Understanding housing and location choices of retiring Australians in the 'baby boom' generation

City Futures Research Centre

Scoping Report prepared for the National Housing Supply Council

2012

Simon Pinnegar and Ryan van den Nouwelant with Bruce Judd and Bill Randolph

City Futures Research Centre
UNSW Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052 Australia

s.pinnegar@unsw.edu.au
02 9385 6042

www.cityfutures.net.au

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- This scoping review provides a brief literature review with the aim of helping build a better understanding of how the choices, constraints, behaviours and expectations of the 'baby boom' generation influence their decisions and outcomes regarding housing and location. Research recommendations for further consideration are also mapped out.

- The first tranche of the 'baby boom' generation (the Boomers) reached the age of 65 in 2011. Their reaching 'retirement age' heralds a myriad social, economic and broader policy challenges – not least in terms of their prospective housing pathways.

- Boomers are typically healthier and wealthier than preceding generations, and are approaching their latter years thinking, feeling, working and engaging with their families and communities in quite distinct ways. Both in terms of their sheer numbers but also through their longevity post retirement – many will remain in mobile, active and independent health until their late 70s – Boomers will increasingly shape and be the mainstream population rather than simply represent an interesting demographic cohort to housing, planning and other policy considerations.

- The Boomer generation also represents considerable diversity. For example, not all Boomers conform to the stereotype of privileged owner occupier enjoying a portfolio of financial assets to help fund a comfortable, leisure-oriented retirement. Many will continue to work long past 65, through choice but also out of necessity – not least given the economic shocks and uncertainty that can derail well-made financial plans. There will also be those who continue to work because they have not had access to the asset-wealth through home ownership that has long been the assumed welfare policy for Australians to provide support, stability and security in their later years. With many private renters remaining in this tenure at retirement, the role of housing both as an asset and as shelter is a key determinant in the future trajectories of different 'types' of Boomers.

- A primary focus of the literature has been identifying the housing 'needs' of ageing households, with much of the debate framed in terms of the imbalance between appropriate (and desirable) options for retirees and existing supply. This is entirely valid, but inevitably leads to a focus on distinct components and housing products for older households (such as retirement villages), rather than the impact of their needs, choices and decisions within the wider housing system.

- Secondly, strategic planning frameworks hold out much hope for Boomers: children 'leaving the nest' and retirement makes them an obvious market for smaller properties in well serviced, highly accessible locations within the 'Compact City'. At the same time, they release family housing in desirable locations in our metropolitan cities. Downsizing will become increasingly prevalent, especially given the increasingly fragmented nature of households reaching retirement. Nevertheless Boomer households are likely to operate within the housing system in ways which are often inefficient – as is the case with other age groups - in terms of utilisation and that reflect investment alongside shelter considerations. An understandable desire to age in place exemplifies this.

- It is also interesting to consider whether inter-regional shifts in housing supply/demand and market dynamics may also be a result of the more mobile, sea-change/tree-change tendencies of Boomers. Certainly – as already seen – there will be hotspots, and the impact of Boomer's inward movement on those local housing markets will be substantive. Again, however, we argue that such a focus should not detract from understanding the driving force of Boomer changes across wider market contexts.

- **Rather than simply positioning 'housing an ageing population' as a specific area of policy interest, equally important long-term strategic questions are tied more to better understanding how the decision-making and challenges facing this cohort will increasingly shape wider housing system and market issues.**

A: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

> The baby boom generation in particular has reshaped the landscape of housing consumption in Australia over the last four decades and will inevitably transform 'aged housing' over the next 20 years (Beer et al., 2006: v)

The driving inquiry behind this research is the ageing of Australia's population, the transition out of the workforce of the post-war 'baby boom' generation, and the potential impacts this transition could have on Australia's housing stock. The report comprises four sections:

- **A**: This first section provides a brief overview of key trends in the growth of Australia's ageing population, defines how we are using the term 'Baby Boomer', and reflects upon characteristics of this cohort and why, in terms of their current housing positions and future pathways, they are a central concern to the Council's research agenda.

- **B**: Whilst recognising that there are a number of general characteristics that shape our interest in Baby Boomers, our literature review in section B is structured around a typology based upon a series of different housing options and pathways that households may take. The typologies are framed first and foremost in terms of where the balance falls between choice and constraint. Clearly ownership of the home on reaching retirement, and over time issues regarding health, mobility and increased dependency shape those pathways.

- **C**: In this section, we further explore these issues and consider wider housing demand and market implications. Although this echoes the pressing need to understand distinct requirements – and through these, distinct housing options, particularly for the very elderly - the case is made that such a focus should not obviate our understanding that the Boomer generation will buy, sell and dwell in the 'wider' housing market for an increasingly extended period post-retirement. Similarly their behaviours and preferences will exhibit the 'inefficiencies', stickiness and complex balancing act that infuses the housing options and outcomes of other age cohorts. We argue that as much as focusing on how the current housing system meets their needs, we need to understand a lot more about the importance of Boomer decisions on local housing markets.

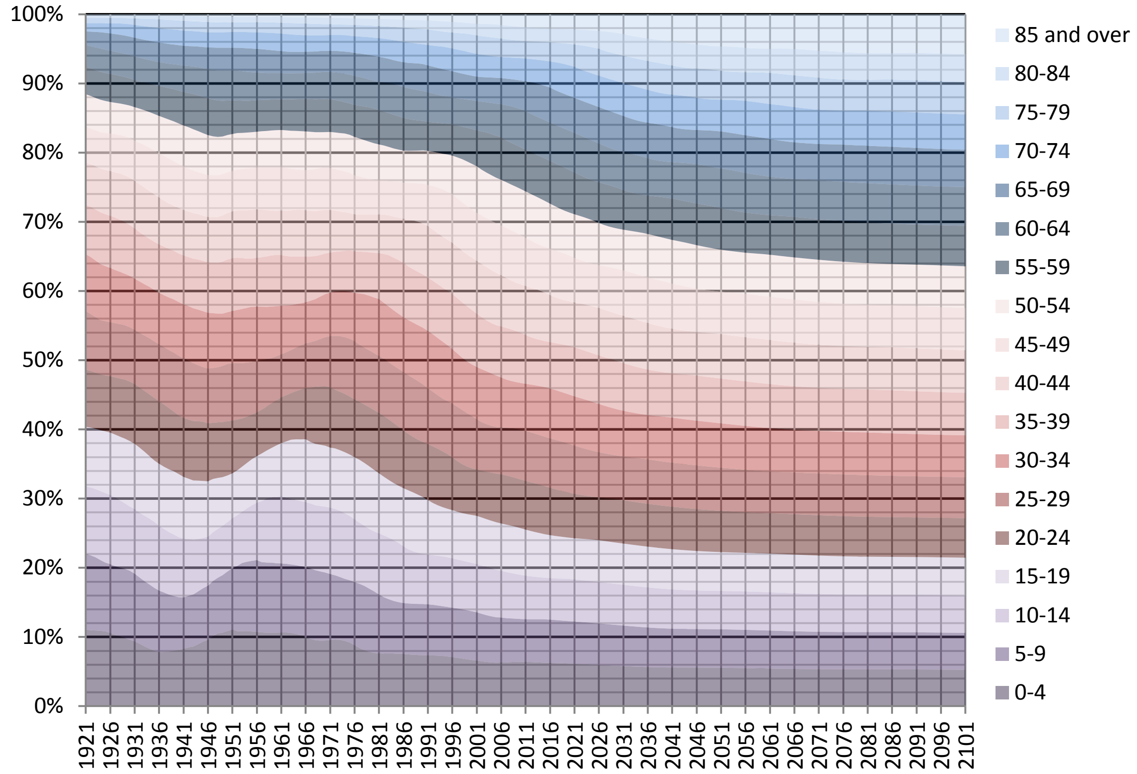
- **D**: A number of areas for further research are identified.

Australia's ageing population

Australia's official population forecast shows the country will collectively continue to age. Figure 1 depicts the proportional split of the population by age over time, showing that the proportion over 55 years of age almost continuously increased in the last 90 years, and is expected to do so for the next 90. Underlying the long term ageing trend is the ongoing improvement of life expectancy. However, the proportional growth in over 55s was suppressed in the post-war period by a high mortality rate during the war, an increase in the intake of working-age immigrants, and a subsequently high birth rate between 1945 and 1965.

