

Master of Urban Planning Minor Thesis
Faculty of Architecture, Building & Planning
University of Melbourne

Families in the City

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Urban Planning

Abigail Brydon
398850

Supervisor: Prof. Carolyn Whitzman
Co-Supervisor: Dr Andrew Martel

June 2014

Declaration

This thesis does not contain any material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any educational institution and, to the best of my knowledge, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed:

Date:

Abstract

In recent decades there has been a significant increase in the proportion of families choosing to reside in Australian inner cities (ABS 2001, 2011). A key concern raised in the literature around families residing in the inner city, is that the needs of families is often absent from inner city planning considerations (see Fincher 2004; Karsten 2003, 2007 & 2009; Van den Berg 2013; Warner & Rukus 2013; Whitzman & Mizrachi 2012; Woolcock et al. 2010).

Using the City of Melbourne as a case study, this study aims to firstly explore why families are choosing to reside in the inner city. Secondly it aims to identify whether there are gaps in infrastructure, service provision or lifestyle factors that inhibit families' health and happiness. Finally the study aims to understand how current planning policy addresses these gaps. The study employs a mixed-method approach, combining a demographic comparison of the City of Melbourne with metropolitan Melbourne; semi-structured interviews with 10 inner city families; and a policy review assessing how current State and local government planning policy addresses families' concerns.

The findings identify that time saved in the work commute; convenience due to the close proximity of amenities; and the wide choice of amenities available, are all key influences in participant families' residential location choice. This confirms some elements identified in the literature around family residential location choice, but contradicts others. Accommodation concerns around internal space and housing affordability are key negatives of inner city living for families. The policy review identifies that neither State nor local government planning policy currently addresses the concerns raised by participant families. This study contributes to the literature on family residential location choice and family friendly cities.

Acknowledgements

To my supervisors, Prof. Carolyn Whitzman and Dr Andrew Martel, thank you for all your support and patience. Carolyn, your forthright feedback has kept me focused and has constantly challenged me to raise the bar. This was the exact incentive I needed, and I really valued and appreciated it.

To my participant families, thank you for your time and your interest in my research.

To my beautiful family, over the last four years you have provided unwavering support and belief in me. Not to mention a long suffering patience for “mummy’s university”. You are always my inspiration and my joy. To my parents and my friends, for your support, and your emergency childcare, thank you.

Table of Contents

Declaration	2
Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	4
List of Figures and Tables	7
1. Introduction	8
Research Questions	9
Study Focus and Design	9
Significance of Study	10
2. Literature Review	11
Family Residential Location: The Suburb	11
Return to the city: Gentrification.....	13
The City: Family or Child Friendly?.....	14
Housing Affordability	15
Families in the City	16
Conclusion.....	16
3. Methodology	18
Semi-Structured Interviews	18
Secondary Quantitative Data & Policy Analysis.....	19
Analysis	19
Limitations	20
4. Results Part 1: The Demographic Characteristics of the City of Melbourne	21
Families in the City	21
Tenure Type and Housing Characteristics.....	23
Income, Employment Levels and the Cost of Housing	23
5. Results Part 2: Talking to Families in the City.....	24
Participant Families.....	24
Similarities: Participant Families Compared to the City of Melbourne	24
Interview Results.....	26
Positive Aspects of Inner City Living	26
Location.....	26
Choice.....	27
Safety & Community	28
Negative Aspects of Inner City Living.....	28

The Public Sphere	29
Traffic	29
Fear of Crime.....	29
The Private Sphere.....	30
Space	30
Housing Affordability	30
Staying or Going?	31
6. Results Part 3: Current and Future Policy Responses	32
Roles, Responsibilities & Governance.....	32
Policy Gaps.....	33
Future Changes?	33
7. Discussion & Conclusions	37
Why Do Some Families Choose to Live in Inner City Melbourne?.....	37
What Do These Families Need for Healthier and Happier Lives in the City?.....	38
How Does Planning Policy at State and Local Levels Address Families' Concerns?.....	40
Next steps	41
Further Research.....	41
References	42

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Map of the City of Melbourne LGA.....	9
Table 1: Families in the City	8
Table 2: Summary of Research Methods	20
Table 3: Summary of Demographic Data	22
Table 4: Profile of Participant Families	25
Table 5: Positive Aspects of Inner City Living.....	26
Table 6: Negative Aspects of Inner City Living	28
Table 7: Participants' Intentions Unpacked: Staying or Going.....	31
Table 8: Relevant Government Roles and Responsibilities.....	32
Table 9: Policy Documents Considered.....	32
Table 10: Current Policy in Place.....	33
Table 11: Current Strategic Policy and Future Policy Direction	35

1. Introduction

In Australia there is an assumption that families do not choose to reside in the inner city (Costello 2005; Fincher 2004; Gleeson 2006; Stretton 1975). Instead, it is assumed they prefer the suburban detached house, set in its own garden, distanced from both work and the city: “[The suburb] reconciles access to work and city with private, adaptable, self-expressive living space at home” (Stretton 1975, p 21). This suburban idyll is a much documented social construct embedded in the Australian psyche (Horne 1964; Gleeson 2006; Stretton 1975). Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data demonstrates that the majority of Australian families do indeed reside outside of the inner city (Table 1); however the number of families with children aged 15 years or under residing in inner city locations has increased around Australia over the last decade. Table 1 identifies this increase in 5 major Australian cities (ABS 2001, 2011).

Table 1: Families in the City

		ABS Location (Local Government Area or Significant Urban Area)	2001		2011	
			Couples with dependents <15	One parent with dependents <15	Couples with dependents <15	One parent with dependents <15
Sydney	Inner city	Sydney LGA	5.3%	2.5%	8.9%	3.1%
	<i>Metropolitan Area</i>	<i>Sydney SUA</i>	-	-	25%	5.4%
Melbourne	Inner city	Melbourne LGA	6%	2.4%	8.9%	3.3%
	<i>Metropolitan Area</i>	<i>Melbourne SUA</i>	-	-	23.3%	5.1%
Brisbane	Inner city	Brisbane (Inner city North)	8.5%	2.6%	13.7%	4.6%
	<i>Metropolitan Area</i>	<i>Brisbane SUA</i>	-	-	23.6%	6.6%
Perth	Inner city	Perth LGA	3.5%	1.5%	7%	1.8%
	<i>Metropolitan Area</i>	<i>Perth SUA</i>	-	-	22.9%	5.5%
Adelaide	Inner city	Adelaide LGA	5%	1.7%	7.7%	3.1%
	<i>Metropolitan Area</i>	<i>Adelaide SUA</i>	-	-	19.6%	6%

This study will use inner city Melbourne as a case study. Over the last 10 years the number of families residing in inner city Melbourne has increased and this trend is predicted to continue (City of Melbourne 2013). Firstly the study aims to understand why families are choosing to reside in inner city Melbourne. Secondly, through the exploration of families’ daily experiences, it aims to identify whether there are gaps in infrastructure, service provision or lifestyle factors that inhibit their health and happiness. Lifestyle factors considered will include space (internal, external, public or private); and safety concerns around crime and traffic. Finally this study aims to understand how current planning policy addresses the concerns raised by participant families.

Research Questions

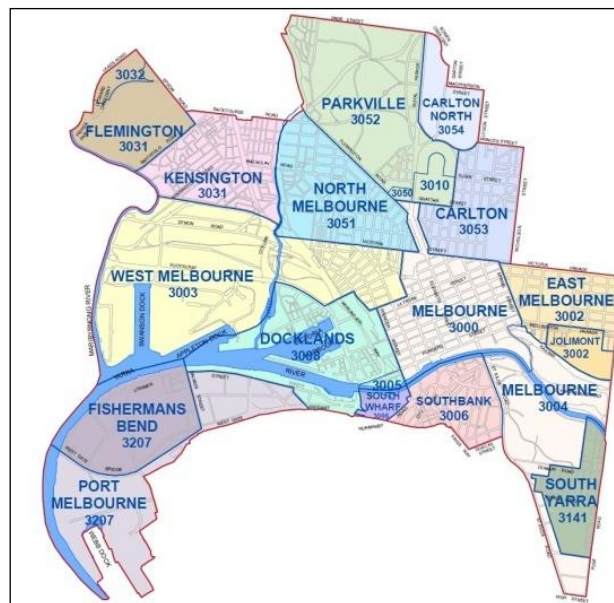
To achieve these aims this study seeks to answer three research questions:

- 1) Why do some families choose to live in inner city Melbourne?;
- 2) What do these families need for healthier and happier lives in the city?; and
- 3) How does planning policy at State and local levels address families' concerns?

Study Focus and Design

This study defines inner city Melbourne as the City of Melbourne Local Government Area (LGA). This definition was chosen as the study uses the City of Melbourne census data. The study compares the City of Melbourne to metropolitan Melbourne. A specific suburban location was not chosen as the comparison point due to the large diversity of suburb type; location; availability of transport; employment options; and infrastructure in Melbourne. The focus of the study is families, both couples and single parents, with children aged 15 years or under that reside within the City of Melbourne. Figure 1 identifies the study area by suburb and postcode.

Figure 1: Map of the City of Melbourne LGA



(City of Melbourne 2012)

A mixed-method research design was used to answer the research questions and achieve the overarching aims. This design combined semi-structured interviews, demographic data and an analysis of recent State and local government planning policy documents. The interview component is based on research undertaken by Karsten (2007) in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Although much smaller in scope, this study reproduces 1) the method; 2) the interview topics; and 3) the diversity of

interview participants. Data for the City of Melbourne from the 2001 and 2011 censuses is used to establish social, economic and housing trends in the study area and compare it to metropolitan Melbourne. This data will provide a wider context in which to locate the interview participants, the interview data and the policy analysis. This triangulation of data will enable more nuanced conclusions and recommendations to be drawn.

