

**AMPLIFY
AMPLIFY**

NATIONAL HOUSING **AMPLIFICATION**

Results Report

June 2025







About AMPLIFY

AMPLIFY is the place where Australians get to have their say and make a difference on the most important issues that we face. We are a community of Australians, from all walks of life, who care about our country.

We are non-partisan and completely independent of any political party.



Executive Summary

AMPLIFY was set up because the promise to Australians has been broken. No where is that more apparent than in the housing crisis where access to an affordable and secure home is increasingly out of reach for a growing number of people. The housing crisis has been perpetuated by a lack of ambition in reform efforts.

Our **2024 AMPLIFY Insights** showed us that Australian's ranked housing as one of the biggest challenges facing the country. Australians also told us that our current politics was failing to give them confidence that the crisis was on a path to being solved. When asked, the community had low trust in government or industry's ability to solve the crisis. They did still have trust in their own collective ability, as a community, to find the solutions we need.

That's why we launched Australia's first National **AMPLIFICATION** on Housing, a unique process that adapts the 'Deliberative Polling' method from Stanford University to help the Australian community find solutions they could accept and break the reform gridlock.

Key to the **AMPLIFICATION** was an Australian-first national in-person deliberation. We gathered a microcosm of Australia – 100 representative Australians – in Sydney to put 13 expert-led housing reforms to the test. It found that the Australian community is ready for BOLD action to tackle the housing crisis across many of the levers available to governments, including housing supply, planning, welfare, tax and immigration.

- A MEGA-majority (+90%) of participants want bolder action to build more homes by removing barriers to **prefabricated housing** and upzoning to **medium density**.
- There was SUPER-majority (+66%) support for enabling **gentle densification**, radically increasing the stock of **social housing** and delivering better outcomes for renters through stronger **renters' rights**.
- There was a **clear cross-party consensus** (at least two thirds support across all political parties) for each of the top 5 reforms.
- We now have strong evidence to show that **people are much more willing and able to engage with evidence, different perspectives, and compromise** than traditional polling suggests.
- **The data shows that people are willing to change their minds.** Over the course of the deliberation support increased for nearly all the reforms – and surged most for stronger renters' protections and more skilled tradies from overseas to speed up construction. The biggest swing for renters' rights came from an unlikely source – participants who owned investment properties – who changed their mind after hearing the evidence on international comparisons and talking to renters in the room.

There is no silver bullet to fix the housing crisis, but our findings provide a foundation for a strong social and political license for bolder action on housing, now. And since communicating these results to decision makers, we are already seeing some early signs of progress.

More broadly, these results highlight how we're trying to build a new kind of public conversation – one that's brings everyday Australians together to find consensus and drive real change on the issues that matter.



Any kind of long-lasting reform that actually passes through the Parliament, needs to be implemented and survive a change of government. It means that you need to have people who have different opinions coming together to find that uncommon ground that Amplify is talking about.

– AMPLIFICATION participant

What this report covers

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Why Housing Matters

Housing is THE issue of our time.

The housing crisis is hitting Australians hard. From young professionals looking for a rental, to new families looking to find secure housing to bring up their kids in, to women fleeing domestic violence and to ageing Australians trying to age well in place.



Sources:

Rowley, S., Brierty, R., Perugia, F., Rahman, H., Singh, R., Swapan, M. and Taylor, L. (2023) The new normal: changed patterns of dwelling demand and supply, AHURI Final Report No. 399, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited, Melbourne, <https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/399>, doi: 10.18408/ahuri8129401.

ANZ and CoreLogic 2024.

Martin, C., Hulse, K., Ghasri, M., Ralston, L., Crommelin, L., Goodall, Z., Parkinson, S. and O'Brien Webb, E. (2022) Regulation of residential tenancies and impacts on investment, AHURI Final Report No. 391, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited, Melbourne, <https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/finalreports/391>, doi: 10.18408/ahuri7124801

The crisis is punctuated by a lack of housing affordability, limited choice and low levels of housing security. In other words - it has become much harder to find the right home, at the right price, in the right location.



Affording a home to buy or rent has never been harder. It takes someone on a median income around 12 years to save for a deposit today, compared to 4-5 years in the 1990s.



Choice of homes that are the right size and in the right location is limited. The proportion of three-bedroom dwellings in major cities has decreased despite this being the most popular number of bedrooms.



Security in one's home is weakening. The typical lease term in Australia is 6-12 months. In Germany and the Netherlands, it's indefinite. And a standard lease is 2-3 years in France and Hong Kong.

A housing market that isn't working has flow-on impacts on to how our society functions now and our future prosperity. Continuing with our current housing policies will reduce quality of life and hold Australia back.

Over time housing has become about more than just meeting our basic needs. Our homes keep us safe, enable us to be with our families and provide a place from which we can thrive. Our homes now also play a big part in our financial success and provide security in our retirement.

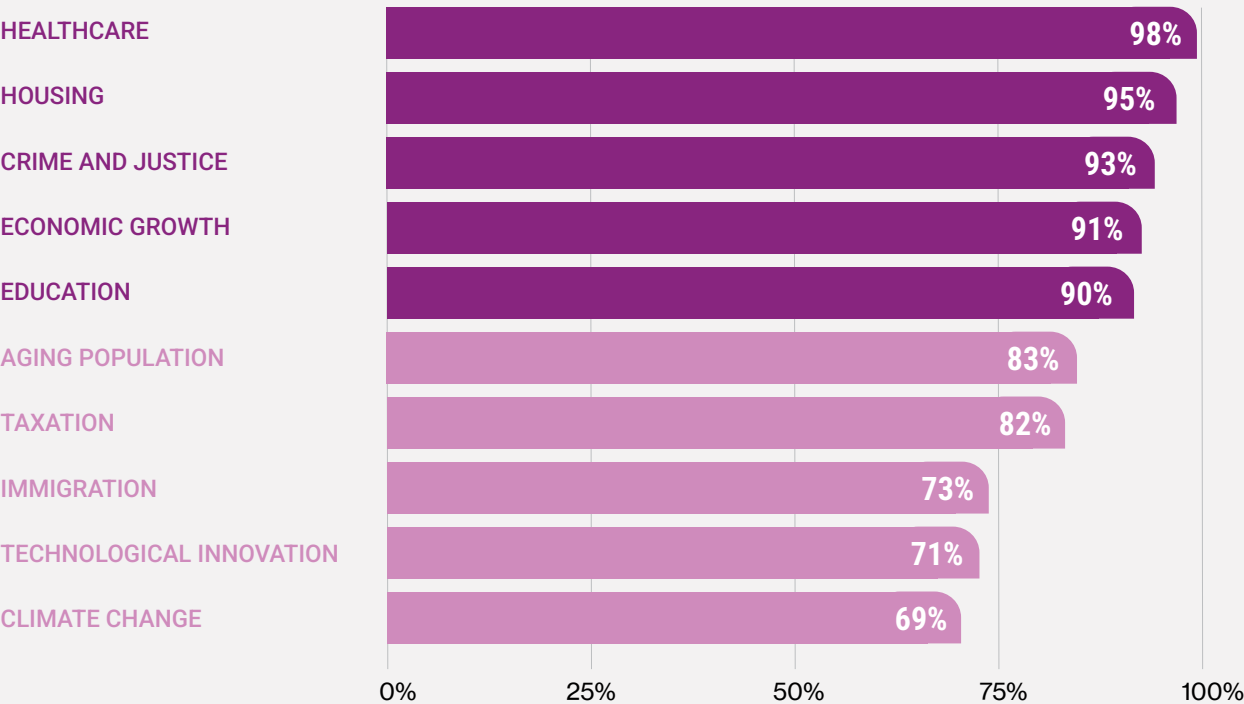
Expanding the purpose of housing has put pressure on things we care deeply about, like young people being able to purchase their own homes, having a safe and secure place to live in and eradicating homelessness. We know that there are no easy quick fixes. However, many of the policies pursued by governments over decades have proved unhelpful, undermining housing affordability, choice and security.

95% of Australians agree that housing is one of the most important issues for Australia to tackle.

In our **2024 AMPLIFY Insights**, we asked a representative group of 4,000 Australians what issues matter most and where they want to be involved. 95% of them told us that housing was a critical issue to tackle, showing clear appetite for major reforms to how the housing system works in Australia.

Australians agree on which issues are important

Q: Below are some areas in which Australia might face challenges in the next 10 years. For each, please tell us how important it is to tackle.



Source: 2024 Amplify Insights



‘Politics as usual’ has failed. Australians are demanding bolder action. Now.

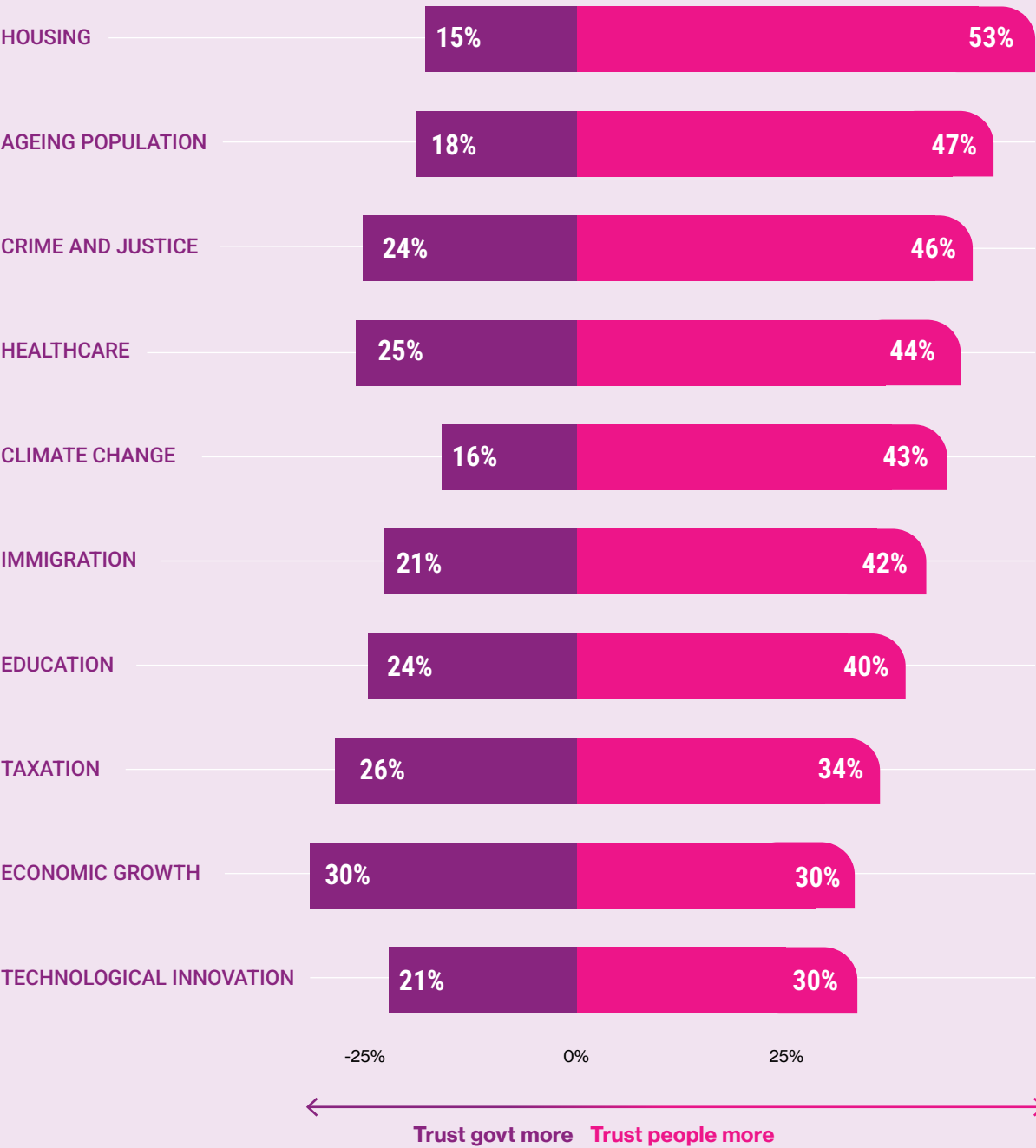
Australians are frustrated, and rightly so. The housing crisis is no longer a distant policy challenge – it’s immediate, widespread, and affecting lives across the country. But the environment for fixing it often feels stuck.