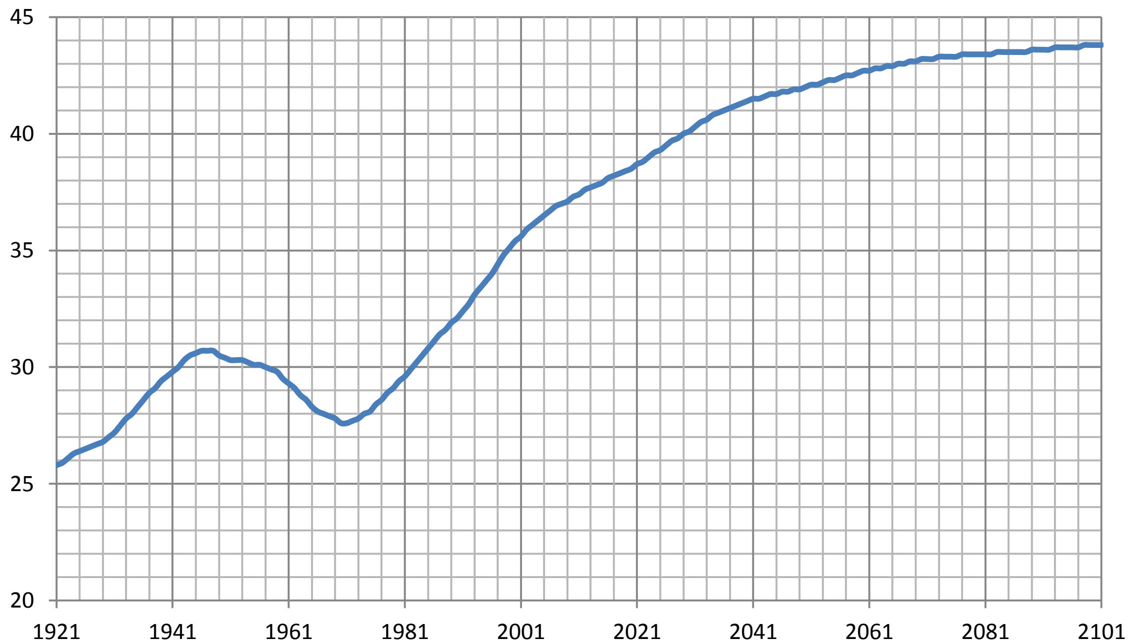
As that cohort has aged, the proportional growth of the over 55s has accelerated, becoming the fastest rate of population ageing ever seen in Australia. This can be also seen by the change to median age in Figure 2. Figure 1 also shows that the working age population is proportionally steady. The proportional growth in over 55s, therefore, is matched by a proportional decline in under-20s. As under-20s are much less likely than over 55s to constitute separate households, this demographic shift places particular pressure on housing supply. Figure 3 highlights the bulge in increased absolute numbers of 50-59s between in the 2001-2006 intercensal period.

Figure 1: Population age distribution over time



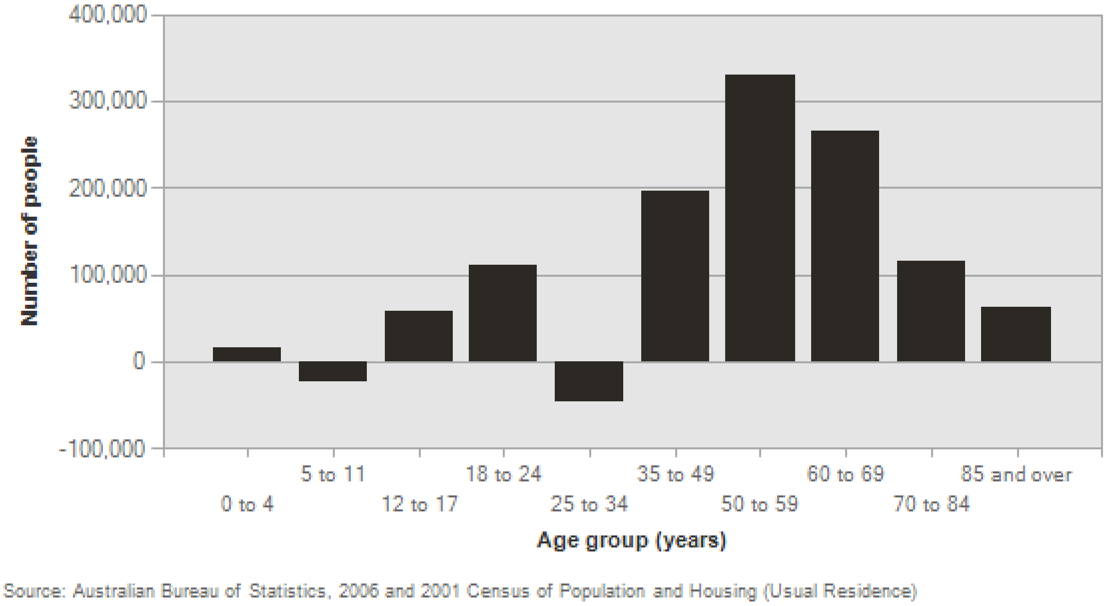
Source: 1921-2006: ABS cat. no. 3105.0.65.001 Australian Historical Population Statistics;
2007-2101: ABS cat. no. 3222.0 TABLE B9 Population projections, By age and sex, Australia -Series B

Figure 2: Median age (years) over time



Source: 1921-2006: ABS cat. no. 3105.0.65.001 *Australian Historical Population Statistics*;
2007-2101: ABS cat. no. 3222.0 TABLE B9 *Population projections, By age and sex, Australia - Series B*
(Median groups data into 5-year age cohorts, and assumes equal distribution within each cohort)

Figure 3: Change in age structure of Australia, 2001 to 2006



Source: http://blog.id.com.au/wp-content/uploads/Age-change-australia-20061.png, from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006 and 2001 Census of Population and Housing (Usual Residence)

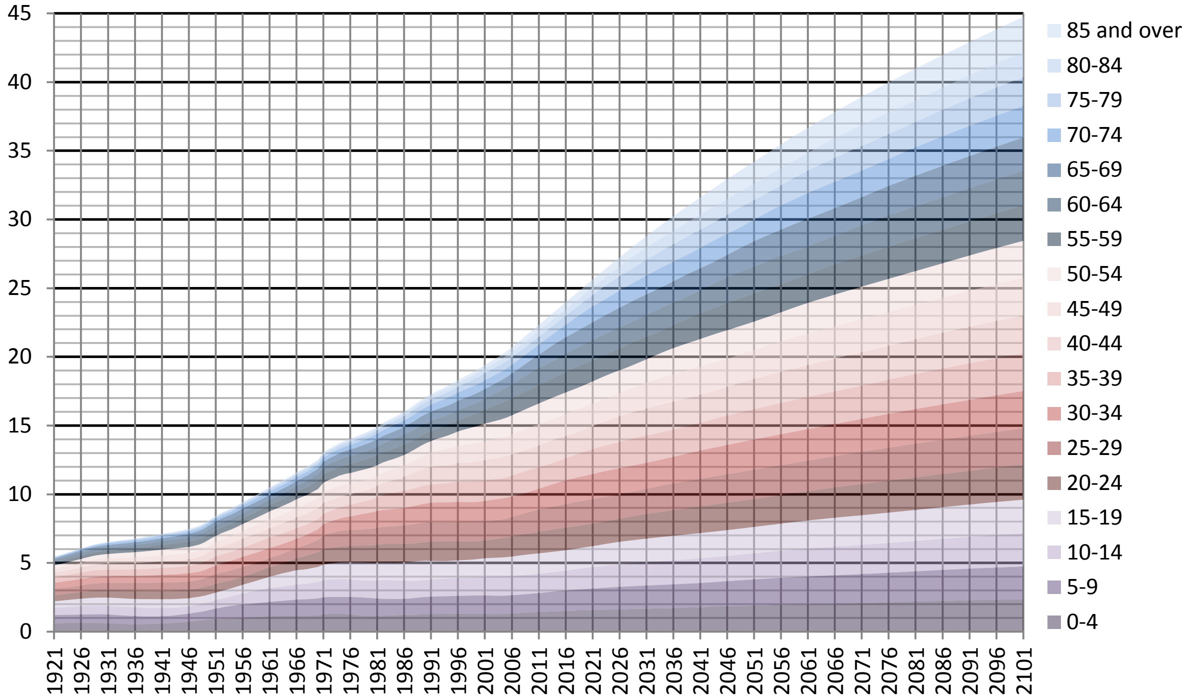
Moreover, as noted in most Australian metropolitan spatial plans (see Table 1), over 55s are typically in smaller households than the historical average, suggesting a mismatch in housing supply. What is not clear, however, is whether household size alone will dictate the housing choices of baby boomers.

