

#### **Built Environment**

# City Futures Research Centre

# Occupant Survey of Recent Boarding House Developments in Central and Southern Sydney

A research report commissioned by Southern Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils (SSROC)

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June 2019





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Published by: City Futures Research Centre, UNSW Built Environment, UNSW Sydney

ISBN: 978-0-6481506-3-3

First published June 2019

 $\hbox{$\mathbb{O}$}$  City Futures Research Centre UNSW Built Environment, UNSW Sydney, 2019

This report is based on research commissioned by Southern Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils (SSROC).

## **Executive Summary**

Since 2009, boarding house developments have been permitted, even incentivised, in some locations under Division 3 of the Affordable Rental Housing SEPP. Their purpose, as outlined in Department of Planning material accompanying the SEPP's introduction, is to provide accommodation that is accessible to tenants who could find it difficult to obtain mainstream rental accommodation, reduce social housing waitlists and provide a market-based form of transitional housing. However, there has been little assessment of the extent to which dwellings produced under the provisions of the SEPP align with these intentions.

This report summarises the findings of a survey of occupants of recent boarding house developments in the Southern Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils (SSROC) region. The survey was hand delivered to all operational boarding houses approved under the SEPP, excluding purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) across the SSROC region. The purpose of the survey was to address five research questions:

1. Have boarding house approvals resulted in the construction of new boarding houses?

Overall, of the estimated 6,000 boarding rooms approved (excluding PBSA), around half were deemed operational. More pertinently, and discussed below, very few were akin to 'traditional' boarding houses.

Previous research by City Futures (Troy et al 2018) identified 334 approvals for new or expanded boarding houses. Of this, some 17 were identified as PBSA, (based on landowner, applicant or operator) and a further 29 approvals relating to a site with multiple approvals. Of the 288 other boarding houses, only 237 were deemed to be operational, based on bond lodgement, registration under the Boarding House Act and inspection aerial photography via Nearmap for construction works. Hand delivery of survey invitations further reduced the evident number of operating boarding houses to 195, to which invitations were delivered.

2. What is the profile of occupants of recent boarding house developments?

Overall, occupants of boarding houses were much closer in profile to typical renters than to traditional boarding house occupants or social housing waitlists.

While diverse, they were overwhelmingly employed or in tertiary studies (91%), with two-thirds already holding a tertiary qualification. They were mostly (65%) overseas born (though not all recent arrivals), mostly (63%) under 35 years old, and evenly split along gender lines (54% female). Only one third of occupants owned a car and even fewer (less than 23%) used a car regularly. And boarding rooms were typically occupied exclusively by a single tenant (74%) or with a partner (19%).

3. What are the housing needs of those occupants, and the suitability of boarding houses in meeting them?

Much like the tenant profile, the boarding room profile was much closer to private rental studios than traditional boarding houses typified by communal living arrangements.

The vast majority (86%) were rented out under formal tenancy agreements (cf. lodgings). A similar proportion were self-contained, with private bathrooms and kitchens, and in some cases partially furnished (less than 50%, varied by furnishing). Around half had access to common areas and onsite management (41%). Very few had access to a car space (16%). Boarding houses were well located and, importantly, location and neighbourhood factors were more important than building or apartment factors in resident consideration and satisfaction.

4. Are boarding rooms a satisfactory long-term accommodation option?

These amenities would be a higher standard than that available to occupants of older, more traditional, boarding houses. However, very few occupants evidently come from that clientele.

Compared with traditional apartment rentals, the main benefits to offset the much smaller private space are evidently the location, modern clean buildings, furnishings, common areas (like laundry) and onsite management.

Length of tenure, and so occupant turnover, was also relatively stable (comparable to private rental), with half the occupants anticipating staying for two years or more.

Perhaps most importantly, though, new boarding house developments do not offer a significantly more affordable housing option, compared with other options on the private rental market. Yet most residents (64%) were on low incomes (<\$800 per week), nearly all (90%) of whom were paying more than a third of income on rent, and so classified as being in rental stress. Overall, at least two thirds (and potentially as high as four fifths) of occupants were in rental stress. This suggests that this form of accommodation is not suitable for most current occupants over the longer term. This form of accommodation is also not suitable for those identified as in need of affordable housing — such as those on social housing waitlists, those excluded from mainstream rental markets or those seeking transitional housing.

5. What are the strategic and regulatory implications for boarding houses and affordable housing?

The main implications of the survey are two-fold, both stemming from the fact that the accommodation being delivered under the SEPP are not boarding houses as traditionally understood.

First, it means that much more consideration in the context of residential flat building development and SEPP 65, needs to be made about how these new developments of self-contained 'micro-apartments' sit, at a broader neighbourhood scale, with other apartment developments in terms of occupant amenity and housing diversity.

Second, it means the provision of affordable housing for marginal households, as originally intended by the introduction of the SEPP, has not been achieved. This raises important questions about the absence of an adequate response to the shortage of affordable housing by the NSW Government, about the failure to evaluate the extent to which the SEPP is meeting its stated policy objectives, and about the expectation that planning incentives will induce the market to provide affordable housing options for marginal households.

One particular manifestation of this disjuncture between expectation of boarding houses and what is being delivered under the SEPP is worth highlighting. This is the regulation of ongoing tenant and building management. Lodgings — as distinct from formal tenancies — are intended to provide an option for marginal tenants who otherwise have difficulty securing housing. The survey suggests that these developments are not operating as lodgings. At the very least, this raises a question of compliance with development consent as a boarding house, which is defined in the standard *Local Environmental Plan* as "wholly or partly let in lodgings". More broadly, self-contained apartment complexes do not meet the definition of a boarding house under *Boarding House Act 2012* (NSW), so are not subject to operating regulations and inspection regimes to maintain fire safety, shared accommodation standards and at-risk occupant referrals to FACS.

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#### Introduction

This report has been prepared for Southern Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils (SSROC), by City Futures Research Centre at UNSW Sydney. The aim of the report is to is to investigate the housing outcomes of boarding house units delivered under the Affordable Rental Housing State Environmental Planning Policy (AHSEPP) across the SSROC area. Specifically, the project addresses the following questions:

- 1. Have boarding house approvals resulted in the construction of new boarding houses?
- 2. What is the profile of occupants of recent boarding house developments?
- 3. What are the housing needs of those occupants, and the suitability of boarding houses in meeting them?
- 4. Are boarding rooms a satisfactory long-term accommodation option?
- 5. What are the strategic and regulatory implications for boarding houses and affordable housing?

Two overarching findings emerged from the analysis. The first is that the new boarding house developments are meeting a need for small, modern, well-appointed and well-located apartments. As with purpose-built student accommodation that is being approved under these boarding house provisions (and serviced apartments and studio apartments more generally), this aligns with current trajectories towards 'build to rent' developments. The survey respondents were often young and well-educated, but perhaps still in tertiary education and/or on a low to moderate income. However, the product is clearly pitched as a premium one, with furnishings, shared facilities and (at times) on-site management also valued by occupants. In addition to the developments themselves, there was strong indication that the location and high level of neighbourhood amenities was a consideration for occupants, and an important factor in their overall satisfaction.

