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Measuring Urban Renewal Outcomes

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Abstract

Housing SA (formerly the South Australian Housing Trust) provided thousands of people in South Australia with housing especially during the peak periods of the state's growth in the 1950s and 1960s. However in the 1990s Housing SA was faced with a large volume of older housing in large concentrations, a mismatch of housing types to suit market demand and a lack of housing variety. As a means of addressing these issues Housing SA embarked on a program of urban renewal. Urban renewal seeks to improve the 'liveability' of an area by reducing concentrations of public housing, increasing the range of housing types and creating home purchase opportunities. It also seeks to create sustainable communities, provide a better environment and improved standards of housing.

One way of assessing the success of such ventures is to use a number of key performance indicators which attempt to measure change in the physical, economic and social environments using data such as that provided by the ABS. While such indicators do not give the whole picture in terms of change they are at least a starting point for comparing the before and after scenarios. This paper reports on and critiques the outcomes of urban renewal using quantitative measures such as capital appreciation, housing affordability, employment measures and levels of home ownership for five SA urban renewal projects each of which has been completed or is near completion. The paper includes analysis based on the recently released 2006 ABS Census of Population and Housing.

Key words: urban renewal, key performance indicators

Introduction

Housing SA (formerly the South Australian Housing Trust) provided thousands of people in South Australia (SA) with housing especially during the peak periods of the state's growth in the 1950s and 1960s when an immigration boom was experienced. However in the 1990s Housing SA was faced with a large volume of older housing in large concentrations, a mismatch of housing types to suit market and customer demand and lack of housing variety. As a means of addressing these issues Housing SA embarked on a program of urban renewal.

Urban renewal seeks to improve the 'liveability' of an area, reduce concentrations of public housing, update and increase the range of housing types and to create home purchase opportunities. It also seeks to create sustainable communities, provide a better environment and improved standards of housing.

One way of assessing the success of such ventures is to use a number of key performance indicators which try to measure change in the physical, economic and social environments using data such as that provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). While such indicators do not give the whole picture in terms of change they are at least a starting point for comparing the before and after scenarios. While there have been a few studies of individual urban renewal projects in SA (URPS, 2006; Beer et al, 2005; Social Policy Research Group, 1997) this paper seeks to make a contribution in its use of a consistent but readily accessible set of performance indicators across a number of projects.

This paper considers five SA urban renewal projects and using the ABS Time Series Census Data and house sales data (DAIS 2006) calculates a number of performance indicators to measure change between 1991, 1996, 2001 and where data is available, 2006.

1. Rosewood – Elizabeth North LGA (started in 1992 and completed in 2000)
2. Hillcrest – Port Adelaide & Enfield LGA (started in 1994 and completed in 1999)
3. Kilburn South – Port Adelaide & Enfield LGA (started in 2001 and continuing)
4. Mitchell Park – Marion LGA (started in 1990 and completed in 2005)
5. Hawksbury Park – Salisbury North LGA (started in 1998 and continuing)

Literature Review

Evaluating the success of urban renewal relies heavily on the use of performance indicators although their selection, quality and application have been questioned (Rogers & Slowinski 2004). Performance indicators in terms of urban renewal have been described as measuring tools that can be used to evaluate an issue or condition over time. Spiller, Gibbons and Swan (2000) have described a performance indicator as “standardized information by which progress towards efficiency and effectiveness objectives may be measured”. Performance indicators are only one of three common evaluation methodologies applied to urban renewal projects. Rogers and Slowinski (2004) have identified these as economic analysis, usually incorporating some form of benefit cost analysis, the qualitative approach, which uses surveys to measure levels of client satisfaction after project completion and finally the managerial approach, which uses performance indicators to measure progress against project objectives. While such measures have been described by Judd and Randolph (2001) as often “patchy” and both poorly developed and implemented assessment of urban renewal projects is considered a necessity for policy evaluation. In Australia, in states such as New South Wales (Stubbs & Sorer, 1996), the evaluation of urban regeneration has been dominated by benefit cost analysis (Beer et al 2005). In states such as Western Australia (Walker, 2000) and in SA attempts have been made to include a greater level of social and community evaluation into the process both through survey and focus groups (Spiller Gibbons & Swan, 1999; Randolph & Judd,

2000; 2001; 2006). Spiller Gibbons and Swan (1999) suggest that a performance orientated approach can be effective in providing quality control in service delivery, provide examples of best practice in provide a consistent information base for managers and consumers. Examples of performance based studies in SA include those for Rosewood (Social Policy Research Group 1997) and for Mitchell Park (URPS 2006), two of the earliest urban renewal projects in SA, and for Westwood (Beer et al 2005), one of the most recent urban renewal projects in SA, and one of the largest in Australia. In each of these studies it has been important to identify performance indicators that have a clear purpose and indicate whether clearly defined outcomes have been achieved. To this end it is important to have access to a consistent set of data items which can be easily and regularly translated into indicators of performance in terms of urban renewal. Such data as provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics census of Population and Housing complies with these criteria. The ABS Census is conducted on a 5 yearly basis and provides a consistent set of data items which can be used to establish at least a base line set of indicators for urban renewal assessment.

Rogers and Slowinski (2004) have identified that such indicators should take into account a number of areas of impact such as housing, social, economic, community and financial. They also argue that the analysis of impact should also be accompanied by evaluation of attribution in term of urban renewal processes, strategies and costs as well as stressing the need for cross dimensional and holistic approaches in assessing performance. In terms of this paper only the dimension of impact is considered with indicators derived to assess housing, economic and social outcomes considered. These indicators seek to go some way towards understanding the impact of urban renewal in terms of ranking the before and after situation. Hemphill, McGreal and Berry (2002) attempted to establish a weighting system for evaluating urban renewal and suggested that in the UK transport and mobility were considered to be the most important benefits of sustainable urban renewal followed by economy and work and community benefits. In practical terms most urban renewal projects seek to replace obsolete homes with a better choice of housing forms more suitable to the local demography, increase levels of home ownership, offer a better mix of private and public rental housing and promote affordable house price levels. The redevelopment and subsequent shedding of public housing should result in a largely self funded capital housing program by government. Performance indicators pertaining to housing, economic and social outcomes are reflected in SA state government housing plan which proposes to renew, reinvigorate and strengthen neighbourhoods through urban renewal, to accelerate the redevelopment of public housing estate, and to expand housing choice and diversity (SA DF&C 2005).