Table 1: Metro spatial plans response to demographic change

City *spatial plan* (year)	Response to demographic changes:
Sydney *Metropolitan Plan for Sydney 2036* (2010)	"There is a growing trend towards smaller households. The number of one–person households... is expected to grow by 69 per cent or 260,000 by 2036" (p11)
Melbourne *Melbourne 2030: Planning for Sustainable Growth* (2002); *Melbourne @ 5 million* (2008)	"the average number of people in each household is getting smaller" [accompanied by graph showing vast majority of new households are lone persons or couples without children] (2002: p15)
Brisbane *The South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031* (2009)	"an ageing population and changes to household size and composition... will need access to a diverse range of housing and accommodation choices" (p78)
Adelaide *The 30-Year Plan for Greater Adelaide* (2010)	"There will be a greater proportion of people aged over 65 and a significant increase in the proportion of households consisting of lone persons of couples without children" (p9)
Perth *Directions 2031: Spatial Framework for Perth and Peel* (2010)	*Implicit only*: "In response to economic market conditions and changing demographics, future planning controls should facilitate a variety of housing types and sizes" (p46)
Canberra *The Canberra Spatial Plan* (2004)	"Household size is declining... from 2.6 persons currently to 2.2 persons by 2032" (p7)

Coupled with this population ageing, the overall growth of Australia's population has also continued, and is expected to continue, in subsequent post-war generations as shown in Figure 3. This overall growth reveals the unprecedented volume of households that will form over the coming years, both among the over 55s, and for the population in general.

Figure 3: Cumulated age cohort population (millions) vs. time



Source: 1921-2006: ABS cat. no. 3105.0.65.001 Australian Historical Population Statistics; 2007-2101: ABS cat. no. 3222.0 TABLE B9 Population projections, By age and sex, Australia -Series B

The Baby Boomers ('Boomers')

The term 'baby boomers' is used in various ways, but typically denotes the segment of the population born between 1945 and 1965. Boomers are, therefore, currently aged between 47 and 67, and in the midst of transitioning out of the workforce and into retirement. It is a trite observation, but one worth making, that there is much variation within this age cohort and much similarity between it and other age cohorts (Ozanne, 2009). For example, although it is often reflected upon that Boomers are entering retirement in more favourable and comfortable positions than previous generations – assisted considerably by asset wealth tied to the family home – this is not universal. Those owning property in high demand housing markets in accessible inner city locations are likely to have seen greater levels of growth over time rather those in poorly located and less resilient communities on the urban fringe on in rural areas. There is also a significant cohort of those approaching retirement that have not purchased their homes and remain in the rental sector.

The Boomer label provokes us to consider whether generational effects are being seen as this cohort reach retirement age, and careful distinction needs to be drawn between possible differences in degree and kind. On the one hand, advanced economies in general are faced with an ageing population, manifest as a growing number of older households and their associated life-cycle concerns – retirement, onset of illness, loss of mobility, etc. Alongside this trajectory are the particular challenges and opportunities presented by the 'bulge' which pulses through, associated with the Boomers moving along the population distribution curve. Thus there are issues tied to this general trajectory, but the presence of a bulge adds further policy considerations. Furthermore, a bulge suggests that it falls back to the longer term trajectory once passed through. On the other hand, there is interest as to whether the Boomer generation represents a step change in terms of behaviour and expectations: they are not simply of added interest due to their size as a group, but because they might tread quite different pathways – including housing pathways – to their predecessors.

Although this report highlights diversity within the Boomer umbrella, a number of features that differentiate this age cohort from previous generations of retirees can be posited. The following points summarise distinguishing characteristics identified by Hugo (2003: 111). Compared to previous generations, baby boomers are more likely to:

- have culturally and ethnically diverse family heritage, be more educated, and be more well travelled;
- be divorced or separated, have living parents, and have fewer children and that are more geographically separated from them;
- live longer, be aware of their health and fitness, and have access to better surgical and medical expertise, but are also (by virtue of having survived where previous generations would have died) more likely to have chronic illness or disability;
- have some private source of retirement funding like superannuation, but are also more likely to have left the workforce at a younger age (whether or not they are financially ready to do so);
- live in a lower density suburb, and more likely to be living by themselves

In the context of housing decisions, options and outcomes, Boomers' entry into the housing market will have been subsequent to the large increase in homeownership seen with the post-war generation. Between 1945 and the late 1960s, the post-war generation saw high levels of lower income homeownership, facilitated by proactive supply programs through the State Housing Commissions, fair working wages as part of the 'Australian Settlement' (Kelly, 1992) and considerable self-build activity. Since this time, national homeownership levels have been essentially steady, and in recent years have experienced some decline. Boomers may have made their first purchase during the 1970s and 1980s, when interest rates demonstrated greater volatility than seen over the past decade. Housing affordability in terms of entering the market was arguably favourable compared to current levels (although access to credit rather more restrictive), and strong inflation often countered periods of significant stress in terms of repayments by effectively diminishing the value of the remaining capital to be paid off.

Length of time within the market, and the substantive escalation of prices post-2001, will mean that many Boomer homeowners sit on a valuable asset. They will have also, since the early 1990s, enjoyed relatively strong economic and employment conditions, been potentially eligible for defined-benefit pensions, and been presented with greater opportunities to diversify their investments in residential property further to the deregulation of the financial markets and favourable tax settings and concessions. As such, they are approaching retirement with financial positions inextricably tied to their home(s) and the asset it represents.

The result of these factors, in particular financial security enjoyed, is that Boomers are more likely to have substantive aspirations for their post-retirement years. This period, termed the Third Age (Laslett, 1996), lasts until a more frail old age is reached. With longer life expectancies and a greater proportion of life to be spent in retirement compared to previous generations, the effect could be multiple relocations across the retirement period, and therefore potentially different impacts on housing supply and demand in the coming decades. The significance is that this period of lifestyle and identity reinvention has not been experienced, at least to the same extent, by previous generations. Baby boomers could spend up to one third of their life in the Third Age: between, say, 55 and 85 years of age. The spending and lifestyle patterns of this life stage are largely unknown, as are the demands on infrastructure and services.

B: A TYPOLOGY OF BABY BOOMERS

> People's housing decisions are multi-faceted, based on their current and future needs, and intermixed with aspirations about dwelling forms, owning or renting, location and neighbourhood, and affordability. Each of these decisions is constrained or enhanced by the level of household income. [To which we might add the level of household health and independence] (Wulff et al.,2004: 59)

Crucial to our understanding of what the Boomer generation are going to do in housing terms is an appreciation of the range of constraints that limit - or indeed prevent - expressed choices and preferences being followed through. This is fundamental in relating our interest back to the wider urban policy and planning implications not only for our cities, but also for regional and rural areas where sea-change and tree-change movement is occurring. Critical questions arise regarding the provision and availability of suitable, appropriate supply to meet those changing demands. Households are less likely to move by choice if the options are less favourable than staying put – whether in terms of size, type, location and affordability, and more often than not, a composite of all. There are also fundamental considerations for those nearing retirement regarding pension, asset and tax arrangements and their relation both to their primary residence and any investment properties that might be held.

The literature review in this section is structured around a typology made up of six groups. As noted, Boomers are diverse compared to previous generations of retirees, but as a starting point for exploring particular factors shaping possible housing directions, it is useful to identify 'types' based on existing tenure, their aspirations for future housing and location, and the constraints on their housing and location choices. The extent to which, on one hand, aspirations drive housing choice or, on the other, constraints drive housing choice will dictate the locations, typologies, sizes and tenures of housing that are most affected by the retirement of Boomers. As Hugo (2007) notes, forced movements driven by financial or health constraints are declining, but discretional movements driven by lifestyle choices are increasing.