The second, and more alarming finding given the provisions sit in an affordable housing policy, is that the outcomes are generally unaffordable to those on low and very low incomes. Among respondents, nine out of ten low-income occupants were found to be in rental stress (paying more than one third of income on rent), and even a significant minority of moderate-income occupants were in rental stress. Further, the above noted finding that these apartments are much closer in form and occupant to 'mainstream' apartments than to 'traditional' boarding houses suggests this form of accommodation is not meeting the stated objective of providing a housing option for households excluded from standard rental tenancies.

The findings presented in this report are based on analysis of a desktop review of all boarding house approvals across the SSROC region and a post-occupancy resident survey of all approved and developed boarding houses.

The desktop analysis combined development application data compiled as part of a previous investigation into AHSEPP outcomes in Central and Southern Sydney (Troy *et al* 2018), the boarding house register maintained by NSW Fair Trading, Rental Bond Data also collected by NSW Fair Trading and up to date aerial imagery of the Sydney Basin supplied by Nearmap. This analysis identified which development applications have been built and are currently operating as a boarding house and provided a rigorous sampling base for the resident survey.

The resident survey was distributed by hand to each of the addresses in the sample with responses returned on paper or online, together with qualitative observations collected about each boarding house. By combining the desktop analysis, qualitative observations and the resident survey, we are able to establish with reasonable confidence the nature of the developed outcome, resident profiles and the experiences of residents in relation to living conditions and their expectations.

Following an overview of the methods employed, the main findings of the report are separated into three parts. The first outlines the building outcomes including parking considerations; the second summarises the motivations and satisfaction of tenants; and the third summarises the tenant profile and affordability of the boarding rooms; A brief conclusion summarises the report's key findings and makes several policy recommendations.

#### **Background**

The NSW state government introduced the 2009 Affordable Rental Housing State Environmental Planning Policy (AHSEPP) with the central aim of increasing the supply and diversity of affordable rental and social housing in the state. One of the central features of the AHSEPP was to allow 'boarding houses' in a number of residential and mixed-use zones. The changes were broadly justified on the basis that such built forms would contribute to affordable rental supply in different housing markets across NSW.

In the Department of Planning and Environment information statement published in 2014 about boarding house development, the rationale provided for this type of development was to provide affordable accommodation to address the social housing wait list; specifically, to provide low cost rental housing to singles, retirees, students and young couples. More recent fact sheets on boarding houses (2019) emphasises this as a type of housing that may be transitional away from social housing and may also include 'key workers'. What is clear from these statements is the broad intention is to see the development of alternative rental to provide options for singles or couples unable to secure mainstream accommodation.

This objective is reinforced by virtue of the development being for 'boarding houses'. The *Standard Instrument— Principal Local Environmental Plan* defines a boarding house as a building that:

- (a) is wholly or partly let in lodgings, and
- (b) provides lodgers with a principal place of residence for 3 months or more, and
- (c) may have shared facilities, such as a communal living room, bathroom, kitchen or laundry, and
- (d) has rooms, some or all of which may have private kitchen and bathroom facilities, that accommodate one or more lodgers,

but does not include backpackers' accommodation, a group home, hotel or motel accommodation, seniors housing or a serviced apartment.

The AHSEPP itself defines a boarding room as "a room or suite of rooms within a boarding house occupied or so constructed or adapted as to be capable of being occupied by one or more lodgers". Together, this implies that people residing in the boarding house rooms ought to be considered lodgers and with their tenure arrangements regulated under the Boarding Houses Act 2012 (NSW), rather than as tenants regulated by the Residential Tenancies Act 2010 (NSW). Importantly this also requires larger boarding houses to have an onsite manager, as well as a range of communal facilities not typically delivered as part of a residential flat development, in lieu of the small dwelling sizes permitted under the AHSEPP.

Preliminary work commissioned by Southern Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils (SSROC) and completed by City Futures (Troy *et al* 2018) noted a considerable increase in the construction of boarding houses under the AHSEPP. However, this research suggested that a large proportion were being delivered as student accommodation and predominantly in areas with already high rates of both rental and small accommodation. In other words, delivering the dwelling diversity intentions of the SEPP were questionable.

Renting a room as a lodger under the *Boarding House Act 2012* (NSW) is considered to provide a lower bar of entry making it easier for some to access rental accommodation. However, the trade-off is a more limited set of rights when compared with being a tenant under the *Residential Tenancies Act 2010* (NSW) (Redfern Legal Centre 2018). Central to the differences are to do with control of living spaces and the presence of on-sight managers and landlords. As noted by the Redfern Legal Centre, it is very common for people to live in Boarding Houses yet formally be a tenant rather than a lodger because they have either signed tenancy agreements, or in all other respects (regarding issues of control, access, security) they are better defined as being tenants.

Previous research (Troy et al 2018) also identified many boarding rooms being registered as tenancies rather than lodgings, further evidencing these as more akin to traditional studio apartment rental rather than targeted

affordable housing. The rental bond data analysed in that research also noted that rents were marginally lower than in studios and one bed apartments in the area, though still being rented at rates that were not considered affordable to target groups. Other research has begun to examine tenant outcomes in the informal and sometime illegal boarding house sector (Gurran et al 2019), however, beyond the rent bond data, which was only partial in its coverage, very little else is known about the occupants of new boarding house developments (particularly those identified as not being operated by student accommodation providers), the level of amenity provided, and the suitability of the housing outcome.

Over the past 12 months there have been two amendments to the AHSEPP. The first being to change the grounds for refusal based on car parking to a higher threshold. In other words, councils are permitted to refuse development consent if car parking does not meet a higher threshold. In practice this would have limited impact to council areas that require higher rates of parking through their DCP already, and not in areas where car parking requirements are lower than those set out in the AHSEPP, such as City of Sydney. The second change is to set a maximum number of rooms to 12 in R2 or equivalent zones. The effect of both these amendments is generally limited to more suburban locations and would have limited impact across SSROC as a whole. As was noted in the previous research, development has predominantly occurred in higher density and commercial zones.

These amendments have been in response to various community concerns over the impacts of boarding house developments. However, as noted in previous research on objections to affordable housing developments, there are several misconceptions about the kinds of people who would ultimately reside in these types of development (Davison *et al* 2013). The research suggested that concerns and fears of community can often be addressed through appropriate engagement with opponents and through evidence demonstrating what outcomes are likely to be. As noted above, there is limited research or understanding who is living in new boarding houses or the types of local impacts this type of development generates.

This project aims to address the above gaps in policymaker understanding of the housing outcomes of boarding houses generated under the AHSEPP across the area of South Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils.

# **Data and Methodology**

The methodology comprises two parts, the first aims to refine the list of development applications such that we could have reasonable certainty that the applications have been developed. The second component describes the approach to implementing an occupant survey.

#### **Desktop Analysis of Boarding House Development Applications**

The aim of the desktop analysis was to generate a list of properties which could be surveyed such that we could be certain that the development applications had resulted in buildings actually being developed and occupied. Boarding house development application data was compiled in a previous research commissioned by SSROC based on council records. Record keeping varied, with some councils monitoring developed outcomes and registration status on the boarding house register maintained by NSW Fair Trading. This dataset was refined in a number of ways so that we could determined if the boarding house had been constructed, and the extent to which it was actually being used as a boarding house or for residential accommodation. Five steps were followed to filter the development application dataset to only those we were confident had an operating boarding house:

- 1. Filter boarding house approvals to new approvals only
- 2. Filter boarding house approvals for student accommodation (e.g. Urbanest, Iglu, Unilodge)
- 3. Match rental bonds with development applications
- 4. Match boarding house register to development applications
- 5. Visually inspect aerial imagery to understand the status of each lot

Where either a bond had been lodged after the date of the development application, or the address was on the boarding house register, these addresses were included in the survey sample. Applications where a bond has not been lodged and it did not appear on the register, were inspected using the latest satellite imagery from Nearmap in combination with Google Street View to determine if there was a new building on the site that is consistent with the application. Where imagery indicated that the old development remained, or the site was under construction, then these were excluded from the sample.