Method

The method adopted for analysis is determined by the need for easily computed indexes derived from an accessible source. As such the ABS Census of Population and Housing Time Series has been used to obtain percentage values for a number of data items considered as appropriate measures of change in terms of economic and social outcomes, levels of home purchase and physical housing forms. The data items are listed below and were calculated for subdivisions of the statistical local areas (SLAs) in which the projects were located as well as for the Adelaide Statistical Division (ASD) as a whole. Percentage values for each of these indicators, for each project are shown for each time period in Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, Table 4, Table 5, Table 6, & Table 7.

Economic

- % Unemployed (total labour force)
- % Managers (employed persons)
- % Bachelor degree (persons over 15 years)
- % University (total persons)

Social

- Average household size
- Population '000s

- % One parent family (occupied dwellings)
- % Lone person household (occupied dwellings)
- % Couples family with children (occupied dwellings)

Housing

- % Being purchased (occupied dwellings)
- % Fully owned (occupied dwellings)
- % Rented – state or housing authority (occupied dwellings)
- % Rented – real estate agent/other (occupied dwellings)
- Median house price
- House price affordability (average house price/average annual income)

Physical

- Number of occupied dwellings '000s
- % Separate houses (dwellings)
- % Row or terrace house etc (dwellings)
- % Flat, unit or apartment (dwellings)

Every effort was made to ensure consistency in measurement across four census periods; 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006. Where this has not been possible the items are listed as not available (na) on the tables for each redevelopment project. As the 2006 ABS Census has not yet been released in full there are some items missing. These are indicated as not published (np) in the tables but will be included in future drafts of the paper.

In terms of spatial distribution two of the selected projects, Rosewood and Hawksbury Park are located to the north of Adelaide, two are located in the centre, Hillcrest and Kilburn South and one, Mitchell Park, is located to the south. The projects cover a range of time periods. Mitchell Park in the SLA of Marion was started earliest in 1990 and completed in 2005. Rosewood in the SLA of Elizabeth North was started in 1992 and completed in 2000. Hillcrest in the SLA of Port Adelaide & Enfield was started in 1994 and completed in 1999. Two of the projects are still continuing, that of Hawksbury Park in the SLA of Salisbury North which started in 1998 and Kilburn South in the SLA of Port Adelaide & Enfield which commenced in 2001.

Results

Consideration of the indicators in the tables reveals that there are consistent trends across each of the five developments for the four census periods.

In terms of improving the economic status of an area and improving socio economic diversity indicators show that after urban renewal has taken place levels of unemployment have fallen, levels of tertiary attendance have increased and more residents hold a bachelor degree (Table 1, Table 2). Most of the projects however show a decrease in the percentage of the population employed as managers though this is line with the ASD as a whole.

In terms of social indicators the 1991, 1996, and 2001 census shows a decline in household size for each project area in line with ASD trends. However as of 2006 there has been a stabilizing in household size for Mitchell Park and Rosewood and for the ASD as a whole. Areas such as Kilburn South (Table 4) and Hillcrest (Table 3) have in fact shown an increase in household size in 2006. In both these areas there has also been an increase in the percentage of households who are couples with families which is a positive outcomes for these urban renewal areas in terms of strengthening community ties and broadening the demographic mix. Overall lone person households dominate in each area except for Hawksbury Park (Table 5). In each of the projects which have been completed, Rosewood (Table 2), Hillcrest (Table 3) and Mitchell Park (Table 6) population numbers initially declined in the census period after the commencement of the project although in each case the

number of occupied dwellings increased. This is likely to reflect a considerable turnover in residents from those who originally were in public rental to those able either to afford to buy or to rent privately. A number of the original tenants will no longer live in the redeveloped area but will have been rehoused elsewhere in other public housing areas. The social impacts of relocation can be considerable (Arthurson 2003) and the satisfaction and lifestyle of relocated tenants considerably impaired especially those in the Aboriginal community (Walker et al 2003). However as of 2006 there has been an across the board increase in population numbers in these three early urban renewal areas. In the more recent projects, Hawksbury Park (Table 5) and Kilburn (Table 4), population numbers have in fact increased after the commencement of the urban renewal development although in Kilburn South the number of occupied dwelling has decreased. This is consistent with Kilburn's increase in average household size. As such, urban renewal has in the main not reduced the volume of housing stock available for occupation and population numbers, though initially impacted, have over time either recovered or increased in number.

In terms of increasing housing opportunities, urban renewal has generally increased the level of homes being purchased in an area, significantly decreased the level of public rental stock and significantly increased the level of non public rental accommodation (Table 7). As such the concentration of public housing within these project areas has been significantly reduced. However the level of public rental in each area remains higher than that for the ASD (6.8%) as a whole, in particular for Rosewood (23.0%). It is also important to note that while home purchase levels have increased levels of home ownership overall have fallen as of 2006 in each project area. This is inline with the ASD (Table 7). Much of this is explained by the fall in the levels of outright home ownership; that is the number of homes which are fully owned within each project area. Thus while urban renewal has promoted home purchase, overall levels of home ownership have not shown a consistent increase while strongest growth has been reflected in the non public rental sector with Kilburn South (21.8%), Hillcrest (20.9%) and Rosewood (20.5%) all exceeding the ASD average (19.1%) in 2006 (Table 7)..