Housing policy is fragmented across three tiers of government with Federal, State and Local Governments each holding pieces of the puzzle. Incentives within the political system reward short-term wins and conflict, not long-term thinking and compromise. Bold ideas surface, but then stall. Evidence-backed reforms struggle to cut through the noise.

You can see this in our **2024 AMPLIFY Insights** question on who Australians trust. Across almost every issue, people trusted ‘the Australian public’ more than the government – and nowhere was that gap wider than on housing.

The Australian people trust each other more than government on every issue

Q: Thinking about policy direction, please select whether you would trust the government or the Australian people more on making the right decision for the country in each of the following areas.



Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

Australians want to play a stronger role in fixing the housing crisis.

We believe that a stronger role for the public's voice offers a way through this deadlock.

When Australians are given the opportunity to engage with the substance of reform – beyond headlines and polarised politics – they show a willingness to listen, deliberate and shift their views. In the **2024 AMPLIFY Insights**, 70% of people agreed that the Australian people should play a central role in identifying solutions in housing, showing the strong appetite for housing reform that is led by the public.



There are a huge and diverse range of viewpoints but ultimately people really did agree deeply and fundamentally that what we are doing now is not working and Australians are suffering the consequences in the form of the current housing crisis. Everyone agreed that something needs to be done urgently.

– AMPLIFICATION participant





I'm very hopeful for the process. Deliberative democracy is something that's happening all over the world.

– AMPLIFICATION participant

A significant majority of Australians want to be involved in fixing the housing crisis

70% —
want to be
involved



— **30%**
do not

Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

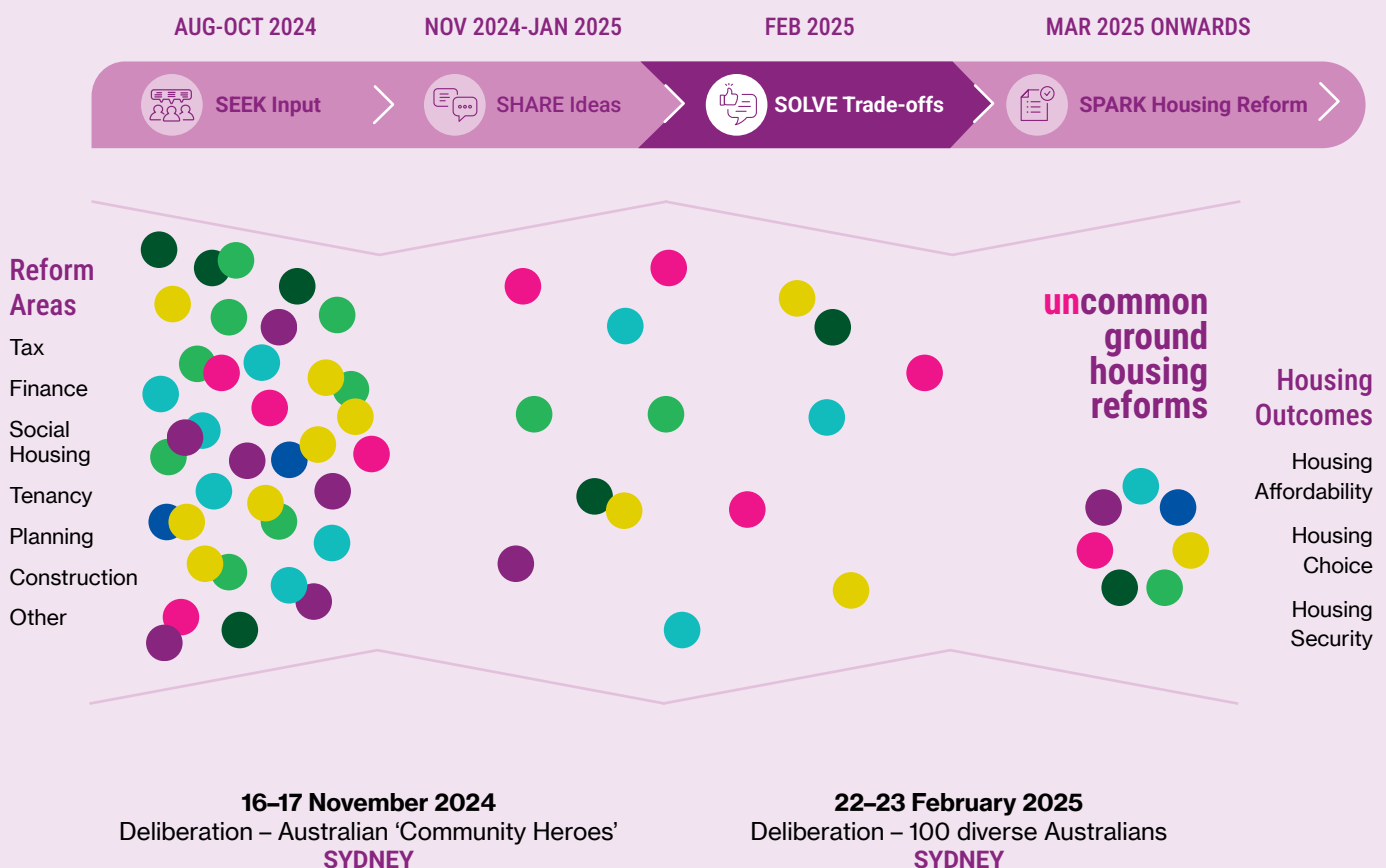
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What we did

Our **AMPLIFICATION** process was designed to show which housing reforms would have broad support, if people had the time to learn and deliberate.

By combining expert knowledge with public judgment, we aimed to build the case for a set of reforms that had both a strong evidence base and public legitimacy. We worked with academics, think tanks and experts to identify reforms grounded in strong analysis and practical experience. But it was the public – representing everyday Australians – who were asked to assess which reforms best respond to what matters most: affordability, choice, and security in housing.



Over six months we engaged experts and community members to develop, consider and short-list the best evidence-based housing reforms we could find.



SEEK

Understand the community's priorities and gather a wide pool of potential reforms.

Between August and October 2024, **AMPLIFY** conducted a survey with a nationally representative sample of 4,000 Australians, which showed that housing was a top issue, and that there was strong appetite for the public taking a central role in solving the housing crisis. Experts from academia, think tanks and industry were then invited to propose evidence-based reforms across multiple policy areas.



SHARE

Distil expert reform proposals into a focused set of options for public deliberation.

In November 2024, 10 **AMPLIFY Community Heroes** – Local Heroes and Senior Australians of the Year – deliberated alongside leading experts, including Saul Eslake and Steve Driscoll, to shortlist 13 reforms from the broader pool of 47 reforms that were submitted. This was done to ensure that there was a manageable number of reforms for the larger group of 100 to consider, while still being led by a strong community voice.



SOLVE

Support everyday Australians to weigh evidence, confront competing priorities and deliberate openly.

In February 2025, 100 broadly representative Australians participated in a national deliberation in Sydney over two days. At the event, they engaged with independent experts, watched as proponents and challengers debated each reform and deliberated with one another on the merits of each reform. Support was measured using a pre-post poll structure, allowing us to understand how views shifted because of the deliberation.



SPARK

Build a clear, community-led mandate for action and change.

This document presents the results of the housing deliberation, providing both the policy and political justification for why these reforms should be enacted.

The final 13 short-listed housing reforms focused on:



Making Housing Affordability

- 01 Replace stamp duty with land tax
- 02 Reform negative gearing and capital gains tax
- 03 Increase rent assistance
- 04 More essential worker housing via private investment



Expanding Housing Choice

- 05 Upzone to medium density around transport
- 06 Enable gentle densification
- 07 Increase the use of prefabricated housing
- 08 More visas for tradies



Enabling Change

- 13 Legislate a national housing and homelessness plan



Increasing Housing Security

09 Strengthen renters' rights

10 Build to rent tax incentives

11 Mandatory inclusionary zoning

12 Increase social housing to 10% of housing stock



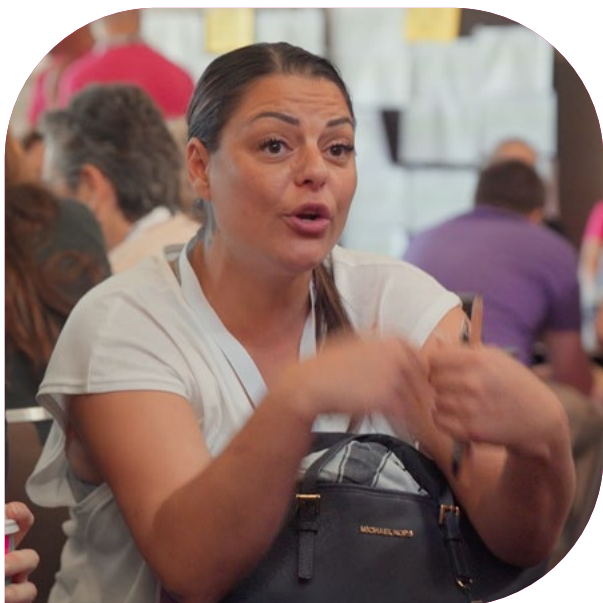


We recruited a representative group of 100 Australians.

To ensure that our 100 participants were a broad and unbiased representation of the Australian population, we worked with an independent organisation who specialise in finding randomly selected, representative samples of people to participate in deliberative events – [Sortition Foundation](https://www.sortitionfoundation.org/)¹ – to undertake recruitment of participants.

