reliance by changing the social and tenure mix, reducing crime and stigmatisation, improving access to and coordination of community facilities and services and involving residents and relevant stakeholders in the improvement process	2.1 To reduce stigmatisation of the area, increase community spirit and pride and improve integration with the surrounding community
		2.2 To increase community stability and cohesion by reducing turnover rates
		2.3 To ensure participation of the community and relevant stakeholders in the improvement process
		2.4 To improve access to and coordination of community services
		2.5 To broaden the social mix by reducing concentrations of public housing
		2.6 To reduce crime and increase real and perceived levels of safety and security
	3. ECONOMIC VIABILITY To increase the value of public and private housing, reduce operating costs and provide adequate financial returns for stakeholders to ensure that area and housing improvements are revenue neutral	3.1 To increase public and private housing values
		3.2 To reduce operating costs for public housing
		3.3 To provide appropriate financial returns for stakeholders relative to their respective risks to ensure that improvements are revenue neutral.
		3.4 To develop initiatives to stimulate local employment and training opportunities

In order to measure the success of the agreed objectives (and following the discussion of indicators in section 3), the SAHT developed 38 quantitative performance indicators (PIs) based on the Salisbury North postcode district (see Randolph and Judd, 2000a). These PIs represent an attempt to measure the characteristics of social disadvantage in the area across a full range of social and economic data. Those selected indicators explored housing management, asset values, a wide range of social indicators for unemployment, incomes, welfare payments, social care incidence, and other socio-economic data, and series of indicators on crime, educational achievement and health care. In an effort to measure the additionality and causality of SAHT interventions, the data for Salisbury North was set in the context of comparable data for the LGA and the State as a whole. This comparative component of the PIs was seen to add considerable value to the data as a monitoring tool, allowing the potential of contrasting trends over time in the SNUIP to wider trends. The data for the PI set is derived from a variety of sources, including the SAHT itself, ABS 1996 Census material, administrative data from the major social services agencies, including the education sector, police, health authorities, etc. Confirming the issues identified in section 3, the timing of PI collection set is variable to reflecting the variety of

sources, however, more problematic was the variety of spatial scales at which PIs were collected. Further, Randolph and Judd (2000a) identify a more fundamental problem of the PI identified, in that while some of the PIs chosen had direct relevance to the project, others were more generally relevant and did not easily relate to the objectives of the SNUIP. These are more properly thought of as context indicators. Other benchmark data include a tenant telephone survey, community comment report and community attitudes survey (Randolph and Judd, 2000a). Further, it is suggested that issues of causality and additionality are difficult to address through the use of these broad social well being indicators. Nevertheless, they do provide crucial context information against which more specific indicators of the direct impacts of urban renewal interventions can be contrasted (Randolph and Judd, 2000a).

While recognising the issues with estate-based evaluation, Randolph and Judd (2000a) identify a number of important principles, which guided the development of the proposed evaluation and monitoring model of the SNUIP. These principles included:

- The need to clarify the roles of monitoring and evaluation and their inter-relationship.
- The need to build on, and add value to, existing benchmarking, monitoring and evaluations being undertaken on the project – including the monthly reports (Arthurson 1999).
- The need to consider both quantitative and qualitative measures given the range of objectives from asset performance to social well being.
- The need for flexibility of the model in recognition that overall objectives (and hence measures) may vary from those of individual stages, and that there may be differences in objectives between stages.
- The need for an explicit *Audit Trail* by which Project Objectives are clearly linked through to Stage Objectives and Stage Activities, and to both Project and Stage PIs. In summary, *all* activities and expenditures need to be clearly identified with one or more Project Objectives.
- The need for monitoring and evaluation of a particular stage to inform objectives, monitoring and evaluation of future stages.
- The need to accommodate the reality that a particular implementation stage may not be complete or evaluated, prior to the commencement of the next stage. This implies a ‘leap frog’ evaluation model for feeding forward findings from one stage to influence discussions of objectives, benchmarks and targets on subsequent stages.
- The need for short, medium and long term monitoring and evaluation.

- The need to match data availability with appropriate time cycles for monitoring and evaluation.
- The need to include both quantitative and qualitative elements to the evaluation, as well as information on community perceptions, aspirations and attitudes
- The need to consider the compatibility of geographic levels in comparing available data.
- A relatively simple and economical model both in terms of data acquisition or collection costs, management of the process, and associated personnel costs.
- The desire of City of Salisbury and SAHT to see community involvement in the monitoring and evaluation.

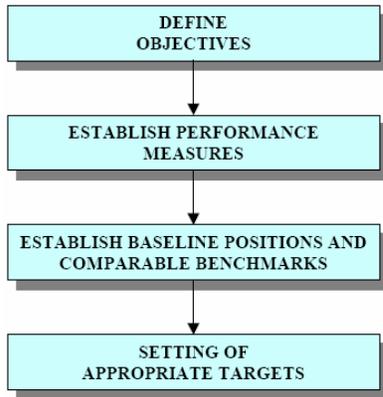
Further, in recognition of the issues associated with developing performance indicators and the subsequent collation of appropriate data outlined in section 3, Randolph and Judd (2000a) suggest two key principals for data gathering on urban regeneration interventions:

- The shorter term (monthly, quarterly and annual) cycles will focus more on monitoring change using quantitative data available from secondary sources (e.g. project management records and administrative data from SAHT, City of Salisbury and other agency sources).
- The longer-term cycles (stage and end of project) will incorporate both quantitative and qualitative measures using primary data sources (surveys, interviews and focus groups). Suggested qualitative information includes measures of residents' perceptions and aspirations, community cohesion, local "spirit" and attitudes to the renewal process, and levels of community participation.

The approach proposed by Randolph and Judd (2000a) to monitoring and evaluation is relatively straightforward and follows four logical steps (figure 3). The initial defining of the Project Objectives is critical. The Project Objectives are then assigned a set of Performance Indicators (PIs). Once defined, there is a need to establish the baseline position for each PI and also to collate comparable data for assessing additionality issues and for comparison. At this stage it is also important to set targets for each PI against which progress can be assessed. The proposed framework has three levels of indicators (table 16). Although presenting a complex and comprehensive framework for establishing the outcomes of interventions initiated at Salisbury North, the suggested framework was not adopted and implemented in its entirety. While recent South Australian (and indeed those in other states) urban renewal evaluation frameworks have drawn heavily on the initiatives outlined by Randolph and Judd (2000a) in the SNUIP, these more

recent efforts have increasingly emphasised a theoretical approach, which can be implemented across multiple sites of urban renewal.

**Figure 3:** Proposed monitoring and evaluation framework for SNUIP (Randolph and Judd, 2000a)



**Table 16:** Hierarchy of Indicators (Randolph and Judd, 2000a)

<p><b>Core Indicators</b> For each Tertiary Objective, two Core Indicators have been chosen to provide summary measures for headline reporting. Where possible, a quantitative measure has been matched to a qualitative measure. In each case, the aim is to provide measures that capture the principal focus of the Objective.</p>
<p><b>Supplementary Indicators</b> These offer broadly similar information and provide additional “cuts” at monitoring the impact of the Objective.</p>
<p><b>Context Indicators</b> Context Indicators measure the broader aspects of community wellbeing and “quality of life”. These draw more heavily on the range of social indicators often used to assess the impact of renewal schemes, but which measure trends that are not directly attributable to specific Objectives. Thus, it should be recognised that these kinds of indicators are more susceptible to misplaced causality in that trends they measure are likely to be the outcomes of much broader social and economic processes and policy interventions that have nothing directly to do with the specific interventions made as part of the renewal program. However, these kinds of data are usually much more likely to be set against benchmark information which are available for these indicators for other areas or for larger regions.</p>

### 5.3 Current Renewal Evaluation Framework

One of the most recent Australian evaluation frameworks was provided by Rogers and Slowinski (2004) in their discussion paper *Towards an Evaluation Framework for Urban Regeneration in South Australia*, produced for the South Australian Department of Families and Communities. Similar to international approaches, the framework is positioned as a response to the perceived need for an overarching framework to guide and structure the evaluation of urban regeneration initiatives in SA. The framework was to:

- Outline an agreed purpose, scope and desired outcomes for evaluations of urban regeneration in SA;
- Outline principles and values to guide the evaluations;
- Identify stakeholders and stakeholder groups whose views and experiences should be integrated into the evaluation;
- Identify an indicative theoretical framework(s) for the evaluation;
- Identify key evaluation components and research questions; and,
- Outline suitable evaluation methodologies.

In the South Australian context, urban regeneration is seen to tackle two issues: 1) problems of physical decay and inappropriate stock in public housing estates; 2) social dysfunction in these areas (Rodgers and Slowinski, 2004). In line with the general trends and assumptions of urban regeneration discussed in section 2, regeneration in the South Australian context is positioned as a housing-led process, which can lower crime, reduce the stigma of an area, increase employment, and achieve social justice. Thus, the objectives of regeneration, as outlined by Rogers and Slowinski (2004), include:

- Improve the social and physical environment;
- Provide greater opportunities for home ownership;
- Improve the integration of new residential with existing communities;
- Enhance the social environment;
- Assist in the broad distribution of public housing throughout the metropolitan area;
- Achieve a balance of housing and allotment types to meet housing preferences and demographic trends;
- Improve the physical amenities and value of SAHT assets;
- Raise funds from under-utilised SATH assets to fund construction of new public housing; and,
- Apply environmentally sensitive approaches to urban design.

Given the assumptions on which urban renewal programs are based (section 2) it is unsurprising that these objectives are conspicuous in their similarities to historical and interstate objectives. Nevertheless, the Rodgers and Slowinski (2004) suggests that evaluation should not only consider whether a project has achieved its objectives, but its impact, intended and unintended consequences, and the elements, processes and actions which contribute to the impact. This hints at a more comprehensive, program based evaluations, which simultaneously explores the local implications of such interventions.

In an effort to build on conceptual best practice, Rogers and Slowinski (2004) – along with Queensland (QldDoH, 2000) (section 6) – pursue a ‘realistic evaluation’ (following Pawson & Tilley, 1997), where evaluation aims at determining why a program works (through what mechanisms – acknowledging there will be more than one), for whom, and under what circumstances. In this reading, the reasons for an impact or effect, as well as the effect itself, become a primary topic of interest.

### 5.3.1 *Realist Approach*

Representing one of the leading conceptual frames for project evaluation, although increasingly utilised in the Australian context (Rogers and Slowinski, 2004; QldDoH, 2000), the realist model has primarily been utilised in the British context. With an increasing recognition of social and cultural aspects of urban renewal evaluation, Britain has experienced a relative explosion in evaluation literature and theories in the past decade (see section 10). One of the more innovative approaches is that provided by Suet Ying Ho (1999) in her article *Evaluating Urban Regeneration Programs in Britain: Exploring the potential of the Realist Approach*. In her paper, Ho (1999) argues that while past British evaluation studies on regeneration programs provided urban policy makers with a broad understanding and platform which to direct their attention, there existed an inadequate understanding of why and how programs worked or failed. It is this deficiency, which the realist approach attempts to overcome. The basic realist approach is structured in the Context-Mechanism-Outcome (CMO) configuration, which, following Pawson and Tilley (1997), is defined as a ‘proposition stating what it is about a program which works for whom in what circumstance’. Here *Context* refers to circumstances of a targeted community or geographical area within which a program was to be implemented. Under *Mechanism* it is not enough for evaluators to just describe the program, moreover, evaluators are required to analyse the elements of the program that would counter or remove the problems that the program intended to tackle. These elements formed the causal mechanisms that would, in the appropriate context, produce the intended *Outcomes*. It is suggested that for one program there could be multiple CMO configurations to take into account the different aspects of the context and the different types of mechanisms. In short, regarding *Context*, local conditions vary among deprived areas. One of the main reasons for considering the realist approach, according to Ho (1999) is its emphasis on the context that may elicit or hinder the mechanisms necessary for reaching the desired outcomes. As such, it would be logical to assume that the programs would work

differently under different contexts, and the issue is to find what *Mechanisms* work under what circumstance. The framework, designed to tackle deprivation, is divided into four broad types: economic, education/training, physical and social, each with their own prescribed measures. The third element of the CMO configuration (*Outcome*) is linked to the objectives of each type of measure (Ho, 1999).

Under the broad realist approach, Rogers and Slowinski (2004) in developing their framework for South Australia suggest that the evaluation of urban renewal pose a number of challenges. As such they identify seven key issues of evaluation necessary for effective program implementation and evaluation:

- 1) **Conceptualisation:** conceptually, large scale, complex area-specific initiatives are challenging to define, order and understand for evaluation purposes. Area based initiatives are *horizontally complex*, working across systems and sectors in a range of activities and using a number of different strategies. Initiatives are *vertically complex*, usually seeking to change a number of levels.
- 2) **Defining objectives and success**, thus determining what to measure and when, is difficult.
- 3) The **application and conduct** of an evaluation plan is inevitably made more difficult by evolution and change in strategies over time.
- 4) In complex initiatives there will usually be multiple **interpretations and explanations** that can be made for any observed impact.
- 5) **Timing:** it is difficult to determine when to evaluate goals and initiatives.
- 6) **Resourcing:** given the discussions above, it is suggested that a proper evaluation will be costly and longitudinal.
- 7) **Data collection:** There may be little adequate, robust and comparable data. Data will come from a variety of sources potentially requiring the negotiation of access.

Unlike the UK evaluation experience with the SRB (see section 9) which focuses on dimensions of economic, housing environmental and community under the banners of delivery, impacts and sustainability (often through a Cost Benefit analysis), Rogers and Slowinski (2004) suggest that the complex interactions of renewal can be explored and evaluated through the use of three dimensions:

- 1) The **dimension of impact:** identifies the major areas and spheres within which impacts should be explored.

- 2) The **dimension of attribution:** information is collected in various spheres to provide an answer to questions of 'why and how'.
- 3) The **dimension of analysis:** information gathered in all processes is drawn together and assessed.

However, it is noted that these dimensions and the sub-elements, which constitute them, are not discrete and there is considerable overlap between them. These sub-elements are discussed below.

The paper identifies **3 Dimensions of Impact:**

- **Spheres** (Housing and built environment, Environmental, Social, Economic, Community, Financial). These are the key 'topic areas' under which the impact of regeneration will be investigated and assessed.
- **Areas** (Targeted area, Surrounding area, Broader area)
- **Time** (Short term, Long term)

The paper identifies **4 Dimensions of Attribution:**

- **Context** (Macro/Micro). At a macro level, influences outside of or encompassing the region should be noted. At the micro level, other influences in the area should be identified.
- **Strategies** (Adequacy, Appropriateness, Evolution).
- **Process** (Community participation and capacity building, partnership and integration, implementation).
- **Costs**

**Analysis.** The dimension of analysis refers to the process by which all the information and findings generated in the various dimensions and activities are brought together, assessed and explored.

The paper identifies three common methodologies used for regeneration evaluation: economic (most commonly cost benefit analysis); managerial (performance indicators against objectives); and, qualitative (understanding the dynamics of community and the perception of stakeholders.) In terms of economic evaluation, the paper discusses cost-benefit analysis. That is, the social costs and benefits by examining the potential return on the money spent on an initiative. This analysis is based on three areas:

- Determine the cost of identified problems to the community as a whole;

- Determining the extent of reduction in the identified problems required to justify the cost of the program; and,
- Determining the likelihood of the program achieving this.

The paper suggests that a small number of core indicators be collected across all projects, supplemented by project specific indicators. Current indicators are identified as primarily managerial or economic in nature. The authors suggest the adoption of ‘headline’ indicators, which draw together a range of information about an area, and are interpreted as neutral (neither good nor bad), and should be used as an indication of change rather than an outcome measure. *Financial cost benefit analyses* are identified as limited, given their focus on ‘bricks and mortar’ aspects, with more recent attempts drawing on social objectives. The benefits of cost benefit analysis are also identified as contingent on the evaluation viewpoint (e.g. from the state).

*Managerial approaches* are those where evaluation is seen to rely on developing performance indicators to measure impact, often depicted as a value-free and tangible assessment of change. An indicator approach is viewed as potentially producing a narrow process of assessment, without reference to broader goals and issues or unintended consequences. Managerial approaches are positioned as cost effective due to their reliance on existing data; however, this is counteracted by the claim that data is utilised on the premise of availability, not desirability. This potentially over emphasises social and community objectives, which are more subjective. Indicators are broken into three levels: Core, Supplementary and Context, following Randolph and Judd (2000a) and their study of Salisbury North Urban Improvement Program.