In terms of improving asset values, median house prices have increased but shown volatility especially for those projects which began some time ago such as Rosewood and Hillcrest (Figure 1) Table 7 except for Mitchell Park where median house prices now exceed those of the ASD and have shown regular increase over the life of the project (Figure 1). More recently house prices have increased significantly for Hillcrest while those for Rosewood remain significantly lower than for the ASD as a whole. The areas of Hawksbury Park (began 1998) and Kilburn South (began 2001) which are continuing projects have shown a consistent increase in house prices since they beginning. The use of median house price however does not capture differences in housing quality as a result of new stock which could be better represented by a constant quality price index. However for the purposes of this paper median house price has been used to at least give some indication of house price appreciation. Rising median house prices have impacted on housing affordability with those projects showing lowest price increase, Rosewood and Hillcrest, showing greatest affordability as measured by the ratio of average house price divided by average annual income (Figure 2). The other three projects show decreasing levels of housing affordability in line with rising house prices and ASD trends (Figure 3).

In terms of the physical housing stock the number of occupied dwellings has increased in three of the five projects (Rosewood, Hillcrest and Salisbury Park) with a fall in the number of dwellings in Mitchell Park (Table 6) and Kilburn South (Table 6) between 2001 and 2006. For every project, with the exception of Mitchell Park, the percentage of separate dwelling forms has increased over the life of the project with a decrease in the percentage of row or terraced dwellings traditionally associated with public housing estates (Table 7). The mix of detached dwellings is surmised to include traditional as well as smaller courtyard, villa and townhouse homes. For each project the number of detached dwellings has increased over the four census periods which would suggest a greater density of development. Three of the projects, Hawksbury Park, Rosewood and Kilburn South, have shown an increase in the number of units between 1991 and 2006, which would typically suit the

growing number of lone person households (Table 7) though these building forms runs contrary to the recent 2006 increases in household size.

One of the projects was reviewed in more detail; that of Rosewood which began in 1992 and was completed in 2000. While performance indicators are primarily about change rather than targets it might be expected that over time areas of renewal would begin to move towards the average. However Rosewood, despite showing an improvement on each indicator over the four census periods, has in fact over the same period fallen further behind the average levels for the ASD as a whole. In terms of economic improvement such as employment, university attendance and tertiary qualifications differences between the ASD and Rosewood have in fact increased (Figure 3). In terms of demographics the percentage of couples with children in Rosewood has dropped significantly with respect to the ASD while lone person and one parent have increased (Figure 4). Rosewood now exceeds the ASD in terms of non public rental dwellings while levels of home purchase have only improved marginally against the ASD average and the percentage of fully owned dwellings has dropped (Figure 5). Only in physical form there has been a stronger move in the project area towards that of the ASD with a significant drop in the volume of terraced and row housing and an increase in the stock of detached dwelling approaching ASD levels (Figure 6).

Conclusion

Overall the five urban renewal projects discussed in this paper would appear to have been successful in:

- Improving the economic status of the local population
- Increased the demographic mix with an increase in the proportion of households that are families with children
- Retaining a net increase in the number of households in the project area
- Showing an increase in levels of home purchase within the area
- Showing an increase in the value of detached dwellings in the area
- Seeing a reduction in the concentration of public rental stock
- Achieving a greater mix of housing style with a decrease in the volume of terraced housing associated with public rental and an increase in detached dwellings likely to include a mix of housing forms
- Achieving an increase in the volume of housing stock overall which is likely to be reflected in greater housing densities

As such these projects have met most of the principle objectives in the redevelopment of the five housing areas.

Alternatively across all projects as of 2006:

- Levels of home ownership overall have fallen
- Levels of outright home ownership have fallen
- There have been large increases in the levels of non public rental housing
- Housing affordability has decreased

However it would also appear that while the physical form of most of these redevelopments may more closely resemble the metropolitan average, some areas such as Rosewood, despite improvements, may in fact be falling further behind in terms of achieving greater social mix and increased economic opportunity. At the same time those areas which show the greatest economic improvement may be simply reflecting a turnover in residents, rather than any actual increase in the choices and opportunities enjoyed by the original residents. It is also important to note that this paper has covered only one form of urban renewal evaluation. Performance indicators such as discussed in this paper are a first step in the analysis and ideally should be supplemented by other data collection methods including survey and focus groups which could identify local sentiment,

levels of community integration and perceptions of opportunity and life style offered by the urban redevelopment.

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Table 1 ASD Performance Indicators

Adelaide Statistical Division	1991	1996	2001	2006
Average household size	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.4
% Unemployed (total labour force)	11.6	10.5	7.8	np
% Managers (employed)	7	7.3	7.1	np
% Bachelor degree (persons > 15 years)	5.4	7.3	9.2	np
% University or other tertiary institution (total persons)	3.7	4.1	4.2	4.4
% One parent family (occupied dwellings)	na	10.2	11	11.1
% Lone person household (occupied dwellings)	na	25.6	27.2	27.1
% Couples family with children (occupied dwellings)	na	32	29.7	28.2
% Being purchased (occupied dwellings)	29.6	28.5	30.2	34.2
% Fully owned (occupied dwellings)	38.8	39	38.6	32.5
% Rented – state or housing authority (occupied dwellings)	10.8	9.7	7.9	6.8
% Rented – real estate agent/other (occupied dwellings)	16.4	17.5	17.6	19.1
% Separate houses (dwellings)	74	73.1	74.2	76.2
% Row or terrace house etc (dwellings)	15.3	13.4	13.4	12.2
% Flat, unit or apartment (dwellings)	9.2	11.5	11.1	6.4