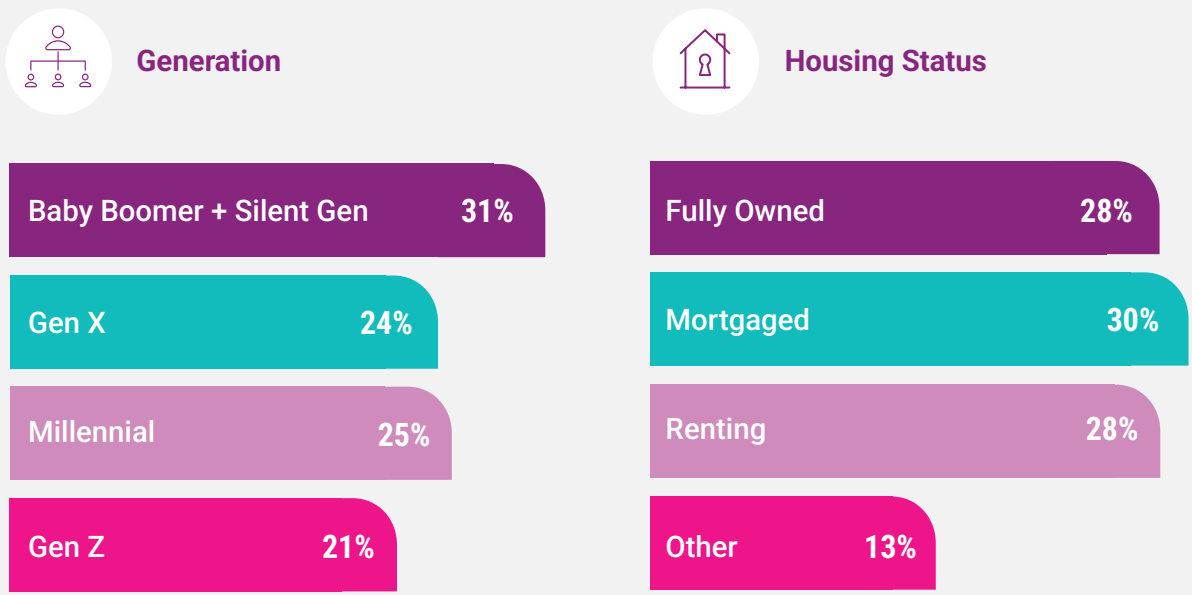
Our recruitment consisted of the following steps:

- 1. Initial outreach:** 36,000 letters were mailed to randomly chosen addresses from the Australian postal roll and an online EOI portal was opened, giving every household an opportunity to participate.
- 2. Demographic data collection:** Interested individuals provided information on their demographics, housing status and involvement in government policy process to ensure broad representation and avoid overrepresentation of people with a strong housing interest or agenda.
- 3. Random Selection:** A final group was randomly selected after stratifying by age, gender, highest level of education, city or regional, state, Australian & Torres Strait Islander, citizenship, housing status, how they entered the process, last Federal election vote, and whether they had previously been involved in a government policy process. This ensured our participants were essentially demographically identical to the Australian population.

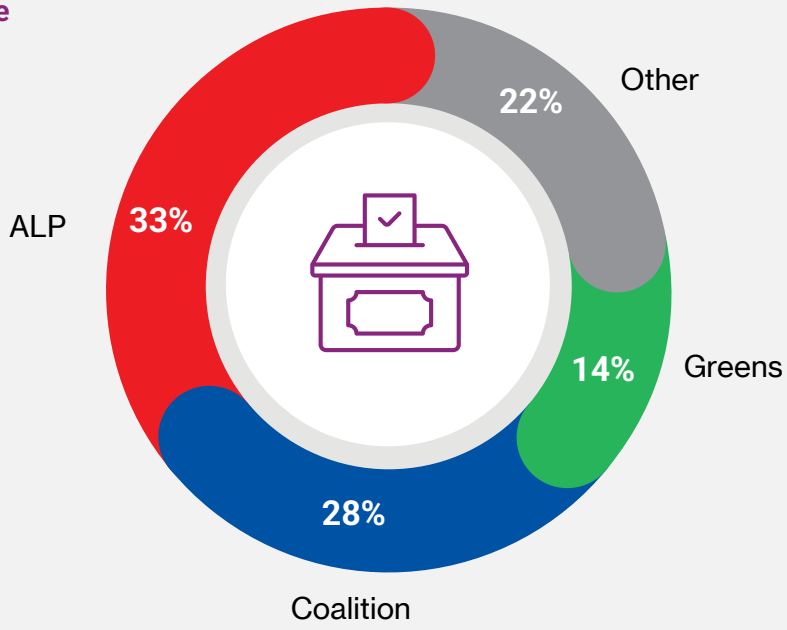


Source: ¹ <https://www.sortitionfoundation.org/>

Our participants reflected the Australian community across age, politics and housing status:



Last federal vote



Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

The 100 participants came together with a range of housing experts and decision makers for a weekend of deliberation.

Participants met in Sydney from 21 - 23 February at the UTS Aerial Function Centre. Over the course of the weekend, participants took part in four structured rounds of deliberation about the reforms, with each round of deliberation following the same structure, presented below.



*We did arrive as individuals.
We did arrive with our own
biases or views on the world.*

*And very quickly what's
occurred is that through
listening and accepting other
people's experiences, it's
enabled people to really morph
their thoughts and be more
accepting of ideas that they
initially thought they were
going to strongly oppose.*

– AMPLIFICATION participant

1

The case for and against each reform was presented

To support informed discussion, each of the reforms was presented by a pair of experts – one in support, one raising concerns. In total, 24 experts contributed to the process, offering a wide range of views. These experts came from across sectors and disciplines, including policy research, academia, housing and construction, community advocacy, government, and consulting. Their contributions gave participants the chance to engage with evidence from multiple angles before forming their own views.

In each round participants heard directly from reform proponents and challengers, asking questions to better understand the case for and against each proposal. After these presentations, participants broke into smaller groups to discuss what they'd heard. The process concluded with a consensus-building session, where participants reflected on areas of agreement and difference.

All participants completed a survey before and after the deliberation to measure how their views had changed.

2 Independent experts helped participants understand the nuances of each reform

Participants were provided with access to four independent housing experts, who served as an ongoing resource during the process. These experts ensured that information was credible, balanced and available when needed, help participants to cut to the core tensions in each reform and clear up any misperceptions or difficult details. They were joined by some of the **AMPLIFY Community Heroes** – respected Australians who played a key role in reviewing the original 47 reforms and whittling them down to the final 13.

3 Senior decision makers from all sides of politics were in the room

To ensure the process was not only community-led but policy-connected, we brought in senior housing decision-makers from both sides of politics. Participants heard directly from NSW Housing Minister Rose Jackson, Federal Shadow Assistant Minister for Home Ownership Senator Andrew Bragg, and Federal Housing Minister Clare O'Neil, reinforcing that the results from the weekend of deliberation would be heard by policy makers. This bipartisan engagement gave the process legitimacy and positioned the **AMPLIFICATION** as a bridge between community insight and cross-party policymaking.



We adapted an innovative method called 'deliberative polling' to assess support for bold reforms before and after the deliberation.

We adapted a method developed by the Stanford Deliberative Democracy Lab called 'Deliberative Polling' to understand which reforms people supported, and how that support changed once they engaged with evidence and deliberation.

So, we used this method to ask all participants to take the same survey before and after the event, which asked about their support for each of the reforms as well as their opinions on the underlying factors influencing the housing crisis.



One of the coolest things that I found about this was the sense of community that I felt in terms of how many compromises I saw people willing to make.

I learned that I don't have to be a bystander and accept that things are the way that they are, and I can make a difference, and that's really important.

– AMPLIFICATION participant





Participants rigorously deliberated on the merits of each reform, hearing from the proponents and challengers of each reform (all experts on the topic), as well as from the independent experts, community heroes and fellow participants. They had the time, space and support to fully consider each of the reforms and hear from a range of perspectives on housing before answering the second survey.

To collectively make progress on bold housing reforms, not everyone in the community will get what would benefit them most individually. With this in mind, we explicitly drew on the deliberative field's focus on encouraging necessary consensus and compromise. This was reflected in the design of our survey scale, which asked if people loved, liked, could live with, didn't like or loathed each reform.

Comparing the results of the two surveys and looking at how minds changed, allows us to move beyond surface-level opinions on reforms and capture considered, informed judgments about the housing reforms under discussion. This also provides us a wealth of evidence on who might change their minds on a reform, and why.

Deliberative polling has been used across the world to understand considered opinion on a wide range of topics, and to make decisions on contested issues. It shows what is possible when Australians are given the opportunity to think deeply and engage with policy reforms in a respectful, thoughtful environment rather than simply reacting to the issues of the day with the limited time and energy they have available.

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What we found

Australians want bold action on housing reform.

Four of the top five priority reforms are about boosting supply:

96%

supported increasing the use of prefabricated housing

94%

supported upzoning to medium density around public transport

88%

supported increasing the proportion of social housing in Australia to 10% of all housing stock

88%

supported strengthening renters' rights

87%

supported enabling gentle densification



A clear majority of participants supported ALL 13 housing reforms.

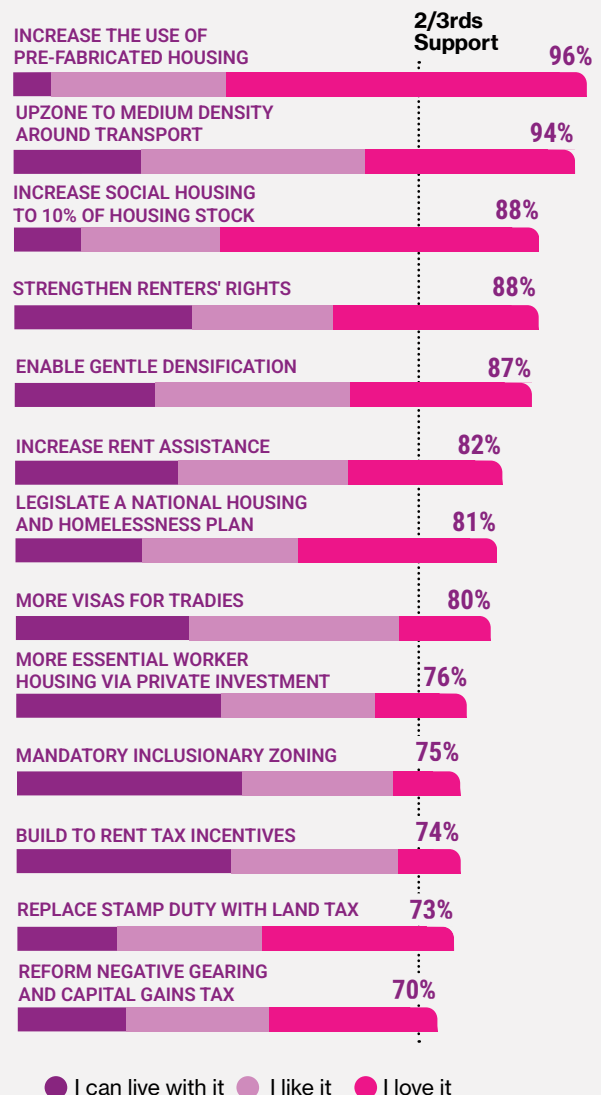
Participants were clear that solving the housing crisis will not be achieved through a single solution and understood that the level of change required demands a combination of reforms to address the different pressures in the system.

These high levels of support across reforms was surprising to many of our housing experts, particularly for more complex tax reforms such as transitioning stamp duties to land tax (73%) and rethinking how the interaction of negative gearing and capital gains tax impacts housing supply and affordability (70%). However, strong public support has been seen previously for politically challenging reforms.

The reforms receiving the strongest support were those that directly enable more housing to be built. Participants prioritised measures that would increase supply over reforms aimed at improving how the system operates, such as mandatory inclusionary zoning or build-to-rent models, or those focused on providing additional income supports like rent assistance.

Support for Housing Reforms

% of respondents (n =102) who answered either 'I love it, I like it or I can live with it' in the post-deliberation survey.



Source:
<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2024-10-28/new-polling-says-voters-want-more-supply/104523526>

Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

There was bipartisan support among participants for many of the top housing reforms.

Three of our top five reforms had strong support across the political spectrum. ALP, Coalition, Greens and Other voters all strongly supported (84%+) the use of prefabricated housing, upzoning to medium density and gentle densification. Coalition voters were less supportive for increasing social housing (66%, compared to 92%+ for others) or stronger renters' rights (72%, compared to 90%+ for others) – however there remained super-majority support across all political parties for each of our top five reforms.