*Qualitative approaches* are positioned as those with a greater emphasis on learning and reflection, with the views of residents and stakeholders given priority. Examples of indicators include living standards, environmental and infrastructure factors, and ‘sense of community’. Approaches and indicators here follow the work undertaken by the Social Policy Research Group (Carson et al, 1998a; b) and their studies of Mitchell Park and Rosewood. Problems with the Qualitative approach is the difficulty of defining ‘stakeholders’ (representativeness and validity are questioned), the change that major influential informants shaping the views of other participants, the fact that there is more than one narrative originating from an organisation.

### 5.3.2 *Meta-Evaluation*

Given that the adoption of a framework of evaluation is positioned as having implications on: a built-in evaluation process, planning and timing, funding levels, evaluation scope and methodologies, the preparation and management of evaluations, evaluator capacity, and dissemination of findings. Under the framework offered by Rogers and Slowinski (2004) a meta-evaluation approach is positioned as the most suited to the South Australian environment. Meta-evaluation is a technique used to assess a number of projects simultaneously. It draws together information derived from individual evaluations, data collections and other sources in the assessment of broader issues and overall impact. Integral to meta-evaluation is the concept that the program, and not simply component projects, should be evaluated. The advantages of a meta-evaluation include:

- The consolidation of findings from a number of related projects;
- The capacity for comparisons **between** and **across** projects, rather than simply **within** a project;
- Consideration of the ‘bigger issues’ such as the impact of regeneration as a strategy, and implications for policy, planning and funding; and,
- Potential to use individual projects as case studies for particular issues.

The meta-evaluation methodology is further explored by Talboys (2003). She defines meta-evaluation as the process of delineating, obtaining, and applying descriptive information and judgmental information – about the utility, feasibility, propriety, and accuracy of an evaluation and its systematic nature, competent conduct, integrity/honesty, respectfulness, and social responsibility – to guide the evaluation and/or report its strengths and weaknesses. There are two types of meta-evaluation: formative and summative. Evaluators undertake a *formative* meta-evaluation while planning and/or conducting their own evaluation. The evaluation is checked against selected criteria for sound evaluation practice. Evaluators use *summative* meta-evaluation to critically appraise their own or another evaluator’s completed evaluation. The evaluation is checked against selected criteria and its strengths and weaknesses are identified. Talboys (2003) has suggested that there are four characteristics of sound evaluation: *Utility* refers to whether an evaluation provided practical information that met its primary audience’s needs. *Feasibility* concerns whether an evaluation was practical, cost-effective and politically viable (i.e. whether the evaluators identified and worked cooperatively with relevant interest groups). *Propriety* relates to whether an evaluator conducted an evaluation ethically (i.e. with due regard to the welfare of the evaluation’s participants and people affected by its findings). *Accuracy* is about

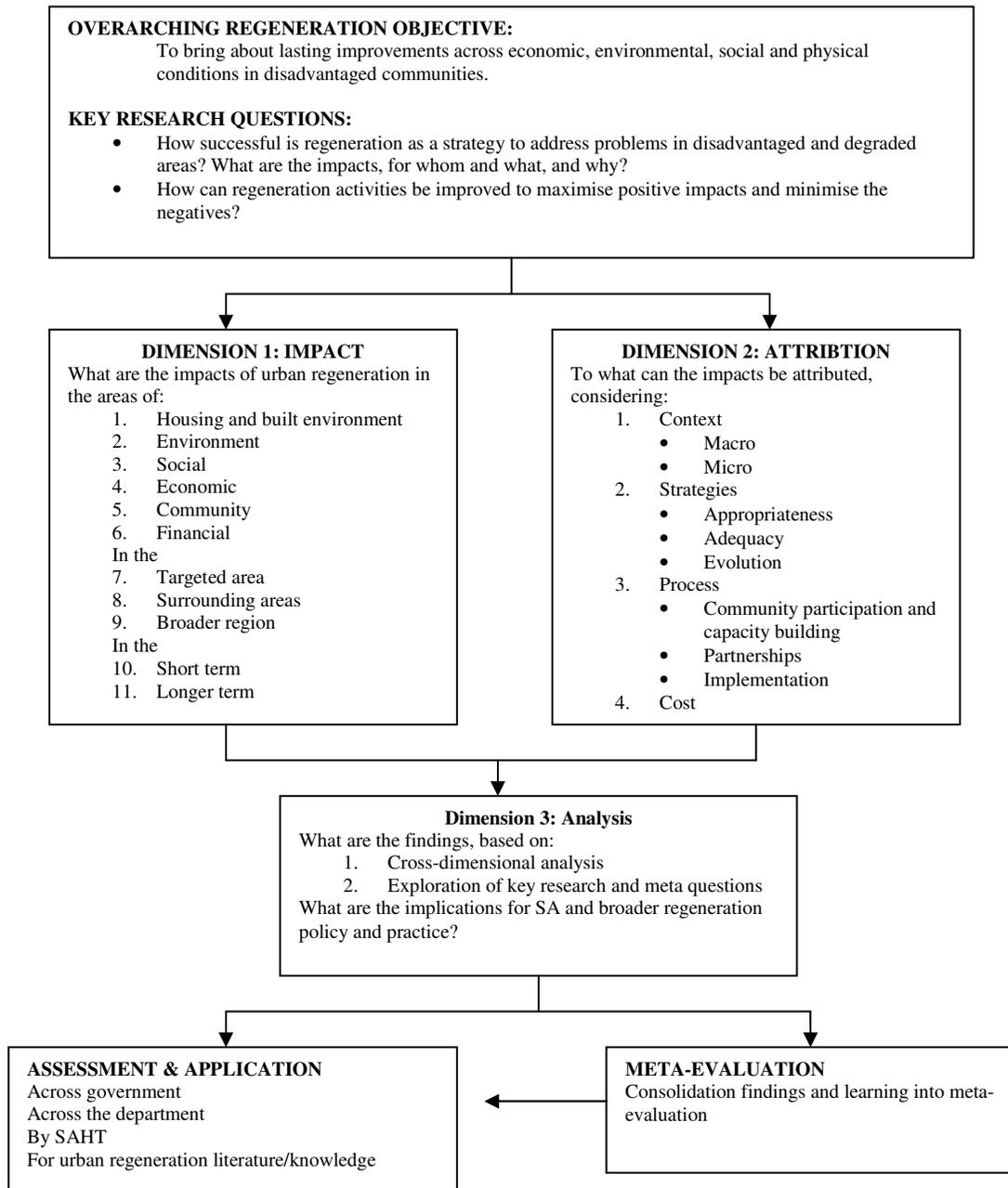
whether an evaluation produced information that was valid and reliable for its intended use. In addition Talboys (2003) contends that evaluation authors agree that all evaluators, or multi-disciplinary evaluation teams, must possess the knowledge, abilities, skills and experience required to undertake an evaluation. Evaluators should not practice beyond the limits of their competence.

A general methodology for meta-evaluation requires evaluator to:

- Demonstrate that they, or the multidisciplinary meta-evaluation team, possess the required expertise to conduct the meta-evaluation;
- Have a written agreement with their client;
- Interact with the meta-evaluation's client, primary audience and secondary audience;
- Collect relevant information, analyse it and judge the soundness of the evaluation;
- Disseminate the meta-evaluation's findings; and,
- Help the client and the primary audience to use the meta-evaluation's findings to improve future evaluations (if required and feasible) (Talboys, 2003).

The full South Australian evaluation model is presented in Figure 4. Further to the approach adopted by South Australia, Queensland offers perhaps the most conceptually driven approach to urban interventions in Australia. After early attempts at implementing a realist evaluation methodology, more recent approaches in Queensland offer an alternative conceptual evaluation model: a logical approach.

**Figure 4:** SA Dimensions of the evaluation: framework map (Rogers and Slowinski, 2004)



## 6. Queensland

In 2000 the Queensland Department of Housing released *Evaluation of Community Renewal Program: issues, scope and methodology*. The report positions the broad framework for the evaluation of the Community Renewal Program as an ambitious innovative initiative that seeks to

address the cause of crime and disadvantage on a targeted local area basis. The report positions community renewal, and its evaluation, as a way to gain direction for improving a program or policy as it is developing and to determine the effectiveness of a program or policy after there has been time to produce results. It is suggested that *Formative* evaluations (which include implementation and process evaluation) address the first set of issues, while *Summative* evaluations (which include outcome and impact evaluations) address the second. The approach adopted was to consider outputs and achievements at a number of different levels including: at the program level, the local renewal level, and the project level. At the same time the evaluation was to assess the appropriateness, efficiency and effectiveness of key processes and mechanisms involved in the program, including:

- Partnership approaches;
- Funding arrangements;
- Coordination and integration efforts;
- Innovation in service delivery;
- Community involvement and capacity building;
- Local economic development;
- Community action planning; and
- Governance and management arrangements.

Methodologically the approach adopted by the Queensland Department of Housing (2000) engages a 'realistic evaluation' (developed by Pawley and Tilley, 1997) to address the issues in measuring the outcomes of complex social programs. This approach is essentially that advocated by Ho (1999) is her realist approach (see section 4.3.1). The evaluation policy suggests the key question to ask is *why* a program works for *who* and in *what* circumstances, rather than simply if it works or not. In other words, programs have successful outcomes in only so far as they introduce the appropriate set of interventions (mechanisms) in the appropriate social and cultural conditions (context), as prescribed in the following formula:

***Context + Mechanisms = Outcomes***

Under this strategy, three types of baseline data are considered appropriate:

- 1) Social, economic and environmental conditions for each area;
- 2) Flow of resources (public and private) into each of the sites; and

- 3) Attitudes, aspirations and expectations of groups and individual residents in renewal areas.

Data collection methods include, interviews with key informants, residents' surveys, review and analysis of program documentation, review of best practice approaches and case study material.

Further, in 2001 the Queensland Department of Housing released *Transforming Places-Engaging People: Summary Report, Community Renewal Evaluation* (Walsh and Butler, 2001). The paper presents an initial evaluation of community renewal projects in Queensland, a program that started in 1998. Seven program objectives for Community Renewal have been endorsed by the State Cabinet for the target renewal areas:

- 1) Improve the safety and security of people and property;
- 2) Better integrate socially and economically disadvantaged residents into broader community and economic networks and systems;
- 3) Ensure accessibility of residents to community services and facilities they require;
- 4) Strengthen and expand opportunities for young people
- 5) Improve neighbourhood amenity
- 6) Ensure public expenditure is directed to projects and activities which will have lasting and positive impacts on the communities; and,
- 7) Make the communities central to achieving program objectives.

Community renewal is positioned as an innovative and complex experiment by the Queensland government in responding to the multi-dimensional nature of disadvantage in a number of communities through the state (Walsh and Butler, 2001). The purpose of the evaluation is to take stock of what the program has achieved and to identify areas for future improvement. Specifically the objectives for evaluation are:

- To assess the extent to which Program objectives are being achieved and to identify the range and extent of Program outputs and achievements to date;
- To assess the appropriateness, effectiveness and efficiency of program funding and delivery mechanisms and governance and managerial arrangements;
- To identify key barriers to implementation of the program and make recommendations for improving management, administration and implementation arrangements.

It is suggested that the evaluation objectives indicate the need to strike a balance between adopting a formative approach and a summative approach. The paper suggests that the complexity of a program such as Community Renewal and the environment in which it is being

implemented poses some significant challenges for the evaluation (Walsh and Butler, 2001). For the purpose of this evaluation, interviews and focus groups were identified as the most appropriate source of data. The limitations of these methodologies were identified, including: lack of survey's due to cost, lack of baseline data, the questionable appropriateness of large amounts of secondary data, and the lack of cost benefit analysis. Given these limitations the evaluation offered is essentially descriptive in nature, stemming from quantitative data sources and interviews.

Under the community renewal program nine primary areas are identified: 1) employment and training, 2) community services, 3) neighbourhood amenity, 4) community facilities, 5) sport and recreation, 6) community safety, 7) community engagement, 8) arts and cultural development, and 9) other. For each of these objectives a series of findings and recommendations were made. Overall the authors identify the fact that community renewal has had a significant impact on the target communities often in association with other programs. They argue that a number of effective programs have been funded; however it is difficult to quantify substantive impacts, as there is a lack of a systematic or rigorous performance-monitoring framework.

Following the rather descriptive evaluation presented by Walsh and Butler (2001), the Queensland Government pursued a somewhat more conceptual approach in its release *Making Community Renewal Outcomes Oriented: Community Renewal Performance Measurement and Evaluation Framework* (Queensland Treasury, 2004). In line with the Queensland governments Community Renewal Program '*to develop communities where people feel valued, safe and proud*' the measurement program outcomes and performance evaluation was positioned as central to any policy intervention. The document describes the principles underpinning the development of a Performance Measurement and Evaluation Framework for the Community Renewal Program. The document proposes a '*logical*' model, which brings together planning, performance measurement and evaluation, processes of community renewal.

Key features of the framework include:

- The clear distinction between measurement of cross-agency outcomes to inform whole-of-government policy, and measurement of project and activity performance to determine whether projects being delivered by single or specific parties are meeting agreed targets;
- More explicit links between community renewal outcomes and whole-of-government outcomes;

- The articulation of key result areas (KRA) linked to community renewal's objectives and whole of government priorities as a focus for measuring shifts in community wellbeing across all areas; and,
- The collection and reporting of consolidated data sets from across government against each of the KRAs.

According to the Queensland Treasury (2004), the logical model illustrates the purpose and content on the community renewal program and makes it easier to develop meaningful evaluation questions from a variety of vantage points, namely context, implementation and outcomes. Following a Canadian example, the document stresses that the development of a performance measurement and evaluation framework contains several components:

- Strategic profile of the community renewal program – a concise description of the program, including identification of the background, identification of the problem to be addressed, the purpose of the program, target renewal areas, program strategies, governance structures, long-term community renewal outcomes, and their linkages with government priorities and outcomes.
- Logical model – an illustration of the results/outcomes chain and how the activities of the program are expected to lead to the achievement of the final long-term outcomes.
- Performance measurement strategy – a plan for the ongoing measurement of performance, including the identification of indicators for outputs and outcomes in the logical model and a measurement strategy describing how these indicators will be collected and how often.
- Evaluation strategy – a plan for the evaluation of the program, including the identification of formative and summative evaluation issues and questions, and the identification of associated data requirements that follow the logical model.
- Reporting strategy – a plan to ensure the systematic reporting of the results of ongoing performance measurement and evaluation
- Implementation plan – a plan to ensure the effective implementation and promulgation of the community renewal performance measurement and evaluation framework.

### **Building the Strategic Profile of Community Renewal Program (SPCRP)**

A series of structured analyses is necessary in building the SPCR: 1) problem analysis, 2) target group analysis, 3) objectives analysis, 4) identification of risks, 5) selection of a program

designed strategy detailing the preferred implementation strategy. The SPCR is developed using the following steps:

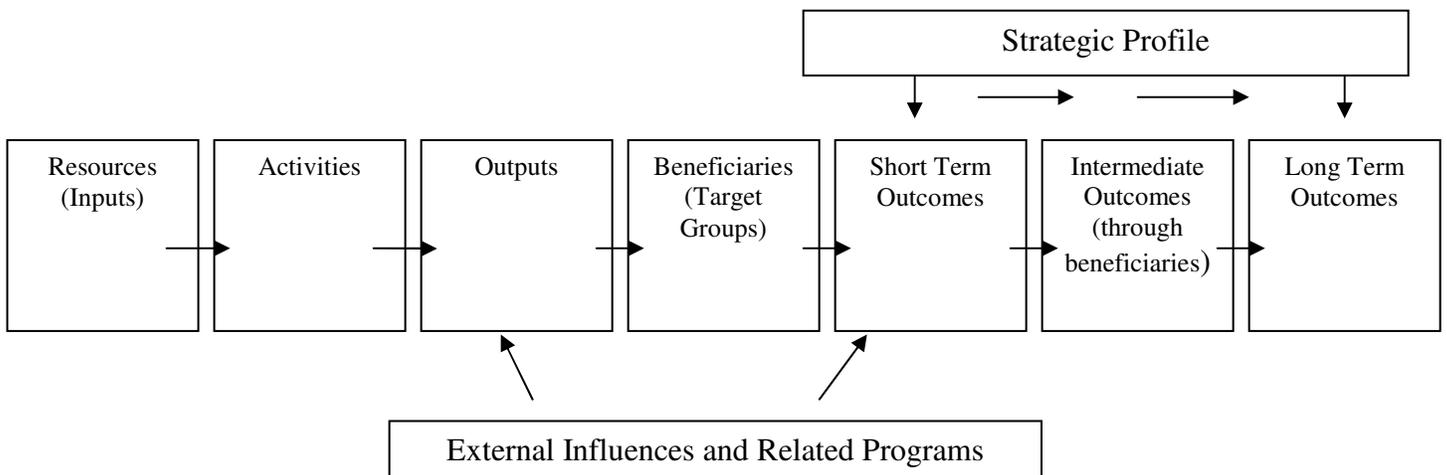
Stage 1: Collecting relevant information

Stage 2: Defining the need for the community renewal program and its context

### Building the Logical Model

The key elements of a logical model include: Resources, Activities, Outputs, Beneficiaries and target groups as recipients, Outcomes, Relevant external influences.