Significance of Study

There is limited recent research on the experiences of families residing in inner city Melbourne (Whitzman & Mizrachi 2012). This lack of knowledge and interest has had a significant impact on both the planning and recent redevelopment of inner city Melbourne, in terms of the type of housing being built and the infrastructure provided. New housing stock is predominately small, “family unfriendly” sized apartments, both in terms of internal size and number of bedrooms (Birrell et al. 2012, p 38; Kelly et al. 2011). Furthermore, apartments that are of an appropriate size are expensive, pricing families out (Birrell et al. 2012). Whitzman and Mizrachi (2012) note how the newly developed areas in inner city Melbourne are lacking essential family friendly facilities and services and appropriate open space.

The research will contribute to the literature on family residential location choice and family friendly cities. More information on the needs and wants of inner city families in Melbourne would be of value for future planning. This study seeks to explore this gap and provide insight into the motivations of families residing in inner city Melbourne.

2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature on family residential location choice and family friendly communities. When considering family residential location and family friendly communities in Australia, there are strong links connecting the family to suburban rather than inner city locations (Fincher 2004; Costello 2005; Gleeson 2006; Stretton 1975). How these linkages permeate both discussion and planning decisions around family residential location and family friendly communities in Melbourne will be considered in this chapter. The first section provides an overview of the literature on family residential location choice. The second section considers the literature on family life in the city and identifies what are considered important elements for quality of life for families and children. Finally, existing literature and relevant current planning policies on families and inner city Melbourne are examined.

Family Residential Location: The Suburb

Much of the literature on family residential location considers neighbourhoods outside of the inner city to be the residential location of choice for families. Three key research themes explaining this choice are lifecycle explanations, push/pull social factors, and economic arguments.

The dominant explanation for family residential location choice in the literature is lifecycle. Focusing predominately on the British and American experience, the literature links lifecycle to housing preferences and residential location choice. Key to this idea is that residential locations vary through the course of the lifecycle and the changing demographic characteristics of a household over time (Boterman et al 2010; Clark & Huang 2003; Clark & Onaka 1983; Kim et al 2005a; Kim et al 2005b; Lawton et al. 2013). This body of literature argues that lifecycle, in particular the presence of children in a household, is a means of explaining the trade-offs in accessibility and neighbourhood amenity in residential location choice (Clark & Onaka 1983; Kim et al 2005a). The need for additional space is identified in the literature as a key trigger for residential mobility and family residential location choice (Clark & Huang 2003; Clark & Onaka 1983; Kim et al 2005a). Where a family is within the household lifecycle is considered the best explanation for why families preference suburban residential location, areas with considerably more space, over the smaller lot sizes of the inner city.

The importance of space for families can be seen in the literature around the Australian experience of the suburb. Stretton (1975) links the suburbs to the ideal family residential location choice. He argues that the suburb:

“...reconciles access to work and city with private, adaptable, self-expressive living space at home...For children it really has no rivals...it can allow them space, freedom and community with their elders...These are the gains our transport costs us” (Stretton 1975, pp 21-22).

Gleeson (2006, p 23) strongly echoes these arguments 40 years later. He too identifies the suburb as the ideal family residential location choice, arguing that suburbia with its spacious housing and healthy surrounds is the “Australian heartland”.

Family residential location choice is also explained in the literature via social push/pull factors. Flight from blight factors such as increasing crime, declining quality of schools and the general unattractiveness and deterioration of the inner city are seen to push families out. This body of literature focuses predominately on American cities. It examines the phenomena of middle class families’ exodus to the suburbs (Bradford & Kelejian 1973). These ideas persist today. Cullen and Levitt (1999) establish a link between crime and outmigration in American cities. A 10 percent increase in crime corresponds to a 1 percent decline in central city population, with the subgroup of families with children as highly responsive to crime rate increases (Cullen & Levitt 1999 p 159).

In the 1920s Burgess (1970) emphasised the role of class and economic improvement in family residential location choice. Using Chicago, USA as a case study, he identified cultural and economic residential zones within the city. He links the move to the “promised land” of suburbia to both economic improvement and the escape from the “social disorganisation” of “disease, crime, vice, insanity and suicide” (Park et al 1970, p 58). This zoning and the link between economic improvement and suburbia can also be seen in the Australian experience. Gleeson (2006) notes this pattern of settlement in major Australian cities in the post second world war period. New immigrant families settled initially in the crowded inner city in rented accommodation. As families become more established, they moved to homeownership of a spacious, quarter acre blocks in the suburbs (Gleeson 2006, p 16).

The health benefits associated with lower densities, backyards and green space are considered to be a major factor that pulls families out of the inner city. Although there are some empirical studies demonstrating this relationship (Kim et al 2005a), much of the literature supports the health benefits of green space and private outdoor space in general (Hume et al 2005; Maas et al. 2006) rather than demonstrating the link between family residential location choice and green/private outdoor space. The health benefits, especially for children, of the spacious suburban backyard are a recurring theme in the Australian literature (see Gleeson 2006; Hall 2010; Stretton 1975).

A final point considered in the literature is the importance of the relationship between transport cost and land cost in determining family residential location choice. This idea was initially developed by Alonso (1964, p 35) who concluded that residential location choice is determined when “savings derived from cheaper land exceed increased commuting costs”. The importance of the balance between residential location and transport, in particular the trade of between living space and short commute time, is considered a key factor in the family residential location choice of the inner city (see Brun & Fagnani 1994; Karsten 2003, 2007).

Critique of family residential location choice literature focuses on the simplified explanations and assumptions provided by these approaches. For example Clapham (2002, p 63) challenges the “assumed universal and simple attitudes and motivations” of households. He proposes alternatively to build on the concept of a longitudinal housing career and views housing choices via a housing pathway, “patterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home, over time and space” (Clapham 2002 p 63). Whitzman (2009) too challenges singled sided explanations, pointing to the complexity behind motivations of residential location choice. She argues that residential choice is based “on both economic transformation [of place] and culturally based desires and fears” (Whitzman, 2009 p 59). Karsten (2007, p 85) notes the narrowness of traditional approaches and argues that residential location choice should be considered within the broader context of family needs given that the site (accommodation of daily life) and the situation (location) of the neighbourhood are important conditions for family life.

Return to the city: Gentrification

The choice of the inner city as a residential location is a phenomenon that has been observed in cities in North America, Europe and Australia. Hamnett (1991, p 176) defines gentrification as “both a change in the social composition of an area and its residents, and a change in the nature of the housing stock (tenure, price, condition etc.)”. Although connections have been drawn between the changing role of women’s employment and gentrification (Bondi 1999; Rose 1989; Warde 1991), gentrification is generally associated with a life stage before children (Boterman et al. 2010).

Karsten (2003, p 2574) identifies a gap in the gentrification literature around residential location choices of “yupps: young urban professional parents”. Using Amsterdam (Karsten 2003) and Rotterdam (Karsten 2007) in the Netherlands as case studies, Karsten undertook in-depth interviews with yupp households to provide insight into their inner city residential location choices. The majority of the households interviewed were dual income families working in the city. Karsten

linked inner city residential location with the changing gender roles and the practice of combining care giving and a career. The short work-home commute was considered vital in both studies (Karsten 2003 & 2007). In France, using Paris as a case study, Brun and Fragnani (1994) also highlighted the importance of commute time, especially for women, in family's choice to reside in the inner city.

The City: Family or Child Friendly?

Family friendly cities are cities which include elements such as appropriately sized and affordable housing; safe public space; pedestrian accessibility and connectivity; and facilities such as childcare and public schools (Karsten 2003; Warner & Rukus 2013). Overlapping this field is the literature on child friendly cities. This literature is interested in how the city and its design impacts on children's ability for access to play and exploration, in particular independent mobility (Kytä 2004; Whitzman & Mizrachi 2012; Woolcock et al. 2010). Within both these fields is much discussion over whether the city, in particular high density living, is appropriate for either the family or children.

Although positive experiences are emerging of families and children in cities (Ansell & Thompson-Fawcett 2008; Appold & Yuen 2007; Boterman et al. 2010; Karsten 2003, 2007; Whitzman & Mizrachi 2012), much of the literature still implies that city life is inappropriate for the family. Appold and Yuen (2007) identify three key arguments in the literature against families residing in apartments: 1) overcrowding and a lack of privacy can lead to stress and a negative impact on family life; 2) the lack of private outdoor space means that supervising playing children cannot be combined with other activities; and 3) the accessibility of public facilities provides competing use of time that detracts from family life. Questions are also raised in the literature regarding the negative health implications that non-suburban housing has on children (Hall 2010; Woolcock et al. 2010).

It should be noted that attitudes towards children, family and the city have been changing since the 1990s. For example Vancouver, Canada introduced family friendly policies into their planning strategies in 1992, and Rotterdam, the Netherlands in 2010 (Van den Berg 2013; Whitzman & Mizrachi 2012). The City of Melbourne Council is currently in the process of taking steps to do the same. In 2013 it released a discussion paper on a proposed future housing strategy. The paper identifies current issues facing families in the inner city including a lack of schools and childcare; the lack of appropriately sized housing stock; the lack of social infrastructure such as libraries, public open space and recreation facilities as well as housing affordability issues (City of Melbourne 2013). At State level, the newly released *Plan Melbourne* acknowledges issues with apartments relating to family living. In particular it identifies the family unfriendly amenity levels and sizes (State

Government Victoria 2013, p 59). However “family friendly suburbs” are still the assumed norm (State Government Victoria 2013, p 97).

Housing Affordability

Housing affordability is a recurring theme in the literature on family friendly and child friendly cities (Warner & Rukus 2013; Woolcock et al. 2010) and recent policy discourse in Melbourne (State Government Victoria 2013; City of Melbourne 2013). It first emerged in the policy discourse in Australia in the 1980s in response to interest rates reaching 17 percent and a housing price boom (Gabriel et al. 2005). Gabriel et al (2005, p 8) define housing affordability as “a term usually denoting the maximum amount of income which households should be expected to pay for their housing”. A common measure of housing affordability is the proportion of gross household income spent on housing costs. It is generally accepted that households paying more than 30 percent of their income on housing may have affordability issues (Gilmour & Milligan 2012, p 53).