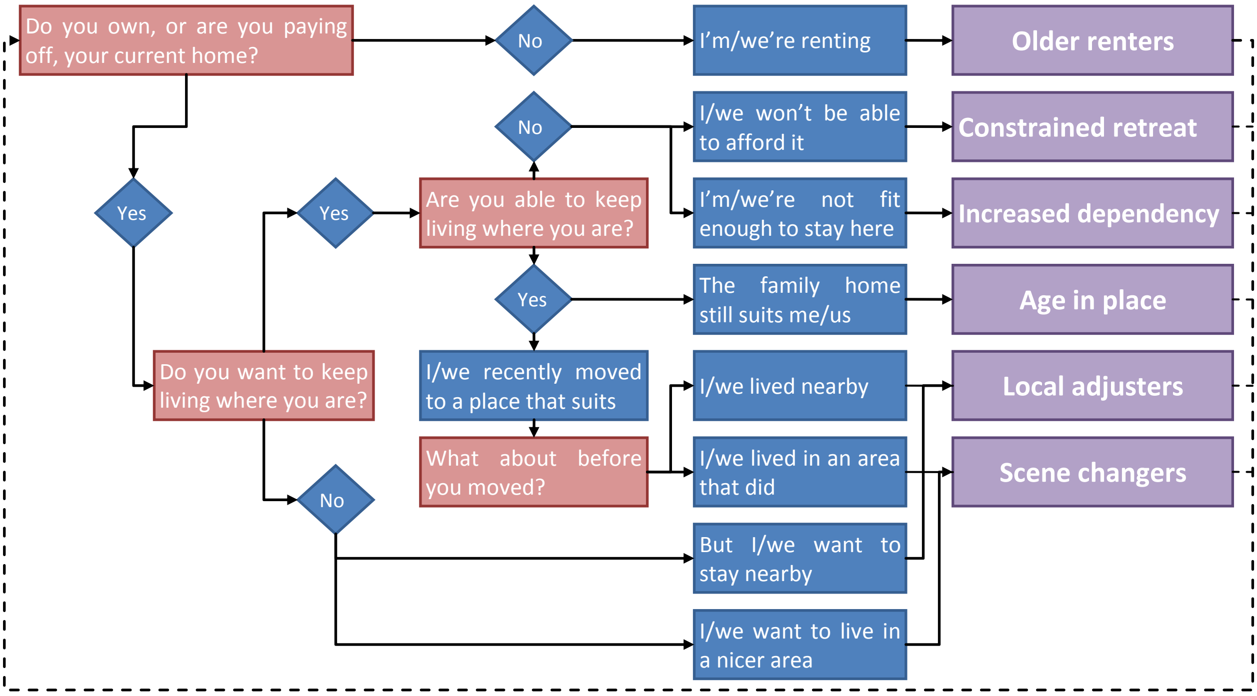
The six groups are:

- **Age in place**: the group that wants to, and is able to, keep living in the family home
- **Local adapters**: the group that has recently or wants to, and is able to, move out of their current home, but keep living in the same area
- **Scene changers**: the group that has recently or wants to, and is able to, move out of the current home and area, to somewhere with greater amenity
- **Constrained retreat**: the group that wants to keep living in their current home, or even the same area, but is forced to make compromises due to financial constraints
- **Increased dependency**: the group that wants to stay in their current home, but has to make housing or location compromises due to deteriorating health
- **Older renters**: the group that has reached retirement without purchasing their own home, and will need to retain or find ongoing rental accommodation

Across the six, a number will reflect the benefits of choice over constraint ('Age in place', 'Local adjusters' and 'Scene changers') and others inevitably capture the impacts of constraint on less fortunate households (Increased dependency, Constrained retreat and Older renters).

As noted, at this stage this typology is intended as a starting point for discussion. Further study (see section D) is warranted to determine whether these types hold up to further scrutiny, their relative size and spatial distributions, andwhether other subgroups are also worthy of distinct consideration. For example, returning migrants – whether retirees moving back to Orange after spending their working lives in Sydney, or indeed those returning to Melbourne after twenty years overseas in London – align, but not entirely comfortably, with 'scene changers'. Similarly, there may be distinct geographies emerging where parents follow their children and their families. This is likely to be especially characteristic in fast growing cities and regional centres where distinct employment structures draw in professionals and skilled workers from outside their own travel-to-work geographies.

Figure 4: Diagrammatic representation of six groups



A further limitation of the typology approach is the risk of inference that households get assigned and locked into one pathway. However, and central to really unpacking how 'The Third Age' will unfold for Boomers, households' constraints and aspirations are likely to change – in different ways, at different times – throughout retirement and into a more frail old age, and as such many households may well move from one group to another. In discussing key issues pertinent to each of the types, we also consider the broader implications the decisions and behaviours that these different drivers have on housing supply, including differences between locations and housing types, and on housing prices.

AGEING IN PLACE

*Like most Australians, those **ageing in place** consider the free standing family home the top rung on the housing ladder. Also like most Australians, many have stayed in the same home throughout many of their working, and child-rearing, years and have developed connections to the local community. As such, although retirement will remove the employment anchor to the area, many other connections make staying in the same community desirable. And, although they are now likely to be 'empty nesters', they have adapted the spare bedrooms to other uses and are enjoying having the extra space at home, now that they have more leisure time to spend there.*

Significantly, because they have paid off – or are near to paying off – the family home, there are few financial constraints that might compel them to move. In fact, there may be financial downsides to selling up and moving, even in the same area, on top of the non-financial reasons to stay where they are.

Importance of home ownership

Home ownership, a key foundation enabling ageing in place, is very high among the retiring baby boomers. Analysis of the 2006 census by Flood & Baker (2010) showed that around 40% households with a 45-64 year-old reference person owned outright, and around 40% more were paying off a mortgage. Furthermore, Beer and Faulkner (2009:111) found in their survey that ownership increases in later years: “At ages 55-64 nearly two thirds of respondents owned their home outright (in comparison to only just over one-third of people aged 45-54 years) with another 22 per cent paying a mortgage.”

Home ownership provides significant financial and tenure security. Moreover, homeownership is seen as a means to freedom and independence to realise other important priorities. As Olsberg & Winters (2005:34) found:

> Most [respondents] saw home ownership as an investment for the future, three out of five considered it was cheaper to buy than rent, four out of five considered that owning a home meant one was free to make decisions about how one lives, and three quarters considered that one can sell it or borrow against the home, and that it is something of value which one can pass on to one’s family.

Reduced mobility

Ageing in place has been the primary aspiration of retirees in previous generations, and appears – at least amongst the first cohort of Boomers – to remain the primary aspiration of current retirees. Evidence suggests that households approaching retirement are assessing their housing needs and options at that time – in response to leaving the workforce or when their children leave home – rather than waiting until 65. Beer and Faulkner (2009: 133) found 41.5% of respondents aged 55-64 (in 2006) to have moved to their current home in the previous 10 years. Nevertheless, Wulff et al’s (2010:313) analysis of census data found that, while increasing, the incidence of moving house in the intercensal period is much lower among the 45-64 age bracket than the population as a whole. This is supported by other research findings documented in Quinn et al (2009). Analysis by Bell and Brown, reported in Edwards et al., (2008) compares mobility rates across age groups between the 1976-1981 and 1996-2001 intercensal periods. While demonstrating some shifts – for example increased mobility in later old age - the key consideration here is the resilience of this profile over time, rather than transformative change.

Reluctance to move

Olsberg and Winters (2005) found two thirds of interviewees wished to remain in their own home. Judd et al (2010) had even more pronounced results, with 90% of respondents in their 2009 survey considering the existing home most appropriate for their needs, even when deteriorating health or other circumstances meant needing professional services to avoid relocation. Faulkner (2007:154) also highlights that “older people do not draw down on their housing wealth unless non-housing wealth is all but consumed”. Jones et al (2008) discuss the emotional attachment people develop with their existing home, particularly when it has been occupied for extended periods of time. This suggests an overwhelming desire among many older Australians to remain in their current home. And while proportionately this aspiration may be lower among retiring baby boomers, more are able to achieve this aspiration for longer periods as financial security and health provide greater independence.