**Figure 5** – Elements of a Logical Model (Queensland Treasury, 2004)



The logical model approach assists in establishing a common ground for discussion and shared understanding thereby forming the basis for a shared responsibility for achieving outcomes. The logical model serves as a ‘road map’, showing the chain of result connecting activities undertaken within the Community Renewal Program, to the final long-term outcomes desired by Government. This ‘road map’ is presented in a matrix:

Stage 1 – Definition of the elements of the logical model.

Stage 2 – Capturing the logical flow and linkages that exist in the performance story to see exactly which activities lead to what outputs and short-term, intermediate and long-term outcomes.

Stage 3 – Consulting and verifying the model with key stakeholders

### **Building a Performance Measuring Strategy**

This strategy should be consistent with the logical model developed and contain indicators that fully support the chosen approach to data collection. Key elements include:

Outputs – short-term, immediate and long term outcomes that are attributable to the Community Renewal Program and initiatives; and

Output and performance indicators – measures and data sources that will accurately report on product and achieved outcomes.

Ideas central to a performance measurement strategy include: Outcomes, Indicators, Strategies and Performance Measures. It is suggested that outputs and their measures, in simple terms, describe ‘what’ and ‘how much’ came out of an activity. Performance measures are seen to fit into five categories: Quantity, Quality, Effect, Cost, and Cost Efficiency.

The performance measurement strategy is developed in three stages:

Stage 1 – identify current Government outcomes and supporting outcome indicators and measures

Stage 2 – for each set of short-term, intermediate and long-term outcomes identify appropriate indicators

Stage 3 – from the logical model, identify specific measures of performance from the list of agreed outputs and activities.

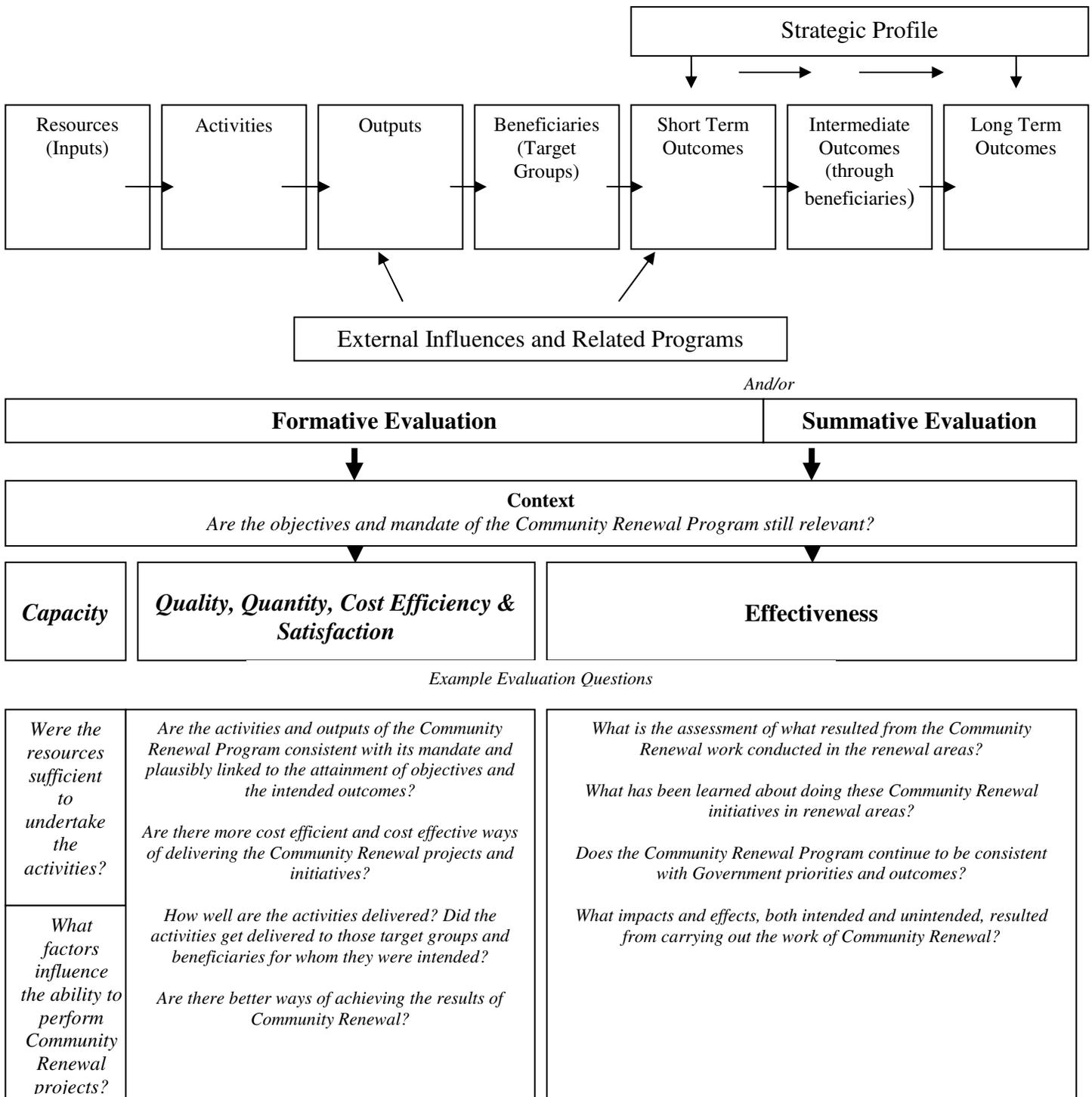
It is suggested that the value of a performance measurement lies in its usefulness as an information source for management and policy decisions and in its significance as a tool of accountability. Good sets of performance measures include those that are meaningful, comprehensive, valid and reliable, understandable, timely, non-redundant, sensitive to data collection costs, focused on sphere of influence. For each data requirement, the measurement strategy should clearly indicate the source for the data, through what method the information will be collected and how often. Data requirements can be Administrative, Primary, or Secondary.

### **Building an Evaluation strategy**

It is suggested that the first step in developing an evaluation framework involves the identification of the issues and associated questions. As suggested previously, the most basic distinction in evaluation types is that between *formative and summative* evaluation, both of which are included in the logic model advocated by the Queensland Treasury (2004). Under this evaluation model, it is suggested that four primary issues must be considered:

- **Context:** how community renewal functions with the economic, social and political environment.
- **Capacity:** aspects of the capacity of Community Renewal that most shaped the ability to perform the work as agreed.
- **Quality, quantity, cost, efficiency, satisfaction:** whether activities were executed as planned.
- **Effectiveness:** what changes occurred in the renewal areas as a result of the programs and initiatives.

**Figure 6:** Using a Logical Model for guiding the Evaluation Process (Queensland Treasury, 2004)



### **Building an implementation plan.**

The purpose of the implementation plan is to coordinate, support and integrate the roll out of Performance Measurement and Evaluation Framework throughout all renewal areas and throughout all Departments participating in Community Renewal projects and initiatives. To implement the Performance Measurement and Evaluation Framework, there needs to be several steps in place:

- 1) Established an implementation team
- 2) Establish the terms of reference for the implementation team
- 3) Development of guiding principles to govern the work of the Implementation Team.

The Queensland approach to evaluation offers one of the most complex means at identifying and attributing change at sites of urban renewal in Australia. In contrast to the level of complexity advocated in Queensland, approaches in others states, such as Victoria, offer more pragmatic and operationally practical approaches to evaluation.

## **7. Victoria**

In 2002 the Victorian Department of Human Services released its *Neighbourhood Renewal: Evaluation Framework, 2002-2003*. The document sets out the framework for neighbourhood renewal in Victoria, which is positioned as a whole-of-government community building initiative to narrow the gap between the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the rest of the state (VDHS, 2002). As such the objectives of Neighbourhood Renewal include:

- Increase people's pride and participation in the community;
- Enhance housing and the physical environment;
- Lift employment, training and education opportunities and expand local economic activity;
- Improve personal safety and reduce crime;
- Promote health and well-being; and,
- Increase access to transport and other key services and improve government responsiveness.

Intervention into public housing is seen as an incentive to other forms of investment such as local government improving roads, parklands and streetscapes, for housing developers to develop land

and redevelop run-down housing, and for industry to locate in areas where economic growth is being stimulated (VDHS, 2002). Indicators of disadvantage include: official unemployment rate, unemployment benefit holders, disability pension holders, Health Care Card holders, average taxable income, crime per 1000 residents, emergency admissions, child protection notifications, persons completing Yr 12, one parent families. All of which are compared to the state average (benchmark value) (VDHS, 2002).

The aims of the Neighbourhood Renewal Evaluation are to:

- Assess whether the initiative has narrowed the gap between neighbourhood renewal areas and the rest of the state;
- Provide information to government, service providers, local communities and other stakeholders about what works and what doesn't in neighbourhood renewal;
- Contribute to community building by empowering local communities to take greater control of their neighbourhood and influence government decision-making; and,
- Strengthen and support Growing Victoria Together (GVT) and the overall evaluation of community building.

Thus, the strategy identifies 26 core indicators, using both qualitative and quantitative data. A community survey contained 91 questions (some of which were used in other government department surveys to allow for comparisons) was designed to provide the qualitative data. The survey was designed to provide measures and insights at 5 levels: perceptions of self, perceptions of community, reasons behind each assessment, ideas for what might be done to improve the situation, and a retrospective assessment comparing 12 months ago to now. See Salvaris (2003) *Neighbourhood Renewal Community Survey 2003*. The survey assumes a healthy community and neighbourhood is a product of:

- The health and well-being of, and opportunities for, individuals and families;
- The health of social relations, neighbourliness, networks, participation and trust, a sense of shared community in the neighbourhood;
- The quality of the environment and physical living conditions and 'sense of place' in the neighbourhood;
- The services and facilities available; and,
- The quality of governance and community participation in decision-making.

Further to local qualitative data concerned with the local attitudes and perceptions, quantitative data (primarily through administrative data sets, such as the ABS census and data from local

government, such as crime statistics, school attendance and child protection reports) are used to identify the gap between target locations and the state as a whole. While these data provide the central evaluation mechanism of the approach (i.e. the ability to measure the gap between the target estates and the state average), the strategy recognises some of the problems associated with these various data series (such as the scaled nature of the data).

Success of the policy is measured in the short-term by the extent residents are involved in the planning processes. Short-term outcomes are seen to reflect the positive engagement of residents and other local stakeholders. Medium and long-term success is measured by the extent that residents have more pride in their community, housing and the physical environment have improved, employment, training and education outcomes have moved closer to state government benchmarks and the standard of the surrounding community, and access to services has improved. Longer-term outcomes should include positive changes in crime and safety and personal health and well being. Data must: relate directly to one of the objectives; can be collected for the whole community not just the public housing tenants; should be collected for the neighbourhood renewal site (not postcode, SLA, LGA); generate information from which policy decisions can be informed; be consistent with GVT targets and indicators; be collected annually across the neighbourhood renewal site.

**Figure 17:** Victorian Neighbourhood Renewal Evaluation (VDHS, 2002)

OBJECTIVES	INDICATORS	DATA COURCE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase people’s pride and participation in the community</li> <li>- Enhance housing and the physical environment</li> <li>- Lift employment, training and education opportunities and expand local economic activity</li> <li>- Improve personal safety and reduce crime</li> <li>- Promote health and well-being</li> <li>- Increase access to transport and other key services and improve government responsiveness.</li> </ul>	<p>30 indicators are identified</p>	<p>Data sources include:            Community survey            Office of Housing Data            ABS Data            Valuer General            Environmental Audit            Local police records            DHS – child protection branch            DHS – Family and Community Support</p>

Although rather pragmatic in nature, and lacking the conceptual emphasis of the South Australian and Queensland evaluation models, the Victorian approach offers a relatively straightforward and applicable approach to exploring the impacts of urban/community renewal/regeneration interventions. Given these characteristics, the underlying logic and methodological approach is included (although altered and agglomerated with more conceptual approach, such as those of the UK 3R's program and EU IMPACT approach) into the MOSAIC framework for measuring the impacts of NSW Department of Housing. In addition, the use of similar indicators and methodological approach offers the opportunity for cross-state comparisons, something historically lacking in the Australian context (Randolph and Judd, 2006).

## **8. Western Australian**

The current urban renewal program in Western Australia has been the Ministry of Housing's New Living Program. Developed from what was called the Estate Improvement Program of the early 1990s, the New Living Program was launched in 1995 in two Perth suburbs, Kwinana and Lockridge. The program was to be rolled out over a ten year period with an aim to upgrade and sell off ageing and obsolete public housing stock (Spiller Gibbins Swan, 2000). In this respect, the New Living Program was a much more explicit tenure diversification and stock realignment program compared to the strategies of the mid-1980s (Randolph and Wood, 2003). The most recent round of evaluation of Western Australian community/urban renewal started in 1998 with the release of *Evaluation of Homeswest's New Living Program in Kwinana and Lockridge: Final Report* (ERM, 1998). The aim of the New Living Program was to 'redevelop older public housing estates to create more attractive living environments, to reduce Homeswest's rental presence and to encourage homeownership'. In addition, the NLP aims: to reduce high concentrations of public housing, upgrading existing housing stock, enhancing community infrastructure, more attractive living environments, reduced crime, increased property values, create home ownership opportunities for tenants, and to work towards revitalised, sustainable communities (Parry & Stromman, 2001).

As part of the ERM (1998) evaluation, the report discusses perceptions and attitudes regarding: refurbishments, infrastructure, street scaping and enhancements to public space; community facilities and services; satisfaction with suburb; safety and crime; social stigma; the tenant relocation process; and community consultation. The report also seeks to provide advice on:

financial performance, strategic effectiveness of the program, community benefits, and any barriers to the effectiveness of the program and key recommendations.

Methodologically the report draws on three main sources of information: focus groups of 65 local residents and community representatives; 200 telephone interviews with local residents; and discussions with some key stakeholders. The objective was to identify the perceptions of local residents and key stakeholders regarding the issues discussed above. The findings of these methodologies were compared to the objectives of the NLP to evaluate the program. The report offers 16 recommendations to influence change and continued improvement. The most important recommendations include the gathering of baseline data on community characteristics prior to the project; ensure that the method and timing of community consultation is appropriate; and establish financial objectives, performance measures and targets that can be monitored. The key findings of the evaluation are outlined in table 18.

**Table 18:** Findings of *Evaluation of Homeswest’s New Living Program in Kwinana and Lockridge: Final Report* (ERM, 1998)

<u>Community acceptance:</u> redevelopment has improved the urban environment and is providing residents with a better quality of life. This has been achieved through physical regeneration practices.
<u>Social Stigma and Self Esteem:</u> most residents are proud of their suburb. Many believed that the areas are improving placed to live and stigma will reduce over time.
<u>Safety and Security:</u> improvements have increased the safety of residents; however, many residents do not feel completely safe.
<u>Provision of community, welfare and support services:</u> It is identified that both locations are well serviced, however, no starting demographics are available to explore the impact of demographic change.
<u>Reduction in Housing Presence:</u> both locations saw a decrease, however, in neither case to the goal of 12%.
<u>Asset Values:</u> the average value of a house increased by 15% and 16% in these locations.
<u>Financial Performance:</u> both projects are expected to produce a financial return in the long run.