ALP and Greens voters strongly supported reforms to build homes (80%+) and to strengthen protections for renters (95% and 100%) respectively. Greens voters were consistently supportive of most housing reforms, although they were less supportive of Build-to-Rent (57%) and mandatory inclusionary zoning (71%) compared to other proposals (85%+).

Where support for reforms was lower, it was often explained by divisions along political lines. The most pronounced political differences were seen in responses to the tax-focused reforms, including stamp duty, negative gearing, and the Capital Gains Tax discount (notably lower support by Coalition voters, 58% and 48% respectively) as well as to build-to-rent incentives (notably lower support by Greens and ALP voters, 57% and 65% respectively).



We've all respected each other's opinions and I think that's really important for society moving forward to remember that we can work like that. We don't all have to agree.

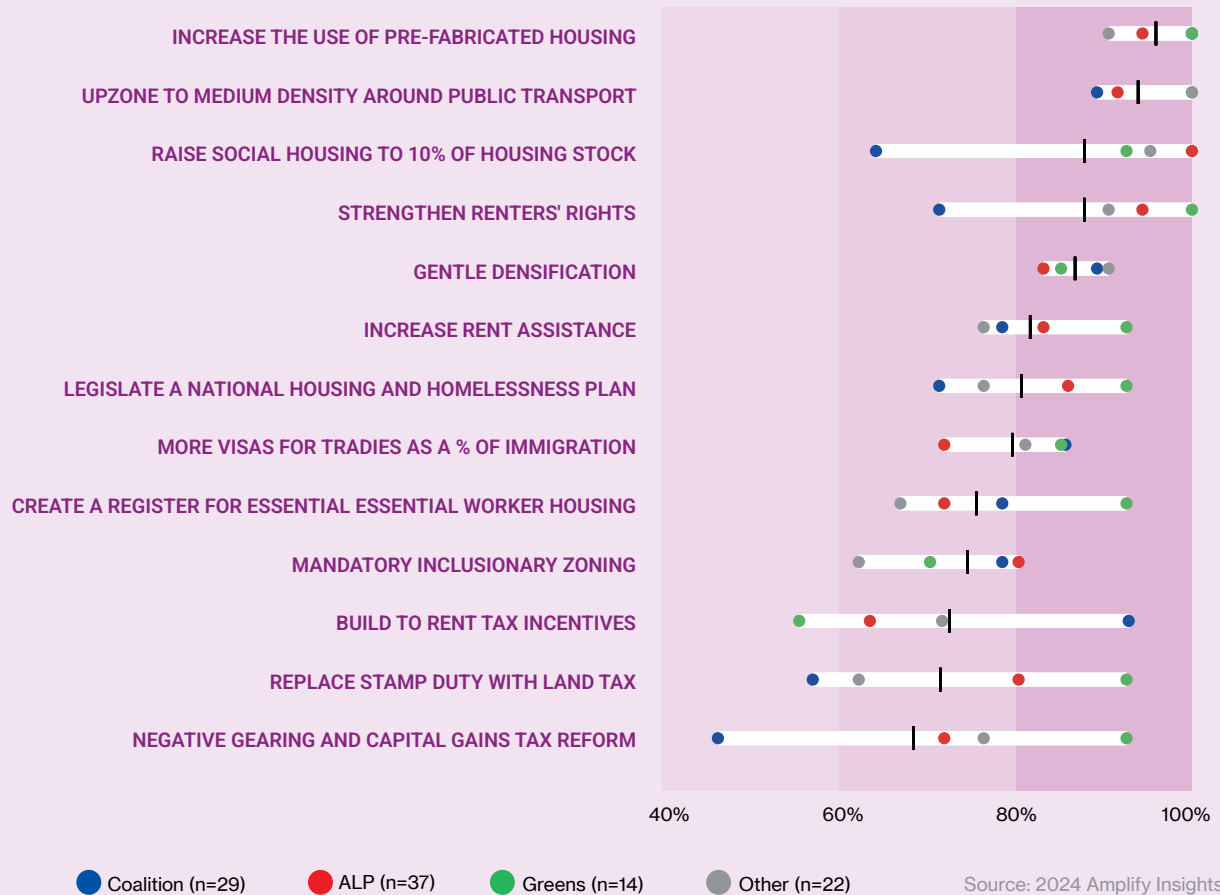
– AMPLIFICATION participant





Three of our top five reforms had strong support across the political spectrum

Q: Overall, what is your level of support for this reform proposal?



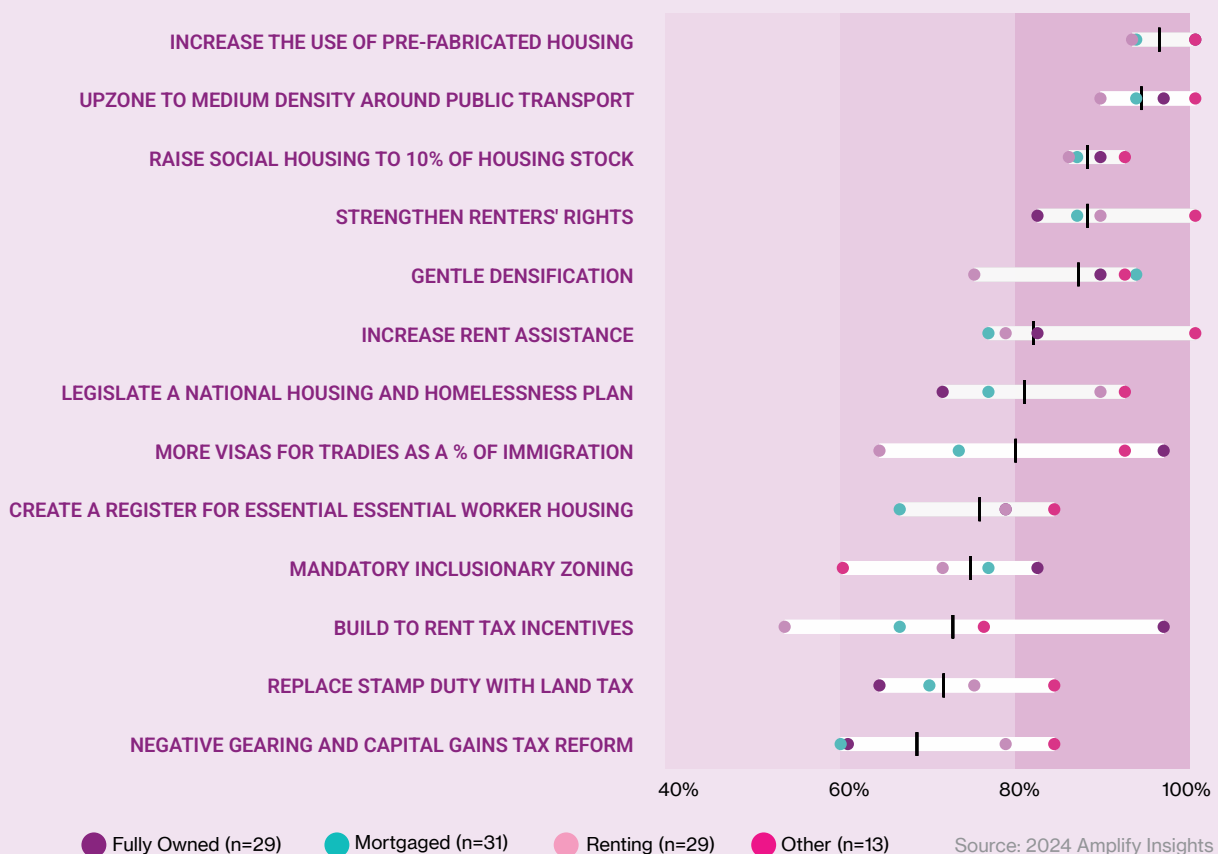
We did not find major differences in support for reforms between homeowners & renters.

Support for key reforms was remarkably consistent across owners, renters, and those living in other arrangements.

There was strong backing for prefabricated housing (93%+), medium-density development (90%+), stronger protections for renters (82%+), and more social housing (86%+). Even among homeowners, support for stronger renters' rights remained high, exceeding 80%.

Support for key reforms was consistent across owners, renters, and those living in other arrangements.

Q: Overall, what is your level of support for this reform proposal?

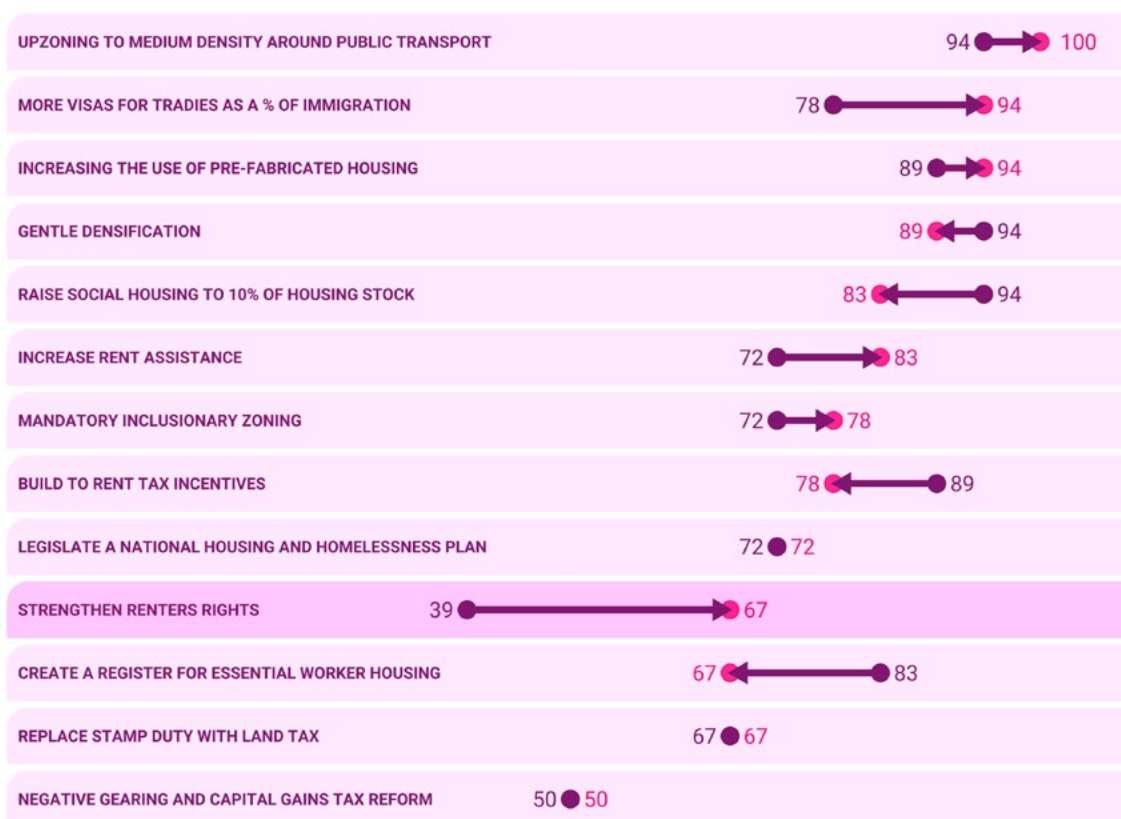


Investment property owners supported reforms that could be considered more in the national interest rather than their own.

Residential investors showed openness to changes in policy settings that would directly affect their current investments. Half of all property investors supported the complete phase-out of tax concessions.

Residential investors showed the sharpest shift in support for stronger renters' rights through the deliberation process, rising from 39% before deliberation to 67% afterwards. This shows that engaging with experts and deliberating with other participants can have a significant impact on highly contested reforms where individuals have a personal vested interest.