Use of space

One reason that family homes remain suitable for retiring baby boomers is the ongoing use of the space. Judd et al (2010) found a number of unanticipated uses of bedrooms that meant ‘under occupancy’ (calculated on occupant numbers and bedroom numbers) was statistically exaggerated. This use of space is partly a reflection of the greater amount of leisure time to spend in the home and garden. There were various cases of 'spare' bedrooms being used as offices, exercise rooms, sewing rooms, or for other hobbies and leisure activities.

Also, importantly, 'spare' bedrooms are often occupied by guests and temporary residents. The greater distance of family and friends meant having a space for people to comfortably stay was an important means of retaining social connections and realising desired lifestyles. Judd et al (2010:111) found nearly one quarter of households housed temporary residents (defined as those staying at least 20 nights per year), mostly children, grandchildren and other family members, but also friends, students and overseas visitors.

Local anchors

Judd et al (2010:213,217) also highlight the importance of location in driving the desire to age in place. Significant numbers of respondents regularly participated in, and more than half felt it was important to be close to: shopping/banking/retail; medical/health; family and friends; sport and recreation activities; community and social clubs; volunteering; and theatre and cultural activities. Others (Kelly et al 2011) also found older households desired a safe neighbourhood and access to facilities, services, major centres and transport.

Judd et al (2010) also found that access to family and friends remained an important priority of housing choice. Some participants did have distant friends and family, partly explaining the need for a guest room as noted above. However, many also identified the ability to socialise with family and friends locally, particularly where technology or travel became less viable options for communicating over longer distances. Faulkner (2007:153) highlights the differing retirement patterns of baby boomers compared to previous generations:

> Whereas in the past retirement meant an abrupt withdrawal from the labour force, the timing and progress of retirement for the baby boomers will be considerably different as many wish to remain attached to the workforce in various capacities beyond the traditional retirement age and there is a concerted effort by the government to encourage older people to remain in the workforce longer.

This more gradual transition out of the workforce could increase the length of time it serves as a local anchor, or at least reduce its significance as an event to trigger the reassessment of housing choices in older Australians.

Financial disincentives to relocate

There are a number of financial reasons, including policy driven financial reasons, that make relocation less desirable. Chiuri and Japelli (2010) outline the correlation between market regulation that encourages wealth to be kept in housing assets, as is the case in Australia, and reduced mobility.

First there are the transaction barriers of relocation. This includes the costs of selling and buying – like agent fees, removalist costs and stamp duty. The last of these has been recognised in policy considerations, with the Henry Tax Review identifying the role of stamp duty in discouraging households to move (Australian Treasury 2009). These financial barriers to the relocation itself are often coupled with other barriers like the hassle of moving and stress associated with selling a house. Recent research by the UNSW AHURI Research Centre examines some of the discounting and policy changes to stamp duties, but concludes many seem to target development of specialised retirement facilities, rather than mobility among older Australians more generally (Judd et al, 2012).

Second, particularly where relocation results in the release of significant money from a housing asset (i.e. where the new house is less valuable than the originating house), there are disincentives to having additional wealth outside housing. Specifically, means testing of pension entitlements excludes home ownership (for occupation) from means tests. In policy terms this is offset by pension rates excluding housing costs. Thus, drawing down on that asset could both reduce the incoming pension and, in the case of rental, increase the outgoing living expenses.

Again, this has been identified in policy considerations with “the assessability of capital withdrawn from the home through relocation to a lower value property… discourages downsizing” (Australian Treasury 2009: Ch 10.3). In particular, the transfer of wealth out of housing can impact access to pension support. The Productivity Commission (2011:293) notes that the “current assets test has a significant deterrent effect on people‘s willingness to sell their home and move to more appropriate housing, particularly if that would involve renting or other forms of periodic payment for accommodation”.

Availability of reverse mortgages

The aspiration to age in place has led to the emergence of specific financial products that facilitate such a lifestyle. ‘Reverse mortgages’ enable retirees to gradually draw down the value of their home through equity in a bank loan. Bridge et al (2010:79) found that such products were not usually taken on as a planned financial strategy but rather an unexpected change in circumstances, and shortfall between income and living expenses:

> None of the participating consumers indicated that a reverse mortgage had played any part in their retirement plans. In all cases, the decision to take out a reverse mortgage was caused by a change in their circumstances post-retirement, such as reduced income due to the GFC or late-life divorce, or realising that their income, for example the age pension, was not sufficient to support a modest lifestyle.

Bridge et al (2010) also found very low levels of understanding of the workings of such products, or the risks and ongoing costs involved, even among respondents who had taken out such products. Olsberg and Winters (2005:57) found only a small proportion of study participants (around 6%), had considered such a product, and interest was tempered by apprehension:

> Many respondents expressed an interest in reverse mortgages or some type of product which may allow older people to boost retirement circumstances or assist them to cope with an unplanned event such as health breakdown or household maintenance problems. However, the overwhelming response was distrust with the products currently available, criticism of the banks and other providers, and reticence to saddle themselves or their family with debt.

Potential for dwelling adaptability and servicing

Over time, even if the desire to age in place prevails, and other events or constraints do not preclude the potential to remain in the same house, there is an increased likelihood in older age that mobility or health issues will limit the potential to age in place. However, a number of health policies do prolong the potential for people to age in place. Judd et al (2010) found home modification, as a means of delaying the need to relocate, to be quite common. Around one third of participants has already modified the home, and around 40% considered future modifications likely. In both cases grab rails, bathroom modifications and modifications to stairs were the most common. The same study also found that around half of participants thought they had funding to make the necessary modifications.

Support for home and community care packages also seek to remove or delay the need for older Australians, particularly very old Australians, to move into residential care arrangements. The most recent changes to aged care policy nearly doubled the number of home care packages (Australian Government 2012). Bridge et al (2008) found that home care can delay the need for relocation into residential care, and that as home-based care develops this will increase. Such a delay has benefits for both the recipient of care, and to government aged care costs, so is likely to continue to expand.

Another government policy that helps to prolong the potential to remain in the family home is the support given to carers. Whilst informal care is declining (Percival & Kelly 2004), children and particularly partners are able to get financial support to in turn provide the necessary care to delay the need for relocation to residential care.

Impact on broader housing affordability

All of these factors – from government policy supporting ageing in place to the availability of financial products like reverse mortgages – contribute both to increasing the proportion of Baby boomers that will likely remain in the family home, and increasing the length for which this will remain possible. The ramification of this is a reduced 'churn' through housing stock and an overall inefficiency in its use. As noted, however, it should be recognised that in many cases older Australians continue to use family sized houses, despite being in smaller households.

Accepting that the ongoing occupation of family houses by baby boomers, where desired, is positive from health, financial, social security and even land use efficiency perspectives has a number of implications to housing supply. Notably, these challenges will be the same as those faced by the growing population, irrespective of whether it is ageing or not.

LOCAL ADAPTERS

Like those ageing in place, ***local adapters*** *retain a number of connections to the community. Unlike those ageing in place, they are not as attached to the family home and will move, or have already moved, into something more suitable to their situation as empty nesters or retirees. While this is likely to be a 'down-sizing' move, it need not mean a cheaper home or even one much smaller than a family home. In many cases there will still be spare bedrooms, and the smaller size could be offset by the better amenity or features of their new place. In fact, their secure financial situation means they won't move out of the family home if it means making compromises.*

Local adapters' *motivations for moving may be circumstantial or aspirational: perhaps a separation or second partnership has reduced attachment to the old home; perhaps a desire to travel more has made them want to reduce the need for upkeep and maintenance. The availability of good alternatives to the family home in the neighbourhood could affect the size of this group in different locations. While their immediate housing plans could prolong independence, future relocations might still be necessary. Like those ageing in place, access to services will also affect them in later years.*

Local mobility

Mobility is relatively high among Australians, including older Australians, compared to other parts of the world (Hugo, 2007), and the degree of mobility is increasing (Wulff et al., 2010). While this seems to counter the previous section's description of the desire to age in place, Olsberg and Winters (2005: 34) point out that:

> Two thirds (64.6%) of respondents indicated that they wanted to stay in their present home and wanted to 'age in place'. Asked about the reasons for remaining in their present home, surprisingly few (20.9%) spoke of emotional attachment to the home itself. Most respondents simply wanted to remain in the same location - pleasure in and familiarity with the area and its facilities were regarded as important factors contributing to people's day-to-day lifestyle.