This simple definition belies a very complex debate in the Australian literature around housing affordability, its underlying causes and possible solutions. These complexities include the role played by professional interest groups and lobbyists (Gabriel et al. 2005); the impact neo-liberalism and market-based solutions has had on the Australian housing system (Beer et al. 2007); the effect of the taxation system, in particular negative gearing (Kelly et al. 2013); and the role of planning in both causing and resolving housing affordability issues (Beer et al 2007; Birrell et al. 2012).

In Melbourne, housing affordability is a growing concern, particularly in the inner city. In their report on housing affordability in Melbourne, Birrell et al (2012, p 79) argue that by 2011, Melbourne’s housing prices were:

“such that the majority of new households could not afford to purchase a dwelling in most of the city’s suburbs and many renters were being forced into outer suburbs to find housing they could afford”.

The report cites Marcus Spiller’s statistical study which concluded that a household on a median income in 2009-10 could afford a \$382,000 home. This limited the household’s options to just 25 percent of Melbourne’s suburbs, many of which were more than 35 kilometres from the CBD (Birrell et al. 2012 p 79).

The current metropolitan Melbourne strategic planning document, *Plan Melbourne* also acknowledges inner city housing affordability issues. It cites affordability as a key issue facing Melbourne, framing the problem as:

“As competition for housing increases, areas close to the city have become increasingly unaffordable for middle and low-income households wanting to buy or rent. In future, we will need to provide a better range and supply of affordable housing options close to the central city and other major areas of employment” (State Government Victoria 2013, p 5).

Despite the ongoing recognition of housing affordability concerns in inner city Melbourne, little agreement has been reached on ways to achieve housing affordability or which level of government should deliver these solutions.

Families in the City

The City of Melbourne estimates a net increase of approximately 180 new family households per year to its jurisdiction between 2013 and 2031 (City of Melbourne 2013, p 54). However, the strength of the idea that the family does not reside in the inner city can be seen underpinning many decisions in the revitalisation of inner city Melbourne. A growing body of literature highlights this influence and the implications this has for families that are choosing to reside in the inner city.

Fincher (2004) and Costello (2005) both identify how families and children are not considered by developers constructing Melbourne’s new high rise towers. Fincher (2004, p 335) observes that the family is simply not considered a market for the high-rise lifestyle. An interviewed developer states: “...high-rise is not really a family thing... for family units there’s plenty of standard housing, standard suburbs that are catering to people in that stage of their lifecycle”. Costello (2005) clearly links developer’s attitudes to the history of the high-rise in Melbourne, and how it is “bad” for children and the nuclear family. A consequence of omitting families as a market for high-rise living is the small, “family-unfriendly” size of apartments, both in terms of internal size and number of bedrooms (Birrell et al. 2012, p 38; Kelly et al. 2011). Furthermore, apartments that are of an appropriate size are expensive, pricing families out of inner city Melbourne (Birrell et al. 2012).

Infrastructure provision is another area where planning departments have not considered families in the city. Woolcock et al. (2010, p 183) point to the “child-blind” nature of contemporary Australian strategic planning. Whitzman and Mizrachi (2012) report that the newly developed areas in central Melbourne are lacking essential family friendly facilities and services and appropriate open space.

Conclusion

Much of the literature on family residential location considers neighbourhoods outside of the inner city to be the residential location of choice for families. However, there is a growing body of

literature identifying that this is not the case for all families. In exploring why families are choosing to reside in the inner city and their experiences of city life, this literature challenges the assumptions behind family residential location choice, gentrification and what makes a family friendly or child friendly city. Motivations influencing residential location choice are complex. In the Australian context the literature highlights the dominance of the assumption that the family does not live in the inner city, and the impact that this has had on planning and building in revitalised city centres such as Melbourne.

There exists a gap in the literature as to why Australian families are choosing to reside in the inner city. To avoid future planning blind spots more information on the needs and wants of inner city families is of value. This study seeks to explore this gap and provide insight into the motivations and experiences of families residing in inner city Melbourne.

3. Methodology

This study employs a mixed method approach comprised of semi-structured interviews, demographic data and an analysis of current planning policy documents. This chapter outlines the reason for the choice of methods; provides details on proposed data collection and analysis techniques; and finally identifies potential limitations of the research process.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Dunn (ed Hay 2005, p 80) argues that interviewing is used for four main reasons:

- “1. To fill a gap that other methods, such as observation or the use of census data are unable to bridge efficaciously;
2. To investigate complex behaviours and motivations;
3. To collect a diversity of meaning, opinion and experiences...; and
4. When a method is required that shows respect for and empowers those people who provide the data.”

The literature review identifies that family residential location choice is complex (Clapham 2002; Karsten 2007; Whitzman 2009) and that, historically, a series of assumptions have been made about family residential location choice in Melbourne (Costello 2005; Fincher 2004). The use of semi-structured interviews is intended to explore and understand the complexity of why families choose to reside in the inner city, and a means of identifying what families require for healthier, happier lives.

This study is based on a study undertaken by Karsten (2007) in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Karsten (2007) interviewed 30 households of working families with children aged between zero and 16. Using a convenience sample from her local network, Karsten’s approach was to interview as diverse a population as possible in regard to age, number of children, professional status, ethnicity and address. Interviews were held with one or both partners and topics of discussion were life stories (educational, working and housing histories), the organisation of daily life (work, caring tasks and leisure) and residential preference (including the significance of the present home and neighbourhood).

Although unable to mimic the Rotterdam study completely due to the study size, time and budget restraints of the minor thesis, this study reproduced the elements of 1) the method; 2) the diversity of interview participants; and 3) the interview topics.

The primary data collection method was semi-structured interviews with families residing in the study area. A total of ten interviews were conducted. Like the Karsten (2007) study, this study interviewed as diverse a population as possible in terms of age, number of children and ethnicity. Participants were sourced from a convenience sample of the researcher's local network (playgroups, playgrounds and neighbours). Participant families were asked about their motivations for residing in the inner city and the organisation of their daily life in terms of work, caring tasks and leisure.

Secondary Quantitative Data & Policy Analysis

Winchester (ed Hay 2005, p 12) identifies that:

“...qualitative and quantitative methods...combined...are seen as providing both the individual and the general perspective on an issue...triangulation of methods and use of multiple methods are sometimes deemed to offer cross-checking of results by approaching a problem from different angles and using different techniques. “

To ensure methodological rigour, the interview data is supported by demographic data and current housing and infrastructure policy documents affecting the City of Melbourne.

Data for the City of Melbourne from the 2001 and 2011 censuses is used to identify social, economic and housing trends in the study area and compare it to metropolitan Melbourne. Points of difference between the City of Melbourne and metropolitan Melbourne in areas such as housing stock; number of bedrooms; tenure type; and income are identified. This data provides a wider context in which to locate the interview participants, the interview data and the policy analysis.

Finally, an analysis is undertaken of State and local government planning policies currently effecting the City of Melbourne, and recent strategic documents outlining the future direction of planning policy for the City of Melbourne. These policies are considered in terms of the key issues identified by participant families.

Analysis

The research was not undertaken to attempt to form conclusions based on statistical analysis. Rather it sought to understand the motivations, experiences and perceptions of inner city Melbourne families in respect to the topics identified by the Karsten study (2007). The interview data was analysed to identify key themes, similarities and differences in experience and opinion between participant families. The demographic data was considered to identify key points of difference between the City of Melbourne and metropolitan Melbourne. The census data provides a

starting point for the analysis of 1) the gaps in service provision and lifestyle factors identified by interview participants, and 2) the housing and infrastructure policy documents currently affecting the City of Melbourne. This triangulation of data will enable more nuanced conclusions and recommendations to be drawn. Table 2 summarises the methods used for each research question.

Table 2: Summary of Research Methods

Research Question	Research Method	Method of Analysis
1. <i>Why do some families choose to live in inner city Melbourne?</i>	Semi-structured interviews with families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Identification of key themes, similarities and differences of opinion.
2. <i>What do these families need for healthier and happier lives?</i>	Semi-structured interviews with families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Identification of key themes, similarities and differences of opinion.
	Census data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Basic statistical analysis; & ▪ Identification of themes and trends.
3. <i>How does planning policy at State and local level address families' concerns?</i>	Policy analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Analysis of policy related to participant family concerns

Limitations

Two key limitations of this study should be considered: 1) the sample size and 2) potential bias of participant families.

Firstly, due to the size of the study, time and budget limitations, the sample size of ten semi-structured interviews is small. Caution must therefore be used when making generalisations to the wider study area. Furthermore, given the use of convenience sampling, it is possible that potential interviewees may not be representative of families residing in inner city Melbourne.

To mitigate these issues, interviewees with a diverse range of backgrounds and experiences have been selected. The use of demographic data to contextualise the interview data also helps mitigate these issues.

4. Results Part 1: The Demographic Characteristics of the City of Melbourne

The findings from this study are divided into three parts: 1) the demographic characteristics of the City of Melbourne; 2) the demographic characteristics of the participant families and outcomes from the semi-structured interviews; and 3) an analysis of State and local planning policy relating to the concerns raised by participant families. Each of these fields of analysis are reported and discussed over the following three chapters.

Data from the 2001 and 2011 censuses has been used to establish social, economic and housing trends in the City of Melbourne. This chapter firstly considers how the City of Melbourne has changed between 2001 and 2011. Secondly it compares the City of Melbourne to metropolitan Melbourne in 2011 to identify key differences. This demographic data is summarised in Table 3, below. A range of characteristics of inner city residents have been considered including: the presence of families; families' cultural diversity; tenure type and housing characteristics; household income and employment levels; car ownership levels and housing affordability. These demographic characteristics enable a profile of the City of Melbourne to be developed which provides a context to locate the participant families, the interview data and the policy analysis.