Given the lack of initial baseline data and the broad objectives, the report offers little by way of evaluation framework. The findings are essentially descriptive in nature. This evaluation is continued with the release of *‘New Living’ Report: An assessment on Tenants and the Community in the Urban Renewal of Lockridge and Langford, Western Australia* (Parry & Strommen, 2001). As is identified under the NLP objectives, both case studies were characterised by high levels of crime, unemployment and truancy, property standards were low, with prices stagnate. Methodologically the evaluation presented pursues both qualitative and quantitative data, which, according to the authors, allow for triangulation of findings. Methods used included a survey for stakeholders and interested parties and a tenant survey. The findings of this report are, however, essentially descriptive in nature and offer little by way of effective evaluation. This may be due to the fact that the report was completed as part of the requirements to achieve Masters Degree for

the authors. Nevertheless, the report does offer some insight to the development of survey methodologies in the creation of baseline data.

## **Part Three: International Experience of Renewal and Evaluation**

Although the evaluation of urban/community renewal/regeneration interventions is becoming increasingly central to the operation of social housing and service providers, Australian evaluation approaches offer a relatively short history compared to international efforts in the US, UK and Europe. Given this historical emphasis on the evaluation of renewal/regeneration interventions, international approaches offer more comprehensive framework, if only because they have been implemented and refined over a number of years. This is most clearly the case in the UK, which has experienced a number of urban interventional, and evaluation programs in the last decades. Following a review of the most recent evaluation approaches in the US, the UK and Europe, it is suggested that the MOSAIC program for the NSW Department of Housing draw upon the current UK approach (the 3R's) and the European IMPACT model to provide a comprehensive evaluation process and a conceptual approach to program (as well as project) evaluation respectively.

### **9. The US Experience – HOPE VI**

While public/social housing in Australia, the UK and Europe is (increasingly) characterised by individuals and households who experience severe levels of (cultural, social or economic) disadvantage, these levels rarely compare to those experienced in the US context. This level of segregation is often due to the highly concentrated numbers of culturally disadvantaged communities (typically African American or Hispanic) (ABT, 1996). In addition, public housing in the US has received lower levels of Government funding, in part due to ideologically driven market centred approach, which characterises American capitalism. However, despite these features, a number of urban renewal programs have been established in the past decade to confront issues of social disadvantage and urban degradation. Perhaps the most important has been the *Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere* (HOPE VI) initiative.

The HOPE VI program was created for the purpose of revitalising severely distressed or obsolete public housing developments. HOPE VI has five main objectives: 1) change the physical shape of public housing; 2) reduce concentrations of poverty; 3) provide support services to public residents; 4) maintain high standards of personal responsibility; and 5) form private/public partnerships for project completion (Gilderbloom et al, 2005). Under HOPE VI 80% of funds are to be spent on physical improvements. The basic options for physical revitalisation were: rehabilitation; reconfiguration; demolition with some type of replacement housing; and development of additional low-income and market-rent housing (ABT, 1996). However, it is suggested by Gilderbloom et al (2005) that HOPE VI is not another 'bricks and mortar' project; but new and different because it involves physical and social planning to improve both residents and neighbourhoods. The social planning indicatives of HOPE VI centre on providing public housing residents the opportunity to achieve self-sufficiency. The revitalisation plans developed for the HOPE VI sites often emphasised the reintegration of public housing development into surrounding communities from which they have been physically, economically, and socially isolated. Typically the residents suffer from high unemployment rates, low incomes, and high rates of dependence. It is identified that despite these characteristics, residents may also benefit from a rich network of community resources, including churches and non-profit organisations whose staff and members provide important services and political leadership (ABT, 1996). The major goals of the HOPE VI plans include some combination of the following factors: reconcentration and dispersion, development of mixed-income communities, demolition and/or renovation of current developments, emphasis on family self-sufficiency, and resident management of the properties. In terms of prospects of success, HOPE VI is positioned as a partnership between the US Department of Housing and Urban Development, Public Housing Agencies, local government, the private sector, non-profit organisations, and residents. Success therefore rests on the ability of these partnerships to envision and implement a comprehensive revitalisation plan.

In 1996 ABT undertook an assessment of the HOPE VI program. This assessment had two primary purposes: to collect baseline data for a purposive sample of 15 HOPE VI grantees and to develop a data collection system that will serve the longitudinal monitoring and evaluation needs of the HOPE VI program. Long-term evaluation of HOPE VI strategies relies on a panel of Local Research Affiliates (LRAs). LRAs are positioned as familiar with local conditions and needs, can work closely with the local public housing authority and can identify meaningful local HOPE VI

accomplishments and eventual program impacts. The responsibilities of the consultant and LRA are outlined in table 19.

**Table 19:** Role of consultant and LRA und HOPE VI (ABT, 1996)

<p>Central consultant responsibilities included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Overall management, identification, and recruitment of the Research Advisory Group and local research affiliates</li> <li>- Coordinating meetings, establishing a communication network, and maintaining regular phone contact with the LRAs</li> <li>- Overall design, including the handbook and three protocols for collection of local baseline data;</li> <li>- Acquisition of HUD and Census data</li> <li>- Review of HOPE VI baseline data forms and baseline case study reports; and</li> <li>- Analysis across sites and preparation of the cross-site baseline report</li> </ul>
<p>The responsibilities of each LRA were to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Adapt each case study design to the local site in accordance with the handbook and research protocol;</li> <li>- Collect core data required for the cross-site analysis (including ethnographic and qualitative)</li> <li>- Fill out the HOPE VI baseline data form and HOPE VI windshield neighbourhood survey form</li> <li>- Administer the HOPE VI resident satisfaction survey</li> <li>- Identify and include appropriate/meaningful local impact measures and devise additional local data collection; and</li> <li>- Prepare and revise a baseline case study report</li> </ul>

While the ABT (1996) paper identifies the need for evaluation of urban regeneration projects under the banner of the HOPE VI, it offers little on methodology for assessing the success of programs. The baseline assessment centres primarily on the description of the case studies. The purpose of baseline data collection is to provide material for a baseline report and data files to *document the situation before the implementation of HOPE VI* (ABT, 1996). Another purpose of the baseline data collection is to *develop flexible methodological procedures to collect comparable data at similar stages of HOPE VI developments* (ABT, 1996). Baseline data is collected via the HOPE VI baseline data form (focussing on the history, current status, and plans for the future), the windshield (or land use) survey (looking at land use characteristics, housing stock type and condition, neighbourhood businesses), the Resident satisfaction survey (exploring resident satisfaction, problems with their unit, sense of safety and security, victimisation, participation in community events, needs for support services, and standard demographics). This paper essentially provides a descriptive analysis of the case study areas, although it does offer an extensive list of possible indicators for the impacts on physical structure, management of property, on the original residents, on residents after HOPE VI redevelopment, on supportive services and employment, and on neighbourhoods. These descriptions could form the basis of discussions and comparisons to Australian case studies. The discussion of baseline data may also

be useful. However, overall the paper offers little by way of insights to overall neighbourhood/community renewal evaluation.

The most recent evaluation of the HOPE VI program is provided by Gilderbloom et al (2005) in their publication *HOPE VI: A Study of Housing and Neighbourhood Satisfaction*. This paper offers an overview of resident satisfaction with HOPE VI development programs. In general it is suggested that residents have greater satisfaction with the HOPE VI development compared to their previous neighbourhood. These advantages are due primarily to better access to physical services. These attitudes were consistent for both public housing and non-public housing residents. Following Vardy et al (2001), Gilderbloom et al (2005) contend that variations in housing satisfaction are due to direct and indirect effects, and include: relocation counselling; perceived neighbourhood safety; satisfaction with the housing search; location; median neighbourhood housing values; living in a house; a high rent burden welfare assistance; being unemployed; being divorced; being married; and age. Therefore an effort to treat housing satisfaction as a simple dependent variable is a mistake. In addition it is suggested that scattered-site public housing is vital to residential satisfaction. The discussion of scattered-site housing is very similar to the discussion of social mix (section 3.1). It is defined by: 1) the number of units at the site, which may range from two to a few hundred; 2) structures, usually ranging from garden apartments, duplexes, townhouses, or single-family detached houses; and 3) reconcentration of units away from high density, low-income minority populations. Not surprisingly, it is suggested that public residents who move to the suburbs in scattered-site housing are more satisfied than those residents who decided to remain in public housing. In order to evaluate the HOPE VI program a survey was used to gauge resident's opinions. The survey uses housing, neighbourhood, and location characteristics; residential attachment and safety characteristics; and open-ended questions to decide if the satisfaction of the HOPE VI resident was enhanced. It is suggested that the majority of residents were satisfied with the location of: public transport, schools, childcare, churches, employment and medical services. Residents as a group were dissatisfied with shopping and entertainment. Overall the paper offers a descriptive analysis of the results of the resident survey. Gilderbloom et al's (2005) analysis is only really useful for potential comparison between surveys, with no real insight to evaluation. While urban renewal has had a relatively long history in the US (compared to Australia) there is little analysis in terms of extensive program evaluation. This, however, is not the case in the UK.

## 10. The UK Experience

The UK has one of the longest histories of urban regeneration programs and for the past two decades has been at the forefront of evaluation processes (Randolph and Judd, 2006). Like the Australian experience, British housing policy has been characterised by a series of policy changes. The 1950s and 1960s were characterised by slum clearance projects, while the 1970s saw policies of rehabilitating existing stock and to a lesser extent improving immediate localities (Kleinman & Whitehead, 1999). During the 1980s and 1990s housing and urban policy were positioned at the centre of neo-liberal restructuring which saw a shift toward restructuring ownership in the social sector in order to bring in private finance for both new development and to fund the necessary rehabilitation of local authority stock (Kleinman and Whithead, 1999). In an early policy approach to urban renewal, the UK Department of Environment (DOE) produced *Improving Urban Areas: Good Practices in Urban Regeneration* (1988). It suggests that the key features for generating and maintaining momentum for regeneration projects include:

- The importance of defining and giving priorities to objectives at an early stage;
- Projects work best when they harness grass roots pressure;
- The improvement and influence of senior management is critical;
- The importance of involving the community in generating ideas and interest;
- The importance of monitoring and review;
- The need for plans combined with the flexibility to shift emphasis and respond to opportunities and changing demands and preferences as they arise; and,
- The importance of generating confidence (cited in Bowie, 1997).

In the British context, the DOE (1988) highlights the importance of monitoring and reviewing urban regeneration processes and suggests this requires:

- Objectives and criteria to be set (in operational terms), against which progress can be measured;
- Baseline conditions to be established;
- Periodic reviews of key dimensions of change relevant to objectives;
- Assessment of change relative to baseline conditions; and,
- An analysis of the impact of particular policies or improvements (cited in Bowey, 1997).

By the early 1990s many of the initiatives designed to tackle the problems of urban areas in the UK encompassed area based approaches like enterprise zones and urban development corporations (Brennan et al, 1999) which identify private investment as critical to program

success (Adair et al, 1999). In the UK experience, regeneration has typically taken the form of either physical or social regeneration. The main aim of physical regeneration was to make the estates attractive to people who had other choices. Low and socially concentrated demand was to be tackled through internal improvements. *Physical improvements* have the political appeal of quickly delivering visible results. The most important measures which have been undertaken include improvements to the physical stock, diversification of house sizes and types, de-densification, height-lowering, improved heating and insulation, creation of on-street parking, enclosed gardens and defensible space and landscaping (Hall, 1997). *Social regeneration policies* have attempted to correct a perceived 'management deficit', to involve residents in a variety of local initiatives and to stabilise the existing population. The goals of such policies are to transform both the experience of living on the estate, and the nature of the resident population. Unlike those of social and physical, *economic initiatives* have featured less prominently in estate regeneration programs, primarily being limited to small training schemes. Training and placement schemes have their own limitations and potentially perverse distributional consequences, as an apparently 'successful' scheme may simply displace employed people resident elsewhere. It is clear that the outward-looking approach is principally about linking estate regeneration to appropriate economic strategies, the point where inward-looking approaches have been most lacking (see section 2) (Hall, 1997).

Two of the most important initiatives have been the City Challenge (CC) program started in 1992 and the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) initiated in 1994. The SRB commenced in 1994 and was based on a competitive bidding process for the allocation of resources to regeneration programs (Gardner, 1998). It is argued that the British government saw the SRB as part of the new arrangements to simplify the way Government supports economic development and industrial competitiveness. The aim was to provide flexible support for regeneration and development in England in a way that meets local needs and priorities (Gardner, 1998).

Both CC and SRB projects were subject to a considerable amount of monitoring and evaluation, especially compared to other development bodies such as Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) (Robinson et al, 1995). This evaluation was positioned as critical especially in terms of monitoring what has been achieved and what ought to be maintained after the funding ends. As such, monitoring in, especially the CC case, was the result of the 'contract culture' of undertaking redevelopment, where evaluation and reporting is attributed to the central government's suspicion of organisations which have a close connection with local government (Robinson et al, 1995). In

their paper Robinson et al (1995) explore the evaluation of the Newcastle upon Tyne. They identify four main monitoring and evaluation methods:

- 1) Internal monitoring: provided through Quarterly Monitoring Returns, where questions of outputs relative to targets and 'milestones' are discussed.
- 2) External monitoring/evaluation: an external consultant was commissioned to explore a sample of projects and help develop their own monitoring and evaluation methods.
- 3) All CC were required to monitor various indicators to track change in the area. This is most often undertaken by local researchers or academics.
- 4) The Department of Environment commissioned an academic to undertake a national evaluation of the CC program.

The evaluation of the CC program was essentially based on the translation of the initial 'vision' for the area into strategic objectives, which can be monitored, where monitoring was about the assessing:

- a) Progress towards achieving strategic objectives; and,
- b) The impact of the CC program on the underlying local economic, social and environmental conditions (Robinson et al, 1995).

As part of the evaluation framework, existing data, as opposed to new survey work, is championed in order to keep costs down. As a result the central indicators originate from the census. While monitoring and evaluation were identified as vital to both the CC and SRB programs, evaluation remained essentially quantitative in nature, with analysis dependent on existing data sources.

As suggested previously, the central tenant of both these programs was urban regeneration or renewal. A critical feature of the SRB approach to urban regeneration is its competitive nature whereby local partnerships bid for funds from government. This approach, however, has been criticised for its potential to allocate funding on a commercial basis rather than one which reflects the level and location of deprivation across England (Brennan et al, 1999). Initiatives undertaken as part of the SRB include land reclamation, site preparation, enhanced employment prospects, education and skills, sustainable economic growth and wealth creation, environmental improvement, housing conditions, reducing crime and fear of crime, and enhancing quality of life including health, culture and sports facilities (Brennan et al, 1999). In evaluating the effects of the SRB Brennan et al (1999) highlight the difficulty in measuring the level of improvement, the spatial boundaries of improvements, and the level of funding allocated to locations and initiatives.

The Department of Land Economy, University of Cambridge, undertook an evaluation of regeneration activities funded under the SRB in 1996, offering an in-depth evaluation framework.

The overall objectives of the evaluation were:

- 1) To design a methodology with which to evaluate both the process by which economic, social and physical regeneration is achieved through the SRB and also the impact and cost effectiveness of the regeneration activities;
- 2) To undertake an evaluation of the first and second phases of the partnerships and groups of activities funded under the SRB. This evaluation process was to provide a coherent baseline, undertake an interim evaluation of the process of promoting and funding regeneration embracing the design, implementation and effectiveness of this process and also conduct a final evaluation; and
- 3) To select a small number of case studies, which did not receive funding and explore how they may better achieve partnership creation and durability. (DLE, 1996).

Given a political environment driven by cost-effectiveness, privatisation and the broader thrusts of neo-liberalism, it is no surprise to see that the evaluation focuses on the assessment of value for money. The study considers that a good evaluation framework should enable the outputs or benefits of a policy or program to be compared with the inputs or costs (DLE, 1996). As such the evaluation advocates a cost benefit account for the regeneration measure concerned and under certain conditions performance measures can be derived which allow one measure to be compared to others. Despite the focus on economic accountability, the study does recognise that evaluation should not be concerned with just value for money, and that it is also necessary to consider how well the benefits derived are helping alleviate the problem to which they were addressed.

It is argued that the SRB gives equal weight to economic, social and physical regeneration. The evaluation identified three levels of outcomes, which can be evaluated from the SRB projects. These levels cut across the distinction between social, economic and environmental goals. First, *Delivery* issues are concerned with outputs of each partnership and the process of implementation. These are quantitative estimates of what each project delivers in terms of new dwellings, crime prevention measures, training places, etc. It is suggested that this level not only deals with outputs, but also with process, such as which organisations have been involved in setting, monitoring and changing these targets. As well as quantitative analysis of output

measures, some qualitative analysis in the form of stakeholder assessments is also required. Second, *Impact* explores the impact on social, economic and environmental variables over the life of the partnership. This section is not only concerned with what is delivered, but with their effects in terms of alleviating or at least reducing the problem to which they were addressed. It is suggested therefore, that there is no single, centrally determined set of key indicators, but rather that the selection of key indicators will be specific to and appropriate for each partnership. Third, *Sustainability* issues are explored. These are essentially centred on the concern with longer term issues. Under this category, an examination of exit strategies of partnerships and the legacy of partnerships to local residents and businesses is vital (DLE, 1996).