Table 2 Rosewood Performance Indicators

Rosewood	1991	1996	2001	2006
Average household size	2.7	2.4	2.4	2.4
% Unemployed (total labour force)	23.9	23.4	21	np
% Managers (employed)	3.2	2.8	2.9	np
% Bachelor degree (persons > 15 years)	1.2	1.7	2	np
% University or other tertiary institution (total persons)	1.1	1	1	1
% One parent family (occupied dwellings)	na	16.8	18.8	19.2
% Lone person household (occupied dwellings)	na	27.1	30.3	34
% Couples family with children (occupied dwellings)	na	26.3	21.7	18.5
% Being purchased (occupied dwellings)	22.8	28	26.8	27.4
% Fully owned (occupied dwellings)	22.3	24.2	24.6	20.5
% Rented – state or housing authority (occupied dwellings)	46	36	27	23
% Rented – real estate agent/other (occupied dwellings)	5.9	7.9	16.7	20.5
% Separate houses (dwellings)	54.5	54.9	57.7	64.1
% Row or terrace house etc (dwellings)	38.1	36.7	35.7	27.6
% Flat, unit or apartment (dwellings)	6.5	7.3	5.8	8

Table 3 Hillcrest Performance Indicators

Hillcrest	1991	1996	2001	2006
Average household size	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.3
% Unemployed (total labour force)	14.3	13.4	9.5	np
% Managers (employed)	4.2	4.5	5	np
% Bachelor degree (persons > 15 years)	3.2	5	7.3	np
% University or other tertiary institution (total persons)	3.2	3.6	4.2	4.9
% One parent family (occupied dwellings)	na	12	12.3	11.5
% Lone person household (occupied dwellings)	na	29.5	31	29.6
% Couples family with children (occupied dwellings)	na	24.2	23.2	24
% Being purchased (occupied dwellings)	22.4	21.7	26.7	31.3
% Fully owned (occupied dwellings)	37.4	37.6	33	28.2
% Rented – state or housing authority (occupied dwellings)	19.8	17.9	11.6	9.7
% Rented – real estate agent/other (occupied dwellings)	19.4	19.2	20.9	22.5
% Separate houses (dwellings)	72	72.2	77.9	81.1
% Row or terrace house etc (dwellings)	14	13.3	8.9	7.6
% Flat, unit or apartment (dwellings)	12.5	13.6	11.5	10.5

Table 4 Kilburn South Performance Indicators

Kilburn South	1991	1996	2001	2006
Average household size	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.3
% Unemployed (total labour force)	17.7	14.4	12.9	np
% Managers (employed)	4.4	4.2	4.2	np
% Bachelor degree (persons > 15 years)	2.5	4.4	6	np
% University or other tertiary institution (total persons)	2.7	3	3.3	4.7
% One parent family (occupied dwellings)	na	13.7	14.5	14
% Lone person household (occupied dwellings)	na	32.9	35.3	34.9
% Couples family with children (occupied dwellings)	na	22	20.2	20
% Being purchased (occupied dwellings)	16.6	15.8	18.6	22.5
% Fully owned (occupied dwellings)	39	38.1	34	29.6
% Rented – state or housing authority (occupied dwellings)	25.3	25.1	20.4	16.3
% Rented – real estate agent/other (occupied dwellings)	14.9	16.1	18.8	21.8
% Separate houses (dwellings)	66.9	64.6	65.3	72.7
% Row or terrace house etc (dwellings)	21.4	20.8	21.3	15.4
% Flat, unit or apartment (dwellings)	10.3	12.6	11.4	11.6

Table 5 Hawksbury Park Performance Indicators

Hawksbury Park	1991	1996	2001	2006
Average household size	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7
% Unemployed (total labour force)	16.1	15.2	11.5	np
% Managers (employed)	3.3	3.6	3.8	np
% Bachelor degree (persons > 15 years)	2	1.7	2.2	np
% University or other tertiary institution (total persons)	1	1.1	1.2	1
% One parent family (occupied dwellings)	na	15.1	16.4	17.8
% Lone person household (occupied dwellings)	na	16.3	19	20.7
% Couples family with children (occupied dwellings)	na	43.8	39.7	34.5
% Being purchased (occupied dwellings)	49.2	48.9	47.4	48.9
% Fully owned (occupied dwellings)	14.4	17.8	22.1	18.7
% Rented – state or housing authority (occupied dwellings)	25.2	18.3	12.3	8.9
% Rented – real estate agent/other (occupied dwellings)	7.6	11.7	13.9	16.7
% Separate houses (dwellings)	74.5	76.1	80.8	84.4
% Row or terrace house etc (dwellings)	23.5	19.7	15.1	11.5
% Flat, unit or apartment (dwellings)	0.9	3	3.5	4.3

Table 6 Mitchell Park Performance Indicators

Mitchell Park	1991	1996	2001	2006
Average household size	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.2
% Unemployed (total labour force)	10.9	9.9	7.8	np
% Managers (employed)	6.2	6.2	5.6	np
% Bachelor degree (persons > 15 years)	4.3	6.2	8	np
% University or other tertiary institution (total persons)	3.9	3.8	4.1	4.5
% One parent family (occupied dwellings)	na	11.4	11.6	11.2
% Lone person household (occupied dwellings)	na	28	30.6	31.4
% Couples family with children (occupied dwellings)	na	25.8	23.1	22.5
% Being purchased (occupied dwellings)	24.5	21.3	24.8	28.9
% Fully owned (occupied dwellings)	42.6	43.3	42.7	35.2
% Rented – state or housing authority (occupied dwellings)	17.8	16.6	13.7	12.1
% Rented – real estate agent/other (occupied dwellings)	11	13.6	13.8	14.6
% Separate houses (dwellings)	73.6	72.5	74.5	73.7
% Row or terrace house etc (dwellings)	16.8	14.2	13.2	16.6
% Flat, unit or apartment (dwellings)	8.6	11.4	11.2	9.5