Families in the City

The City of Melbourne's population has grown dramatically between 2001 and 2011. The population increased by 38 percent (ABS 2001, 2011) compared to metropolitan Melbourne, which grew by only 17 percent (DTPLI 2013; DPCD 2007). This growth is continuing, with the City of Melbourne experiencing the fourth highest growth rate in metropolitan Melbourne for the year ending 30 June 2012 (DTPLI 2013). Families with dependents have increased by 45 percent in the City of Melbourne between 2001 and 2011 from 8.4 percent to 12.2 percent. Although lower than the proportion of families residing in metropolitan Melbourne (30.4 percent), this is still a dramatic increase in the proportion of inner city families.

The cultural diversity of families in the City of Melbourne is different to that of metropolitan Melbourne. Cultural diversity is indicated through the percentage of foreign born residents and the percentage of mothers that speak languages other than English at home. In 2011, 58.9 percent of residents in the City of Melbourne were born in countries other than Australia, compared to 37.4 percent in metropolitan Melbourne. In families, 49.7 percent of mothers spoke languages other than English to their children, compared to 32.1 percent of mothers in metropolitan Melbourne.

Table 3: Summary of Demographic Data

		Melbourne LGA (Local Govt Area)		Melbourne SUA (Significant Urban Area)
		2001	2011	2011
Total Persons		67,784	93,626	3,847,570
Percentage of Children aged <15		7.4%	7.1%	18.3%
Number of Families (%)	Couples with dependents	6%	8.9%	25%
	Single parents with dependents	2.4%	3.3%	5.4%
Country of Birth	Australia	44.6%	41.1%	62.6%
	Other	55.4%	58.9%	37.4%
Language Spoken by Mother with Dependents aged 0-12	English only	51.80%	50.3%	67.9%
	English &/or Other Language	48.2%	49.7%	32.1%
Tenure Type (%)	Rented	64.2%	64.3%	28.0%
	Owned/ Being Purchased	35.8%	35.7%	72.0%
Housing Type (%)	Separate house	5.7%	5.1%	72.2%
	Semi-detached	21.7%	16.7%	12.0%
	Apartment	72.6%	78.2%	15.8%
Number of Bedrooms	0	...	4.2%	0.5%
	1	...	27.0%	5.1%
	2	...	45.8%	20.6%
	3	...	18.5%	46.2%
	4 or more	...	4.5%	27.6%
Employment	Full time work	69.9%	78.4%	67.6%
	Part time work	30.1%	21.6%	32.4%
Median Total Family Income (\$/annum)		...	\$102,024	\$82,264
Number of Motor Vehicles by Dwelling (%)	None	59.6%	41.2%	9.6%
	1	28.0%	42.0%	36.4%
	2	10.4%	14.1%	37.9%
	3 or more	2.0%	2.7%	16.1%
Average rent*	2 Bed Apartment		\$455	\$385
	2 Bed House		\$482	\$400
	3 Bed Apartment		\$633	\$450
	3 Bed House		\$705	\$370
Average house* price	2 Bed Apartment		\$525,000	\$468,250
	2 Bed House		\$854,333	\$645,000
	3 Bed Apartment		\$801,167	\$572,500
	3 Bed House		\$1,130,800	\$525,000

(ABS 2001 & 2011; REA Group 2014; Real Estate Institute of Victoria 2014)

*Average rent and average house price is based on data collected by the Real Estate Institute of Victoria, not the ABS. The data used was collected in the 12 months ending December 2013. Average rent and average house price do not use the ABS region of Melbourne SUA. This data uses REIV's region *Total Melbourne*. *Total Melbourne* is a compilation of inner, middle and outer Melbourne, inner being within a radius of 10 km from the CBD, middle being between 10km and 20km from the CBD and outer being greater than 20km from the CBD.

Tenure Type and Housing Characteristics

The City of Melbourne differs from metropolitan Melbourne in both tenure type and housing stock. Renting is the dominant form of housing tenure in the City of Melbourne and has been for the period between 2001 and 2011. The proportion of residents that rented in 2011 was 64.3 percent. This is in stark contrast to metropolitan Melbourne where home ownership is the dominant form of tenure. In 2011, 72 percent of residents in metropolitan Melbourne either owned or were in the process of purchasing their own home.

Housing stock is also dramatically different in the City of Melbourne. It is becoming increasingly a municipality of apartments. There was an increase of 5.6 percent of residents living in apartments between 2001 and 2011, bringing the total percentage to 78.2 percent. Comparatively only 15.8 percent of metropolitan Melbourne resided in apartments in 2011. In 2011, 72.2 percent of housing stock in metropolitan Melbourne was detached housing. By comparison only 5.1 percent of the housing stock in the City of Melbourne was detached. The number of bedrooms is also a point of differentiation. The majority of housing stock in the City of Melbourne was either 1 bedroom (27 percent) or 2 bedroom (45.8 percent) accommodation in 2011 whereas 46.2 percent of housing stock in metropolitan Melbourne was 3 bedrooms.

Income, Employment Levels and the Cost of Housing

The economic characteristics of the City of Melbourne are different from metropolitan Melbourne. The 2011 median family income of residents in the City of Melbourne was \$19,760 per annum higher than that of metropolitan Melbourne. Employment levels also differed. The percentage of people working full time was 78.4 percent compared to 67.6 percent in metropolitan Melbourne. This figure increased by nearly 10 percentage points between 2001 and 2011, rising from 69.9 percent to 78.4 percent.

There is a difference between the City of Melbourne and metropolitan Melbourne in the median cost of renting or buying property. In 2013, to rent a three bedroom house was 47.5 percent more expensive than metropolitan Melbourne. It was 53.6 percent more expensive to buy a three bedroom house in the City of Melbourne than metropolitan Melbourne.

5. Results Part 2: Talking to Families in the City

The City of Melbourne is very different from metropolitan Melbourne in terms of social, economic and housing characteristics. The profile of the City of Melbourne provides a context in which to locate the families participating in this study. This chapter firstly identifies the social, economic and housing characteristics of the participant families and considers how they compare to the wider study area. Secondly this chapter analyses the interview responses from participant families.

Participant Families

Ten families participated in semi-structured interviews for this study. Who was interviewed varied depending on where and when the interview took place. Five of the interviews were conducted with only the mother of the families; one with only the father; two interviews were conducted with the mothers and the children; one interview was conducted with all family members; and one interview was conducted with both adults in the family. To mitigate the issues associated with a small sample size and convenience sampling, interviewees with a diverse range of backgrounds and experiences were selected. As a result of convenience sampling, although the ages of the children in the families ranged from babies to age 11, they were predominately aged 4 years and under.

Although caution must be used when making generalisations from the participant families to the wider study area, the characteristics of the families interviewed fit within the identified demographic characteristics of the City of Melbourne. These similarities are important as it demonstrates that participant families' circumstances and experiences are not unique within the City of Melbourne.

Similarities: Participant Families Compared to the City of Melbourne

There are similarities between the housing, social and economic characteristics of the participant families and the wider study area. The dominant form of tenure in the City of Melbourne is rented, the dominant type of accommodation is the apartment and the dominant accommodation size is one or two bedroom. Half of the participant families lived in rented accommodation, half in owned or mortgaged accommodation. Six families lived in two bedroom apartments. Only one family lived in a detached house. None had backyards. Cultural diversity is also a key characteristic of the study area. Seven of the participant families had one or more adults in the household born outside of Australia. Five of the participant families spoke languages other than English to their children. A further similarity can be seen in family income. The median total family income in the study area is \$102,024 per annum. Seven of the participant families earned more than \$100,000 per annum. Please refer to Table 4 for more demographic details of participant families.

Table 4: Profile of Participant Families

	No of Adults in HH	Occupation			No of Children	Age of Children			House Type	No. of Bed	Rented or owned?	Born in Australia (y/n)	How long resided in Australia?	Approx family income	When did you move to inner city?	Length of time in current residence?
		<i>f/t work</i>	<i>p/t work</i>	<i>Study</i>		<i>Child 1</i>	<i>Child 2</i>	<i>Child 3</i>								
Interview 1	2	1			2	3y	1y 3m		terrace	2	rented	n	since 2007	\$40-69K	since arrived in Melbourne	greater than 5 years
Interview 2	1	1			1	8y			apartment	2	rented	y	n/a	\$100k+	since Aug 2012	1 year
Interview 3	2	1		2	2	3y 8m	1y 8m		apartment	2	rented	n	since 1990	\$40-69K	lived here all her life	2-5 years
Interview 4	2	1	1		3	4y	2y	2y	detached house	3	owned	n	since age 3	\$100k+	greater than 5 years	greater than 5 years
Interview 5	2	1			1	11y			terrace	3	owned	n	since June 2008	\$100K+	since arrived in Australia	greater than 5 years
Interview 6	2	1			1	1y 6m			apartment	2	rented	n	since high school	\$100K+	since 2010	less than 2 years
Interview 7	2		2		2	6y	3y		terrace	4	owned	y	n/a	\$100K+	all her life	greater than 5 years
Interview 8	2	1	1		2	9y	4y		apartment	2	rented	n	5 years	\$70K-\$90K	since arrived in Melbourne	less than 2 years
Interview 9	2	1	1		2	3y 8m	8m		apartment	2	owned	y	n/a	\$100K+	greater than 5 years	2-5 years
Interview 10	2	1		1	2	3y 9m	1y 3m		apartment	2	owned	n	since June 2008	\$100k+	since arrived in Australia	greater than 5 years

Interview Results

The use of semi-structured interviews was intended to explore and understand the complexity of why participant families choose to reside in the inner city, and a means of identifying what these families require for healthier, happier lives. On this basis, questions were asked regarding what families liked about living in the inner city; what families disliked about living in the inner city; and whether they intended to stay in the inner city and why. The interview data is analysed to identify key themes, similarities and differences in experience and opinion of participant families. Linkages between participant families' responses and identified trends in the demographic data and the literature are also discussed.

Positive Aspects of Inner City Living

There was consensus across the interviews as to what families liked about living in the inner city and the reasons why these families are currently residing there. These positive aspects fall into three categories: location; choice; and safety and community. Table 5 below provides a summary.