As noted in previous analysis of this data, a number of approvals were for large student accommodation providers, such as Urbanest. It was decided through discussions with planners from across SSROC that these would be excluded from the survey as they represent a somewhat different housing need to that which is intended to be provided by the AHSEPP.

Together we were able to refine the list of boarding houses that have been approved under the AHSEPP and have actually resulted in development. Table 1 below provides a summary of the filtering process and the final number of applications and rooms in the sample. 288 applications were identified as being new approvals and non-student accommodation providers, and of those, 201 had either bonds lodged against them after approval was granted or was on the boarding house register. The remaining 87 applications were visually inspected with 51 of those excluded from the final sample as it was apparent that the development application had not resulted in the development of a boarding house or were presently under construction and could not be survey. This leaves a total boarding housing population size of 237. Surveys were distributed to all 237.

Table 1 Summary of development application filtering and final population counts

	Has bond lodged	Boarding House register	Either Bond or BH register	Survey Sample
No	133	186	87	51
Yes	155	102	201	237
Total	288	288	288	288

#### Resident Survey

The resident survey was distributed to all properties that had had a development application approved and where we were reasonably certain it had been both constructed and had residents living there based on the desktop analysis above. This means that the survey was distributed to the entire boarding house population across SSROC region, rather than just a sample.

The survey itself was hand delivered over a two week period at the beginning of November 2018. Hand delivery methods were used as boarding houses approved under the SEPP are not permitted to be created as separate strata lots, or with separate entitlements under community title. This meant that there is no requirement, and a great deal of uncertainty whether each room has a separate postal address or letter box. In this case, we elected to hand deliver as a way of ensuring, where possible, that a survey was delivered directly to each unit in a development. Where separate letterboxes did not exist, and access to the separate rooms/dwellings was not physical possible, a number of surveys equivalent to the number of rooms approved in the DA were delivered to a communal letter box equivalent to the number of approved dwellings on that site.

Responses could be completed online or on paper and returned by reply paid post and  $4 \times \$250$  prize were offered to incentivise completion. A total of 156 surveys were return (online and by post), which based on a total population of 2,931 beds gives a response rate of 5.3% (Table 2). The margin of error is therefore of  $\pm 6.4\%$  at 50% with a confidence level of 90%. A summary of the population size and response rates are detailed in Table 2 below. While response rates are lower than can typically be expected from household surveys, it reflects the difficulty in making direct contact with tenants in this form of housing when individual addresses are uncertain, only a small share of dwellings have individual letterboxes, and the potentially more marginal status of the tenants who may feel less interested in answering questions about dwellings that don't feel financially or emotionally invested in. Moreover, the lack of personalised addresses may lead many who receive the surveys to disregard them as junk mail.

The distribution of survey response across the SSROC region (Table 3) show that the proportion of responses was a good match to the proportion of invitations distributed. (Table 4 provides a summary of how each of the local government areas in the SSROC region were clustered). This means that geographically the survey responses provide a good representation across the SSROC region. Cumulatively, the overall response rate is low and is not unexpected however it does provide a sufficient basis upon which to explore the issues.

Table 2 Response rate

<b>Boarding Houses Surveyed</b>	<b>Invitations Delivered</b>	Responses Received	Response Rate
237	2,931	156	5.3%

#### Table 3 Summary of survey sample distribution

	% of invitations	% of responses	Representation
City	31%	32%	good
Inner	39%	43%	good
Outer	30%	25%	good

#### Table 4 Local government area classification

City	Inner	Outer
Sydney	Inner West	Burwood
	Randwick	Canada Bay
	Bayside	Canterbury-Bankstown
	Waverley	Georges River
	Woollahra	Sutherland Shire

## **Building outcomes**

The following sectors detail the physical outcomes of the buildings and dwellings, including car parking, based on the survey responses and observations made in the course of delivering surveys. At the time of survey distribution, notes were made regarding access to buildings, the design of buildings in relation to local character and whether letterboxes were visible and or accessible. The section on car parking also includes transport mode choices of residents.

As noted in the methodology above, in preparing for survey distribution, a desktop analysis of development applications was undertaken which compared DAs against the boarding house register, rental bond board and a visual inspection of aerial photography to identify locations where development applications had yet to be implemented. During survey distribution, further notes were taken on the status of buildings. Collectively this allowed an estimate of the number of applications that have resulted in a boarding house being developed. By combining these methods, it is estimated that approximately 67% (see Table 5) of all development applications between 2009-2017 are currently operating as boarding houses, while a further 7% appeared to be currently under construction. 25% of sites where approval has been received do not appear to be operating as boarding houses. Some of these were instead houses or other businesses, such as nursing homes or hotels. Of the sites where boarding houses were operating, visual inspections revealed that a number of these relate to older or existing buildings that have either been operating as boarding houses for some time or the DA has resulted in a conversion of use. The extent to which development applications have resulted in new construction or conversion of existing buildings is uncertain however what is clear is that at least one quarter of all applications do not result in a boarding house.

Table 5 Number of development applications and new boarding houses

Boarding House	Count	Proportion
No	73	25%
Under Construction	20	7%
Yes	195	68%
Total DAs	288	100%

#### **Dwelling and building context**

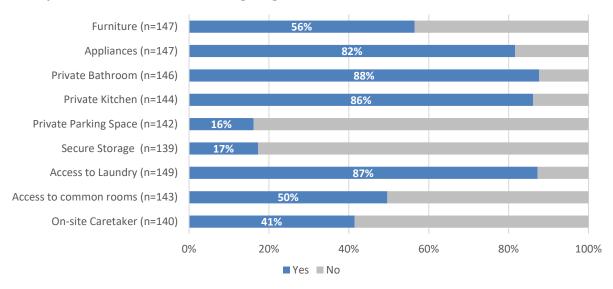
Boarding houses approved under the AHSEPP cannot be refused consent if they do not meet the objectives of SEPP 65, the most obvious being around minimum dwelling size and dwelling mix requirements. Unlike residential flat dwellings designed according to SEPP 65 guidelines, boarding house rooms are not required to have either kitchens or bathrooms, which can be provided as communal facilities. If the buildings themselves are larger than 5 rooms, they are required to provide communal spaces, while buildings with more than 20 dwellings require a dwelling that can accommodate an onsite manager. There is also an expectation that as a lodger of a boarding house, rather than a tenant, furniture and appliances would be provided. In respect of dwelling layouts, then AHSEPP presents an option to developers, rather than requiring a specific outcome. Applications cannot be refused if they do not have private bathrooms or kitchens, for example, but developers can choose for every room to have these amenities. The intention of this part of the survey is to quantify the approach is being taken across the sector to understand the configuration of dwellings provided and other amenities being offered.