Furthermore, Faulkner (2001: 13) suggests that a local move may, in some circumstances, be more desirable, because "the large dwelling on a large block with considerable distances between services and facilities may increasingly lead to the desire to move into more suitable alternative housing often within the same neighbourhood or familiar environment". Of note, the 'local anchors' outlined in the previous section are less likely to constitute a barrier to such local moves.

As with all Australians, the majority of moves occurs within the same local area. In one study in the ACT (Howe, 2006), most moves were within 12km of the former home. Analysis of (slightly old) census data by Stimson and McCrea (2004: 1452) also suggests such a pattern. It shows that for most age cohorts, the majority of moves are within the same SLA (typically the same local government area). Further, while some moves to other SLAs within the same Statistical Division (typically the same metropolitan or regional area) could be attributed to scene changers (see next section), most are likely to represent moves still within their original subregions.

Table 2: Percentage of persons moving residence in Australia, 1991-96, by age cohort

Range of move	**Age cohort (years)**				
	55-64	65-74	75-84	85-94	95+
Within the same SLA	15.0	7.6	8.6	12.6	15.5
To another SLA in the same SD	17.8	7.4	7.9	12.0	15.6
To another SD in the same state	7.1	3.6	2.8	3.1	2.7
To another state	5.5	2.1	1.7	1.5	1.1

Source: Stimson and McCrea (2004: 1452), from 1996 Census data

Pre-retirement movers

As noted, Beer and Faulkner (2009: 133) found that 41.5% of respondents aged 55-64 (in 2006) had moved to their current home in the previous 10 years, or after the age of 45. Following the evidence that moves later in life are more likely to be triggered by events than forward planning, this suggests a number of moves precede retirement age, and are instead triggered by events around changing household structure such as 'empty nesting', or children leaving home, and partnership changes like separation, divorce or remarriage. Wulff et al. (2010: 319) consider such mobility, specifically considering 'empty nesting' rather than retirement, and conclude that:

> 'younger' (45–54 years) empty nesters are 1.4 times more likely to move than others aged 45 to 64 years. 'Older' empty nesters (54–65 years) move at a lower rate than their younger counterparts, but they still change residence at a higher rate then [sic] other couples who still have children living at home.

Whether or not the trigger event itself is a positive one, it provides impetus for housing choices to be reconsidered. The extent to which such pre-retirement moves anticipate post-retirement aspirations and constraints is unclear. Where the choice does take such factors into account, it could go some way to explaining the prevailing desire to stay in the same home upon retirement. In other words, retiring baby boomers want to stay in the same place because they have already moved to a place considered suitable beyond the transition out of the workforce. As such, this group – local adapters – could be underrepresented in some research. This consideration is also germane to the scene changers described in the next section.

Downsizers

Two kinds of relocation are expected to dominate aspiration-driven local moves: those to downsize, mostly reflecting changes to household size; and those to down-price, mostly to release additional funds to support lifestyle choices. While there is likely to be some overlap between the two, there are also some common problems.

In terms of down-pricing, Faulkner (2007) suggests that the greater lifestyle aspirations of retiring baby boomers, when compared to previous retirees, increases the preparedness to release the necessary funds held in housing assets. However, as outlined in the previous section, there are often financial disadvantages to relocating as well as financial products that make meeting the dual desires to live well in retirement and age in place more feasible. Beal (2001: 127) found that "housing wealth…is not generally realised to fund more comfortable retirements". As Beer et al. (2006: 30) put it, most Australian literature shows:

> older people only tend to use their housing wealth via downsizing to support themselves when financial circumstances leave few alternatives or there is a triggering shock experienced such as illness or death of a spouse.

This suggests that, despite having additional lifestyle aspirations, moving into less valuable housing to release funds or more closely match anticipated income, is often driven by constraint rather than aspiration. Once those local moves involving a reduction in housing value are excluded, the kinds of local moves driven by aspiration become more distinct. Local downsizing, or moving house to match household composition, is likely to lead to smaller housing with comparable value: perhaps a newer property with less maintenance and upkeep, perhaps one on a quieter street or with better views, or better access to services and facilities.

There has been some debate as to whether the start of a trend towards central and inner city downsizing can be seen, and if so what drivers are involved. There is some, though inconclusive, evidence that this aligns with metropolitan planning aspirations of a shift amongst the 'young-olds' into smaller dwellings as a lifestyle choice (see for example Hugo et al, 2009). However, mobility data would also suggest that this inward movement in certain cities is in fact capturing factors shaped more by constraint – for example the need to go into residential care facilities often located in those inner neighbourhoods – with the 75+ age group being more dominant in those flows (ibid).

Others are more circumspect regarding the extent and significance of those trends in the context of much broader patterns. For example, analysis conducted for .id profile using 2006 migration data for a range of inner suburban LGAs in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Perth, present a mixed picture. Whilst modest evidence of in-flows can be seen in Adelaide, for the others, the numbers were very small (for example thirty-two 55-64 year olds moving from Monash to inner city Melbourne) or indeed in the other direction. The numbers involved are simply swamped by the bigger stories of middle and outer suburban growth in this age-cohort, whether through life-cycle effects or inward migration (www.blog.id.com.au).

Suitability of housing stock

As noted, the spatial plans of Australia's major cities expect the decrease in household size driven by increasing numbers of over 55s to translate into an increase in demand for smaller housing options. And while this may be true in some circumstances where financial or health constraints dictate a need for such a move, baby boomers reaching retirement with financial and health security are less likely to downsize. Wulff et al. (2004: 68) point out that demand for smaller housing need not – and, for Australia, has not to date – followed a decrease in household size. This has mostly been because shrinking household size is not related to a shrinking in household wealth, and wealth, as noted above, is a much more likely trigger for reassessing housing choice:

> Overcrowding nearly always leads to a residential move, but a surplus of space tends not to be considered a problem because adjusting to surplus space is far easier than to a shortage of space. This general tendency to upward adjustment has generated the perception that older households 'over-consume' housing.

However, considerations of the suitability of housing for Boomers beyond size considerations come into play. This not only relates to issues of adaptability and accessibility, but also the type and density of housing products. Again, useful Census analysis undertaken for .id profile unpacks the propensity to live in medium and high density housing by age. This peaks amongst those in their 20s at the pre-family stage and then steadily declines through middle age. It then starts to increase again as household heads reach their 50s, and returns to relatively high levels (matching the 30% peaks seen amongst those in their 20s) when they reach their mid 70s. In large part this will reflect moves into retirement village contexts and residential care facilities in the latter stages of older age. By disaggregating 'high' (3+ storeys) from 'medium' density (townhouses, villas, 1-2 storeys) housing, .id profile's analysis points towards a more interesting story: that upturn amongst the older age cohorts flattens out. Again, whilst this will in part reflect the built form and density of purpose-built retirement stock, it also suggests that demand to downsize translates into medium rather than high density contexts.

These supply characteristics will come into play in relation to the question of whether an inner-city return is a likely trend amongst Boomers. If higher density forms predominate in high land-value markets, then this housing offer would appear discordant with this key potential market. Alternatively, medium density options – more prevalent, and economically viable in terms of future provision, in the middle suburbs – accord with where Boomers are now living and where the majority would like to age. Interestingly, the one city where centripetal movement of retirees back towards the centre was seen from 2006 Census data - Adelaide (echoing the findings of Hugo et al (2009) above) – comprises predominantly medium rather than higher density housing in its inner districts.

SCENE CHANGERS

Scene Changers belong to a cross-generational cohort of Australians who are looking to rebalance work and lifestyle commitments. Retirement removes the tether of work commitments altogether, so increasing this shift. Despite being financially secure, scene changers are also keen to take advantage of the relatively lower land values outside major cities, both to upgrade their housing type and to reduce ongoing living expenses. They are typical of baby boomers in that they are more travelled, and from more culturally, ethnically and geographically diverse backgrounds. As a result they have greater connections to communities outside the one in which they worked or raised children. They might also have particular connections to a traditional holiday destination outside a major city, whether through holiday home ownership or simply regular visits through holiday rentals, resorts, camping or similar.

Some scene changers might not relocate to regional towns, instead keeping some connection to the community of their working life, by moving to other communities in the same major city where there are greater amenities. Some are also moving from remote rural locations to regional centres with better services and facilities, while keeping some connection to the community of their working lives.