Table 5: Positive Aspects of Inner City Living

Category	Topic	Cited by Participant Families
Location	Time gained through close proximity	10
	Ability to walk/cycle	10
Choice	Amount of services (supermarkets, health infrastructure, cycle paths, public transport)	10
	Lifestyle Amenities (restaurants, cafes, shops)	10
	Cultural & Recreation Amenities (museums and galleries, zoo, libraries, parks, pools)	10
	Importance of the multicultural/cosmopolitan nature of community	9
Safety and Community	Sense of safety	9
	Sense of community	9

Location

Location emerged as a key determinant influencing residential location choice for the participant families. All families cited the close proximity of work, services and lifestyle amenities as a key factor in why they choose to live in the inner city. The positive aspects all families associated with this close proximity was 1) time saved and 2) being able to walk (or cycle) everywhere: *"Our [residential location] makes life simpler. There is no time wasted category in [our] life. I have more time everywhere else"* (Interview 2). Similarities can be seen with this response and the conclusions from Karsten's Netherlands studies (2003 & 2007) and Brun and Fragnani's French study (1994).

The ability to walk and/or cycle instead of drive was highly valued by all participant families. This positive aspect was cited as important in both work and family spheres. It was perceived as a key benefit to be able to avoid the traffic and all noted the high volumes of traffic and amount of time it takes to drive around Melbourne. Financial benefits were also acknowledged as participant families were able to have only one car or no car and many did not have to access public transport. This corresponds with the low levels of car ownership across the City of Melbourne compared to metropolitan Melbourne. Families perceived being able to walk to most places as a real benefit for their children: *"I love that my children haven't spent their life in a car seat"* (Interview 4). Being able to walk was seen as a health benefit, a time saver, a financial benefit and a convenience.

Choice

A second key factor perceived as important to families in the city was the amount of choice the inner city location provided, both in terms of services (supermarkets, health infrastructure, public transport, education and childcare) and recreational activities (parks, cafes, restaurants, cultural facilities, zoos and swimming pools). All interviewees appreciated and cited the diversity of choice of venue and activity: *"I love the variety of choice. In food, in people, in entertainment, in shops. And the easy access to variety. Even the variety in choice of the mundane, like supermarkets!!"* (Interview 7).

The multicultural nature of the inner city was also considered very important to participant families: *"I like that M. is exposed to different cultures"* (Interview 5). The benefits of multiculturalism were viewed in terms of the cosmopolitan nature of the inner city, and families' appreciation of this, but also in terms of cultural acceptance: *"The multi-nationality of the city is very important to us. It is why we chose not to live closer to our community in the suburbs when we moved to Melbourne. I want my children to learn to live with people from all over the world"* (Interview 8). This theme was repeated across participant families. A different family described it as: *"There are no cultural ghettos in the inner city. All outsiders feel welcome"* (Interview 6). The participant families' sense of the multicultural nature of the inner city is reflected in the demographic data which shows high levels of cultural diversity in the City of Melbourne.

Choice was seen as very important by parents for their children. The ability to easily, conveniently and cheaply engage and expose children to activities that were seen to broaden their experiences was cited as a key positive of inner city life. All families noted the high amount of free activities available or memberships (for example the museum and zoo) that made entertaining children

convenient, accessible and affordable: *“We do everything that is free or has a membership”* (Interview 3).

Safety & Community

Two further benefits cited by participant families were safety and community. The majority of participant families felt very safe living in the inner city due to the number of people on the streets at all times. The sense of community was also highly valued by participants. All families commented that the combination of reduced private space and the close proximity of amenities meant that they were out in the community a lot of the time. Therefore all participant families felt that they had formed social bonds with local storekeepers, cafes, restaurants, local families in the parks/museum and neighbours down the street: *“Living in the inner city has meant that I have had a really positive experience as a first time mum. Loneliness was not an issue...there are always people I would run into on the street or in the park that I could talk to”* (Interview 4).

Negative Aspects of Inner City Living

All participant families were very positive about their experience of inner city living with families. The interviewer noted that participant families were hard pressed to state negative aspects about life in the inner city itself. However, there was a consensus across participant families in terms of negative aspects around accommodation. Overall, negative aspects can be classified into two categories: the public and private spheres. Please see table 6 for a summary.

Table 6: Negative Aspects of Inner City Living

Category	Topic	Cited by Participant Families
Public Sphere	Pedestrian Safety	4
	Cyclist Safety	8
	Fear of crime	9
Private Sphere	Private internal space	8
	Private external space	2
	Housing affordability	10

The Public Sphere

Traffic

Although the volume of traffic was acknowledged as a negative aspect when queried, all families considered the heavy volume of traffic to be expected in the inner city. All families felt that the volume of traffic on their own street was at acceptable levels.

A tension between the car and the inner city lifestyle was observed: *“The scale of life [in the inner city] is at a pedestrian level. The inner city is made for the pedestrian. Cars are out of place here which is why parking is so difficult. There is...a tension between the pedestrian and the car”* (Interview 5). Some families raised concerns about traffic from a pedestrian and/or cyclist perspective. Although the amount of cyclist infrastructure was considered good by those that rode, eight families raised concerns around the connectivity and safety of existing cycle paths. All of these families acknowledged that you could go via different routes in most cases to avoid the unsafe areas. However, only one family of the five who used bicycles on a regular basis were prepared to ride with children. No families were prepared to allow their children to ride to school alone now or in the future. Safety was cited as the reasons for this. Four families raised concerns regarding pedestrian safety and believed it to be inadequate at very busy intersections in their area. Two families with school aged children raised concerns over pedestrian safety at intersections on the way to school. For them this posed concerns for future independence for their children to get to school on their own. Three families raised concerns around air pollution due to the volume of traffic.

Fear of Crime

When discussing the safety aspect of life in the inner city, the grimmer side of inner city life was mentioned by most families. The presence of homeless people; alcohol and drug abuse and the associated crime and occasional violence were acknowledged as present in everyday life experiences. However, participant families emphasised that this did not impact on their sense of safety. Nor was it considered an outright negative factor for families: *“It is better for [the children to see it] than for them to never see it. We have lots of conversations over why people are damaged”* (Interview 4). Most participant families considered it of value for their children to be exposed to some degree, and that the issues were visible. This response is in contrast to the literature where studies undertaken in America demonstrate a link between crime and outmigration of families with children to the suburbs (Cullen & Levitt 1999).

The Private Sphere

Space

The key negative aspect discussed by all participant families in terms of raising families in the inner city was space. Eight families raised concern over the amount of internal space and all families discussed the limited private outdoor space (POS) available. A link can be seen between this response from participant families, the demographic data on housing stock in the study area, and concerns raised in the literature around the type of housing stock being built in the inner city (Birrell et al 2012; Costello 2005; Fincher 2004; Kelly et al 2011).

Only two of the participant families stated that they were completely happy with their current residence. Although the number of bedrooms available was raised as an issue by some participant families, the size of the existing bedrooms was cited as more problematic as was the size of internal living areas: *"I am very happy for the children to share a room, but more space in that room would be nice"* (Interview 8). Six of the ten families cited internal space as a reason to move from their current residence in the future.

Although acknowledged across all participant families as limited, POS was considered much less of an issue due the amount and quality of local green space. Although two families cited the desire for a garden as the trigger for them to leave the inner city, the majority of participant families cited it as an area of guilt on behalf of their children, rather than a personal desire for a garden: *"Although G. would enjoy the plants, I would have to find the time to water them!"* (Interview 6). This response contradicts the emphasis in some of the Australian literature on the importance of private outdoor space (Gleeson 2006; Stretton 1975).

Housing Affordability

The cost of buying a home in the inner city was discussed by all participant families as a negative or inhibiting factor: *"The housing stock in the inner city doesn't cater to families: it is all either [tiny] starter homes or millionaire pads. We can't afford to buy what we want to live in."* (Interview 6). Of the six families who cited space as a reason to move from their current residence, all six raised concerns over the affordability of larger housing stock in the area. Two of these families stated that housing affordability would be the trigger for them to move out of the inner city altogether. These responses correspond with housing data which demonstrates how expensive renting or owning accommodation is in the study area compared to metropolitan Melbourne.

The cost of buying was cited as the main reason why five participant families choose to rent: *“We cannot afford to buy in the inner city. That’s why we choose to rent”* (Interview 1). *“We have looked at buying. Too expensive and not enough choice. We will keep renting.”* (Interview 8)

Staying or Going?

All participant families interviewed stated that they really enjoyed living in the inner city as a family. However not all of these families intend on staying in the inner city in the future. The key reason for potentially leaving the area was attributed to the housing stock and affordability. Table 7 below summarises which participant families are staying, which are going and why.

Table 7: Participants’ Intentions Unpacked: Staying or Going

Tenure	Staying/Going	Number of Families	Reason	Cited by Participant Families
Rented	Staying	3	-	-
	Going	2	size	2
			affordability	2
			POS	1
Owned	Staying	3	-	-
	Going	2	size	2
			affordability	2
			POS	2

Six participant families intend on staying in the inner city indefinitely. They were either content with the size and type of housing stock available or happy to compromise on size or home ownership to be able to stay. One family intends to stay in the inner city, but space was becoming increasingly important. If the family cannot find affordable three bedroom accommodation, they will be forced to relocate to a new area. Two families intend to relocate out of the inner city within the next 5 years as both want larger, fully detached houses with large backyards and a suburban lifestyle which is unaffordable in the inner city. One family is leaving the inner city within the next 12 months due to limitations on internal and external space and affordability: *“We want a backyard large enough to play cricket and kick a footy. And my own driveway. I am sick of juggling children and groceries up the lift from the car!”* (Interview 9).

6. Results Part 3: Current and Future Policy Responses

To reiterate, the key family “un-friendly” concerns raised by participant families are:

- 1) Size of dwellings;
- 2) Lack of diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms); and
- 3) Housing affordability.