The report by the Department of Land Economy (1996) provides an evaluation framework for the SRB. It suggests three levels of evaluation. First, *economic effects* must be evaluated. Central here is the identification of an appropriate stream of benefits. A cost benefit account is advocated for the evaluation of economic impacts of the SRB. In this framework, principle economic benefits are jobs, training places and enterprises. These indicators are positioned as having the advantage of ease of measurement – expressed in term of jobs/training years. Although it is acknowledge that many of these benefits may take 7/8 years to materialise, while, simultaneously discounting job streams (reflecting that a job created tomorrow is less than a job created today) needs to be considered. The distinction between gross and net outputs or benefits is also identified. It is argued that the starting point of any evaluation must be able to identify the gross effects but then reduce these to the extent that they would have occurred anyway in the absence of the program concerned. This is the essence of *Additionality* (see discussion in section 2). Displacement must also be taken into consideration. This is the extent to which benefits created in one area have been at the expense of other economic agents in the areas concerned or elsewhere. In terms of the cost side of the SRB cost benefit analysis, government expenditure incurred and government revenue foregone must be taken into consideration. The cost side is interested in gauging the additional public expenditure incurred. It is identified that discounting needs to be undertaken in regeneration initiatives which produce affects that unfold over many years. A more detailed discussion (in the Australian context) of this process is provided by SGS (2000). In term of economic issues the paper proposes to establish a baseline from which to evaluate the achievements of the SRB. These indicators are seen to provide a coherent baseline to assess the nature and scale of the problem from the start of the evaluation, and if the program achievement can be established then the true effectiveness of the program can be measured (DLE, 1996).

Further, Department of Land Economy (1996) suggests that while the objectives of the SRB are economic in nature (enhancing employment, education and skills of local people and encouraging sustainable economic growth and wealth creation) the remaining objectives are primarily social and environmental. The evaluation of these social effects is seen to present difficulties, as they are not easily quantifiable in terms of the type of cost benefit analysis undertaken for economic benefits. It is also suggested that while, some relevant data may originate from partner organisations, these are generally inadequate to enable evaluation to be made of the impacts of SRB spending. In order to undertake this evaluation, secondary and survey data need to be incorporated. The third level of evaluation is termed *partnership effects*. The paper tests the hypothesis whether the partnership approach is better than a single partner/single action/single program approach in designing, implementing and achieving local economic regeneration.

Despite the tight fiscal constraints of early 1990s neo-liberalism, Britain housing policy experienced a shift in urban and housing policy at the end of the Thatcher government, away from the narrow focus on achieving value for money, primarily through physical and property led development, to an understanding of urban life which attempts to capture community interests via precise objectives and program targets, which, in turn, make evaluation and monitoring much more complex (Murtagh, 1998). In an early example of these early (comprehensive) evaluation methodologies, Murtagh (1998) provides a discussion of the Derry regeneration in Northern Ireland. In order to develop a locally relevant evaluation framework, a list of problems associated with the area was developed under the following ‘problem categories’:

- 1) Strategic Issues – relates to the construction of valid baseline of conditions from which real change can be measured, setting targets or expectations of change and assembling a data set efficiently and quickly;
- 2) Measurement Issues – the objectives need to be translated into measurable performance indicators that are sensitive to the aims being evaluated, ensuring indicators are valid and reliable;
- 3) Process Issues – a number of policy issue objectives in the area relate to a process of change, whereby the intervention of urban spending will have left the community with a skills base or capacity that was not there prior to the program; and,
- 4) Definition Issues – the notion that the community is complex and difficulties arise in evaluating whether a target community has achieved their intended state.

These sets of issues represent common issues associated with evaluation of urban regeneration or renewal programs; however, few (if any) frameworks cover all issues. In the case of Derry, an integrated approach, under three hierarchical levels, was devised to baseline, monitor and evaluate urban policy.

First, *macro level* is explored. The macro level is primarily concerned with the establishment of baseline conditions in the city with data collected and analysed at electoral ward level. At this level, economic and physical indicators were defined mainly in relation to SRB methodology (quantified outputs). The study identified nine impact areas, with a number of related indicators for measurement as outlined in table 20.

**Table 20:** Aspects of Micro level interventions (Murtagh, 1998)

1) <i>Community activity</i> included the number, type and function of groups involved in each urban regeneration;
2) <i>Development rate</i> involved a measure of the formation rate and financial capacity of groups;
3) <i>Problem analysis</i> included a measure of the top five problems facing each community
4) <i>Community strengths</i> involving taking stock of the five core strengths of the community and neighbourhood;
5) <i>Community investment</i> included an assessment of group representation and community apathy and participation rates, particularly women, children, the elderly and those in areas of high violence;
6) <i>Development blockages</i> aimed to identify the constraints in local development generally and project implementation specifically;
7) <i>System efficiency</i> examines the responsiveness of the statutory sector to the priorities of the community and voluntary sectors;
8) <i>Issue analysis</i> involved a Likert scale rating of 30 predetermined local problems; and
9) <i>Community needs</i> included a measure of planned activity over the next three years

Second, *policy level* focuses on the policy objectives in Derry, specifically the assessment of how effectively and efficiently they have been achieved. This process is identified as similar to the SRB evaluation methodology, and explores indicators including number of jobs created, participation rates by gender and locality, etcetera. Finally, *Delivery level* is concerned with the experiences of those targeted by the policies and suggests three approaches. The first is a baseline survey of residents to examine their perspectives on local problems and their experience of policy interventions. The second is a mid-term and end-term review, which would reflect on the ways in which these experiences have been met. The final approach was to introduce a participatory action research dimension to the evaluation methodology (Murtagh, 1998). While this approach follows (the essentially marco and quantitative) evaluation methodologies of the SRB, it represents one of the first examples of British urban renewal evaluation to represent the soft and

spatially specific aspects of development. It is these soft aspects, which increasingly take precedent in the late 1990's and early 2000s.

With the election of the Blair Labour government in 1997, government policy in the UK refocused on the wider aspects of housing and on the need for 'joined up thinking' which are often seen to be more about people than housing. As the social and economic aspects of housing increased their policy presence, the new approach emphasised the need to explore a number of issues:

- 1) Whether the evidence on the relationship between poor housing and deprivation is consistent with the current understanding of housing and community problems;
- 2) The appropriateness of small area approaches to alleviating both housing and deprivation and to assisting regeneration; and,
- 3) How success should be measured – particularly in terms of improvements for the relevant households wherever they are located (Kleinman & Whithead, 1999).

Key to these policy areas is the notion of evaluation, as the success of these policies are required to be measured both by the extent to which individuals are enabled to improve their circumstances, and by the acceptability of the areas to the households living there (Kleinman & Whithead, 1999). As such, social exclusion was positioned as one of the central tenants of the Blair labour government election in 1997, which positioned itself to not only confront poverty itself but also broader problems of disadvantage. The Labour government in 2000 declared, "Within 10 to 20 years, no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live". As part of this initiative, better housing and physical environment were specific objectives. These objectives were also framed by 'quality of life' and 'liveability' (Paskell & Power, 2005). While these policies effectively identify the relationship between housing and characteristics of social, cultural and economic disadvantage, they offer little in the way of ideas how to alleviate it effectively or to monitor the impacts of policy on the lives of residents affected.

Social mix, or more broadly regeneration, is seen to increase both 'quality of life' and 'liveability'. Liveability is related to concerns about litter, crime and low-grade environments, which are seen as some of the most common local concerns of residents across Britain. The UK governments' concept of 'liveability' focuses on public space. This includes housing, and part of the environment, but the emphasis has tended to be on open and green spaces. Within these objectives it is identified that the quality of housing and neighbourhood conditions are vitally important. As such, first, research on people's concerns about their neighbourhood shows that its

physical condition is a priority issue. Second, the visible aspects of the areas can also serve as indicators of socio-economic conditions, which are not so readily observed (Paskell & Power, 2005). In response to the policy objective the CASE program was initiated in 1997.

According to the British Government without ongoing local efforts at supervision and constant care, unpopular areas will inevitably continually decay, particularly if there are high levels of renting (Paskell and Power, 2005). While at the same time, without periodic major reinvestment and radical injections of capital to modernise conditions and attract a more mixed community, such areas will be too difficult to manage and sustain. In practice, over time the large-scale interventions are unlikely to work without ongoing management and maintenance as previous examples of regeneration show. As such, Paskell and Power (2005) explore 12 low-income areas under the CASE program. The report methodologically compares characteristics of the case study regions in 1999 to data from the most recent visits and interviews conducted in 2003. The paper uses six main sources of information: prescriptives of residents, prescriptives of workers associated with the area; the researcher's own observations; data gathered by statutory bodies (administrative data); government documents; and academic literature. As an evaluation methodology, the paper offers few insights instead focusing on a 'marco' descriptive approach.

In 1999 the UK Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions produced the *Local Evaluation for Regeneration Partnerships Good Practice Guide*. The guide specifically refers to the SRB, and its call for evaluation to be conducted at both local and national scales. The manual argues that local evaluation activity is expected to be commensurate with the size and scale of the scheme, and will be informed by the national evaluation. The guide is aimed at helping partnerships evaluate their activities and use the results productively. It does not, however, put forward hard and fast rules or prescriptions but discusses ways in which the task can be approached. After brief sections on the principles, purpose and responsibilities of partnerships the guide offers a seven-stage process for evaluating regeneration:

- 1) Establishing and choosing effective base line indicators;
- 2) Obtaining and updating baseline information;
- 3) Establishing targets for comparative information analysis;
- 4) Adding value to output monitoring;
- 5) Monitoring changes in local conditions;
- 6) Assessing impact; and,
- 7) The scheme evaluation report;

The report concludes with an explanation of the technical issues of deadweight, displacement, value for money and sustainability, which are vital to the cost benefit analysis discussed above.

Following the production of a framework (DLE, 1996) and a Good Practice Guild (UKDETR, 1999), Dept. of Land Economy (Brennan et al, 2001) offers one of the first empirical evaluations of neighbourhood evaluation, using evidence from 10 SRB case studies. Following earlier discussions the paper suggests that the only way available to estimate the specific contribution which regenerating initiatives make is through the estimation of additional costs and benefits. Essential to this cost benefit analysis is the establishment of an effective baseline data measurement system, which allows an indication of the social and economic conditions in the designated area prior to the implementation of a project. Second, the same data should be revised and measured at the end of the program. Third, baseline data must be capable of recoding change or progress in those conditions, which relate directly to each strategic objective of the regeneration program. It is suggested that the measurement of baseline conditions should focus on quantitative indicators, even where qualitative change is being assessed.

According to Dept. of Land Economy (Brennan et al, 2001), central to the successful evaluation of British urban renewal projects is the distinction between outputs and outcomes. Outputs are what is 'purchased' by regeneration expenditures and can be measured by what a specific SRB project produces. Outcomes show the effect of what has happened to the deprived area and its community regarding aspects of prosperity, housing conditions and quality of life. Dept. of Land Economy (Brennan et al, 2001) identifies the difficulties in obtaining information and developing indicators of outcomes and changes and suggests that there is little alternative to undertaking social surveys. It is also suggested that SRB case studies be compared to changes for England as a whole. A second evaluation process is to compare changes in particular outcomes within the SRB scheme. These improvements in outcomes ought to have a direct link to the thrust of the SRB scheme. Third, evaluation should incorporate the levels to which residents of the local neighbourhood were aware of the SRB funded projects.

More recent examples of the evaluation of British urban policy have focused on the Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP) program. In 2003 the Office of the Deputy Prime Ministers Office and UK Department of Transport published *Evaluation of Local Strategic Partnerships: report of a survey of all English LSPs*. The paper essentially presents the results of the initial feasibility study, providing an overview of the characteristics of the LSPs including: number and status of

LSPs; areas covered; legal status; origins; number of members in each LSP; membership of LSP by organisation and sector; local authority representation; chair arrangements; partnership structures; staffing; financial resources; activities of LSP; priorities; community strategy and the local neighbourhood renewal strategy; performance management; issues and dilemmas; benefits of LSPs. This paper essentially provides the results of a survey given to LSP providing little in terms of evaluation of programs success; rather it focuses on the internal partnership organisation and opinions.

A more useful evaluation framework is provided by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM, 2004a). The paper outlines the three levels at which performance is measured:

- Delivery of outcomes on the ground – i.e. ensuring that strategies and plans are moving in the right direction and making a difference to the lives of local people.
- The working of the partnership itself – i.e. the efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness of the partnership’s internal systems, processes, and relationships.
- The value added by the LSP – i.e. the connection between level 1 and level 2 or the benefit that working together brings over and above what agencies would achieve working alone.

Under the LSP all partnerships are expected to have effective performance management arrangements. Performance management for an LSP is the process whereby the partnership monitors and reviews its performance in order to ensure that desired outcomes are achieved. Performance management is central to the management of an LSP, and may embrace a range of activities including:

- Defining indicators and targets to measure progress towards agreed objectives
- Assigning responsibility for action;
- Gathering and analysing data on processes, inputs, outputs and outcomes;
- Reviewing performance, and diagnosing the reasons for good or bad performance;
- Holding those responsible to account;
- Planning for improvement;
- Reporting to stakeholders (ODPM, 2004a).

It is suggested, however, that there is no single ‘best’ framework. LSPs have a wide variety of needs depending on factors such as their stage of development, culture, priorities, resources and capacity, what works for one partnership may not work for others. Frameworks for performance

management of delivery typically have the 11 characteristics (table 21) while Effective performance management requires 6 further processes (table 22):

**Table 21:** Characteristics of performance measurement frameworks (ODPM, 2004a)

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- They include targets and milestones, indicators showing progress, and associated actions. The indicators and targets will reflect local priorities</li> <li>- They identify the contributions and priorities of individual partners and sub-partnerships</li> <li>- Targets and indicators should provide an appropriate balance between short-term and long-term change</li> <li>- Indicators will probably need to include both quantitative and qualitative data</li> <li>- The framework should identify areas where remedial action is required and action proposed, as the basis for active performance management</li> <li>- It should help to assess both policy ('Are we doing the right things?') and implementation ('Are we doing them right?')</li> <li>- It could with advantage be IT based because of the volume of data and frequency of review</li> <li>- It should provide an overview but ideally also the ability to drill down to neighbourhood level</li> <li>- Monitoring will be regular, with the frequency depending on the time horizon of the plan and the nature of the indicators</li> <li>- The framework will ideally be aligned with the resource allocation processes of partners, providing the basis for setting budget priorities and making informed choices about resource allocation, and showing resource expenditure in relation to priorities</li> <li>- End users need to be identified</li> </ul> |
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**Table 22:** Requirements for Effective Performance management (ODPM, 2004a)

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Acceptance by all partners of the principle that the partnership should be performance managed, that partners should hold each other to account and that the partnership collectively should be held to account</li> <li>- Agreement about the criteria against which the working of the partnership should be judged</li> <li>- A clear strategy and associated action plan with objectives, targets, actions and responsibilities. The objectives should be outcome focused with clear milestones; the action plan should be regularly reviewed and updated</li> <li>- Within the strategy there should be an analysis and understanding of causal linkages between actions, lower level objectives and aims; this needs to be shared across the relevant agencies and kept under review</li> <li>- The strategy should be 'owned' and reflected in the performance management systems of partners (recognising that these may also include other, centrally driven, priorities)</li> <li>- Adequate resourcing to develop, run, use and manage the system</li> </ul> |
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While not necessarily focusing on the LSP program, a publication by Coventry and Warwick Universities titled *Coventry Partnership Evaluation Toolkit I: Recommended Guidelines* (2004) offers a 'toolkit' for the evaluation of regeneration partnerships. According to the authors, evaluation of partnership should be guided by ten general principles:

- 1) Evaluation should take place at the beginning of the project and involve a process of periodic or continuous review.
- 2) Project aims and objectives should be clearly defined in ways that make them capable of evaluation.