Investors increased support for reforms that had direct implications for their own investments.



Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

The generations were much more united in their support for bold reform than we might have expected.

There is very little variation in support for our top 5 reforms across the different generations. Noticeably, 100% of Gen Z participants supported more prefabricated housing and stronger renters' rights. Gen X are the most supportive generation for boosting social housing to 10% of stock (96%).

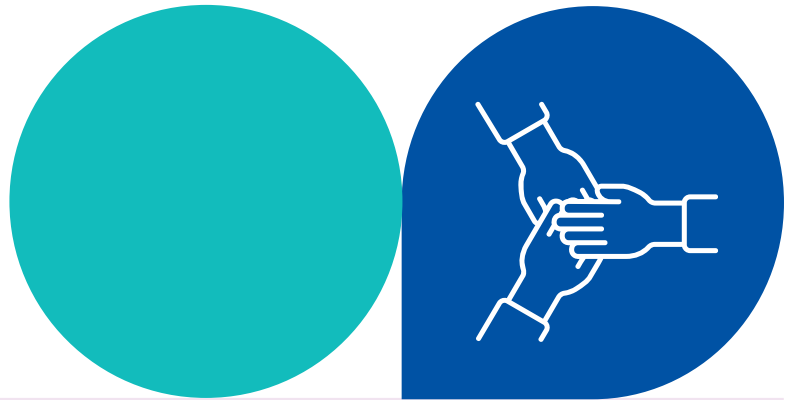
Gen Z are much more supportive of tax reform (stamp duty, negative gearing, CGT discount), but much less supportive of Build-to-Rent incentives and mandatory inclusionary zoning. Baby boomers and silent generation have strong support for Build-to-Rent and mandatory inclusionary zoning, as well as faster visas for construction workers.



Talking to some of the younger people about how they see their future—they don't ever see themselves owning their own home. I think that's really scary.

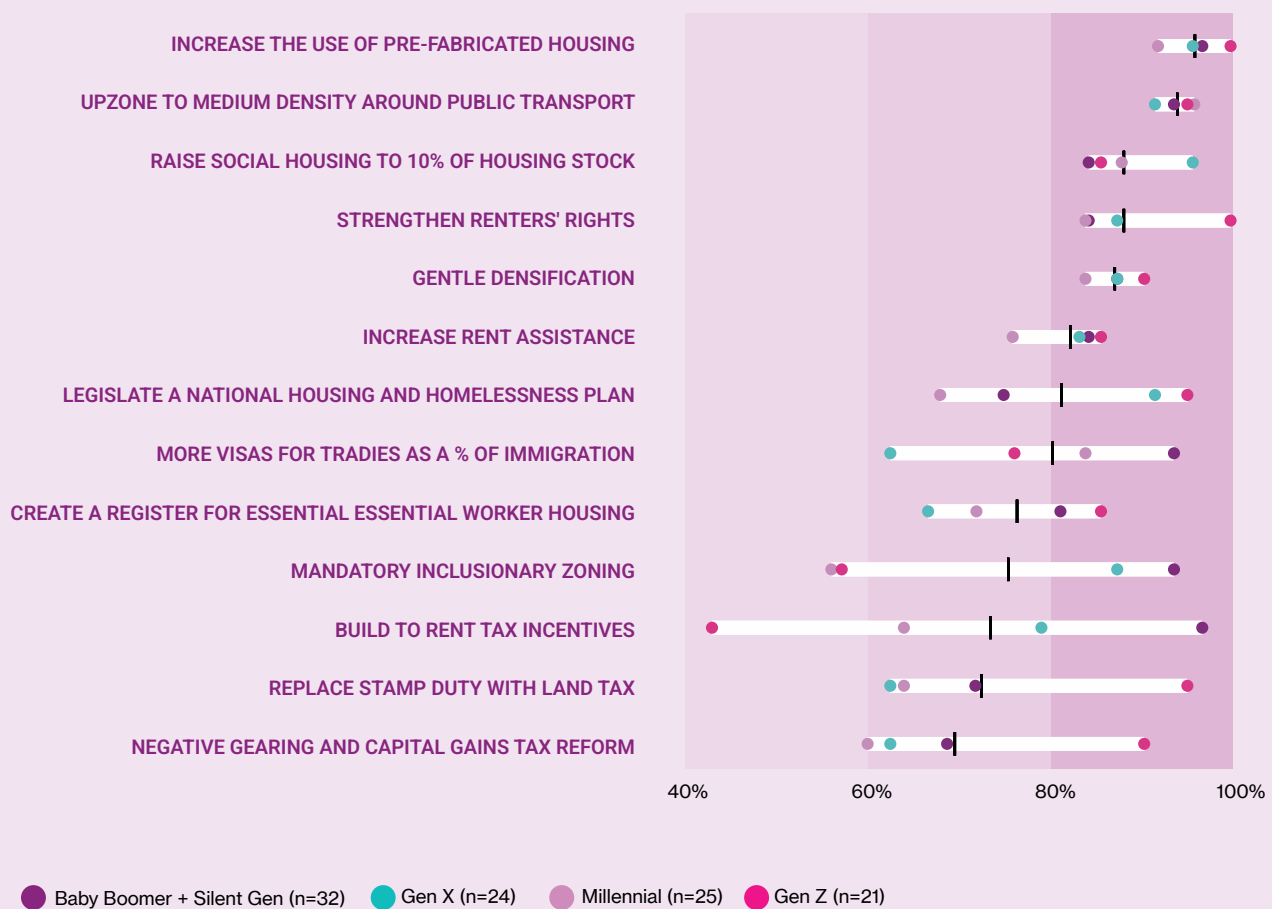
– AMPLIFICATION participant





There is very little variation in support for our top 5 reforms by generation.

Q: Overall, what is your level of support for this reform proposal?



Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

Support for most reforms increased after information and debate.

We saw increases in support for 9 of the 13 reforms, with negligible declines for the four other reforms (less than 3%).

This reflects the success of the proponents in answering the major concerns and criticism of their proposed reform on the day, and the increased appetite for reform in general as participants deliberated on the severity of the housing crisis.

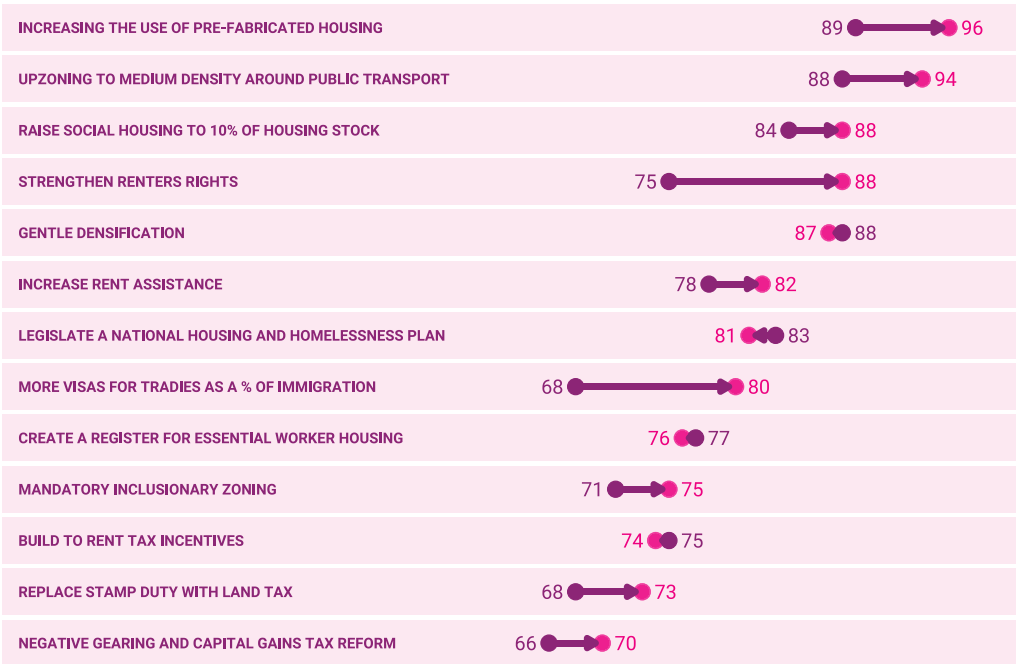
There were particularly large increases for two reforms – strengthening renters rights (which increased from 75% to 88%) and increasing the proportion of visas given to tradies and building construction workers (which increased from 68% to 80%).

The increase in support for strengthening renters’ rights was driven by two points in the discussion. First, there was an increased understanding that many would never own a home, and therefore might never have security in their housing without these reforms. Second, many participants were surprised to learn how much weaker the protections were for Australian renters compared with renters across the world in similar countries.

The large increase in support for immigration reform of 12% reflected a key misconception – many participants believed the reform aimed to increase the total number of immigrants, not reallocate the immigrants that are given visas towards workers that would help to build housing. Clearing up this misconception, led to a strong increase in support.

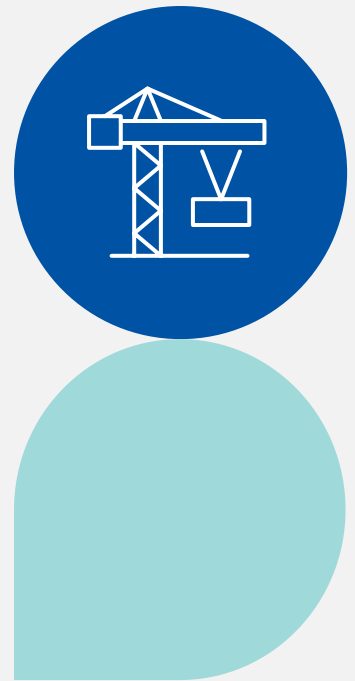
There were strong increases in support for several reforms, particularly renters’ rights and visas for tradies

Q: Change between pre and post survey: % of respondents (n = 102) who answered either I love it, I like it or I can live with it



Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

Participants viewed the high costs of construction, insufficient investment in social housing and excessive regulation as the biggest drivers of the Australian housing crisis.



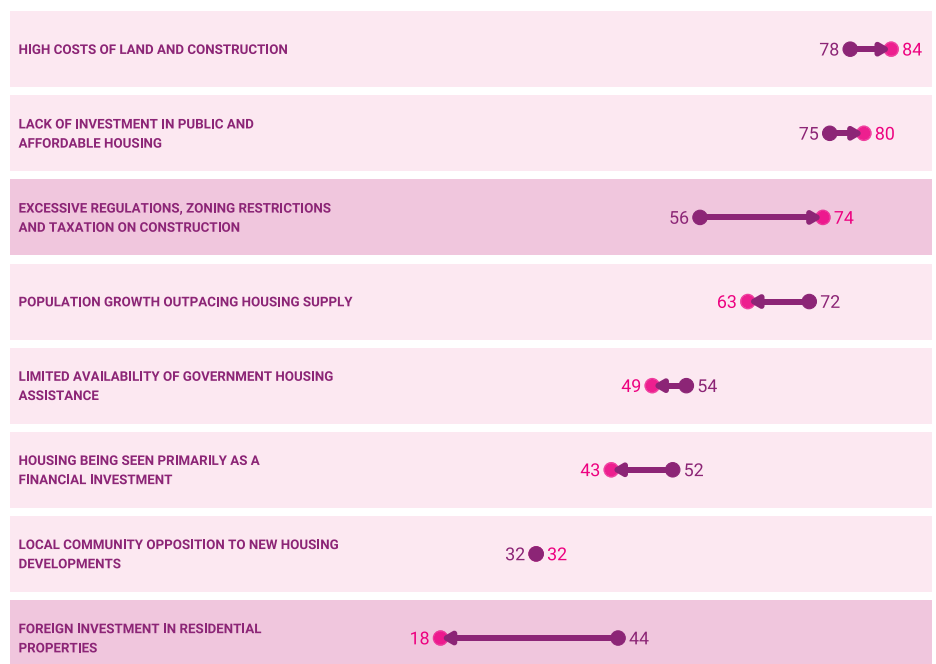
The largest contributors to the housing crisis identified by our participants are key factors that limit supply.