These issues can be influenced by State and local government planning policy. This chapter firstly identifies the roles, responsibilities and governance structures in place in relation to these issues. Secondly this chapter identifies whether current planning policy documents address the concerns raised by families. Finally the chapter considers if these concerns will be addressed in the future.

Roles, Responsibilities & Governance

Responsibility for residential development is divided between State and local government. Table 8 summarises the roles and responsibilities of each governance tier. Table 9 identifies the policy documents considered in this study, their purpose and at which governance level they sit.

Table 8: Relevant Government Roles and Responsibilities

Issue	Planning Body	Responsibility
Size of dwelling	Victorian Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop state wide standards
	Local Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To ensure new development meets State standards and issue permit
Lack of diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms)	Victorian Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop state wide standards
	Local Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To ensure new development meets State standards and issue permit
Affordable housing for low and moderate income earners	Victorian Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop state wide standards

Table 9: Policy Documents Considered

Document	Document Purpose	Governance Level
Guidelines For Higher Density Residential Development (2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developed by the Victorian Government for developments 4 storeys or higher. To be considered by developers when developing proposals and councils when assessing applications. 	State
Plan Melbourne (2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developed by the Victorian Government Details the strategic plan for metropolitan Melbourne’s housing, commercial and industrial development through to 2050. 	State
City of Melbourne Planning Scheme (current)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developed by the City of Melbourne and approved by Victorian Government Clauses 10-19 & 50-56 are State wide policy and included in all planning schemes in Victoria Clauses 20-22 are local council policies which identify the long term direction and rationale for land use and development. 	State & Local
Future Melbourne (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developed by City of Melbourne A strategic plan for City of Melbourne until 2020 	Local

Policy Gaps

An analysis of the current policies effecting the size of dwelling; diversity of housing stock (number of bedrooms) and housing affordability was undertaken. Although all concerns are recognised at policy level, neither the State government nor local council have strategies in place that effectively address these issues. A clear flaw is the absence of set requirements or identified outcomes that council, builders or developers must comply with. Please see Table 10 below for details.

Table 10: Current Policy in Place

Policy Document	Clause	Comments
Current policy in place addressing size of dwelling & diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms):		
Guidelines for Higher Density Residential Development (2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Objective 5.1: To provide a range of dwelling sizes and types in higher density residential developments Objective 5.3: To create functional, flexible, efficient and comfortable residential apartments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have not been updated since 2004 These are guidelines only. No requirements are placed on builders or developers to ensure a range of dwelling types or sizes or minimum amenity levels.
City of Melbourne Planning Scheme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16.01-4 Housing Diversity, Objective: to provide for a range of housing types to meet increasingly diverse needs. 21.07 – 1, Housing, Objective 4: To support a range of housing tenures, types and options to meet the diversity of housing needs. 55.02-3 Dwelling Diversity, Objective: To encourage a range of dwelling sizes and types in developments of ten or more dwellings. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No identified strategies other than “encourage” or “support” are identified to ensure a range of dwelling types and sizes. The needs of older people, students, the financially vulnerable and tourists are identified and included in cl 21.07-1, however there is no mention of families.
Current policy in place for housing affordability for low and moderate income earners:		
City of Melbourne Planning Scheme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16.01-5 Housing affordability, Objective: To deliver more affordable housing closer to jobs, transport and services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No identified strategies other than “facilitate”; “encourage” or “support” are identified to ensure a range of dwelling types and sizes.

Future Changes?

Housing policy is currently in flux across Victoria and in the City of Melbourne. Since 2012 strategic documents and discussion papers have been released at both State and local government level. In April 2012 the Victorian Government released a discussion paper written on behalf of the Department of Human Services by KPMG. The paper explored the supply mechanisms available to improve the availability and quality of social housing in Victoria. In October 2013 the Victorian Government released a new strategic plan for metropolitan Melbourne, *Plan Melbourne* outlining future development, including housing until 2050. In 2008 the City of Melbourne released a community strategic plan, *Future Melbourne* outlining “Melbourne’s long-term plan for the future

direction of all aspects of city life” (City of Melbourne 2009). In 2013 the City of Melbourne released both a discussion paper and a community engagement summary as the predecessor to a City of Melbourne housing strategy planned for release in 2014. The current policy gap is acknowledged in all documents.

Although acknowledged, no new policy specifically addressing either dwelling size, diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms), or housing affordability has been released by the Victorian Government. The strategic documents suggest that the State is more focused on building knowledge rather than taking action. At this point there are no identified requirements to address these issues; no timeframes identified to achieve change; and no indicators in place to measure improvements, ongoing impacts or worsening effects of these identified and acknowledged issues.

The City of Melbourne is more proactive. *Future Living Community Engagement Findings* identifies the top three housing issues in the City of Melbourne as: 1) buying a home is unaffordable; 2) rent is too high; and 3) apartments are too small (City of Melbourne 2013a, p10). *Future Living* (2013b) discusses these issues in detail and explores case studies from Australia and around the world where these specific issues are being acted upon. The City of Melbourne housing strategy, scheduled for release later this year, will be the first policy document of its kind released at local council level in Victoria. Although a very positive and exciting step, caution must be taken in terms the Council’s ability to enact change given its current legislative powers. For example some of the suggested solutions in its community plan *Future Melbourne* are beyond its current governance remit. Table 11 below identifies how the State and Local Government frame these issues in strategic documents and the possible direction of policy in the future.

Table 11: Current Strategic Policy and Future Policy Direction

Strategic Document	Clause	Comments
Future policy for size of dwelling & diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms):		
Plan Melbourne (2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direction 2.1: Understand and plan for expected housing needs Initiative 2.1.4: Improve the quality and amenity of residential apartments <p>Strategy: short term: update design guidelines and implement measurable standards; medium term: Review the design, layout, internal living amenity and balcony needs of apartment development.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does not treat all areas of Melbourne equally. Initiative 2.1.3 calls for more diversity in growth areas, but no reference to increased diversity in the inner city. Updating existing design guidelines and cl 54, 55 and 56 of VPPs may result in identified size requirements that councils, builders, or developers must comply with. The review of needs for apartments appears to take place after updating of design guidelines.
Future Melbourne (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goal: more housing construction and conversion to keep pace with demand to ensure a ready supply of varied accommodation options. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifies that a greater amount and variety of housing type is needed It is not within council remit to set developer requirements or initiate construction
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goal: better site utilisation Goal: optimal development of residential sites to provide diverse housing types catering to a range of needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is not within council remit to set site requirements to developers.
Future policy for housing affordability for low and moderate income earners:		
Plan Melbourne (2013)	<p>Initiative 2.4.1: Prepare municipal housing strategies to improve housing choice</p> <p>Strategy: Councils to apply appropriate zoning in municipality.</p> <p>Initiative 2.4.2: Increase our understanding of affordable housing in the context of changing household types and needs</p> <p>Initiative 2.4.3: Accelerate investment in affordable housing</p> <p>Strategy: Investigate planning provisions and mechanisms to deliver more affordable housing, especially within significant change areas.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A focus on understanding the problem rather than acting on the problem; Identifies the issue of limited supply of housing vs demand for housing and its impact on housing affordability yet does not require that all councils allocate a certain percentage of their municipality for residential growth. Considers reducing the cost to developers to build affordable housing, however there is no clear strategy or mechanism is identified to guarantee that affordable housing at all price points is built.
Future Melbourne (2008)	<p>Goal: an increase in the number and variety of affordable housing opportunities</p> <p>Goal: An equitable planning system to ensure development contributes to support community betterment including affordable housing and infrastructure provision</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifies inclusionary zoning to achieve affordable housing for low and moderate income residents and development contributions as a means of funding affordable housing. Establishing new zones does not currently fall in the remit of council Given the costs associated, the funding of affordable housing may not be considered a “reasonable” development contribution and therefore may be challenged by developers.

The key issues raised by participant families were: size of dwellings; the lack of diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms); and housing affordability. The current policy documents, recently released strategic documents and discussion papers at State and local level all acknowledge these

issues. The current planning system in place in Victoria limits local government's ability to address these issues. The size of dwellings may be addressed in the future by new Victorian guidelines introducing minimum standards, but no time frames have been identified for when. The State does not adequately address the issues of lack of diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms) or housing affordability for low to moderate income earners.

7. Discussion & Conclusions

In recent decades, capital cities around Australia have seen an increase in the number of families who choose to reside in the inner city. Although the proportion of families residing in inner cities in 2011 were still lower than that of the wider metropolitan areas (refer to Table 1), these increases have been substantial. Woolcock et al. (2010, p 183) points to the “child-blind” nature of contemporary Australian strategic inner city planning. Fincher (2004) and Costello (2005) identify how the needs of families and children are not considered by developers constructing inner city Melbourne’s new high rise towers. The absence of the consideration of the needs of families has had significant impact on both the planning and recent redevelopment of inner city Melbourne, in terms of the type of housing being built and the infrastructure provided. This study was undertaken in response to this blind spot. Using the City of Melbourne as a case study, three questions were posed:

- 1) Why do some families choose to live in inner city Melbourne?;
- 2) What do these families need for healthier and happier lives in the city?; and
- 3) How does planning policy at State and local level address families’ concerns?

This chapter answers these questions based on the study’s findings, and considers what actions are required to address the issues arising from the research.

Why Do Some Families Choose to Live in Inner City Melbourne?

Participant families choose to live in inner city Melbourne because of time saved, convenience and choice. All the families appreciated and valued the amount of time saved in the work commute. Equally valued was the convenience that the close proximity of amenities and life activities provided. Finally all the families highly valued the wide choice of amenities, activities and culture easily and cheaply available to them. Participant families placed a high value on the combination of these factors and considered them unique to an inner city lifestyle.

These answers are in contradiction to much of the literature on family residential location choice and family friendly cities, in which a suburban, rather than an inner city location, is widely accepted as the residential location of choice for families. The need for space, and the space available in the suburbs, is identified as a key determining factor influencing this choice (Clark, Onaka 1983; Clark, Huang 2003; Kim et al. 2005a). In the Australian context, private outdoor space in particular is considered very important (see Gleeson 2006; Hall 2010; Stretton 1975). The city is often considered unattractive to families due to crime and traffic (Bradford & Kelejian 1973; Cullen & Levitt 1999) and the negative health benefits of non-suburban housing (Hall 2010; Woolcock et al.