Figure 1 Median House Prices 1993 to 2006

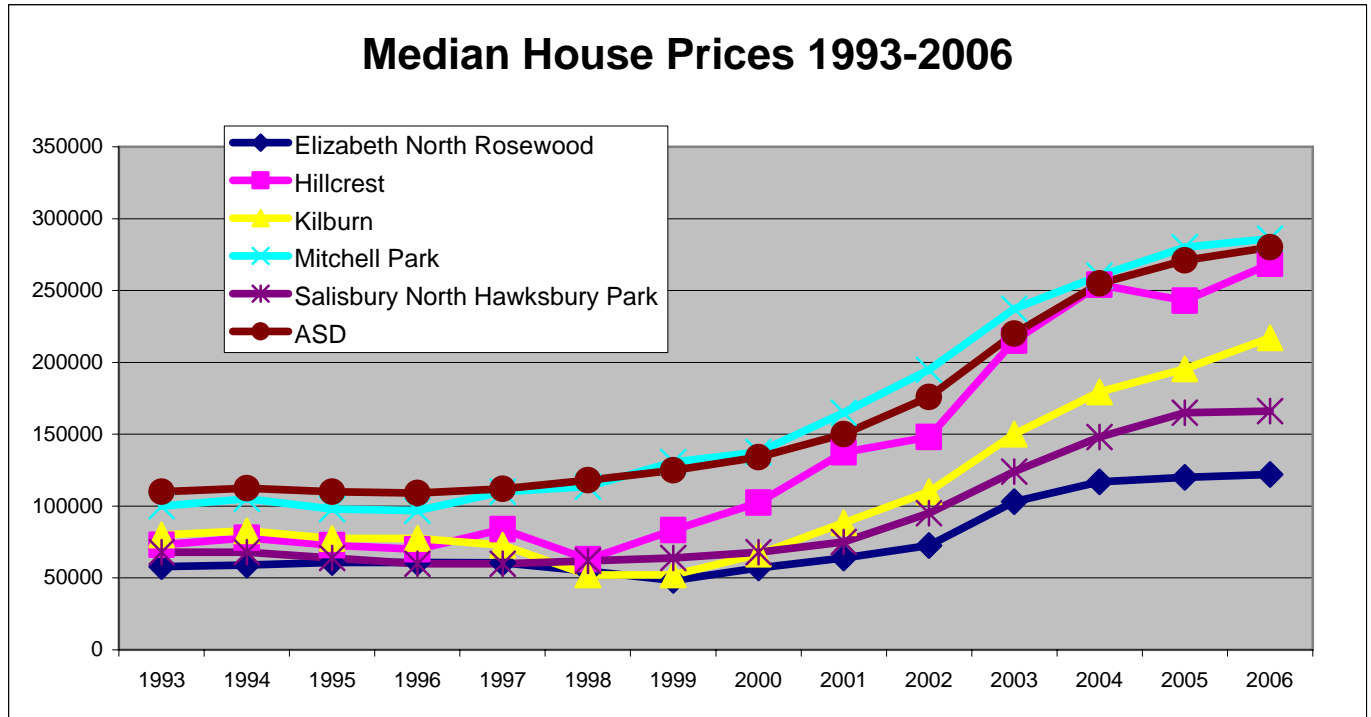


Figure 2 Housing Affordability Index 1993 to 2006

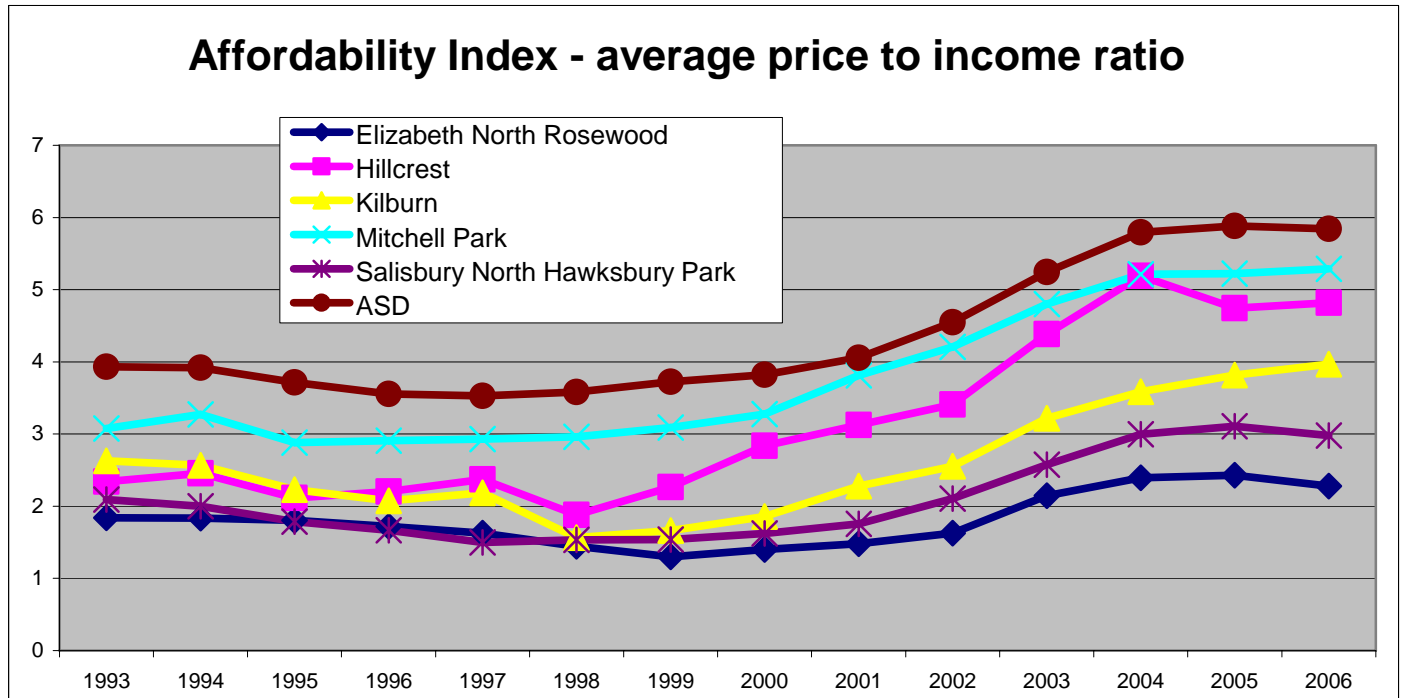