This is consistent with the most supported reforms being those that help more homes to be built.

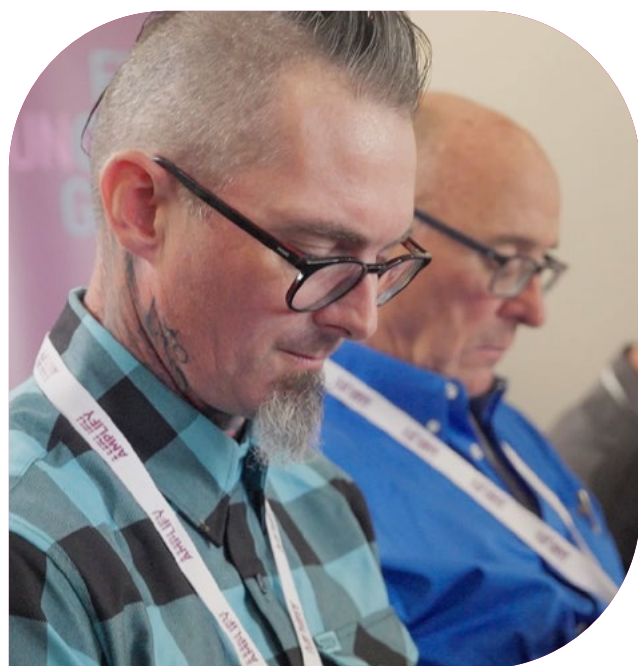
There were two highly significant changes in people's views from before the deliberation to after – from 56% to 74% for the role of regulation, zoning and taxation and a massive drop from 44% to 18% for the importance of foreign investment in property.

After deliberation, participants were much more likely to think that supply constraints were a major cause of the housing crisis rather than foreign investment.

Q: Change between pre and post survey: % of respondents (n = 102) who answered “A great deal” or “A lot” to the question “How much are each of these causing the current housing crisis?”



The AMPLIFICATION process led to people becoming more positive about some of our most significant, complex and contested reforms.



The three reforms that saw the biggest increases in more favourable support were increasing social housing (44%), replacing stamp duty (43%) and more visas for tradies (41%).

This indicates to us that deliberation and access to experts helped people to move beyond instinctive concerns around public spending taxes and immigration, to grapple with difficult reforms and support those that they thought could make a real difference.

In contrast, the reforms that saw the biggest increases in negative sentiment (e.g. Build-to-Rent incentives and the national housing and homelessness plan) included those where concerns were raised about the risks or feasibility around implementation.

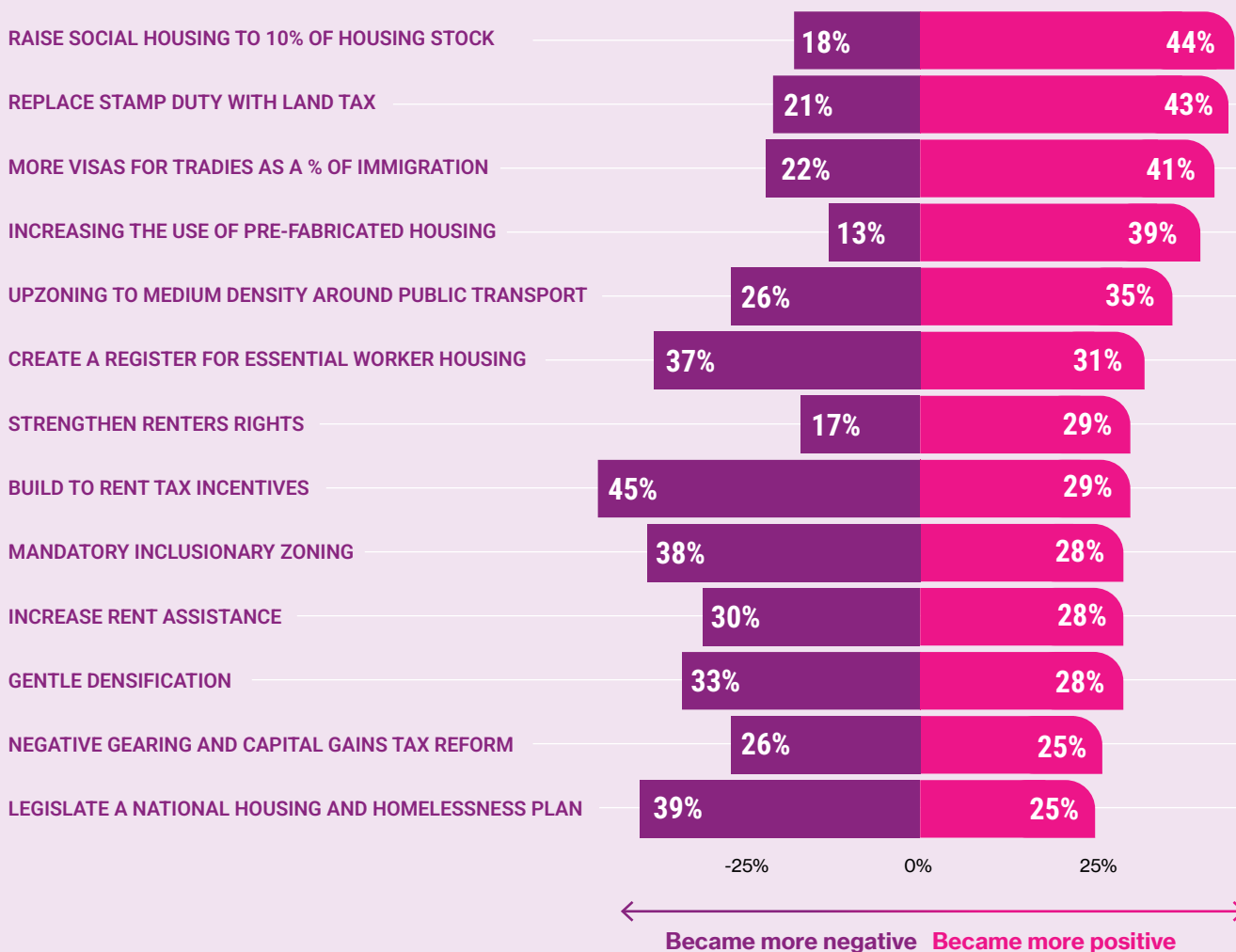


Deliberation and access to experts helped people to grapple with difficult reforms, rather than only moving participants on reforms they were unfamiliar with.



Some of the biggest changes in support occurred for the most complex reforms

Q: Change between pre and post survey: % of respondents (n = 102) who changed their response; positive indicates a more positive response post-survey, negative indicates a more negative response



Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

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What we learned



When Australians come together, they can put their differences aside and find uncommon ground.



When a representative group of Australians spent time listening, learning and deliberating on the merits of a wide range of reforms, the effect was clear: perspectives broadened, trust grew and consensus was found.



Housing policy is complicated, and perspectives understandably vary; but given the scale of the problem, we all need to compromise to make change. Participants reported coming away from the weekend with a stronger understanding of the severity of the housing crisis, a deeper understanding of the underlying issues that need to be resolved, and a greater willingness to make compromises needed for Australia to make real progress on housing reform.

Our data shows a **19% increase** in the number of participants who saw others as willing to compromise after the deliberation.

Willingness to compromise

Q: How willing do you think other people are to accept compromise on housing reforms?

BEFORE

62%



AFTER

81%



● Somewhat willing ● Very willing



Most people are willing to compromise and find things they can agree on.



Open conversation and education are key in supporting people to understand how housing insecurity affects people and states in different ways.



Leaving space for others to speak and making the effort to actually hear what is being said is extremely important for getting everyone on the same page.

Source: 2024 Amplify Insights

People listened,
felt heard and
changed their minds.
This is the secret
sauce of deliberation
and creates a
platform for change.



I learned that a bunch of everyday Aussies can collectively debate a very important subject in a respectful, constructive way and agree to disagree.

– AMPLIFICATION participant

Felt understood

Q: How well do you think other people understand your perspectives and experience on housing?

BEFORE

58%



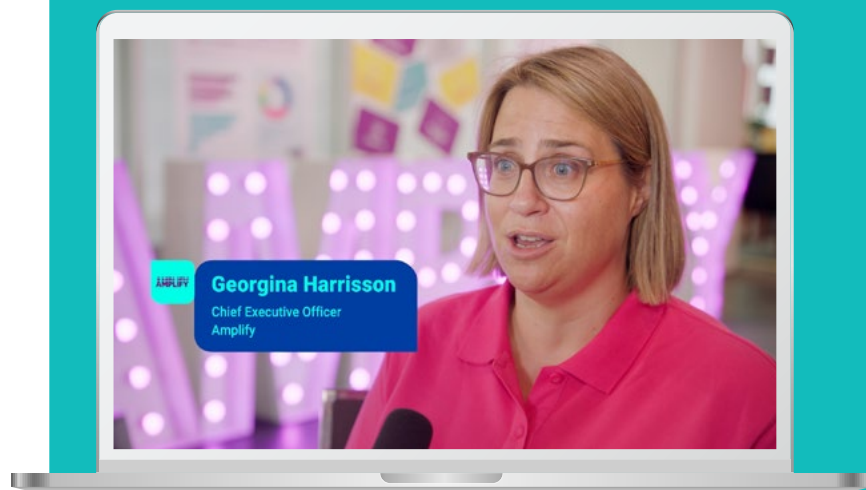
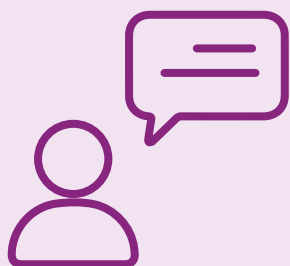
AFTER

74%



● Somewhat willing ● Very willing

Source: 2024 Amplify Insights



Watch the video:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j3YiDxVLYRA>

Our AMPLIFICATION demonstrated that the combination of facilitated dialogue, expert advice and a broad cross-section of society can foster a shared commitment to finding solutions. Even proposals that seemed simple at first revealed trade-offs and competing perspectives. But rather than becoming discouraged, participants left the process energised, motivated to keep engaging and advocating for housing reform. Open, respectful deliberation proved not only possible, but powerful.

Participants listened deeply to experts and each other. This included talking with people they would not usually meet in their daily lives. They listened and felt heard. As a result, participants were 16% more likely to say they felt understood by others, and not a single participant reported feeling very poorly understood at the end of the deliberation.

It was this combination of hearing the evidence and others perspective that changed minds. For example, participants with rental investments reported that it was the combination of learning about how rental markets worked in other countries along with the opportunity to talk directly with renters that led to them becoming supportive of stronger rental rights. Many had simply never talked about this issue with renters before.

But our data and quotes don't do justice to the experience over the course of the weekend. The atmosphere at points was electric, particularly as we kicked off on the Friday evening and wrapped on the Sunday evening. Participants were visibly exhausted at points, as they navigated the notorious 'groan zone' in the middle of the deliberation. For a better sense of what transpired, we encourage you to [watch our video](#) that captures some of the magic that occurred.