The survey revealed (Figure 1) that 88% and 86% of respondents reported having a private bathroom and private kitchen respectively. This suggests that for a large majority of the dwellings being produced, they are more self-contained, and less reliant on communal facilities. This is also reflected, though to a lesser extent, in the those

reporting access to common rooms (50%). Just over half of respondents (56%) reported furniture being provided with the dwelling, while 82% reported some appliances, such as a fridge or microwave, being provided. In other words, this suggests that the majority of dwellings are coming with some level of furnishing beyond what you might typically expect from a standard vacant rental dwelling. Very few respondents had access to private parking, which is to be expected based on the level of car parking provision required under the AHSEPP.

Figure 1 Dwelling layout and amenity provision

Does your studio come with the following things?



One of the requirements of the AHSEPP is that boarding houses cannot be strata subdivided and as such it was a little unclear on what the status of each of the dwellings are in relationship to overall dwelling counts. Our approach was to try and understand whether dwellings were functionally operating as independent units comparable to a standard apartment. 85 (36%) of the buildings visited had separate letterboxes for each of the dwellings, suggesting at least the potential for separate unit addresses.

Less than half (39%) appeared to be new buildings, with a further 16 sites visited (6.7%) currently under construction. This suggests that the majority of development applications appear to be in relation to existing buildings, either because they were already operating as a boarding house or are in the process of being converted. This is reflected in observations that around 46% of all buildings visited were indistinguishable from the surrounding development typology.

#### **Cars, Parking and Transport**

As noted in the introduction, one aspect of the boarding house provisions that have undergone multiple amendments since its introduction relate to the provision of off-street parking for residents. This stems from concerns that the higher-intensity of land-use, which boarding houses likely represent over the previous land-use would place additional strain on on-street parking availability.

The justification for these concessions – while not explicit in this particular policy (but see amendments to the apartment design guide) – stem from the recognition that providing off-street parking for boarding houses will typically mean underground parking that requires extensive excavation and storm-water management. Underground parking adds significant costs to a development, so would undermine the feasibility of a boarding house, relative to other potential land-uses/developments, on a given site.

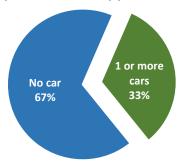
The results of the survey were quite clear, with two thirds of tenants not owning a car (Figure 2). While not a perfect comparison, this is a comparable proportion to private renters in studio apartments across Greater Sydney,

as reported in the 2016 census.<sup>1</sup> Given the sample size, it is not possible to extract reliable statistics for a subsample. However, the survey responses did indicate that the proportion of tenants that did not own a car was higher closer to the city and lower (but still a majority of respondents) further from the city.

In terms of the match between providing off-street parking and car ownership, the current requirement that one-space-for-two-rooms be provided is in excess of that evidently needed. Prior to the 2018 amendments, one-space-for-five-rooms was required for boarding rooms within 400m of a public transport node, and two-spaces-for-five-rooms was required in other areas. A qualitative interpretation of the distribution of survey invitations and responses suggest that this is close to actual ownership rates, and close to the difference in ownership rates across the study area. Again, though, it should be noted that the exact location of each respondent was not recorded, so the ownership rates within/beyond the public transport nodes cannot be confirmed directly.

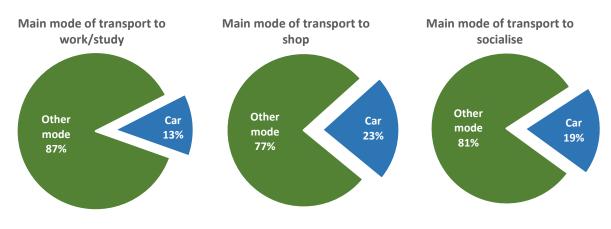
Figure 2 Car ownership

How many cars are owned by your household



Beyond the planning objective of meeting demand for private care ownership close to public transport nodes, is one of managing demand in areas with high levels of public transport provision. In this regard, a more important finding is that the proportion of respondents that identified something other than a private car as their primary means for getting to work/study, for getting to the shops, and for leisure activities exceeded the two-thirds figure of those without a car (see Figure 3). This translates to between, roughly, one third (for leisure activities) and two thirds (for work/study commutes) of car owners not primarily using their cars for these activities.

Figure 3 Main modes of travel by purpose



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The count of Greater Sydney GCCSA households renting (excluding those renting from state housing authority or community sector organisation) an apartment (all categories described as a 'flat') with no bedrooms (i.e. including bed-sitters) was 6,762. Of those households, the count owning no motor vehicles was 4,511.

This speaks to the important role of public transport in reducing the evident need for private means of transport. A parallel consideration needs to be made on the provision of other public amenities and services that are needed to offset the absence of private provision within a boarding house development. This includes public parks to offset the lack of private open space, and even local retail and hospitality sectors to offset the lack of full kitchens to store and prepare meals.

# Occupant motivations and satisfaction

An important question for any new development, but particularly for a new form of housing, is the extent to which it is meeting the needs of the occupants. The survey asked occupants a series of questions about what was important to them, in terms of identifying their needs, and the extent to which they were satisfied with the provision of these features. Overall, the survey found a high degree of satisfaction among the identified features of the neighbourhood/location, building and individual boarding room/studio.

At the neighbourhood scale, access to public transport was the most important feature, with 90% of occupants considering it either very important or important (Figure 4). There was also a high level of satisfaction with this feature, with over 90% of occupants very or mostly satisfied with the public transport options, including all of those who identified it as very important or important. After public transport, being close to work or study and local shops were most commonly identified as important, but also had a commensurate level of satisfaction. Occupants were often not satisfied with the extent to which friends and family lived nearby, but this compromise was made knowingly, with under half of occupants deeming it very important or important in their decision to live here.

As alluded to in the previous section, the extent to which occupant needs are met at the neighbourhood scale speaks to the need for the location of boarding houses to be in amenity-rich environments. Across all questions relating to important features and satisfaction, neighbourhood features like transport and shops were of higher importance than building features (Figure 5), and even higher than some studio features (Figure 6). Further, satisfaction with those features deemed important or very important were higher for neighbourhood features, than those of the unit itself.

The extent to which amenities and services that make a boarding house both appealing and satisfactory to residents are effectively provided at the neighbourhood scale, rather than the building or unit scale, translates to higher degree of 'borrowed' amenity that is having to be delivered or facilitated by the broader planning system. This translates to important questions about the financial burden of meeting resident needs being covered by local or state government.

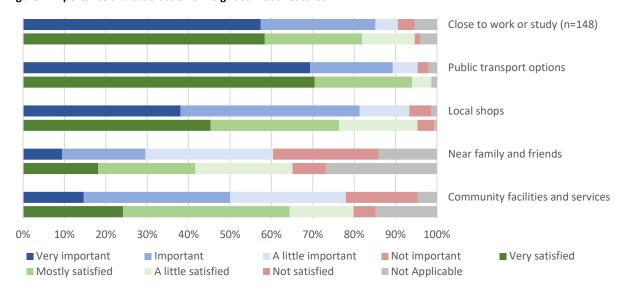


Figure 4 Importance and satisfaction of neighbourhood features

Within the development itself, the conditions of the individual unit were (Figure 6), overall, more important than the building as a whole (Figure 5). The boarding room/studio being private, quiet and clean were important, as

was the desire for well-designed, secure modern building. There was some degree of mismatch with the room features, though, with lower levels of 'very satisfied' with these features. Notably, there was a lower level of satisfaction with the size and furnishings provided in the rooms, but this was also an informed compromise, with these features also considered less important in the decision to live here (Figure 6). Further to the above section on parking, the majority of occupants did not consider parking important, or applicable in their decision to live here (Figure 5). So, while satisfaction was similarly low, this was largely because most did not consider it applicable in their satisfaction with the building.