Figure 3 Rosewood & ASD Economic Performance Indicators 1991 & 2006

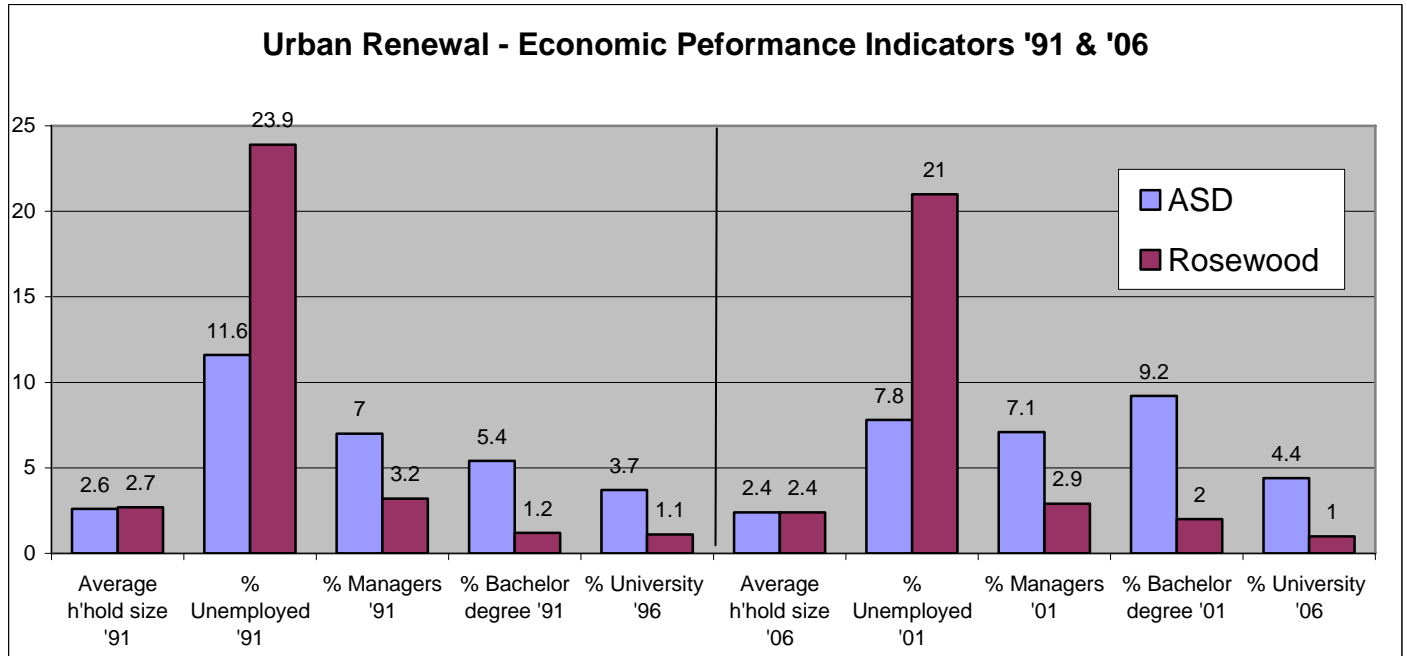


Figure 4 Rosewood & ASD Social Performance Indicators 1991 to 2006