Many of us at **AMPLIFY** were visibly moved by the participants' final reflections, which really highlighted the power of the process – the deep learnings, connections and sense of empowerment they felt. It looked and felt like Australia in one room, but over the course of just one weekend that had gone from a group of strangers to a group of knowledgeable and powerful advocates for housing reforms.

In the academic study of deliberations, special moments like the final reflections are referred to as 'deliberative transformative moments' – a dry, technical term for very powerful moments of human connection. Relatively little is known about how exactly you can create and sustain them over time, a gap in the research that **AMPLIFY** hopes to fill in the years ahead.

We will continue to evolve how we use deliberative and participatory tools.



The AMPLIFICATION showed that, when supported with good information and real solutions, a representative group of Australians can engage with complex policy issues, even on the most contested reforms and over a relatively short period of time.

Participants were not only able to understand many of the trade-offs, but also to weigh competing perspectives, listen carefully to others, and find agreement in unexpected places. This process demonstrated that the community is not only capable of grappling with complexity, but eager to do so when given the chance.

We also observed a real appetite to break through the deadlock – not just among participants, but across policymakers, experts and the broader public. What's missing is not interest or capacity, but a process that people can trust, legitimating tough decisions and driving reform.

AMPLIFY can push tangible progress on our most important issues by building a process that can help to break through these deadlocks. As an independent, non-partisan, community-led organisation, we are uniquely situated to play this role in Australia's civic infrastructure.

The credibility of the process, high-quality information and a safe, respectful environment, created the conditions for genuine learning and movement. Participants were more willing to listen and reflect because they weren't being asked to defend political positions.

Importantly, we found that meaningful shifts in understanding don't always require long periods of engagement. When information is balanced and engaging, presented by credible voices, and delivered in an environment that supports open exchange, even a small amount of time (measured in minutes and hours) can have a significant impact. For example, despite not being the direct focus of any of the 13 reforms, the proportion of participants who felt that foreign ownership is a major driver of the housing problem fell from 44% to 18% over the course of the weekend. What matters most is not duration, but design.



Deliberative methods, such as deliberative polling, remain unfamiliar to many in media and government. While the value of the process is evident to those who participate, it often requires translation for those outside it. People may have knee-jerk criticisms of how many participants were involved, the value of deliberation or even the value of inserting the public voice into policy. We have observed greater traction when positioning deliberation as part of a continuum that includes tools more familiar to the media: traditional opinion polls and focus groups. Framing deliberative polls as a thoughtful evolution of these tools – less reactive, more reflective – helps build understanding and trust that these methods can be part of the solution to thorny policy problems that are stuck in gridlock.

We know our process was far from perfect. Naturally, given it was our first major deliberation. We have and continue to monitor the process for learnings that we and others can apply in future. Below are five key questions we grappled with and lessons we learnt during the design and delivery of this **AMPLIFICATION**.



Understanding complex reforms is one thing, but all of us, when we walk into a room on any issue, bring all of our lived experience and all of our emotional experience into that conversation as well.

– AMPLIFICATION participant



QUESTION #1

How should we design the AMPLIFICATION?

We chose to adapt a deliberative polling design because:

Housing is a big and complex issue and involves all levels of government. We wanted our first deliberation to have a national focus.

- Our analysis showed that many evidence-informed solutions existed, but public support of those options was not well understood by decision makers.
- We wanted the deliberation to be in person and occur ahead of the 2025 Australian Federal election.
- Time and travel commitments for participants and cost considerations for **AMPLIFY** meant the centrepiece of the deliberation needed to happen over one weekend.

Despite only having one weekend together, participants listened, debated, changed their minds and found common ground. We were able to create an experience and environment that enabled participants to quickly build trust and rapport and feel open to sharing their perspectives while listening to others. We witnessed the 'secret sauce' of deliberation through moments of deep connection and self-reflection.

The poll provided us with data on support levels for each reform, plus how and why people changed their minds, which has been extremely valuable for engaging decision-makers and the wider community.

While we saw how well this can be done in person over one weekend, we plan to test further options for scaling deliberations that are time and cost effective. We want to explore tools that can reach more of the community at different points throughout the **AMPLIFICATION**, as we recognise the benefits of a breadth of reach for driving change.

QUESTION #2

How should we recruit participants?

The 100 participants in the deliberation were recruited using sortition (a democratic lottery), so that they represented a microcosm of Australia in one room. We partnered with the Sortition Foundation to combine an open online recruitment with a traditional mail out, with 36,000 invites sent to addresses picked by lottery from the Australia Post database.

From a pool of 920 applicants, a representative group of 120 participants (to allow for attrition) were selected.

The strength of this approach lies in the representativeness and the quality of participant engagement, not the overall quantity. This is different to broad reaching opinion polling, or hearing from the usual suspects on housing, for example political parties, the small but vocal minorities on social media, stakeholder groups, or even community group representatives. This is the everyday Australians and missing millions that **AMPLIFY** is focused on reaching.

The response rate to the mail out was c. 1%, which is slightly lower than normal, likely due to **AMPLIFY** being a new organisation, timing and need for national travel. We are keen to further understand what the unlock is for people putting their hands up for deliberations and how we can reduce barriers to participation.

There are a range of approaches between opinion polling and 'raw opinion' and the deep deliberation possible after in person events with only participants drawn through sortition. We are interested in combining methods (e.g. deep engagement with a small number of people, combined with lighter touch surveys that have much larger reach) to benefit from the strengths of different approaches, as well as experimenting with digital and AI tools that can support group conversation, consensus and decision-making at scale (e.g. remesh.ai and pol.is).

QUESTION #3

How should we select the reforms?

There are a range of evidence-based solutions in housing that haven't been taken forward yet in Australia due to political inaction and a lack of community consensus. So, we sought out the best ideas from across the housing industry, academia and think tanks and received 46 reform proposals. While these proposals covered the major levers for housing reform, they were stronger in some areas and sectors than others. For example, we received several reform proposals on changes to taxes, funding and planning from think tanks and housing sector organisations. We received far fewer reforms that focused on access to finance and the construction sector.

We then spent a weekend in November with a group of the Australia Day Council's Community Heroes who came from each State and Territory in Australia, to create the short list of 13, which they identified as the most important areas of reform.

Having 13 reforms enabled a discussion across a broad range of solutions that tackle different parts of the problem, but was at the upper limit of what participants could fully engage with over one weekend. The reforms also differed in ambition and objective, making it challenging to compare reforms against each other directly. In future, we will explore how the community can be more involved in agenda setting, solution identification and refinement.

QUESTION #4

How should we provide access to the evidence and different perspectives?

We wanted participants to engage with the evidence on what is driving the housing crisis and different perspectives on what might help tackle it. We provided a briefing from independent experts and our team and created a 130-page deliberative guide that detailed the reforms, as well as the perspective of the Community Heroes and the key lines of critique. To cater to different learning styles, we experimented with the use of AI (through Google's NotebookLM) to create a short podcast that talked through the pros and cons of the reforms in an engaging audio format (albeit with an American accent!).

At the **AMPLIFICATION** event itself, we designed a unique process where participants heard from reform proponents, challengers and independent experts, as well as discussing the reforms with each other on tables. Feedback suggests that this format worked well, but that the quality of the presentations and debate varied between reforms.

We will explore alternatives to this debate format for discussing different perspectives on specific solutions, as well as the option of creating access to on-demand fact checking. There was strong demand from participants to engage directly with experts, so in future we will aim to provide more time in smaller group discussions.

QUESTION #5

How should we interpret the results?

The poll data showed that at the end of the deliberation most people loved, liked or could live with all 13 reforms, and there was a clear consensus that bolder reforms are needed across a range of levers. The strongest support was for reforms that focused on unlocking supply. Importantly, this was consistent with participant views on the main drivers of the housing crisis.

The poll also showed that people changed their mind after listening to the evidence and each other. Several experts provided feedback that they were impressed by the depth and nuance of the participants questions and surprised by their ability to quickly and critically engage with a complex issue like housing.

The poll was designed to assess overall support for each reform rather than explicitly focused on trade-offs or prioritisation between reforms. This is because the reforms tackle different parts of the problem, so they were effectively weighing up 'apples and pears'. Participants did weigh up factors like value for money, impact and feasibility, but this was not a decision-making forum so detailed trade-off discussion wasn't necessary.

We are now taking forward work to address some of the key trade-offs in the most supported reforms, for example through work examining increasing density in our cities.



I'm 73, I think I'm out of touch, so the opportunity of coming here and listening to people has reignited something.

– AMPLIFICATION participant



We're not here representing ourselves as individuals, we're actually here representing the residents and people living all over Australia.

– AMPLIFICATION participant



AMPLIFY



**What
comes
next**

We are supporting the community to drive change, and we are already seeing results.



The **AMPLIFICATION process showed what's possible when Australians are given the tools and space to deliberate — and now, we take the next step. We will continue to push for ambitious, community-backed housing reform, using this mandate to call for action at every level.**

The appetite for ambitious housing reform is high, and the message from the community is clear: build more homes — now. Australians want urgent, practical action to increase supply, and what's happening today is nowhere near enough. This includes how we build — unlocking prefabricated construction; where we build — bold, transit-oriented development in areas people want to live; and what we build — more diverse options, including social housing, granny flats and small dwellings that meet people's needs.

Renters must also be part of the solution. One in three Australians will rent long-term, yet our rental laws offer some of the weakest protections in the world. Stronger, nationally consistent rights — like ending no-fault evictions and allowing pets — are essential to housing security. And while tax reform is complex, the deliberation showed it must be part of the conversation. With clear information and expert input, the community is ready to tackle this challenge and expects policymakers to do the same.



The **AMPLIFY** community is at the heart of this work. Our members and supporters have been engaging with decision-makers, sharing the findings, and expanding the conversation across the country. And we have already seen results!

Housing Ministers, Shadow Housing Ministers, and policy officials from the Federal and State Governments were in the room. Witnessing firsthand the urgency of the community's demands, they understood the strong support behind prefab construction. After the event we carried these demands directly to decision-makers and the Federal Government responded with action – in the 2024 Budget they announced \$50 million for local programs that grow the prefab industry and another \$4 million to streamline certifications and other regulations for prefab housing.

There is so much more to do, and there will be many more opportunities to get involved—from workshops to advocacy actions—and we'll continue to back Australians who are ready to lead.



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Annex

01

Replace stamp duty with land tax

STAMP OUT STAMP DUTY

Author:

Brendan Coates, Grattan Institute

Reform Summary

With transitional financial help from the Federal Government, State and Territory Governments should replace stamp duty with broad-based land value taxes (LVTs). All housing owners would incur an annual tax on the unimproved value of their land, potentially payable at property sale. This would generate behavioural change that makes better use of existing housing, would more fairly tax wealth growth from rising house prices and make Australians up to \$20 billion a year better off.



Challenger

Professor Robert Breunig,
Australian National University

Challenge Summary

- Implementation by States and Territories introduces the risk of competition
- An alternate to this proposal is for the Federal Government to re-introduce a broad-based land tax
- The reform faces a significant communications challenge with the public

02

Reform negative gearing and capital gains tax

HOUSING TAX

Author:

Maiy Azize, Everybody's Home

Reform Summary

Federal Government to phase out Negative Gearing tax deductions and the Capital Gains Tax Discount over ten years. This incremental approach would guard against concerns about the impact of the reform on housing markets. The tax reform proposals are expected to save considerable funds. The current arrangements are expected to cost the Federal Budget \$176 billion in foregone revenue between 2025-26 and 2034-35. These funds can be reinvested into a broad-based social housing program.