- 3) The evaluation should be seen as a collaboration involving elements of external review combined with participation in self-evaluation and review by project workers, with report and accountability to target groups and communities.
- 4) Projects should devise evaluation plans that include the methods to be used, and the means by which the findings will be considered and disseminated.
- 5) Where feasible this should involve ‘tracking’ of changes to beneficiaries who have received an intervention.
- 6) Sufficient internal and external resources should be set aside to undertake proper evaluations.
- 7) All stakeholders who are subject to evaluation should always have an opportunity to comment on findings.
- 8) No one group of stakeholders should be in a privileged position, for example, senior management, to suppress or restrict dissemination of independent evaluation findings.
- 9) There should be systematic consideration of the practical implications of any project evaluation, with sufficient time set aside for stakeholders to engage in this through workshop-style activities.
- 10) Evaluations should be competently conducted to good ethical standards.

The toolkit (Coventry and Warwick Universities, 2004) suggests that evaluation projects should be measured in terms of: Plausibility; Sustainability; Partnership working and added value; Social Capital; Empowerment, well-being and liveability; Equality and diversity effects; Mainstream issues. In addition the paper suggests that there are two types of evaluation. Evaluation can involve in a narrow sense collecting information and checking that a project has done what it set out to do, and reviewing in the light of this whether its objectives and approach need changing – in other words, *monitoring of activities*. For evaluation to promote ‘good practice’, evaluation needs to explain not just what works but also why – in other words undertake *evaluation of outcomes*. While the paper outlines some guidelines for (partnership) evaluation indicators are essentially quantitative in nature and analysis descriptive.

## **10.1 The 3R’s Guidance**

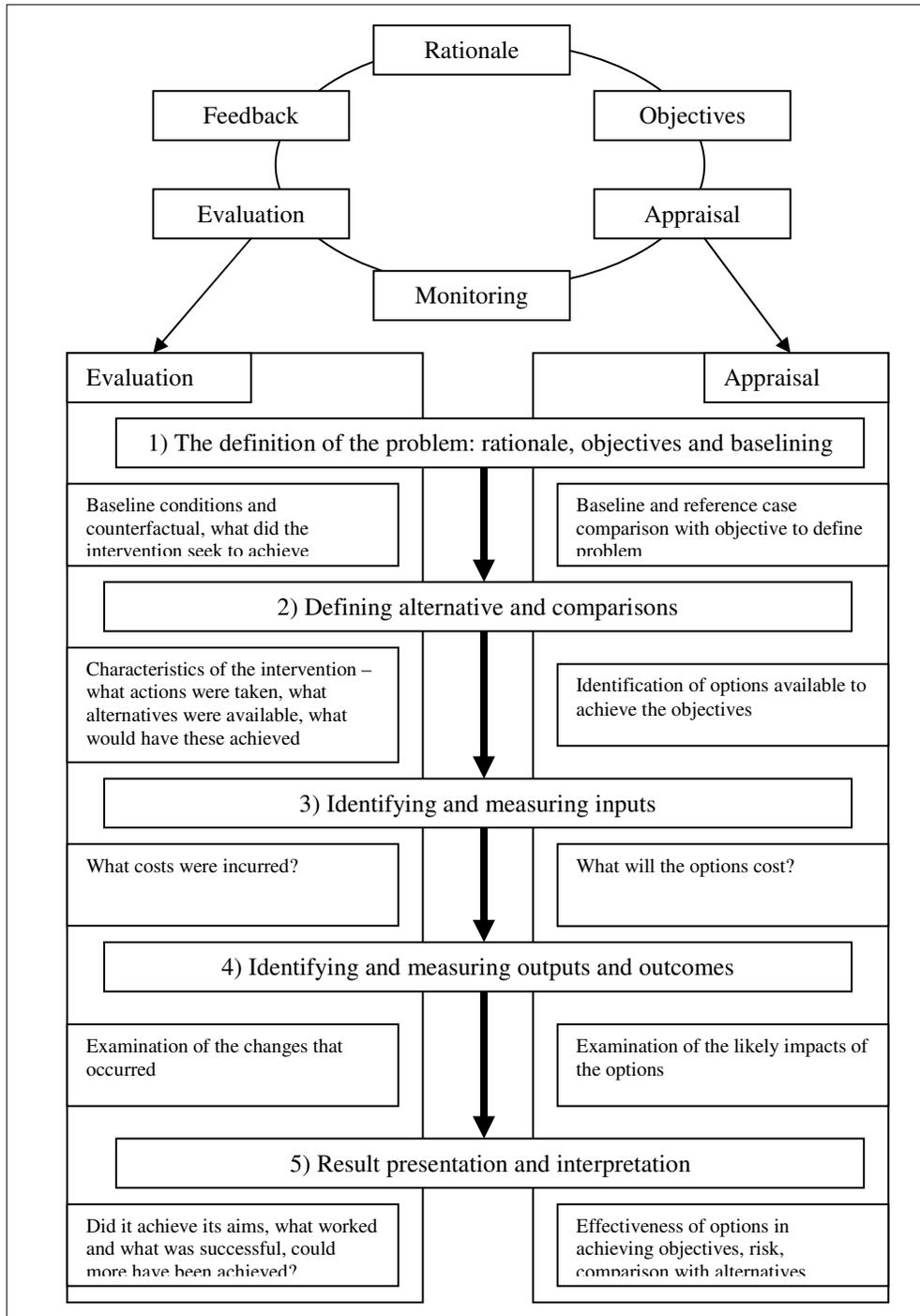
The current state of ‘best practice’ from government in evaluating renewal programs in the UK is exemplified by the advice for evaluating place-based policy interventions (referred to as *3R Interventions* – regeneration, renewal and regional development policies) that has been recently

released by the UK Government (ODPM, 2004b). The *3Rs Guidance*, which sets out the broad framework that will be required to be followed for formal evaluations of UK government funded renewal projects, places an emphasis on the use of indicators in the measurement of the impacts of these programs, although it recognises that these indicators may reflect quantitative, qualitative or monetary measures. While the evaluation material discussed in the appraisal of the LSP program provides some insights into the management and evaluation of urban regeneration projects, another publication by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, *Assessing the impacts of spatial interventions: Regeneration, renewal and regional difference – ‘The 3R’s Guidance’* (2004b), provides a more substantial discussion. The document was developed to provide guidance on the assessment of interventions with a spatial focus (typically regeneration, renewal or regional development initiatives). The aim is to set out the broad framework within which the assessment of spatially targeted interventions should take place. The drafting recognises the need for flexibility and hence focuses on the broad principles that should be followed rather than defining rigid procedures. The key points that need to be taken into account include:

- It is as relevant to *ex-post* evaluation as to *ex-ante* appraisal and indeed the document emphasises the symmetry between these two forms of assessment in the hope that this will encourage greater integration and cross fertilisation of results and techniques.
- The guidance has a focus on economic issues but adopts an integrated approach in which ‘economics’ is both a particular area of focus (e.g. for economic regeneration or regional economic development) and also a way of integrating social and environmental issues within an overall assessment framework.
- It also emphasises the need to look at net as opposed to gross changes both in terms of the costs of an intervention (given possible receipts and changes in tax and tax funded expenditure) and the outcomes (in terms of their additionality) (see section 4.2.1).
- Given that many 3R interventions are ‘close to the market’, the guidance calls for a clear distinction between financial and economic analysis.
- The guidance focuses on value for money and the various components: economy of input use, efficiency of using inputs to produce outputs and the effectiveness of turning these into outcomes.
- It places an emphasis on the valuation of impacts where possible but recognises that this will not be feasible in many areas at present. For that reason it promotes the principle of the use of performance matrices for reporting assessment results which promote comparability while facilitating the consideration of qualitative, quantitative and monetary information.

The guidance is grounded in the ROAMEF (Rationale, Objectives, Appraisal, Monitoring, Evaluation and Feedback) framework and emphasises the symmetry between appraisal and evaluation but recognises the differences (see below). This is a direct response to the general lack of interaction between the appraisal and evaluation of 3R interventions.

**Figure 7: The ROAMEF Framework (ODPM, 2004b)**



**Stage 1 – Defining the problems.** As with any other area of government intervention it is important for assessments to be clear about the rationale. As a result of cumulative market, distributional and institutional failures, 3R interventions will typically be concerned with both

economic and equity objectives. As part of this discussion the rationale, objectives, context, and the delineation of boundaries are discussed. Although they may achieve both economic and equity objectives a clear distinction needs to be maintained between these different arguments and the spatial level of analysis. The importance of establishing the baseline is then discussed. Establishing a baseline is an essential first step in both appraisal and evaluation and serves a variety of purposes. A clearly defined baseline will:

- Provide context;
- Support for the rationale;
- Define relevant performance indicators;
- Help measure impact; and,
- Interpret the reference case or counterfactual.

**Stage 2 – Identifying alternatives and comparators.** In evaluation the focus is on identifying what did happen in the context of what would have happened in the absence of the intervention. However, where possible, consideration should be given to whether there were alternative actions, which if pursued could have delivered more than the implemented action. A special case of the alternative option/action is the ‘no intervention’ case. Options/actions should be defined so they give a clear picture of the trade-off implied by an intervention. General trade-offs to be considered should include: whether more could be obtained using a different approach; whether the same results could be achieved for less cost; how much more could be achieved with more resources; and whether the expected pay-off is adequate given the risk of particular options.

**Stage 3 – Identifying and measuring costs and inputs.** A number of issues of specific relevance to cost assessment in the area of 3R interventions need to be taken into account. These include:

- The need to separate the economic from the financial case where relevant;
- The need to value voluntary costs and in-kind contributions;
- The need to focus on net costs as far as possible;
- Discounting and apportionment of costs; and,
- Accounting for sunk (irrecoverable) costs.

Unlike other cost/input analysis the framework divides them into financial and economic. A financial analysis will help provide answers to questions concerning specific groups and organisations. It will answer questions such as *does the project have a sound business case? Will returns satisfy shareholders? Are cash flows sufficient?* It will usually require detail on

investments, operating costs and revenues and financing sources, from which most financial analysis can take place. An economic analysis builds on the financial analysis to answer questions from a social perspective; such as *does the project represent an effective use of resources for society as a whole?* In an economic analysis (one that considers economic costs and benefits with the aims of answering questions like *is this the best use of society's scarce resources*), all costs and benefits should reflect true economic costs and benefits and should be discounted at the Social Time Preference Rate (currently set at 3.5%) (see discussion of CBA, section 4.2.1).

**Stage 4 – Identifying and measuring outputs and linking to outcomes.** Specific issues associated with assessing 3R interventions include those associated with:

- The nature of the outcomes – Whether objectives are clear or not and whether they are long term or short, single or multiple, quantitative or qualitative;
- The nature of the intervention – The extent to which an intervention is a ‘mixed bag’ of activities, dependant on the degree of implementation or applies to different units of analysis (individual, group or society); and,
- Context dependency – The degree to which scale effects and external influences are important and the degree to which the involvement of beneficiaries alters outcomes.

It is suggested the assessments should identify the outputs/outcomes of interventions within a general value for money framework, specifying the resources, inputs, outputs and outcomes of the intervention so that the over all costs and benefits can be examined as well as other aspects of the value for money case: economy, efficiency and effectiveness. Ideally outputs and outcomes should be valued in monetary terms where possible (see section 4.2.1 on Cost Benefit Analysis). In the presence of multiple outcomes, valuation is especially desirable as an aid to comparison. A range of principles needs to be taken into account in valuing typical 3R outcomes: Time savings, health and the environment; Additional employment and economic activity; Changes in land values; Changes in productivity and competitiveness; Distributional changes; Social capital; Crime prevention/reduction; Education/training; Heritage and culture impacts. Indicators are useful for measuring impacts and judging performance. A range of indicators (covering all areas of the intervention – resources, inputs, activities, outputs and outcomes – and their context) should be chosen to reflect the different perspectives and questions that may need to be examined. A ‘pick and mix’ approach is required, as there is no universally applicable set of indicators that

will be appropriate for a particular intervention. Such an approach is advocated under the MOSAIC evaluation framework for urban renewal initiated by the NSW Department of Housing.

The ROAMEF framework represents one of the leading evaluation models currently used in regeneration programs. Some of its key elements should be considered as part of a NSW DOH evaluation framework. To date no empirical studies have been released on the implementation and results of the 3R's, ROAMEF model. Another conceptual approach is offered in the European Union experience, as outlined in the IMPACT model.

## **11. The European Experience – IMPACT**

In the European context Holt-Jensen (2003) suggests that social exclusion is fast becoming the central concept of housing and renewal related policy. The concept of *social exclusion* is often used uncritically both in academia and in political contexts. The concept is related to poverty, but it makes real sense only in the broader perspective of citizenship and integration into the social context. European urban neighbourhoods hit by multiple variables of social exclusion are characterised by:

- *Social homogenisation* i.e. they are increasingly inhabited by people left on the sideline in economic and social development, as people with resources migrate out of the neighbourhood, and those with little choice of residence increasingly are allocated social housing there.
- *Cultural fragmentation or diversity* as cultural identity is built on age groups (as gang solidarity among youth) and on ethnic /religious division rather than on 'class'.
- *Disempowerment*, inhabitants increasingly treated as clients and not as participants and stakeholders in local decision-making (Holt-Jensen, 2003).

In response to these increasing levels of social exclusion the EUROHOME-IMPACT project was initiated in 2000 and ran for three years. The objectives of the program were to: evaluate current welfare and housing benefits in the context of the institutional and policy environment; develop a methodology to assess the impact of housing policies; and develop performance measures for service providers which aim at the improvement of housing conditions of the socially deprived ([www.iccr-international.org/impact/overview.html](http://www.iccr-international.org/impact/overview.html)). In a more focused study, Giorgi (2003) identified the goals of the IMPACT projects as:

- 1) Use longitudinal survey data for exploration of housing integration/stress: pathways and risks;
- 2) Evaluation of services and social programs with a housing element or targeting the homeless; and,
- 3) Policy advice and recommendations.

The project covered seven European countries: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Switzerland and Ireland. The project analysed the impact of welfare policies and welfare reform on users. Attention was given to the role of services and more generally the non-governmental sector (reflecting the institutional milieu of predominantly EU nations). Thus, the project developed a methodology for performance measurement of services providing welfare and housing assistance to socially deprived individuals and households. The project then tested the performance measurement methodology on housing support services in selected European Union countries and developed standards of service delivery in the field of supported accommodation assistance which take into account the needs and the points of view of users ([www.iccr-international.org/impact/overview.html](http://www.iccr-international.org/impact/overview.html)).

The IMPACT Evaluation Tool is designed to provide assessments of social impacts in spatially and temporally defined programs to provide program managers with better information about the outcomes than do traditional evaluation approaches (Randolph and Judd, 2006). The IMPACT evaluation tool is concerned with the characteristics, conception, implementation and results of action taken. It is positioned that program evaluation should analyse both the logical framework (appropriateness of the resources to the objectives set considering the characteristics of the people addressed, the environment and the internal dynamics of the program) and an analysis of short and medium-term effects (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003). The program can be broken down into a logical series of procedural elements:

- The need for intervention due to a social problem;
- Choice of preferred measures based on the problematics of the situation and measures possible;
- Production of identifiable output by the mobilisation of specific resources from a series of processes defined in advance; and,
- Effects, intended and non-intended.