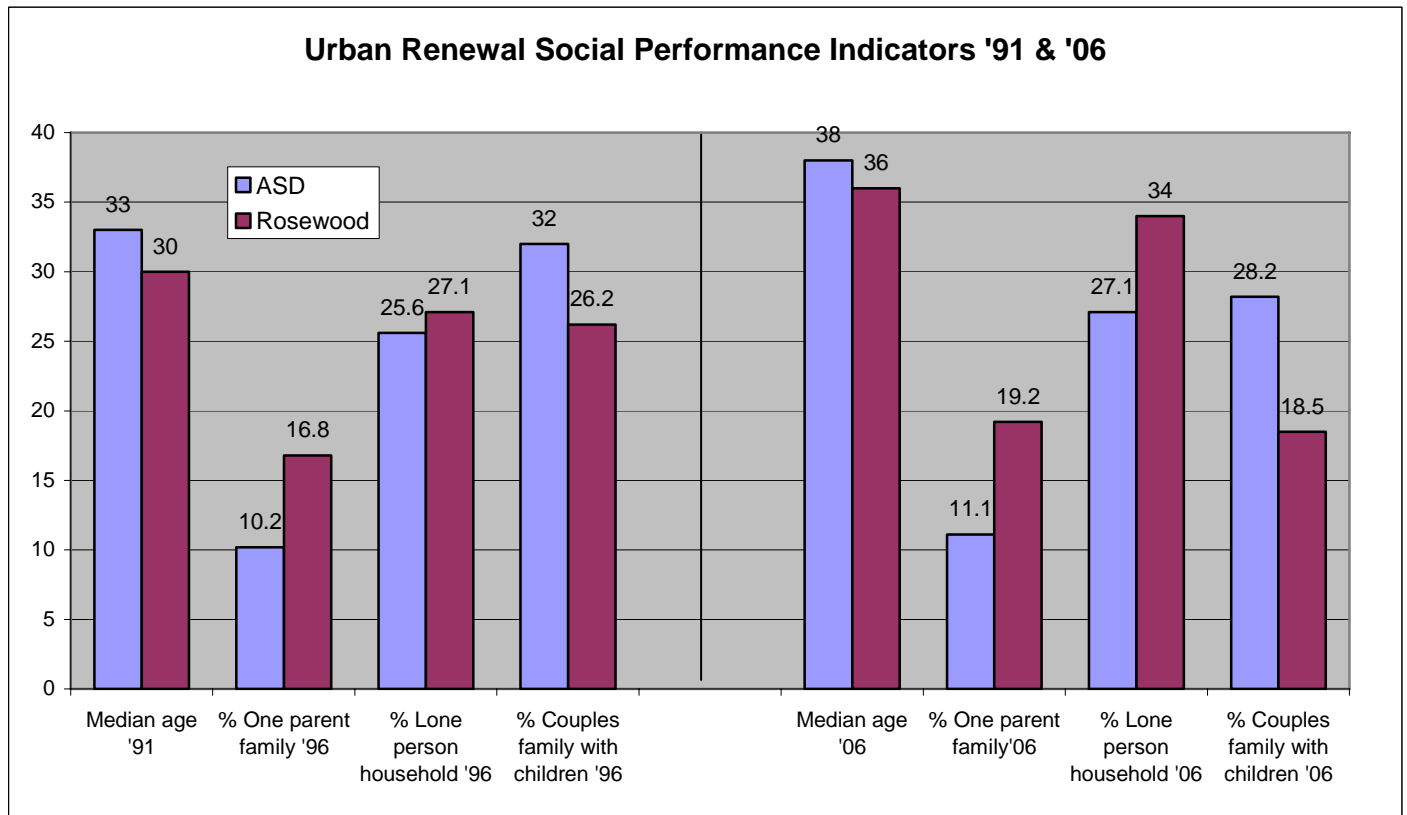


Figure 5 Rosewood & ASD Housing Performance Indicators 1991 to 2006

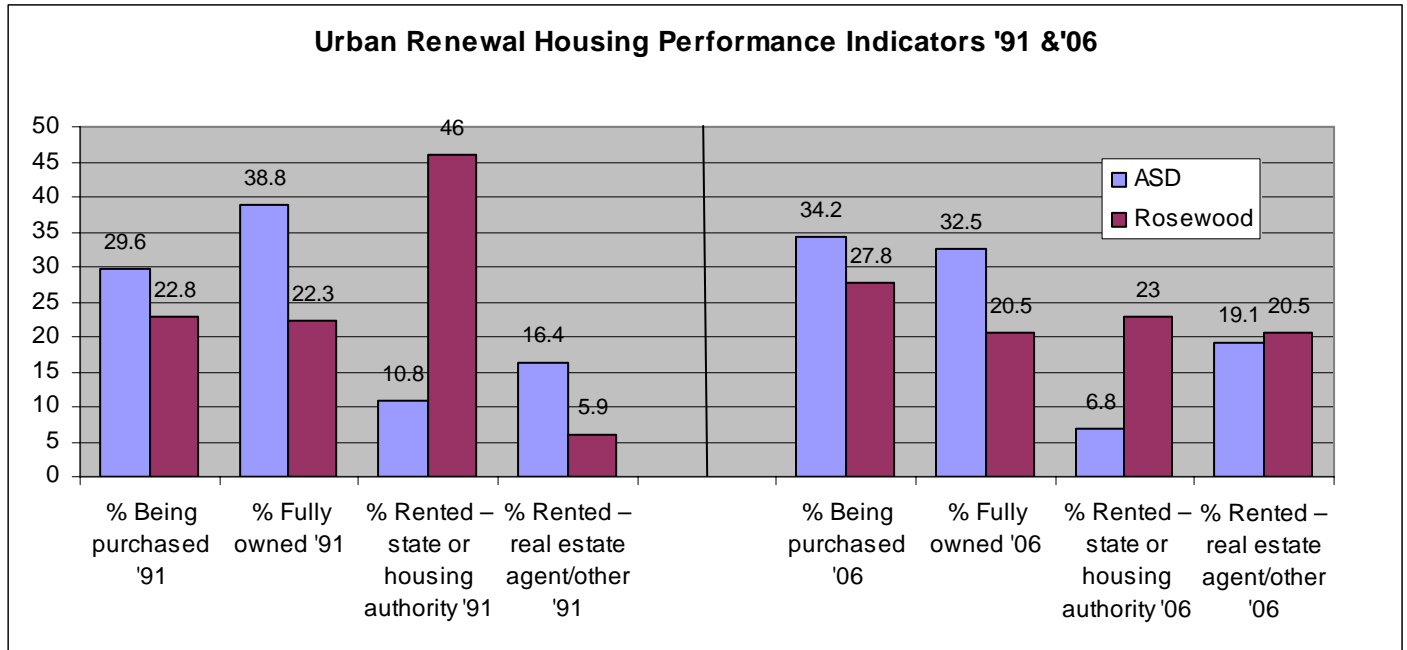
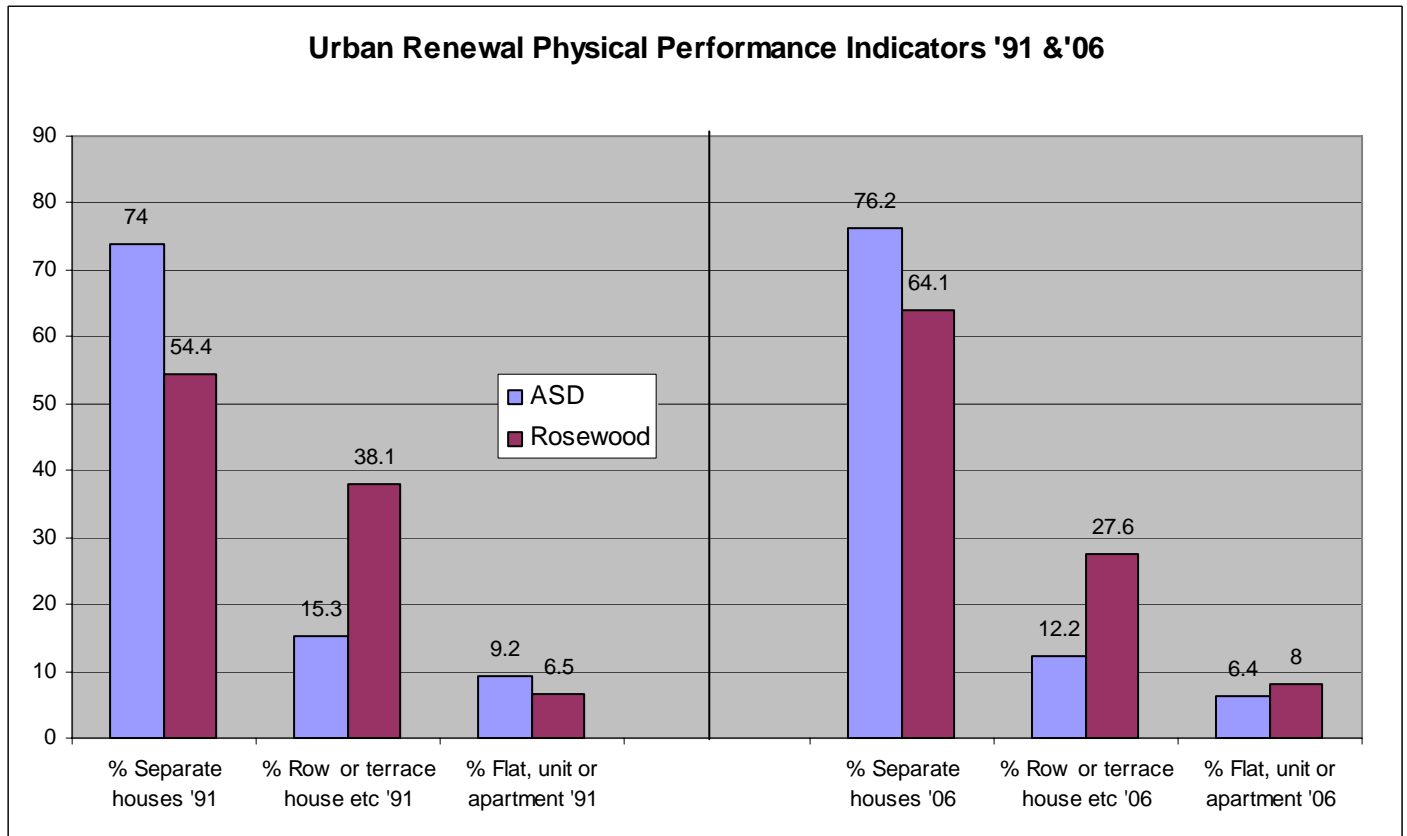