Mobility and connection to broader community

As already noted, Australia's generations are each more mobile than their predecessors (Wulff et al., 2010). The retiring baby boomers are no exception, which Hugo (2003) partly attributes to the fewer family links to a particular location which are replaced with broader links to formal social services that tend to be less place specific. Baby boomers are also likely to have been more mobile during their working life, reducing the local anchors that accrue over time. The higher degree of travel also increases the potential connection to more geographically distant communities. "Independence, flexibility, consumer and lifestyle choices increasingly take precedence" in housing choice of retiring baby boomers, drivers that were not as dominant in previous generations (Olsberg and Winters, 2005: vii). These factors contribute to aspirational relocation at or near retirement to an area outside the local community. Han et al. (2008: 11) state that such a trend is supported by international studies, noting that "the first move for older people is likely to occur among young retirees seeking lifestyle gains. They are more likely than non-migrants to be married, to have higher incomes and educational levels, and to be healthy."

Aspirational counter-urbanism

The recent trend of population moving away from major urban centres has captured some attention over the last decade (Salt, 2001; Burnley and Murphy, 2004). Dubbed 'counter urbanism', the trend was in the first instance associated with the growth in high amenity coastal centres outside major cities: the sea change. This trend is not solely attributed to retirees (Gurran et al., 2005), although it was primarily associated with financially secure households, which implied older household heads. Gurran et al. (2005) also suggest that the growth in working age counter urbanism could stem from the growth in tourism and leisure services in regional areas. This growing section of the regional economy could be partly generated by the emergence of scene changers.

In the context of American retirees, Haas and Serow (2002) identify a link between retirement and a move to high amenity and cost effective locations. Burnley and Murphy (2004: 157) argue that the trend is linked to a combination of "the desire for peace and quiet, security needs, and less crime, as well as the aesthetics of the natural environment itself". Notably the regional (and mostly coastal) areas that are likely to attract retiring baby boomers already have proportionally older populations. The depopulation of rural and regional areas by young, working age people could overstate the extent to which in-migration drives the ageing of the population of regional centres (Hugo, 2007). However, the correlation could serve to predict likely destinations of retiring baby boomers over the coming years. Gurran et al. (2005) document the urban taxonomy of coastal destinations, including commuting centres outside major cities, holiday 'getaway' destinations just outside major cities, regional centres, tourism-based destinations not served by nearby major cities, and small, rural coastal hamlets. McKenzie et al. (2008) also document Victorian studies that consider seasonal population fluctuations, which could serve as an indicator of visitation and tourism potential, connection with other population centres and, ultimately, potential as a destination for retiring baby boomers.

In terms of volume, however, this group is unlikely to be large enough to make an impact on metropolitan housing supply/demand dynamics. Where the destination is a smaller community, particularly coastal communities within a few hours of the major metropolitan centres, there could be impacts on housing, infrastructure and service delivery across those regional areas (Costello, 2009).

Money saving through relocation

One key driver behind the scene changers' motivations is the cost effectiveness of regional living (Gurran et al., 2005; Burnley and Murphy, 2004). Regional centres have smaller economies and fewer jobs, decreasing the inflationary pressure on land and housing values, making them appealing destinations for retirees that do not need access to the jobs market. There is thought that as the counter urbanism movement matures, traditional destinations like coastal towns will in fact become quite expensive and counter urbanism will push into new areas, like small rural communities or urban peripheries, rather than high demand, and thus high cost, areas on the coast or in established urban centres: the tree change (Costello, 2009). There are two possible outcomes of this trend. The first is that scene changers will continue to seek out regions with low living costs. Such communities are likely to be over represented by lower income households and have higher un- and under-employment. The influx of capital from higher income scene changers could boost the local economies, but could also serve as a form of rural gentrification.

The second possible outcome is that regions with low living costs begin to attract lower income scene changers. Where retirees are on fixed pensions, the differential in cost of living is perhaps more significant. However this 'welfare-led' migration to rural areas is examined by Marshall et al. (2006), who conclude that affordability is a secondary factor in most cases of counter-urbanism among retirees, with lifestyle aspirations the primary drivers.

Other scene changers

While the majority of scene change relocations are moves from major urban centres to rural and regional centres, there are some other segments worth considering. One is the shift upon retirement of rural retirees, like farmers, to nearby regional centres for the higher amenity and higher levels of servicing as well as the lifestyle aspirations. Davis and Bartlett (2008) state that 26% of over 65s moving to high growth coastal areas are from country areas, and 39% are from capital cities. Another is the shift of retirees in big cities moving to other parts of the same metropolitan area, for example ex-urban or quasi-rural estates in one direction, and to well serviced inner city complexes on the other (see above). This group is likely to want to retain some connection to the community of their working life (including family and friends). Walters (2005) outlines the emergence of master-planned communities on urban peripheries that attract retirees. Wulff et al. (2010) give evidence of retirees moving to high-end inner urban complexes, and master-planned estates on golf courses. While these groups are likely to be small, it serves to highlight that while evidence suggests higher mobility among baby boomers, and a greater emphasis on lifestyle drivers, the trend is not uniformly one of counter urbanism.

Role of second home ownership

The role of second home (or holiday home) ownership has been associated with the counter-urbanism of retirees for at least 25 years (Murphy 1977). More recently there is a perception that holiday home ownership remains a factor in determining the extent or destination of scene changers (Burnley and Murphy, 2004). Hugo (2007: 5) states that a "particular feature of [counter urbanism] has been widespread patterns of people taking up more or less full-time residence in their former holiday homes upon retirement". This potential stepping-stone is also emphasised, although not evidenced, in Hugo et al.'s review for the South Australia Office of Ageing in relation to in-migration trends seen in areas such as the Eyre Peninsula and Victor Harbor-Goolwa, where the authors comment '[m]uch of the retirement migration, like that elsewhere, involves people moving more or less permanently to their former holiday home.' (Hugo et al., 2009: 102).

Research has been undertaken into second home ownership overseas which suggests that a trend is emerging (Gallent et al., 2005; Paris, 2008; Norris and Winston, 2010). In Australia, Paris et al. (2009) found 19% of respondents owned additional homes, but that only 3% of those households identified it as a holiday home[1]. Levels of holiday home ownership did not articulate a strong correlation with age, which would be expected if baby boomers were over-represented, but there could be opportunity for further interrogation of the survey data. Similarly, Beer and Faulkner (2009: 122) found ownership of an additional property was primarily for investment purposes, with only a minority identifying as holiday homeowners.

Even if Boomers are over represented amongst those owning holiday homes, it can be estimated that they would represent no more than 1-2% of all households. Assuming that only a proportion of that 1-2% have their primary residence in a major city,McKenzie et al. (2008) cite one study where nearly 15% were owned by residents of regional areas), and that only a proportion of these intend to permanently relocate to their holiday home upon retirement (McKenzie et al. (2008) cite studies where around half intend to do so), then less than 1% may be 'freed up' by retiring scene changers.

Nevertheless, in certain localities and local housing markets, the question of holiday homes and migration choices amongst the Boomers has become an increasingly significant driver of market activity and wider interest. For example, Frost (2003) looked at the proportion of homes in popular tourist and recreation areas in Victoria that were recorded as 'not normally inhabited' from the 1996 Census. Although this measure does not confirm that they were used as second or holiday homes, it can be seen as providing a useful proxy. A number of small centres and localities on Philip Island, the Mornington and Bellarine Peninsulas and along the Great Ocean

[1] Within the data used, however, 'retirement' was a separate category to holiday home but was not explored explicitly.

road recorded non-occupancy rates of two-thirds or more on Census Night. From example, of the 3941 private dwellings in Cowes, 2665 were recorded as unoccupied in the 1996 census (Frost, 2003).

In these contexts, the potential influence of second homes on Boomers' pathways, and the local markets into which they might move permanently, are inevitably more significant, and the need for further research into such trends warranted. It is argued however, that within the context of broader demographic shifts and metropolitan housing trends, the potential scale of second home ownership as a driver needs to be kept in perspective. Furthermore, an existing link through property assets in sea- and tree- change areas is likely to serve as only one of many possible connections retiring baby boomers have with regional centres or other communities outside those of their working lives. Where lifestyle aspirations drive housing choice, such connections will be a factor in possible relocation upon retirement, but not the sole factor.