The IMPACT tool is presented as different to comparative evaluation (which compares the results to the objectives) and to dynamic or formative evaluation (which aims to accompany the action and to assist its transformation via the production of information) (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003). IMPACT deals with programs that work within a spatial and temporal framework, and is designed to provide program managers with information about their effectiveness and impact on the social environment. IMPACT favours qualitative aspects but does not ignore the quantitative aspects of the evaluation (Romose, 2003). There is a clear link with realist theories discussed above (see section 4.3.1)

IMPACT has nine aspects:

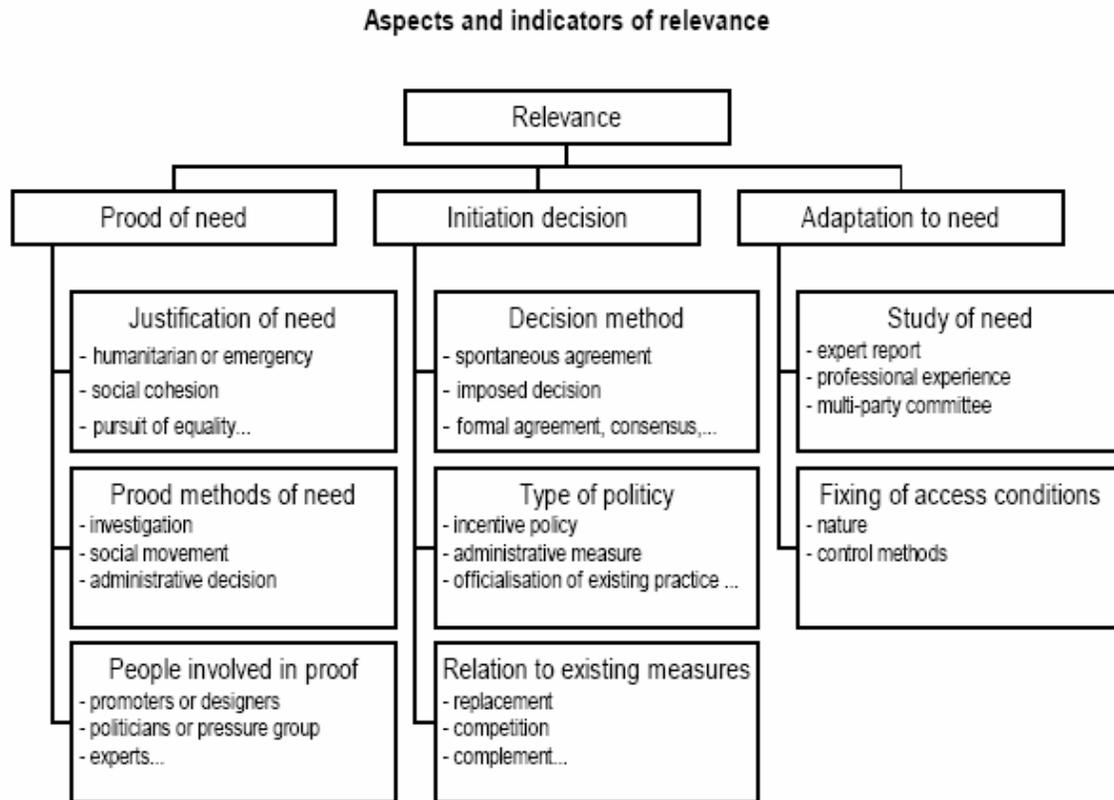
- **Relevance** – to assess the relevance of the program concerning the needs it seeks to address and the context from which it emerged.
- **Internal coherence** – to assess how well the program parts fit together.
- **External coherence** – to assess how the program fits into the general context of other programs and the institutional and socio-political context.
- **Effectiveness** - to assess the direct impact of the program. That is, the programs outcome in relation to the original objectives and also the indirect impact on the users and the context.
- **Performance** – to assess how the users experience the program.
- **Ethic** – To assess how the program views the users and if this view follows basic ethical principles.
- **Profitability** – To assess the economic efficiency of the program.
- **Legitimacy** – To assess how the program is perceived by the general socio-political environment.
- **Reproducibility** – To assess whether the program can be reproduced under different circumstances (Romose, 2003).

## 11.1 Relevance

To assess the relevance of the program, it should be clarified as to why it was started, how it was established, whether it was a top-down decision or whether the users/inhabitants were involved. It should be investigated as to whether the program fills a gap or displaces other programs (Romose, 2003). Any program can be evaluated, even before its development is considered. This *a priori* examination looks at its reasons for being and attempts to judge its empirical strength. This equates to understanding the relevance of the program, both in regards to the needs it should

cover and the socio-political context in which it will be established. Understanding the relevance of a program supposes undertaking the evaluative analysis in the two directions: a) diagnosis of the intentions and the context of the program and b) assessment of the link between the intentions and the environment, understood here to mean the problem identified to which the program should respond and the type of responses which already exist (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003).

**Figure 8:** Aspects and indicators of relevance (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)

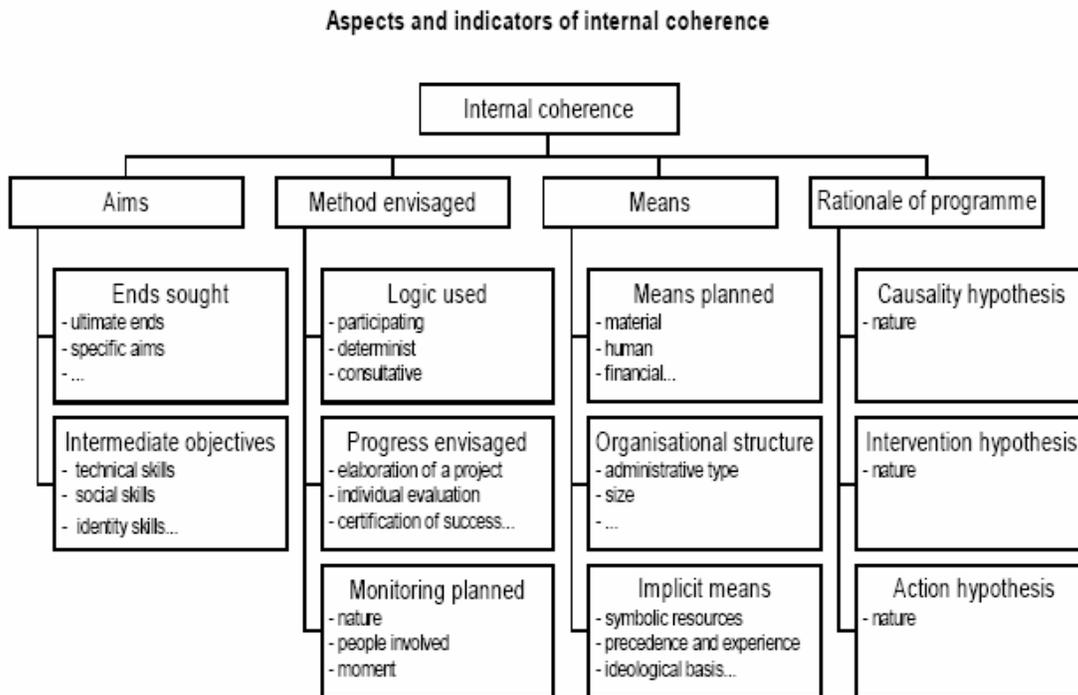


## 11.2 Internal Coherence

In order to assess internal coherence it should be clarified what the goals are and whether there were considerations about how to achieve these goals. The method used to reach the goals has to be described, for example whether the program is divided into stages (Romose, 2003). Considering the system of constraints in which the action is placed, does it have the means to attain its ends? The reply to such a question implies the examination of a) the coherence of the logical model of the causality of the program; b) the appropriateness of the implementation structure for the objectives set. Understanding the internal coherence of a program means

undertaking the evaluative analysis in two ways: a) diagnosis of the intentions and the content of the program and b) assessment of the link between the intentions and the content (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003). It should be investigated what material, financial and human resources the program has and whether there is support from other institutions. It should be determined who is in charge of the implementation of the program. It is to be investigated what the causality logic of the program is, that is who or what is to blame for the problems (Romose, 2003).

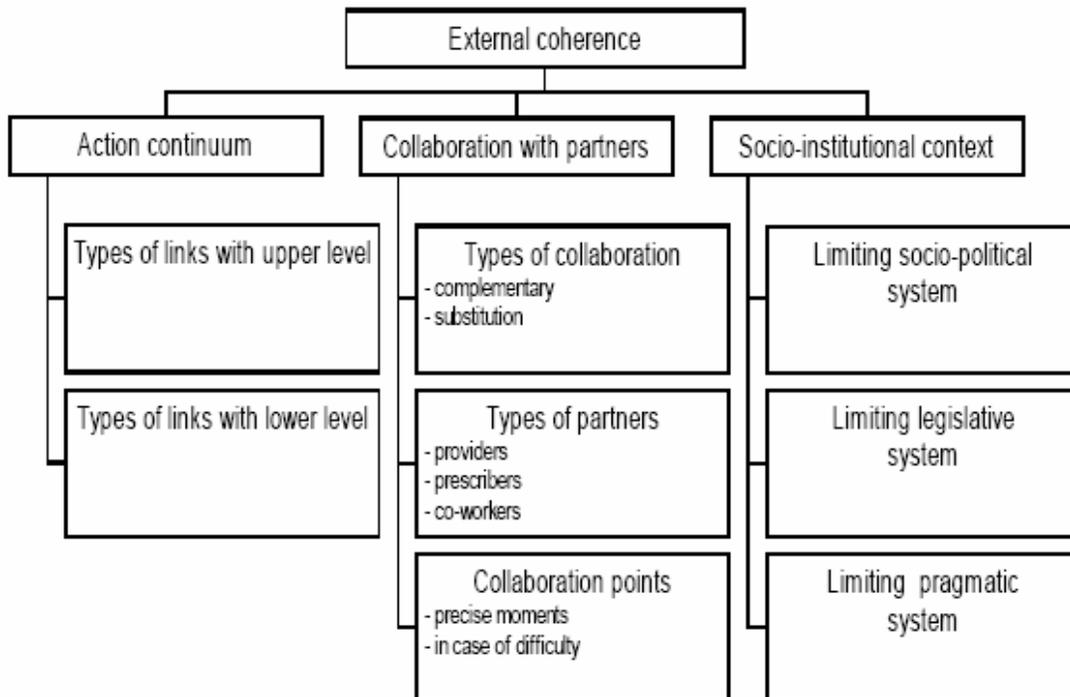
**Figure 9:** Aspects and indicators of internal coherence (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



### 11.3 External Coherence

Any action must take account of its environment. It must consider, *a priori*, the limits to which any action is subject. Understanding the external coherence of a program involves carrying out an evaluative analysis in two directions: a) diagnosis of the socio-political and socio-institutional environment of the program and b) assessment of the links between the program's intentions and its environment (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003).

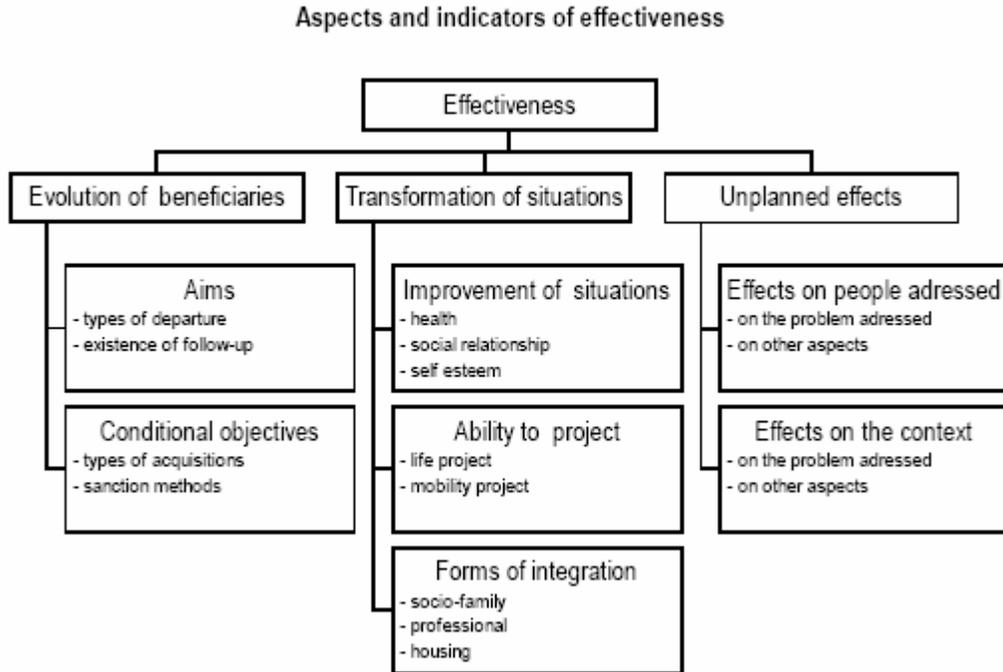
**Figure 10:** Aspects and indicators of external coherence (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



## 11.4. Effectiveness

When assessing effectiveness, the evolution of the beneficiaries, the transformation of the situation and the unplanned effects are to be investigated. The impact of the program on the users in relation to the original goals also needs to be investigated (Romose, 2003). The evaluation of the effectiveness of an action aims to assess its results, understood to be what the action produces at the end of and during its realisation. It must also include the success of the intermediate objectives. The program must be examined 1) to understand to what extent the beneficiaries have experienced an improvement in their living conditions; 2) to know how far they have come in gaining a hold in the ordinary world; and, 3) to see whether and how their social integration perspectives have improved, particularly by looking carefully at the life project they have been able to construct and the way in which they have managed to do it. At the same time, the examination of the effectiveness must also take into account the effects, which were not planned when the program was drawn up. Understanding the effectiveness of a program always entails looking at the factual and the evaluative elements, i.e. to make an evaluative analysis of a) the diagnosis of the results obtained and b) the assessment of the link between these results and the aims and the objectives expected (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003).

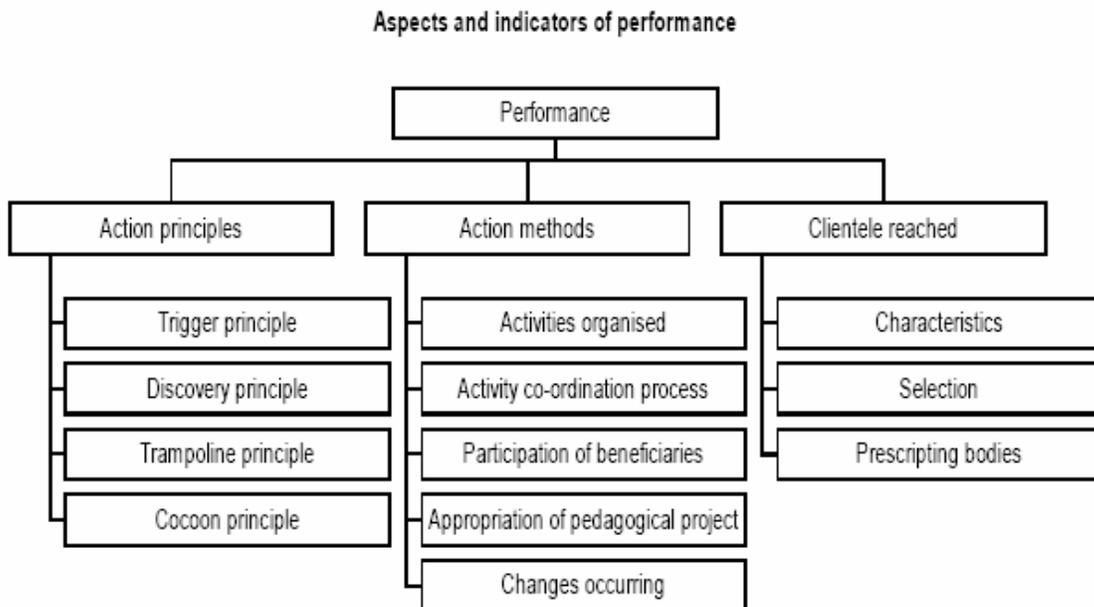
**Figure 11:** Aspects and indicators of effectiveness (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



## 11.5 Performance

When assessing performance the processes involved should be taken into consideration (Romose, 2003). This part of the evaluation aims to assess the effectiveness of the program from the perspective of the action process, to analyse the way in which the action project was realised, practically and pedagogically. Thus, the forms of action actually established must be updated to be able to understand, from the inside, the intervention methods established by the providers of the service in collaboration with the beneficiaries. Understanding the performance of a program again entails looking at factual and evaluative elements, i.e. to orient the evaluative analysis towards: a) the diagnosis of the procedures established and the identification of the effective beneficiaries and b) the assessment of the link between these methods and the aims and objectives attained (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003).