Figure 6 Rosewood & ASD Physical Performance Indicators 1991 to 2006



Economic	Rosewood '91	Rosewood '06	Hillcrest '91	Hillcrest '06	Kilburn South '91	Kilburn South '06	Mitchell Park '91	Mitchell Park '06	Hawksbury Park '91	Hawksbury Park '06	ASD '91	ASD '06
% Unemployed	23.9	21	14.3	9.5	17.7	12.9	10.9	7.8	16.1	11.5	11.6	7.8
% Managers	3.2	2.9	4.2	5	4.4	4.2	6.2	5.6	3.3	3.8	7	7.1
% Bachelor degree	1.2	2	3.2	7.3	2.5	6	4.3	8	2	2.2	5.4	9.2
% University	1.1	1	3.2	4.9	2.7	4.7	3.9	4.5	1	1	3.7	4.4
Social												
Average household size	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.2	3.1	2.7	2.6	2.4
Population '000s	28.9	24.5	26	25.8	19.1	19.4	33.2	32.1	20.9	24	1022.8	1102.8
% One parent family	16.8	19.2	12	11.5	13.7	14	11.4	11.2	15.1	17.8	10.2	11.1
% Lone person household	27.1	34	29.5	29.6	32.9	34.9	28	31.4	16.3	20.7	25.6	27.1
% Couples family with children	26.3	18.5	24.2	24	22	20	25.8	22.5	43.8	34.5	32	28.2
Housing												
% Being purchased	22.8	27.4	22.4	31.3	16.6	22.5	24.5	28.9	49.2	48.9	29.6	34.2
% Fully owned	22.3	20.5	37.4	28.2	39	29.6	42.6	35.2	14.4	18.7	38.8	32.5
% Rented – state or housing authority	46	23	19.8	9.7	25.3	16.3	17.8	12.1	25.2	8.9	10.8	6.8
% Rented – real estate agent/other	5.9	20.5	16.4	22.5	14.9	21.8	11	14.6	7.6	16.7	16.4	19.1
Physical												
Number of occupied dwellings '000s	10.6	10.6	9.9	12.9	7.9	8.3	13.3	13.8	6.8	8.8	378	447
% Separate houses	54.4	64.1	72	81.1	66.9	72.7	73.6	73.7	74.5	84.4	74	76.2
% Row or terrace house etc	38.1	27.6	14	7.6	21.4	15.4	16.8	16.6	23.5	11.5	15.3	12.2
% Flat, unit or apartment	6.5	8	12.5	10.5	10.3	11.6	8.6	9.5	0.9	4.3	9.2	6.4

Table 7 Urban Renewal Performance Indicators