The affordability of the unit was prominent for two reasons. First, price was identified as the most important feature in people's decision to live here (Figure 6). Over 75% deemed it very important, and almost all occupants considered important or very important. Second, and more worryingly, it had the largest mismatch between satisfaction and importance, with over one third of those considering it 'very important' reporting that they were not satisfied or 'a little' satisfied with the price. In addition to affordability, a key feature of more traditional boarding rooms has been the extent to which they accessible to those for whom more formal residential tenancies have not been an option. In these new boarding houses this was also identified as important or very important by a majority of occupants. Further, availability of the room and professional or responsive management were identified as additional factors in the choice to live here.

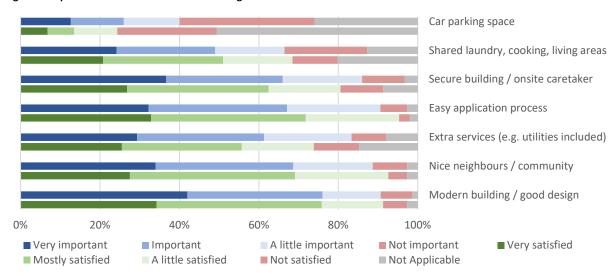
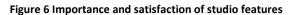
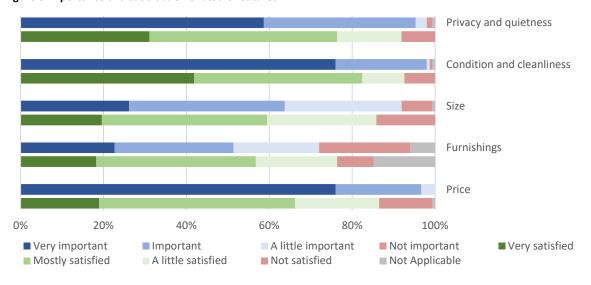


Figure 5 Importance and satisfaction of building features





# Tenant outcomes and housing affordability

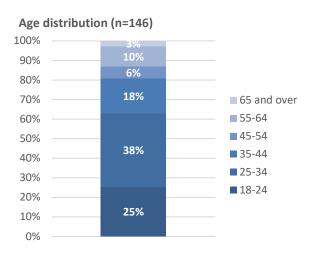
#### Resident profile

Overall there was a high level of diversity in the occupants of boarding rooms, with no single uniform cohort dominating the population. Gender was split fairly evenly (Figure 7), with the (albeit non-significant) majority of females potentially aligning with the inadequacy of security and safety in share housing or other informal housing options available for females on low incomes. The age profile skews lower than Sydney's population as whole, with over 60% under 34 years, although similar to skews are found in Sydney's private rental generally (Figure 8). There is an observed dip in occupants aged 45-54, picking up again for those aged 55-64, most likely a function of the size of the rooms excluding families.

Figure 7 Gender of survey respondents

Female 54% Male 45%

Figure 8 Age distribution of survey respondents

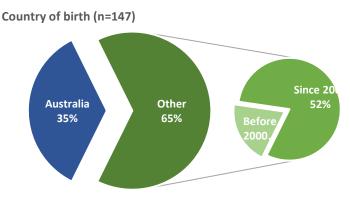


The occupants were also more culturally diverse than Sydney as a whole, with roughly two thirds born overseas (Figure 9). This is a higher proportion compare with renters in Sydney generally reported at the 2016 census. Notably, the occupants had a high level of education, with over 60% having a tertiary qualification (Figure 10). Both these features reflect the age of the cohort but could also be partly attributable to the over-representation of young workers and tertiary students in the boarding rooms.

Other

1%

Figure 9 Country of birth of survey respondents



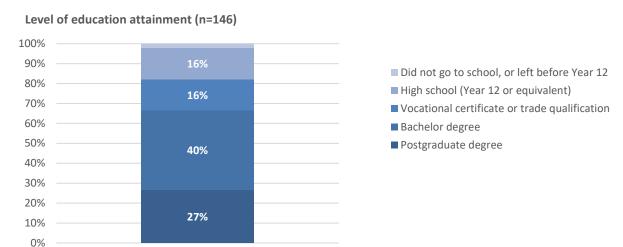


Figure 10 Level of education attainment of survey respondent

Over two thirds of the occupants (Figure 11) were working, at least part time and around half were studying (including about one quarter who were both studying and working). When broken up by region outer areas generally had a more employed occupants than they did students, which is in part a reflection of where universities are located. A small residual was outside the labour force and education sector, suggesting this housing option is not addressing the social housing waitlists as initially expected. Further, the incomes for most occupants were wages, although among the ~35% not working (including students) incomes were predominantly from either government payments or family support (Figure 12).

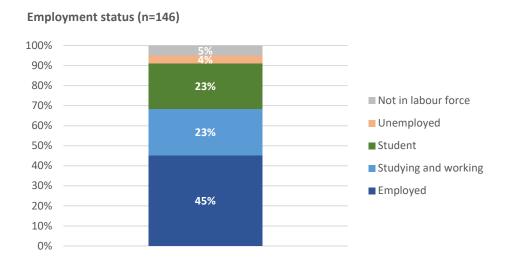


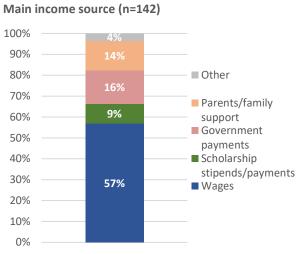
Figure 11 Employment status of survey respondent

Notwithstanding the majority of occupants working, the incomes were significantly lower than Sydney's population. Nearly 40% were earning below \$600/week, and 60% below \$800/week (Figure 13). Even when looking just at those in the labour force, one quarter were earning below \$600/week and 50% below \$800/week. This suggests that the occupants would not be accommodated in the private rental market generally, without fairly extreme levels of rental stress. This was supported by taking the responses to where they previously lived, or anticipated to live next as proxies for where they might be living in the absence of boarding rooms: most would have still been living with parents, a partner or have had to resort to sharing rental costs (potentially with strangers, as 'flat mate' or similar was the most common category within 'other'), see Figure 14.

Income distribution (n=126)

Figure 12 Main income source of survey respondents







Also based on responses to where they previously lived, or anticipated to live next, the demand for boarding rooms is predominantly local. Over half of demand is from within 15km, including over one third of demand from within 5km (Figure 15). There is a notable overseas cohort here. Again, with the caveat that the sample size does not lend itself to rigorous sub-sample analysis, this overseas cohort was predominantly students, and more prevalent in the city or inner suburbs near the major universities.