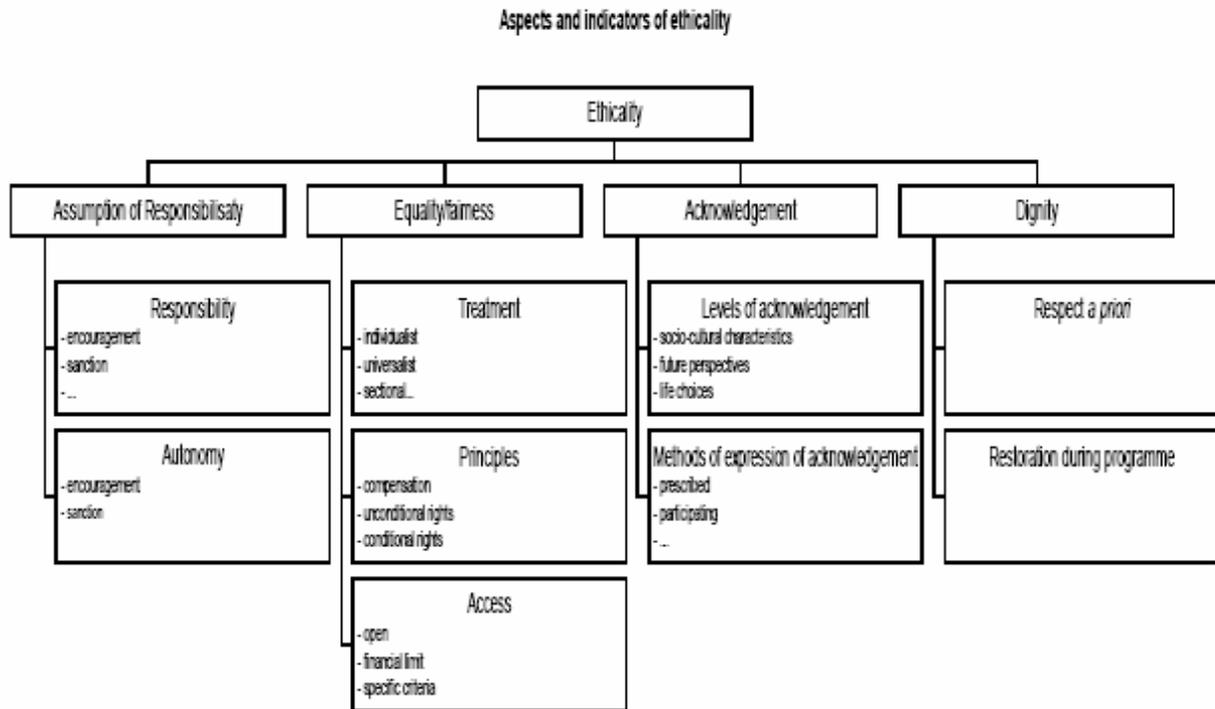
**Figure 12:** Aspects and indicators of performance (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



## 11.6 Ethicality

Ethics is concern with how the program views the users. In order to assess this dimension it should be investigated whether there are any formal or informal criteria for participation in the program (Romose, 2003). Does the action developed conform to the requirements of dignity and equality now ascribed to by contemporary social politics? Understanding the ethicality of a program entails a new look at factual and evaluative elements, i.e. to orient the evaluative analysis in the direction of: a) the diagnosis of the procedures established and the principle values of the program and b) the assessment of the respect of these values by its methods (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003).

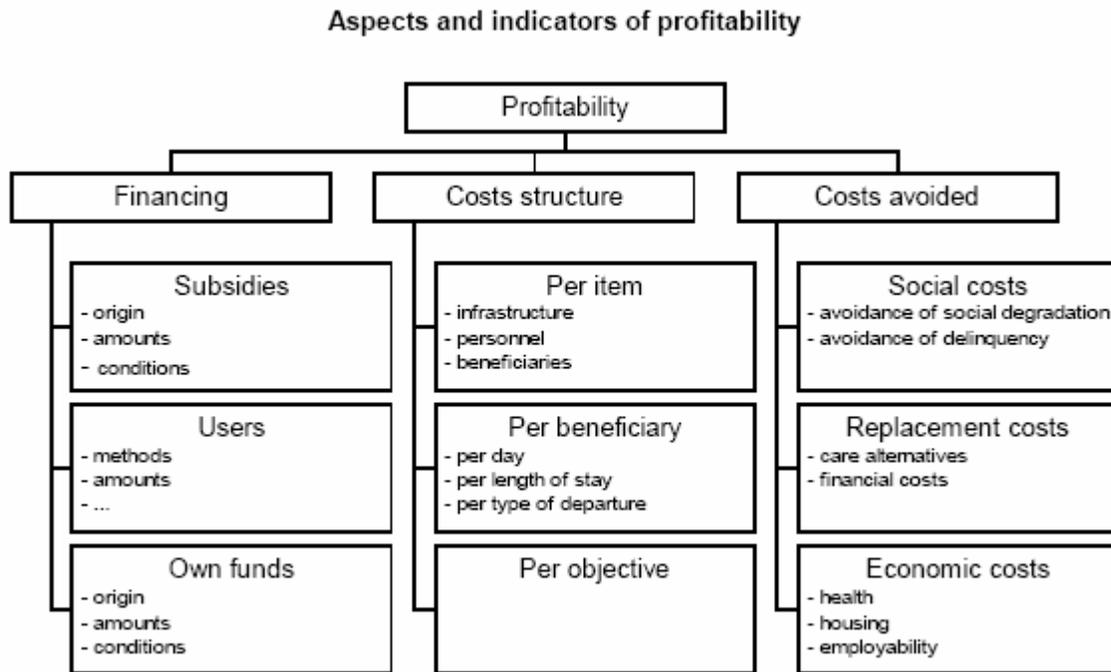
**Figure 13:** Aspects and indicators of ethicality (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



## 11.7 Profitability

This concern is faced with two major methodological difficulties: 1) How can profitability be assessed and over what time period? How can profitability and end results be separated? 2) What is meant by saving money? Following the logic of *cost effectiveness evaluation*, this aspect of the evaluation aims to make a financial appraisal of the program as regards its results. It is therefore important to know how the program is financed, to clarify the cost structure and, as far as possible, to carry out a comparison between the costs generated by the results, both direct and indirect, internal and external, and the costs that would have occurred if the program had not been established, again, taking account of the direct and indirect implications (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003). The profitability dimension clarifies how the program is funded, what costs the program has and the prevention of other costs. It should be investigated whether there is external funding, for instance state subsidies, whether the users pay to participate in the program and which other funds are available. In addition, an account for the cost per user ought to be made (Romose, 2003). Cost Benefit Analysis discussed in section 3.2.1 could be used effectively in this component of the IMPACT evaluation model.

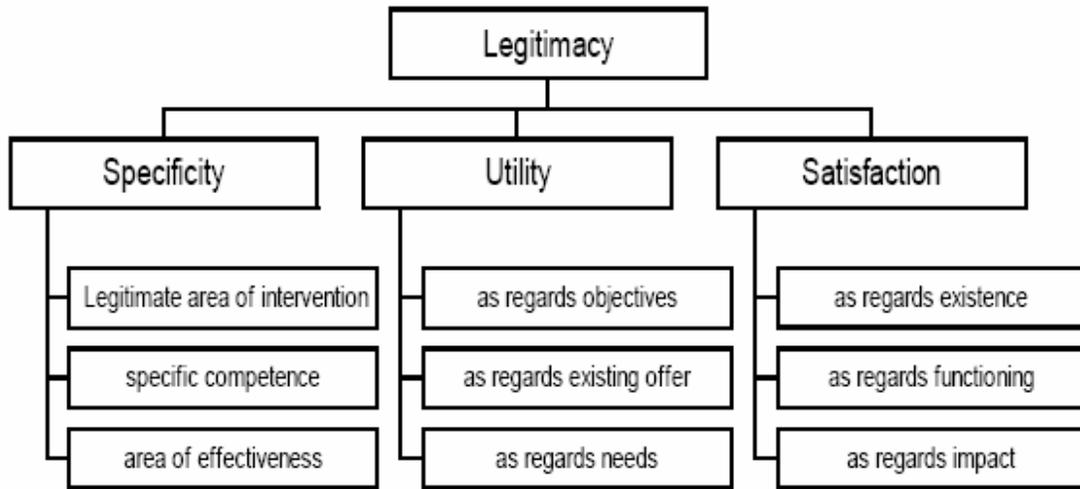
**Figure 14:** Aspects and indicators of profitability (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



## 11.8 Legitimacy

In order to assess the legitimacy of the program it should be clarified how the external environment and the users perceive the users' problems (Romose, 2003). The evaluation of a program is not only concerned with its material effectiveness, but also with its legitimacy and utility for the various participants and partners. These various forms of determination of this institutional specificity must then be related. The ways in which they are ordered, overlap or contradict each other, show in time, by restoring its complexity, the image that the program may have on the local social scene (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003).

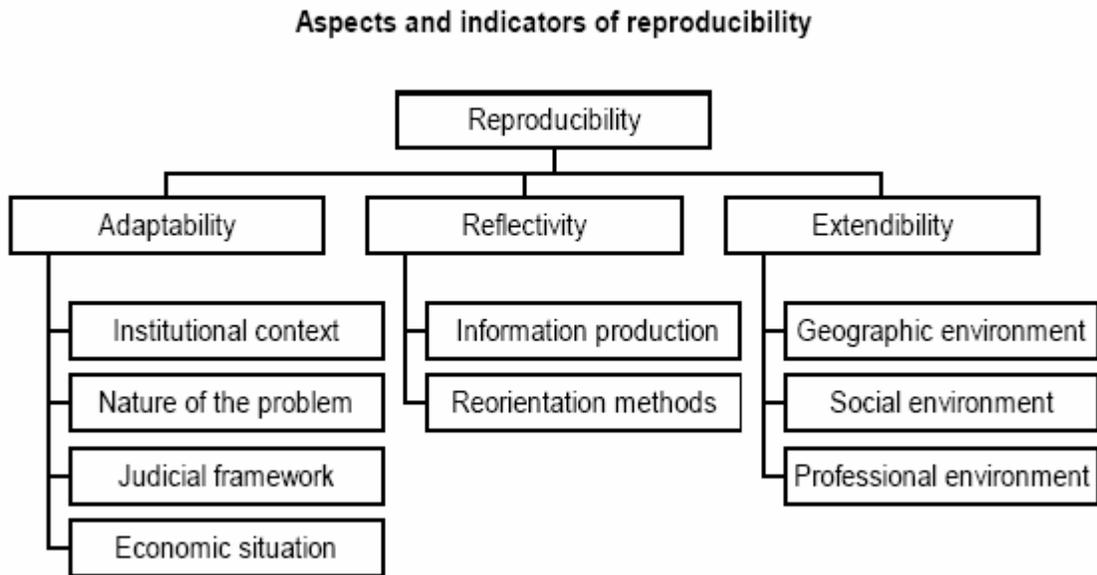
**Figure 15:** Aspects and indicators of legitimacy (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



## 11.9 Reproducibility

This aspect completes the evaluation of the program; it proposes to assess the past and present functioning of the program and to contemplate the possible future of the experience (Chatel and Soulet, 2001; 2003). The reproducibility dimension clarifies whether the program can be adopted easily under other circumstances, whether it is reflective and whether it can be extended. It should be investigated how dependent the program is on the specific political and institutional context (Romose, 2003).

**Figure 16:** Aspects and indicators of reproducibility (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)



In an empirical study of the IMPACT project in Denmark Koch-Nielsen et al (2002) divide the nine evaluation categories discussed above into five key groups involved in urban regenerations (Figure 21). The scheme illustrates which dimensions of the IMPACT evaluation each stakeholder group clarify and evaluate.

**Table 23:** Evaluation points (Chatel and Soulet, 2003)

	Original working group	Steering group	Users/residents	Project managers/ Volunteers	External Stakeholders
Relevance	X				
Internal Coherence	X	X		X	
Performance		X	X	X	X
External coherence	X	X			X
Effectiveness			X	X	X
Ethicality	X	X	X	X	
Profitability		X			

Legitimacy	X	X	X	X	X
Reproducibility		X		X	X

Under the IMPACT model, Romose (2003) suggests that a number of evaluation models can be incorporated to facilitate a more comprehensive evaluation. The main models include:

*Goal-attainment evaluation model*

The model is a classic form of evaluation that has the purpose of describing the strengths and weaknesses of a program in relation to the goals. Through the goal-attainment model it should be possible to assess whether the political goals have been reached. There are three steps in a goal-attainment evaluation: identifying the goals, assessing whether the goals were reached, and lastly, whether it was the program that caused the goal-attainment

*Side-effect model*

In the side-effect model, the goal-attainment model is extended to cover side-effects. In order to assess the effects of a program, all these by-products have to be analysed. The side-effect evaluation considers: the intended result in the targeted area, the anticipated positive and negative side-effects and the unanticipated positive and negative side-effects

*Stakeholder model*

The stakeholder model is the most used goal-free evaluation model. In the stakeholder model all interested parties have to be consulted and have opportunities for formulating evaluation questions. The first task in the stakeholder model is to decide which groups have interest in, are involved in or are influenced by the program. In the goal-attainment and side-effect evaluation the goals are clear from the start, while in the stakeholder model the evaluator has to clarify the problems and goals. The disadvantages of the model are that it is resource consuming because every stakeholder has to be located and interviewed.

*Comprehensive evaluation model*

The comprehensive evaluation focuses, beside the results, also on implementation and to some extent planning. The comprehensive model deals with the initial phase, the implementation phase and the outcome phase. In the summative effect evaluations such as goal-attainment, the program is seen as a black box. Comprehensive evaluations have some of the same deficits as the goal-attainment model.

**Table 24:** IMPACT evaluation models (Romose, 2003)

Dimension	Evaluation model
Relevance	Comprehensive evaluation model Stakeholder model
Internal coherence	Comprehensive evaluation model Stakeholder model
External coherence	Comprehensive evaluation model Stakeholder model
Effectiveness	Effectiveness models: Goal-attainment model Side-effect evaluation Goal-free evaluation
Performance	Comprehensive evaluation Stakeholder model
Ethic	Comprehensive evaluation Stakeholder model
Profitability	Economic models Both cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness
Legitimacy	Part of the stakeholder model, though the stakeholders did not have any influence on the questions asked.
Reproducibility	Comprehensive evaluation

The approach adopted by the EUROHOME-IMPACT project combines quantitative and qualitative methods as well as assessments with different units or at different levels of analysis. This approach can be generalised to social policies or programs more generally in the framework of the open method of coordination for the promotion of a European social policy agenda. The key features of this approach are the following: (a) identify the target area and specify its scope thus also the boundaries of observation; (b) undertake historical and prospective institutional analysis; (c) chart aggregate outcomes with the help of socio-economic indicators; (d) explore the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion through micro-level analyses (Giorgi, 2003). Methodologically, the IMPACT evaluation as employed by Giorgi (2003) in her analysis of all IMPACT projects uses three primary methods:

- Desk analysis – literature and documents reviews
- Statistical analysis
- Expert interviews (user involvement and focus groups were also utilised)

These methods were positioned as consistent with the theoretical/methodological foundations of the project (primarily the sociological tradition and political economy) (Giorgi, 2003). Further empirical findings are presented in Koch-Nielsen et al (2002) who analyse the Danish experience.

Romose (2003) concludes with the argument that the IMPACT evaluation tool attempts to combine different evaluation models to create a comprehensive evaluation tool that includes the most relevant dimensions for assessing the impact of social programs. This means that the tool becomes highly complex and difficult to handle. If all the dimensions are investigated it can be very resource consuming. But even when used cursorily the tool gives an overview of the program and its impact. It is important to incorporate considerations about the evaluation from the start of the program.

## 12. Conclusion

In this paper an overview of evaluation frameworks, methodologies and objectives has been discussed. The most telling fact in terms of urban renewal evaluations, both within Australia and internationally is the lack of coherent and compressive evaluation models. Those models discussed here represent the current state of play in urban renewal. Each model is different, drawing from various ideological and theoretical bases. As yet, neither realist evaluation, performance matrix nor IMPACT evaluation approaches (those viewed as best practice internationally) have been operationalised in Australia in relation to estate renewal programs (Randolph and Judd, 2006). Following current best practice, developed both here and overseas, such a framework would maintain a balance between quantitative (including monetary) and qualitative methods – in other words analysis of census and administrative data, cost-benefit methods, the use of social surveys and the development of performance indicators should be balanced by the use of contextual case studies, in-depth key stakeholder and tenant interviews and focus groups and other more methodologically unconventional qualitative approaches (Randolph and Judd, 2006). The broader research project this paper is a part of has identified a multi-scaled monitoring and evaluation framework as the most suited to measuring the complex interactions and outcomes of urban renewal interventions initiated by the NSW Department of Housing. The suggested framework will draw on and combines elements of the pragmatic approach of the Victorian Department of Human Services (2002) *Neighbourhood Renewal: Evaluation Framework, 2002-2003* – allowing for the collection of a series of indicators which illustrate change compared to state and surround area averages; the process initiatives of the UK *3Rs Guidance* – which fosters the collection of data amenable to the development of a comprehensive cost-benefit tool; and the theoretical and conceptual approach of the European Unions' *IMPACT evaluation tool* – which facilitates a higher order evaluation of program purpose and process. The

combination of these tools into a coherent framework will be presented in subsequent publications from the project.

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