Challenger

Professor Robert Breunig,
Australian National University

Challenge Summary

- This reform will make rental accommodation harder to find and renting more expensive
- Treating the deductibility of expenses and the tax treatment of capital gains differently
- Fairer to replace with a broad-based property tax



03

Increase rent assistance

BOOST RENT ASSISTANCE

Author:

Brendan Coates & Matthew Bowes,
Grattan Institute

Reform Summary

The Federal Government should increase the maximum rate of Commonwealth Rent Assistance by 50% for singles and 40% for couples, and index it to changes in rents for the cheapest 25% of homes in our capital cities, rather than inflation. This would provide immediate support to the growing number of low-income households who struggle to meet their housing costs and would reduce housing stress and poverty among low-income Australians.

Challenger

Mark Ronisisvalle,
Former Deputy Secretary, NSW Treasury

Challenge Summary

- The reform is not affordable as currently drafted
- The reform could act to increase house prices and rents and lock-in higher subsidies over the long term
- The reform does not address the fundamental problems with the housing market



04

More essential worker housing via private investment

HOMES FOR EVERYDAY HEROES

Author:

Robert Pradolin, Housing All Australians

Reform Summary

Housing All Australians should collaborate with the Banking Association, the Australian Local Government Association and the Property and Development Industries, to implement the Progressive Residential Affordability Development Solution (PRADS) model and register, nationally. The PRADS register, developed in collaboration with PEXA, will unlock private sector investment in affordable rental housing for essential workers nationally, and at scale.

These properties will be searchable on realestate.com.au and the centralised national platform will be fully transparent to government to ensure compliance by all stakeholders. This market-driven solution will mobilise private capital to deliver affordable rental housing for essential workers at scale, while maintaining flexibility at the Local Government level.



Challenger

Karen Walsh,
National Shelter

Challenge Summary

- The model does not recognise the expert and highly regulated Community Housing sector
- The reform relies on an existing arrangement delivering more benefits than it currently does
- The proposal isn't clear that sufficient government endorsement is possible
- It's not clear how the reform delivers nationally, at scale, in a way that is economical and sensitive to local requirements

05

Upzone to medium density around transport

COMMUTER COMMUNITIES

Author:

Jonathan O'Brien, YIMBY Melbourne

Reform Summary

State and Territory Governments, with the backing of the Federal Government, should implement a bold transit-oriented and mixed-use development program through broad upzoning around transit and urban centres. This would deliver more homes where people want to live, increasing housing supply and reducing rents, mitigating the cost of urban sprawl, increasing construction sector capacity, and increasing housing choices by creating interconnected networks of high-amenity, walkable neighbourhoods across Australia.



Challenger

Maxwell Shifman,
CEO, Intrapac Property & Urban Development

Challenge Summary

- The Missing Middle Zone assumes all areas near transit can handle higher density development
- The economics of property development make six-storey apartments unaffordable
- Most apartments are now built for higher-end buyers
- Suburban lot sizes limit density increases
- Australia is still not ready to adopt apartment living en-masse

06

Enable gentle densification

MORE BANG FOR YOUR BLOCK

Author:

Danika Adams,
Committee for Economic
Development Australia (CEDA)

Reform Summary

State and Territory Governments should implement planning reforms for 'gentle' densification by allowing secondary or additional dwellings, granny flats, garage conversions or 'tiny homes', subdivision flexibility, better use of existing housing (spare bedrooms and downsizing) and allowing multifamily dwellings. This would improve the use of existing land and housing, particularly in well-located areas with space for greater density.

Challenger

Maxwell Shifman,
CEO, Intrapac Property & Urban Development

Challenge Summary

- Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs) are a niche product
- Cost challenges make it hard to deliver niche development
- Reform does not address tax treatment for gentle densification



07

Increase the use of prefabricated housing

FAB PREFAB

Author:

Sophie Black, Blueprint Institute

Reform Summary

Following recent updates to the National Construction Code (NCC), which now includes guidelines for prefabricated homes and offsite construction techniques, similar changes should be made to State and Territory building codes to streamline the approval process for offsite construction. Modular housing offers an innovative way to build high-quality homes quickly, but its full potential is currently limited by inconsistent building codes across states and territories. The reform aims to add to the housing stock more efficiently and economically by harmonising these codes, providing greater certainty for companies and consumers in adopting offsite construction methods across Australia. By doing so, the reform would maximise the efficiency and environmental benefits of prefabricated homes.

Challenger

Lucille Sutton,
CFO, Cumberland Building

Challenge Summary

- Does the business model for prefab stack up?
- Who is responsible for successful harmonisation?
- Does industry have capability to adopt prefab at scale?
- How will harmonisation account for regional factors?



08

More visas for tradies

FASTER VISAS FOR FASTER HOMES

Author:

Sophie Black, Blueprint Institute

Reform Summary

The Federal Government should urgently expand visa pathways to import skilled construction workers, including extending eligibility for the Specialist Skills visa pathway to trade workers and by including all occupations relevant to residential construction on the Core Skills Occupation list. This reform would help address Australia's construction skills shortage, enabling more homes to be built faster – increasing the supply of available housing and reducing the cost of buying a home.



Challenger

Dr Abul Rizvi,
Former Deputy Secretary,
Department of Immigration

Challenge Summary

- Current visa system already prioritises construction trades
- Immigration system fails to generate enough qualifying applications
- Global competition for trade workers
- Skills recognition excludes non-traditional source countries

09

Strengthen renters' rights

STRENGTHEN PROTECTION

Author:

Andrew Barker, CEDA

Reform Summary

State and Territory Governments should implement nationally consistent protections for renters, including banning 'no grounds' evictions and restricting rent increases for sitting tenants. This would improve rental security, and generate improved connections to community, better health outcomes and higher levels of social and economic participation.



Challenger

Jacob Caine,
Real Estate Institute of Victoria; Real
Estate Institute Australia; Ray White CRE

Challenge Summary

- Underlying this reform is an important question regarding what housing is for
- More regulation could affect landlord profitability and investment
- Rent controls have often proven counterproductive
- Do protections come at the expense of landlords?
- Commercial tenancy model might be a better approach

10

Build to rent tax incentives

BUILD TO RENT BOOSTER

Author:

Andrew Barker, CEDA

Reform Summary

Federal and State and Territory Governments to cooperate to encourage institutional investment in housing by enabling 'build to rent' and reducing state and federal tax disadvantages for institutional investors (Land Tax, Negative Gearing, withholding tax). This would increase the overall supply of housing, improve housing affordability and increase tenure security for renters by avoiding evictions due to an individual landlord's personal situation.

Challenger

Dan McKenna,
Housing All Australians

Challenge Summary

- Most projects' viability unlikely to shift despite incentives
- BTR risks favouring large corporates without public benefit
- BTR could reduce long-term homeownership
- Current BTR stock is premium and serves top income earners



11

Mandatory inclusionary zoning

AFFORDABLE HOMES GUARANTEE

Author:

Wendy Hayhurst,
Community Housing Industry Association

Reform Summary

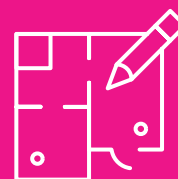
The Federal Government should endorse a standard model for generating affordable housing via 'mandatory inclusionary zoning' and temporarily incentivise State and Territory Governments to adopt and implement the model. This would generate modest amounts of affordable housing at no cost to government. It would also hard-wire additions to affordable housing stock into the process of expanding overall housing provision.

Challenger

Peter Tulip,
Centre for Independent Studies

Challenge Summary

- To get more of something, you shouldn't tax the people who provide it
- MIZ can result in lower prices offered to purchase land
- Inclusionary zoning may raise prices or reduce supply- MIZ is not cost-free
- Mandating affordable housing everywhere raises equity issues



12

Increase social housing to 10% of housing stock

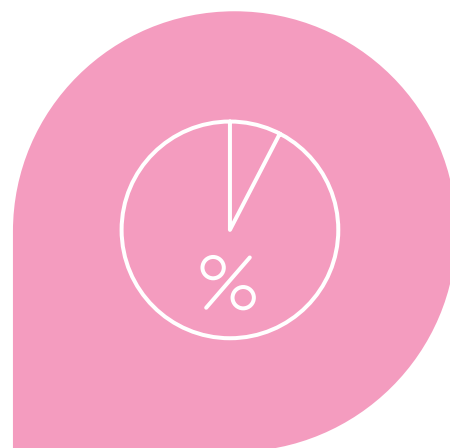
TARGET 10%

Author:

Maiy Azize, Everybody's Home

Reform Summary

Federal and State/Territory Governments should commit to long-term social housing construction, increasing the stock to 10% of total housing stock. This would house hundreds of thousands of people who need social housing, lower rents across the board, and ensure housing is treated as an essential public service.



Challenger

Peter Tulip,
Centre for Independent Studies

Challenge Summary

- The reform is unfunded
- The fiscal splurge is not necessary
- Building social housing is not necessarily the best way to help renters on low incomes

13

Legislate a national housing and homelessness plan

MASTER PLAN

Author:

Professor Hal Pawson,
UNSW City Futures Research Centre

Reform Summary

Federal Parliament to legislate a responsibility on the Australian Government to develop, maintain and implement a National Housing and Homelessness Plan. This would invoke a human rights approach to housing – everyone in Australia has adequate housing – and help to extend Australian Government engagement with housing and homelessness policy challenges into the future, irrespective of changes in political control.



Challenger

Stuart Ayers,
CEO, Urban Development Institute of Australia

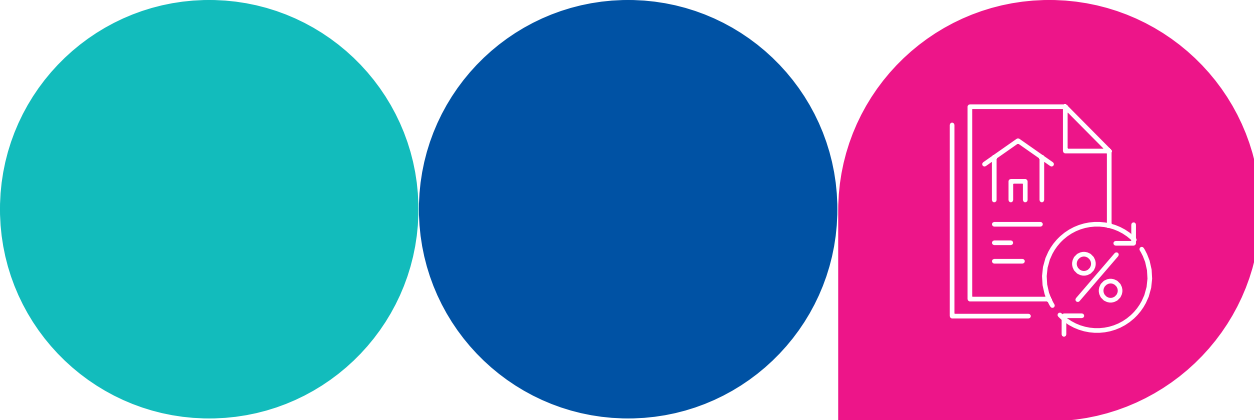
Challenge Summary

- Federal Government lacks authority to compel state/territory cooperation
- Bureaucracy could slow decision-making and hinder housing delivery
- Greater stewardship may deter private investment

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