Figure 14 Who respondents lived with previously and who they expect to live with next

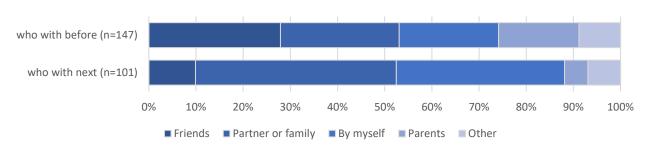
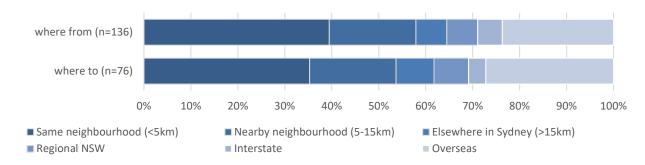


Figure 15 Where respondents lived previously and where they expect to live next



The main conclusion from this occupant profile is that the boarding rooms are meeting the needs of a younger population, either working, studying or both, and in any case on a fairly low income. That is, it is a close match with small apartment rental profiles generally. It is not, notably, a particularly close match with known profiles of social housing demand. It is also, as discussed below, not a particularly affordable housing option.

#### **Tenure**

As noted in the background section, tenure is a critical component of boarding house definitions, with boarding houses generally defined as those comprising lodgings. 86% of respondents reported being on tenancy agreements, while the remainder reported being on an occupancy agreement (Figure 16). Tenancy agreements have strict guidelines surrounding access to the dwelling with owners or owner representatives not permitted to enter without giving appropriate notice to the tenant. An occupancy agreement under the Boarding House act does not have the same restrictions with owners or their representatives being able to access dwellings at 'reasonable times' on 'reasonable grounds' (Redfern Legal Centre 2018). In all, 16% of respondents reported that the owner or their representative have access to their dwelling, which is in broad alignment with those being on occupancy agreements, see Figure 17.

When asked how residents found out about the property, most (64%) reporting finding a listing on a real estate website while a further 5% reported being informed by a letting agent (Figure 18). A small proportion report finding the dwelling through specialist student accommodation (4%) or affordable housing providers (4%). Overall, lease and access arrangements combined with the method of finding dwellings, suggests that for the majority of survey respondents, there is little discernible difference between these dwellings and wider rental market.

Figure 16 Type of lease agreement

Figure 17 Dwelling access by owner or their representative

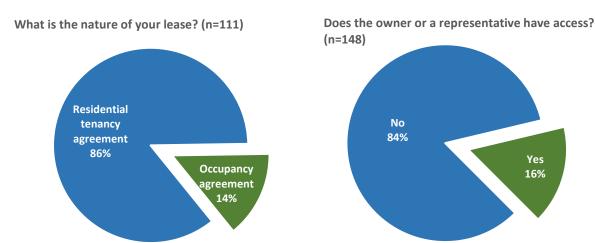
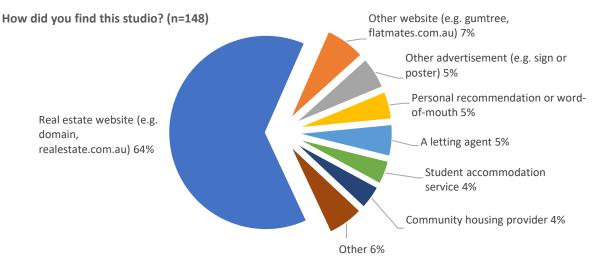


Figure 18 How tenants found their dwellings



What this research demonstrates is that a large proportion – probably a clear majority – of 'new generation' boarding houses are, for all intents and purposes, more accurately described simply as small apartments. The key characteristics by which boarding houses are more appropriately described are about tenure, control and relationship to the landlord, and not the physical layout of the dwellings. In other words, it is not the physical structure that determines if a dwelling is a boarding room or not, it is the social and contractual relationship between landlord and occupant. The physical structure, particularly rooms that have private bathrooms and kitchens, could equally be used as a residential dwelling or a boarding room.

Based on the tenure arrangements, supported by the physical layout of the rooms, it seems reasonably clear that the majority of boarding houses are not operating as lodgings, rather they all seem to fit the definition of a rental tenancy. Using the definition of a boarding house in the standard instrument and boarding rooms in the SEPP, it is questionable whether these buildings should be classified as boarding houses, as they do not comprise of any lodgings, and therefore whether they operate consistent with their approved land use. It ought to bring into question the basis upon which they are being approved under Division 3 of the AHSEPP, or at very least whether they are in compliance with their development approval once in operation. While we are not aware of any legal precedent of this being challenged, and there may be some further nuance to legal definitions which would require legal expertise to clarify, it does raise important related issues on the nature of the development occurring and the living arrangements of occupants.

The survey results suggest that in these respects, most residents are living in dwellings where they have exclusive control, are on tenancy agreements and do not receive other services from the landlord as part of their agreement. Aside from the legislation assuming that many of these relationships will operate in accordance with the *Boarding House Act 2012* (NSW), it is not clear whether this aspect is directly engaged with by the planning processes in approving these buildings. In granting approval to these buildings, planners need to engage with the social outcomes these dwellings give rise to in order to be satisfied that they can in fact be approved under the AHSEPP because if they cannot be defined as a boarding house then they are not permitted to be developed in this form.

It should however be noted that being a tenant and having a tenancy agreement offers a greater level of protection to the occupants as having a contract under the boarding house act limits an occupant's rights, particularly around exclusive access, protection from having agreements terminated and longer notice periods. However boarding houses as a concept are not intended to be an alternative to mainstream rental accommodation, they are intended to provide housing options to marginal renters who otherwise would find it difficult to secure a tenancy because they lack appropriate bonds, do not have rental history or have insecure or little employment (Dalton et al 2015). In conceptual terms boarding houses are an alternative to homelessness or overcrowded housing/couch surfing, not an alternative to studio apartment living. Evidence presented through this survey suggests that very little of this type of development is actually being used as a boarding house in the strict sense of the term, and actually contributing to addressing the boarding house needs intended by the SEPP.

#### **Affordability**

The intentions of the AHSEPP is to both contribute to dwelling diversity and affordability of rental accommodation. How much rent relative to incomes and wider housing market context therefore is a critical issue. Previous work (Troy et al 2018) noted that outturn rent values based on rental bond data was equivalent to studio apartment accommodation in each area across SSROC region, in other words did not provide any discernible discount to market rents. Some 43% of respondents reported paying under \$300 per week in rent, with 40% paying over \$350 per week (Figure 19). As noted in the resident profiles above, 60% of respondents were earning less than \$800 per week, and when comparing rent with incomes, between 7 and 8 of 10 respondents were paying more than a third of their income on rent (Figure 20). It is also notable (Figure 21) that three quarters of respondents live by themselves which suggests that the rent is being paid out of a single income.

Figure 19 Rent paid each week

How much rent do you pay each week?

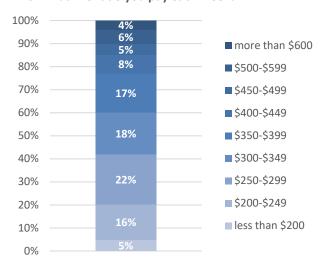
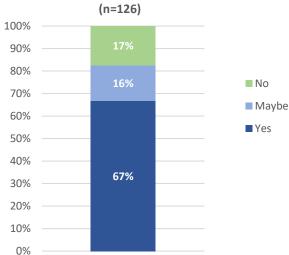


Figure 20 Proportion of respondents in rental stress

#### Proportion of respondents in rent stress



Note: Rents and incomes were reported in bands, consequently it is not possible to allocate response to specific parts of the bands. The maybe category reflects those who by moving to upper or lower thresholds of rental bands would put them in or out of rent stress.