2010). The literature also raises concerns that apartment living results in a lack of privacy, overcrowding, and competing interests for family time (Appold & Yuen 2007).

Many of these issues were acknowledged by participant families, however, they were either not given the importance the literature attributed to them, or were not considered important enough to influence residential location choice. Internal space limitations were cited as problematic by many participant families, however this did not translate to a desire to live in the suburbs. The majority of participant families did not value additional space enough to consider a move out of the inner city. The lack of private open space too was acknowledged, however the desire for a backyard only resonated with two families. Overall, private outdoor space was not considered as important by participant families as the literature suggested. Crime and traffic were also acknowledged by families, but again, these issues were not given the same level of importance that was assigned to them in the literature. Jane Jacobs' (1961) notion of "eyes on the street" was very much reflected in participant families' sense of safety. Lack of privacy, overcrowding, and competing interests for family time were not raised as concerns. In terms of health, living in the inner city was seen by participant families as a benefit due to the increased amount of walking or cycling undertaken.

Parallels can however be drawn between the participant families' responses and European studies on families living in the city. Karsten's (2003, 2007) studies in the Netherlands and Burn and Fagnani's (1994) study in Paris also conclude that time saved from commuting is very important for families and a major influence in their choice of residential location.

Karsten (2007) critiques traditional approaches to family residential location theory. She points to the narrowness of traditional approaches and argues that residential location choice should be considered within the broader context of family needs given that the site (accommodation of daily life) and the situation (location) of the neighbourhood are important conditions for family life (Karsten 2007, p 85). These factors are much more useful considerations when analysing participant families' residential location choice than merely lifecycle factors and the presence of children.

What Do These Families Need for Healthier and Happier Lives in the City?

Participant families were very positive about their experiences of living with children in the inner city. However all participant families raised concerns regarding accommodation. Eight of the participant families raised internal space as a concern. It was considered problematic both in terms of the number of bedrooms, but also in terms of bedroom size and the size of living spaces. All

participant families raised housing affordability as an issue facing inner city families. Of the six families who cited space as a reason to move from their current residence, all six raised concerns over the cost of larger housing stock in the area.

Demographic data for the City of Melbourne on housing stock; income and employment; and the cost of housing, indicate that these issues have a much wider impact than just the participant families. There is a lack of diversity in the housing stock in the City of Melbourne. This is clearly illustrated by the demographic data which shows that 72.8 percent of the City of Melbourne's housing stock is either one or two bedroom dwellings. Data also shows that buying or renting three bedroom accommodation in the City of Melbourne is considerably more expensive than metropolitan Melbourne. When these two facts are considered in conjunction it indicates a high demand for three bedroom accommodation in the municipality. This in turn clearly illustrates a mismatch between what housing stock exists in the City of Melbourne and what housing stock people want to live in.

Housing affordability issues can also be illustrated by the demographic data. At \$633 per month for a three bedroom apartment (see Table 3), the median rent falls outside the 30 percent measure of affordability for the average City of Melbourne family income. This gap is even greater when using the average metropolitan Melbourne family income. There are also a higher proportion of people working full time in the City of Melbourne compared to metropolitan Melbourne. This data indicates that the City of Melbourne is becoming increasingly unaffordable for the average family and increasingly unaffordable for its current residents.

The literature and policy documents demonstrate an awareness of these issues. Kelly et al. (2011) identify that there is a housing stock mismatch between what is being built in inner city Melbourne and Sydney and what housing stock people want. The lack of affordability of inner city Melbourne is documented and discussed by Birrell et al. (2012). At State level the newly released *Plan Melbourne* identifies and discusses the issues of accommodation size, housing diversity, and housing affordability. The community engagement findings for the soon to be released housing strategy for the City of Melbourne identify the top three housing issues are: 1) buying a home is unaffordable; 2) rent is too high; and 3) apartments are too small (City of Melbourne 2013a p10).

Regulation which would enable more affordable housing for middle to low income earners; introducing standards to improve the size and amenity of housing stock and regulation to increase

the diversity of housing stock (number of bedrooms) would begin to resolve the accommodation issues raised by participant families. These measures would have a positive impact on the lives of families in the inner city.

How Does Planning Policy at State and Local Levels Address Families' Concerns?

Participant families raised concerns over the size of dwellings; the lack of diversity in housing stock (number of bedrooms); and housing affordability. Planning policy at State and local levels does not currently address these concerns.

A policy review identifies that these issues are acknowledged at both State and local level in current policy and in future strategic directions. However, there is a discrepancy in the response from each governance level. The City of Melbourne is much more concerned with acting upon and resolving these issues than the State. This divergent response may be a result of the perceived level of impact these issues have on the community. The State's focus is across all of metropolitan Melbourne, whereas the focus of the City of Melbourne is much more on its own residents. The demographic data shows that diversity of housing stock (number of bedrooms) is a major issue facing the City of Melbourne. This is much less of an issue in metropolitan Melbourne where there is a more even distribution of housing stock across two, three and four bedroom dwellings (see Table 3). Housing affordability too is a more pressing issue facing the City of Melbourne than metropolitan Melbourne. The median rent for a three bedroom house in the City of Melbourne does not meet the 30% affordability measure, however it does in metropolitan Melbourne.

Due to the current legislative framework in place for planning in Victoria, any new regulation would be required at State level. Many of the proposed actions in strategic documents by the City of Melbourne Council are currently beyond their remit. The City of Melbourne is due to release a housing strategy in 2014. A major challenge facing this strategy will be how the council will tackle these issues within its currently limited remit.

A key concern raised in the literature around families residing in the inner city, is that the family is often absent from inner city planning considerations (see Fincher 2004; Karsten 2003, 2007 & 2009; Van den Berg 2013; Warner & Rukus 2013; Whitzman & Mizrachi 2012). In actual policy terms to date there has not been much progress on Woolcock et al.'s (2010, p 183) observation of the "child-blind" nature of contemporary Australian strategic inner city planning. Nor has there been a change

in the idea of the appropriateness of the family in the city as identified by Fincher (2004) or Costello (2005). “Family friendly” suburbia is still considered the only norm (State Government Victoria, 2013 p 97).

Next steps

Current policy documents suggest a tension between State and local governance levels: the State is not adequately legislating to address housing issues affecting families in the inner city, and the local council is attempting to legislate beyond its remit. The demographic data indicates that the issues of size of dwellings, diversity of housing stock (number of bedrooms) and housing affordability are more urgent in the City of Melbourne than wider metropolitan Melbourne. The impact these issues are having on residents is clearly identified in the outcomes of recent community engagement undertaken by the City of Melbourne. Given this, the council appears better placed than the State government to identify and introduce regulation that will address these issues. The most effective policy response at State level may be to enact legislative change to enable local councils to address issues that are unique and urgent to their communities.

Further Research

There is limited recent research on the experiences of families residing in inner city Melbourne (Whitzman & Mizrachi 2012). This study sought to explore the broader needs and wants of inner city families in Melbourne and provide insight into the motivations behind their residential location choice. Limitations facing this study included the small sample size; and the potential bias of participant families. These issues were mitigated through the diversity of participant families and the use of demographic data. This study has identified three areas of concern around housing for families living in the inner city. However, given the limitations of the study, it cannot adequately propose real solutions to these concerns. Further research into each of these concerns with a focus on family needs would be of value for identifying effective ways of addressing these concerns for families and for informing future planning decisions.

References

Alonso, W. 1964, *Location and land use; toward a general theory of land rent*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Ancell, S. & Thompson-Fawcett, M. 2008, "The social sustainability of medium density housing: A conceptual model and Christchurch case study", *Housing Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 423-442.

Appold, S. & Yuen, B. 2007, "Families in flats, revisited", *Urban Studies*, vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 569-589.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, *2001 Census Community Profile Series, Adelaide (c) LGA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/ABSNavigation/prenav/ViewData?&action=404&documentproductno=LGA40070&documenttype=Details&tabname=Details&areacode=LGA40070&issue=2001&producttype=Community%20Profiles&&producttype=CommunityProfiles&javascript=true&textversion=false&navmapdisplayed=true&breadcrumb=PLD&#BasicCommunityProfile>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, *2001 Census Community Profile Series, Brisbane City – Inner North (Indigenous Area)*, viewed 28 October 2013,

<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/ABSNavigation/prenav/ViewData?&action=404&documentproductno=IARE09001&documenttype=Details&tabname=Details&areacode=IARE09001&issue=2001&producttype=Community%20Profiles&&producttype=CommunityProfiles&javascript=true&textversion=false&navmapdisplayed=true&breadcrumb=PLD&#IndigenousProfile>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, *2001 Census Community Profile Series, Melbourne (c) LGA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/ABSNavigation/prenav/ViewData?&action=404&documentproductno=LGA24600&documenttype=Details&tabname=Details&areacode=LGA24600&issue=2001&producttype=Community%20Profiles&&producttype=CommunityProfiles&javascript=true&textversion=false&navmapdisplayed=true&breadcrumb=PLD&#BasicCommunityProfile>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, *2001 Census Community Profile Series, Perth (c) LGA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/ABSNavigation/prenav/ViewData?&action=404&documentproductno=LGA57080&documenttype=Details&tabname=Details&areacode=LGA57080&issue=2001&producttype=Community%20Profiles&&producttype=CommunityProfiles&javascript=true&textversion=false&navmapdisplayed=true&breadcrumb=PLD&#BasicCommunityProfile>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, *2001 Census Community Profile Series, Sydney (c) LGA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/ABSNavigation/prenav/ViewData?&action=404&documentproductno=LGA17200&documenttype=Details&tabname=Details&areacode=LGA17200&issue=2001&producttype=Community%20Profiles&&producttype=CommunityProfiles&javascript=true&textversion=false&navmapdisplayed=true&breadcrumb=PLD&#BasicCommunityProfile>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *2011 Census Community Profile Series, Adelaide SUA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/communityprofile/4001?opendocument&navpos=230