Figure 21 Who each respondent lives with

Who do you live with? (n=148)

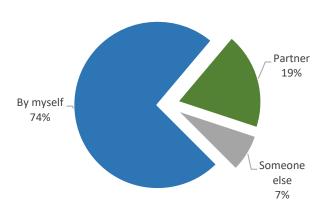


Table 6 shows the length of residency at the time of the survey with 45% having already lived in their boarding room for over 12 months. Table 7 shows the length of residency of survey respondents as is based on two questions, the first asking how long they had been living in their studio, and second how long they expected to live in their studio. The table shows that 59% of respondents expect to be living in their studio for 2 years or less with about 34% expecting to live there for less than one year. Overall this suggests that the population of boarding houses are likely to be highly transient, which is consistent with this type of housing option, which is considered to be a pathway into the mainstream housing market.

#### **Table 6 Current length or residency**

How long have you lived here	Number	Proportion
Less than 3 months	22	15%
3-6 months	27	18%
6-12 months	33	22%
1-2 years	32	22%
More than 2 years	34	23%
Total	148	100%

#### **Table 7 Expected length of residency**

How long living here? (estimate)	Number	Proportion
Around 6 months	17	12%
Around 1 year	32	22%
Around 18 months	22	15%
Around 2 years	14	10%
More than 2 years	60	41%
Total	145	100%

Overall it is questionable whether these dwellings are affordable based on the rents the occupants are paying combined with their reported income levels. This conclusion is consistent with a number of recent studies on 'new generation' boarding houses in Sydney (Clinton 2018; Dalton et al 2015; Troy et al 2018), all noting much more consistency with a studio apartment market than a traditional boarding house market. For some, these dwellings may represent a better option, allowing them to live alone or with a partner rather than living in a shared arrangement, however on questions of affordability they offer little improvement on other housing options.

#### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

This report has provided an empirical analysis of dwelling and tenant outcomes of boarding houses delivered under the AHSEPP. The following section provides a brief summary of the core findings, discussion on implications and policy recommendations.

#### Summary of findings

Overall, residents were satisfied with the accommodation produced under the boarding house provisions. Notably more importance was placed on the neighbourhood context of their dwellings, such as proximity to work, transport and shopping. These features also rated most highly in terms resident satisfaction, when compared with other building and apartment features with the exception of privacy, cleanliness and condition of their apartment. This suggests that a locational trade-off is an important aspect of the decision to seek this type of dwelling. The emphasis on proximity to transport is also reflected in the low rate of car usage for the main trip types.

Broadly, this finding aligns with expectations in higher density neighbourhoods that amenity and service needs will be met outside the dwelling. It does, though, have implications for historically low-density neighbourhoods where the expectation is that dwellings are more self-contained in terms of meeting, for example, open space, transport and other amenity needs. Despite some expectation that boarding houses meet some of these needs at a building scale (through communal spaces and facilities), most boarding rooms instead paralleled blocks of individual apartments, with many also including some basic level of furnishing.

Residents themselves were predominantly employed or were studying, with very few appearing to reflect a marginal renter status that might typically be expected in established 'traditional' boarding houses. The majority of occupants reported being on residential tenancy agreements and living in circumstances that aligned more closely to the wider rental market. Both the profile of physical and tenant outcomes reinforces conclusions drawn from previous research that these buildings are much more reflective of a studio apartment profile than they are traditional boarding house development.

Although the survey excluded purpose-built student accommodation that was developed under the provisions, there was still an evident market from the growing student population in Sydney through the survey. The student profile somewhat matches the large overseas born component, which account for around two thirds of residents. While these dwellings do give some more choice in housing types for this emerging demographic, previous research (Troy et al 2018) noted that it is happening in areas where there is already an above-average supply of studio and 1 bed dwellings. As such, and in line with that earlier report's conclusions, more consideration of integrating this housing type at a precinct and community scale is essential.

When considering rental prices and tenant incomes, most of these units do not meet widely accepted measures of housing affordability. Incomes were skewed to the lower end of the spectrum, yet rent prices reported put up to eight out of ten residents in rental stress. There is little evidence to suggest that new boarding houses are being developed such that they are housing the types of households envisaged in Departmental statements about their purpose.

So, while the provisions have produced a potentially important accommodation typology of 'micro apartments', this was not the stated intent. In contrast, there is evidently little strategic planning to support micro-apartments or purpose-built student accommodation in planning policy. Further, the inclusion of the provisions in an affordable housing policy are misleading, and potentially conceal the absence of a genuine planning policy response to address the need for dedicated affordable housing in Sydney. More broadly, it calls into question the underpinning expectation that market incentives can produce affordable housing for marginal households. The following recommendations focus on this need for a stronger policy to increase affordable housing options.

#### **Recommendations**

1. Link incentives for developing boarding houses to tenant and affordability outcomes of boarding rooms

The reported rental prices combined with tenant income profiles means that many are being delivered at a price point that is not affordable to low-income households. While a wider permissibility enables planning authorities to support a broader supply outcome, the use of the AHSEPP as a development incentive is less justifiable when it is only delivering market-rate housing. Existing incentives for low-cost boarding rooms, such as land tax exemptions, provide a precedent for price points that could be explored for more targeted planning incentives that aim to actually provide affordable rental options for specific groups in need.

2. Provide clearer guidance on the intersection of the AHSEPP and provisions under the Boarding House Act 2012.

There remain significant gaps in understanding of rental tenancy agreements versus occupancy agreements, the application of that legislation to boarding houses developed under the AHSEPP, and general expectations about the commercial operation and management of boarding houses approved under the AHSEPP. This potentially creates a conflict in the land use for boarding houses, where few can be classified as boarding houses when they do not offer any lodgings under the Boarding House Act.

3. Provide clearer guidance on the target clientele of boarding housing development in the context of wider affordable housing policies.

There is little guidance within the AHSEPP on who should occupy boarding house rooms and linking this building outcome to a specific set of housing need. There are some assumptions within the associated descriptive material on what boarding houses are expected to deliver, but no guidance in concrete terms on their purpose. The development of boarding houses needs to be linked explicitly to a target group of households/residents based on housing needs contained within a wider housing policy framework.

4. Develop and implement an appropriate regulatory framework that ensures boarding houses actually meet the target housing need.

Once a boarding house has been developed, there is no formal oversight to ensure that the development concessions gained in order to meet social objectives are actually being met. An appropriate framework needs to be in place to ensure that the use of the building is compliant and remains compliant with this development consent and consistent with the intention of AHSEPP to provide accommodation to specific needs groups identified as part of recommendation 3 above.

5. Review design standards in the context of SEPP65 minimum acceptable standards.

The tenure and dwelling outcomes suggest boarding house rooms are predominantly delivered as microapartments. If so, then their acceptability needs to be considered within a wider framework of minimum acceptable standards for multi-unit housing, in particular, design standards as set out in SEPP65 and dwelling mix targets.

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# **Appendix A - Resident Survey**



# City Futures Research Centre Affordable Rental Housing Survey

Dear Resident

City Futures Research Centre at UNSW would like your help with a **study on affordable rental housing in Sydney**. The aim is to investigate tenant satisfaction with their housing.

Council data indicates that the building you live in was approved as affordable rental housing. We are inviting everyone in your building, and similar buildings across southern and central Sydney, to complete the survey.

The survey only takes about 5 to 10 minutes to complete. Once you have completed and submitted the survey you will go into a draw for 1 of 4 \$250 Eftpos Cash Cards. To participate either:

- Complete this paper version of the survey and return using the reply-paid envelope.
- Complete the survey online by scanning the QR Code or entering the web address:

cityfutures.be.unsw.edu.au/housing\_survey



On newer phones and tablets, open the camera app and point it at the code to be redirected to the online survey.

Please complete the survey by 15 December 2018.

You must be **over the age of 18 years old** to participate. Participation in the survey is **voluntary**. By completing the survey, you consent to the information you provide being used by UNSW for research into housing and planning policy outcomes. We will **never** use or disclose the information other than for research purposes, unless required by law. When we publish the research, we will **not** publish any information that may identify you or another person, or any particular property.

If you would like further information about the project before deciding to participate, or to view a participant information sheet, please follow the link above or contact Dr Laurence Troy by email (<u>l.troy@unsw.edu.au</u>) or phone (02) 9385 4975.

Thank you for your time.

Dr Laurence Troy

Research Fellow, City Futures Research Centre





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28.		w sat		ed a	re you with the following features of the	Q13a.	Where is your other home?
	Sit	iulor					Overseas
Φ		Ø	00	_			Interstate
able	eq	isfie	tisfi	ljed			Regional NSW
pplic	atisfi	sat	y sai	satis			In Sydney (specify suburb
Not applicable	Not satisfied	A little satisfied	Mostly satisfied	Very satisfied		Q13b.	Who else lives in your other home?
			]		Privacy and quietness		Friends
			_		Condition and cleanliness		Parents
			_		Size		Partner or family
					Furnishings		Other
			_		Price	Q14.	What is the nature of your lease?
	_		_	_	Tille		Residential tenancy agreement
Secti	on [	).					Occupancy agreement
Tell u	s at	out I	ivin	g he	ere		I don't know
Q9.	Но	w did	you	ı fin	d this studio?	Q14a.	What is the length of your lease?
	Re	al est	ate	web	site (e.g. domain, realestate.com.au)		No fixed period
	Ot	ner w	ebs	ite (	e.g. gumtree, flatmates.com.au)		6 months
	Ot	ner ad	dvei	tise	ment (e.g. sign or poster)		12 months
	Pe	rsona	l re	com	mendation or word-of-mouth		Other
	ΑΙ	etting	ag	ent			I don't know
	Stu	ıdent	acc	omr	nodation service	015	Howleng have you lived here?
	Co	mmu	nity	hou	sing provider	Q15.	How long have you lived here?
	Ot	ner					Less than 3 months
Q10.	W	no do	you	live	with in this studio?		3-6 months
	D.	myce	\I <del>f</del>		go to Q11.		6-12 months
					go to Q11.		1-2 years
		ACCES TO LOT TO SE	9.00000		elsego to Q10a.		More than 2 years
Q10a					rs share the studio with you?	Q16.	Where did you live before you lived here?
					•		Overseas
					people		Interstate
Q10b	. Die	l you	chc	ose	the other occupant(s) of the studio?		Regional NSW
	Ye	S					In Sydney (specify suburb
	No					Q16a.	Who did you live with in your previous home?
Q11.	Но	w mu	ch i	ent	do you pay <b>each week</b> ?		With friends
\$					rent/week		With parents
Ψ					lelibweek		With my partner or family
Q11a	. Do	es th	s re	nt ir	aclude utilities (like electricity or internet)?		By myself
	Ye	s					Other
	No					Q17.	How much longer do you expect to live here?
Q12.					or a representative, like a caretaker,		Less than 3 months
			51		dio to provide services?		3-6 months
	(e.	y. cie	aiiii	ıy, k	aundry, meals or deliveries)		6-12 months
	Ye						1-2 years
	No						More than 2 years
	Do	you	live	in th	is studio full time?		
Q13.							
Q13.	Ye	s			go to Q14.		

Q18. Where do you plan to live after you leave here?	Q25. How many cars are owned by your household?
□ I don't knowgo to Q19.	□ None
□ Overseas	□ 1 car
□ Interstate	□ 2 cars
□ Regional NSW	☐ 3 or more cars
□ In Sydney (specify suburb)	Q26. Are you working or studying?
Q18a. Who do you expect to live with after you leave here?	
□ With friends	<ul> <li>□ Working only, full time</li> <li>□ Working only, part time</li> </ul>
☐ With family ☐ With a partner	□ Studying only     □ Studying and working
□ By myself	☐ Not working or studying (but available for work)
□ Other	Not in the labour force (e.g. retired, caring for family)
Q19. What is the main form of transport you use for the	tamer policina de la compania de la
following purposes?	Q27. What is the source of most of your income? (optional)
φ	□ Wages (my job)
cle sh ar	☐ Scholarship stipends/payments
Walk or bicycle Bus or train My own car Taxi or ride share Other	Government payments (e.g. Newstart, Austudy, pension
or tra	☐ Parents/family support
Walk or bicy Bus or train My own car Taxi or ride Other	<ul> <li>☐ Investment/trust funds</li> <li>☐ Other</li> </ul>
□ □ □ □ To and from work or study	□ Other
□ □ □ □ Doing the shopping	Q28. What is your weekly income from all sources?
□ □ □ □ Leisure (e.g. seeing friends or a film)	(optional)
	Less than \$600
Section E.	□ \$600 - \$800 □ \$600 - \$41,000
Tell us about you	□ \$800 - \$1,000 □ \$4,000 \$4,000
Q20. What area do you live in?	□ \$1,000 - \$1,200 □ \$1,200 - \$1,400
	□ \$1,200 - \$1,400 □ \$1,400 - \$1,600
Q21. What is your age?	□ \$1,600 - \$1,800
	□ \$1,800 - \$2,000
□ 18-24 □	☐ More than \$2,000
25-34	
35-44	You have completed the survey.
□ 45-54	Thank you very much for participating.
□ 55-64 □ 65 and over	Would you like to go in the prize draw, or learn about this
	survey's outcomes?
Q22. What is your gender?	Note: We will only use your phone number or email address fo
□ Male	purposes indicated by you below (please select as many as
□ Female	apply):
□ Other	<ul> <li>I would like to be placed in the prize draw, for one of fou \$250 shopping vouchers</li> </ul>
Q23. Where you born in Australia or overseas?	☐ I would like to be sent updates on the outcomes of this
□ Australia	survey  I am happy to be contacted about other research related
Overseas, and moved here before 2000	to this survey
Overseas, and moved here 2000-2015	AND THE RESIDENCE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPE
Overseas, and moved here after 2015	What is the best phone number or email address to contact you?
Q24. What is your highest level of education completed?	
☐ Did not go to school, or left before Year 12	SECTION AND THE PROPERTY OF TH
☐ High school (Year 12 or equivalent)	(please write clearly)
☐ Vocational certificate or trade qualification	
□ Bachelor degree	
□ Postgraduate degree	