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *2011 Census Community Profile Series, Brisbane SUA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/communityprofile/3001?opendocument&navpos=230

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *2011 Census Community Profile Series, Melbourne SUA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/communityprofile/2011?opendocument&navpos=230

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *2011 Census Community Profile Series, Perth SUA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/communityprofile/5009?opendocument&navpos=230

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *2011 Census Community Profile Series, Sydney SUA*, viewed 28 October 2013,

http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/communityprofile/1030?opendocument&navpos=230

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Regional Profile (Indigenous) Profile, Brisbane City – Inner North 2011*, viewed 28 October 2013,

http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/communityprofile/ILOC30100202?opendocument&navpos=230

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *National Regional Profile, Adelaide (c) LGA 2011*, viewed 28 October 2013, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nrp.nsf/Latestproducts/LGA40070Population/People12007-2011?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=LGA40070&issue=2007-2011>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *National Regional Profile, Melbourne (c) LGA 2011*, viewed 28 October 2013, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nrp.nsf/Latestproducts/LGA24600Population/People12007-2011?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=LGA24600&issue=2007-2011>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *National Regional Profile, Perth (c) LGA 2011*, viewed 28 October 2013, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nrp.nsf/Latestproducts/LGA57080Population/People12007-2011?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=LGA57080&issue=2007-2011>

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, *National Regional Profile, Sydney (c) LGA 2011*, viewed 28 October 2013, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nrp.nsf/Latestproducts/LGA17200Population/People12007-2011?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=LGA17200&issue=2007-2011>

Beer, A., Kearins, B. & Pieters, H. 2007, "Housing affordability and planning in Australia: The challenge of policy under neo-liberalism", *Housing Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 11-24.

Birrell, B., Healy E., Rapson, V. & Smith, F. 2012 *The End of Affordable Housing in Melbourne?* Melbourne: Monash University.

Bondi, L. 1999, "Gender, class, and gentrification: Enriching the debate", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 261-282.

Boterman, W.R., Karsten, L. & Musterd, S. 2010, "Gentrifiers Settling Down? Patterns and Trends of Residential Location of Middle-Class Families in Amsterdam", *Housing Studies*, vol. 25, no. 5, pp. 693-714.

Bradford, D.F. & Kelejian, H.H. 1973, "An Econometric Model of the Flight to the Suburbs", *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 81, no. 3, pp. 566-589.

Brun, J. & Fagnani, J. 1994, "Lifestyles and locational choices - trade-offs and compromises: a case-study of middle-class couples living in the Ile-de-France region", *Urban Studies*, vol. 31, no. 6, pp. 921-934.

City of Melbourne 2009, 12 October 2009-last update, *Future Melbourne*, [Online]. Available: <https://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/AboutCouncil/PlansandPublications/Pages/FutureMelbourne.aspx> [viewed 23 April 2014].

City of Melbourne 2012, *Boundary map*, <http://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/AboutMelbourne/CityMaps/Pages/Boundarymap.aspx> [viewed 15 October 2013]

City of Melbourne 2013a, *Future living community engagement findings*, City of Melbourne, Melbourne.

City of Melbourne 2013b, *Future living: a discussion paper identifying issues and options for housing our community*, City of Melbourne, Melbourne.

City of Melbourne 2014, 22/05/2014-last update, *Planning Scheme*, [Online]. Available: <http://planningschemes.dpcd.vic.gov.au/schemes/melbourne> [2014, May, 27].

Clapham, D. 2002, "Housing pathways: A post modern analytical framework", *Housing, Theory and Society*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 57-68.

Clark, W.A.V. & Huang, Y. 2003, "The life course and residential mobility in British housing markets", *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 323-339.

Clark, W.A.V. & Onaka, J.L. 1983, "Life cycle and housing adjustment as explanations of residential mobility", *Urban Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 47-57.

Costello, L. 2005, "From prisons to penthouses: The changing images of high-rise living in Melbourne", *Housing Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 49-62.

Cullen, J.B. & Levitt, S.D. 1999, "Crime, urban flight, and the consequences for cities", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, vol. 81, no. 2, pp. 159-169.

Department Planning & Community Development 2007, *Victorian Population Bulletin Special Edition 2007*, State Government of Victoria, Melbourne.

Department of Transport, Planning and Local Infrastructure 2013, 18 Nov 2013-last update, *Quick Facts*, [Online]. Available: <http://www.dpcd.vic.gov.au/home/publications-and-research/urban-and-regional-research/census-2011/quick-facts> [viewed 22 April 2014].

Department of Sustainability and Environment 2004, *Guidelines for higher density and residential development*, Victorian Government, Melbourne.

Department Transport, Planning and Local Infrastructure 2013, *Victorian Population Bulletin 2013*, State Government of Victoria, Melbourne.

Fincher, R. 2004, "Gender and life course in the narratives of Melbourne's high-rise housing developers", *Australian Geographical Studies*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 325-338.

Gabriel, M., Jacobs, K., Arthurson, K., Burke, T. & Yates, J. 2005, *Conceptualising and measuring the housing affordability problem: National Research Venture 3: Housing Affordability for Lower Income Australians: research paper 1*, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Melbourne, Victoria.

Gilmour, T. & Milligan, V. 2012, "Housing affordability, affordable housing and the policy agenda" in *Australia's Unintended Cities: The Impact of Housing on Urban Development*, ed. R.

Gleeson, B. 2006, *Australian heartlands: making space for hope in the suburbs*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

- Hay, I. (ed) 2005, *Qualitative research methods in human geography*, 2nd edn, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, Victoria.
- Hall, T. 2010, "Goodbye to the backyard?-The minimisation of private open space in the Australian outer-suburban estate", *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 411-433.
- Hamnett, C. 1991, "The blind men and the elephant - the explanation of gentrification", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 173-189.
- Horne, D. 1964, *The lucky country: Australia in the sixties*, Melbourne: Penguin.
- Hume, C., Salmon, J. & Ball, K. 2005, "Children's perceptions of their home and neighbourhood environments, and their association with objectively measured physical activity: A qualitative and quantitative study", *Health education research*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 1-13.
- Jacobs, J. 1961, *The death and life of great American cities*, Random House, New York.
- Karsten, L. 2009, "From a top-down to a bottom-up urban discourse: (Re) constructing the city in a family-inclusive way", *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 317-329.
- Karsten, L. 2007, "Housing as a way of life: Towards an understanding of middle-class families' preference for an urban residential location", *Housing Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 83-98.
- Karsten, L. 2003, "Family gentrifiers: challenging the city as a place simultaneously to build a career and to raise children", *Urban Studies*, vol. 40, no. 12, pp. 2573-2584.
- Kelly, J.F., Weidmann, B., and Walsh, M., 2011, *The Housing We'd Choose*, Melbourne: Grattan Institute.
- Kelly, J., Hunter, J., Harrison, C. & Donegan, P. 2013, *Renovating Housing Policy*, Grattan Institute, Melbourne.
- Kim, J.H., Pagliara, F. & Preston, J. 2005a, "The intention to move and residential location choice behaviour", *Urban Studies*, vol. 42, no. 9, pp. 1621-1636.
- Kim, T., Horner, M.W. & Marans, R.W. 2005b, "Life cycle and environmental factors in selecting residential and job locations", *Housing Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 457-473.
- KPMG 2012, *Social housing: a discussion paper on the options to improve the supply of quality housing*, Victorian Department of Human Services, Victoria.
- Kyttä, M. 2004, "The extent of children's independent mobility and the number of actualized affordances as criteria for child-friendly environments", *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 179-198.
- Lawton, P., Murphy, E. & Redmond, D. 2013, "Residential preferences of the 'creative class'?", *Cities*, vol. 31, pp. 47-56.
- Maas, J., Verheij, R.A., Groenewegen, P.P., De Vries, S. & Spreeuwenberg, P. 2006, "Green space, urbanity, and health: How strong is the relation?", *Journal of epidemiology and community health*, vol. 60, no. 7, pp. 587-592.
- Park, E., Burgess, E., & McKenzie, R. 1970, *The City*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- REA Group 2014, 21 February 2014-last update, *Median Property Price*, [Online]. Available: <http://www.realestate.com.au/neighbourhoods> [viewed March 19, 2014].
- Real estate Institute of Victoria. 2014, 21/02/2014-last update, *Median Prices By Bedroom*, [Online]. Available: <http://www.reiv.com.au/en/Property-Research/Median-Prices/Median-prices-by-bedroom> [viewed March 19, 2014].

Richards, L. 1990, *Nobody's home: dreams and realities in a new suburb*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Rose, D. 1989, "A feminist perspective of employment restructuring and gentrification: the case of Montreal", *The power of geography*, pp. 118-138.

State Government Victoria 2013, *Plan Melbourne*, Victorian Government, Melbourne.

Stretton, H. 1975, *Ideas for Australian cities*. Melbourne: Georgian House.

Van den Berg, M. 2013, "City Children and Genderfied Neighbourhoods: The New Generation as Urban Regeneration Strategy", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 523-536.

Warde, A. 1991, "Gentrification as consumption: issues of class and gender", *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 223-232.

Warner, M.E. & Rukus, J. 2013, 10 April 2013-last update, *Planners' Role In Creating Family-Friendly Communities: Action, Participation And Resistance* [Journal of Urban Affairs], [Online]. Available: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/doi/10.1111/juaf.12014/pdf> [viewed 16 September 2013].

Whitzman, C. & Mizrachi, D. 2012, "Creating Child-Friendly High-Rise Environments: Beyond Wastelands and Glasshouses", *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 233-249.

Whitzman, C. 2009, *Suburb, Slum, Urban Village*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Woolcock, G., Gleeson, B. & Randolph, B. 2010, "Urban research and child-friendly cities: A new Australian outline", *Children's Geographies*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 177-192.