CONSTRAINED RETREAT

Like those ageing in place, those experiencing constrained retreat want to age in place, but for financial reasons have to make compromises. Given the desire to remain in the same community is key, they are likely relocate to cheaper areas nearby, or smaller dwellings with fewer amenities. So while relocation will have similar priorities as local adapters, this group has been forced to down size. Other compromises in lifestyle are likely to be accepted more readily than such a move. Issues might relate to cash flow and lifestyle, or an ongoing mortgage that is difficult to service, or some more significant event (death of spouse, separation, injury, etc.) whereby a financial shock demands a revaluation of living circumstances. The result is likely to involve a compromise on dwelling type and location. The implications for this group are the dearth of suitable, affordable housing options in many areas of the major cities. Housing stock diversity means areas where some of this group are located cannot accommodate them, and so displacement and movement away from family and friendship networks might be required.

Diversity of life and housing paths

As noted, Baby Boomers are more diverse than previous generations, reflected in the fact that the housing path is no longer uniform. Therefore while a notionally normative path toward ownership of family home still dominates, alternative housing paths that reflect this age cohort's diversity are emerging.

One of the most significant differences between baby boomers and previous generations is their family status: the marriages of baby boomers are less certain, with separation, divorce and remarriage more common. Wood et al. (2008) found that people who experience separation or widowhood have financial hardship and disruptions to home ownership aspirations. However, Wulff et al. (2004) point out that often these household adjustments are not permanent, as remarriage can occur and help to redress the financial constraint that has affected housing choice. de Vaus et al. (2007: ix-x) analysed the Housing, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey, finding that:

- Three-quarters of the married never-divorced men owned a home outright, compared to just 40.9 per cent of the divorced single men and 57.8 per cent of the divorced and remarried men.

- Those who were divorced and single were substantially more likely to be renting than the married (ever- and never-divorced). Of the divorced single men, 49.4 per cent were renting, compared to just 20.9 per cent of the divorced and remarried men and 15.0 per cent of the married never-divorced men. In addition, it was found that those affected by divorce are more likely to reach retirement age still paying off their homes.

Although reformation may occur, increasing numbers now spend their entire retirement single.

Financial security and transition to superannuation

Another key difference between retiring baby boomers and previous generations is the shift away from employee pensions to superannuation. The transition, particularly from 1992 when Super contributions became compulsory, has significantly affected the ongoing income of retirees. Many baby boomers only began accruing superannuation later in their careers, particularly women (Hunter, Wang & Worsley 2007). As Faulkner (2007: 154) states: “many will face difficult circumstances because their likely retirement income will not be sufficient to support them as they age – more 50- to 69-year olds are facing retirement with higher levels of debt than the previous generation; and a large group is leaving the labour force with very little if any superannuation”.

Boomers looking to retire with an income greater than a government pension are likely therefore to be in a position of needing to rely more heavily on their own accumulated wealth, without fully benefitting from the superannuation structure that is expected to supply it. Research by Kelly (2003: 15) found that, among over 65s in 2001:

> Only 13% have private income equal to or greater than the $201 per week provided by the public pension [because, while] older Australians have almost double the average wealth of working age people ($213,800 and $116,200 respectively)…, the majority of this wealth appears to be home equity and hence is not producing income to supplement or replace the public pension.

As a result, housing wealth will in some cases need to be released to enable a comfortable retirement lifestyle (Yates and Bradbury, 2010). As noted in a previous section, retirees are often prepared to make fairly drastic compromises to lifestyle before drawing down on housing equity, but this might not always be an option. In other words, changing circumstances like a medical issue or loss of employment, which has reduced income before retirement, could precipitate the need to liquidate the equity in the family home. Wood et al. (2010) suggest that such a reliance on housing equity can result in people slipping in and out of home ownership. In older people, at the most extreme, home ownership can then become untenable as workforce participation to support a return to home ownership is limited.

Affordable housing for purchase: the other side of downsizing

The difficulty of maintaining home ownership for this group will lead to constraints on housing choice. This aligns with the previously noted observation that decisions to downsize are most likely to be triggered by negative events (Beer et al., 2006). Like ‘aspirational downsizers’, those downsizing due to personal constraints are likely to be limited by environmental constraints, most notably the uniform housing stock of the middle suburbs in which retiring baby boomers are most commonly found.

Unlike aspirational downsizers, however, those looking to relocate due to financial constraints will not have the back-up option of staying where they are, and are also going to be looking for a different, more affordable housing product. Kelly et al. (2011) point out that, given the choice, Australians forced to make some compromise are more likely to sacrifice dwelling size than dwelling location. The middle suburbs of metropolitan cities are also a region where affordable housing options are desired by the children of Boomers looking to make a first home purchase. These purchasers are also supported by the government, through the First Home Owner Grant (FHOG) and in some states and territories, related stamp duty concessions. This distorts the housing market in the lower price brackets, and makes it more difficult for those facing ‘constrained retreat’ to downsize in the same community.

Family housing and other residual housing options

Given limited alternatives, smaller households in larger homes are looking to make other arrangements to avoid having to relocate. This includes sharing housing with extended family or modifying the home to enable multiple households within the dwelling. While there is anecdotal evidence of such arrangements, they are not particularly common. Olsberg and Winters (2005: 38) found “hardly any respondents had moved to live with family or had downsized to release money to assist children or other family members” and that “only within the focus groups was there any serious discussion of moving in with children, and then the discussion was initiated on both occasions by older people from a CALD background”. Furthermore, Liu and Easthope (2012: 24) found that “three-generation households consisting of grandparents, parents and young children are still a relatively uncommon phenomenon”.

Other options for those that cannot afford to age in place in the meaningful sense of keeping the house as it is include modifying the dwelling to accommodate multiple households. Depending on how it is arranged, it could be rented as a separate dwelling, used by extended family without cohabitation, or enable cohabitation with friends or other lodgers. Such options are included in government information packages, such as *Accommodation Choices for Older Australians and their Families: what older Australians and their families need to know* (FAHCSIA, 2010), but these remain residual housing choices.

The eponymous granny flat has also been recently supported by planning authorities in an attempt to increase the availability of affordable housing options. For example, the NSW State Environmental Planning Policy (Affordable Rental Housing) 2009 enables ‘secondary dwellings’ to be built alongside single dwellings in most residential zones. However, there is little evidence these options are taken up in volume by retirees looking to supplement retirement income by renting out part of the family home.

INCREASED DEPENDENCY

In the same way that financial constraints impact upon housing choice for those Boomers in constraint retreat, so health constraints have precipitated compromise in housing choice for this cohort. The two are often related, where health issues – such as the death of a spouse, permanent disability caused by stroke or other trauma, limitations on independence stemming from dementia or similar cognitive issues, etc – cannot be managed in the home environment: say maintenance becomes too difficult, but hired help would be too expensive. In some cases, a different housing type, coupled with home care, can prolong the potential for independent living options, making the motivations and housing priorities similar to the Local Adjusters. In other cases, there is a need for more specialist care, and so will have implications for the delivery of such services.

Extending the time lived in the community

While improving health and services have led to a ‘third age’, the early years of retirement, health and frailty will continue to affect older Australians in the later years of their life. A number of factors will dictate the extent to which declining health – both physical and cognitive – will affect housing choice:

- the availability of aged care services in the home, both formal and informal;
- the potential for home modifications to improve accessibility;
- neighbourhood character and broader access to services and amenities;
- the availability of more suitable independent housing options (discussed below); and
- the specific ongoing financial situation.

This last point is of particular concern where deteriorating health is accompanied by growing health care costs, and where a specific health related event – such as a stroke, major fall, or the passing of a spouse – creates an acute need for housing choice to be reassessed.

As noted above, providing aged care services in the community and, more specifically, within a person's own home has the dual benefits of improving health outcomes and reducing government costs. As such, these services have grown over recent years, and can be expected to continue to grow. However, as Faulkner (2007: 153) highlight: "the numbers of people with a disability will significantly increase over the next two to three decades. Many of these people will expect to remain living in the community (not in residential care) and will require a range of housing options and housing with care options". In other words, there will also be an increased demand for such services. The distribution of services is also a key factor, with poorly serviced remote areas limiting the potential for people to age in their existing community.

The other avenue of support for older Australians continuing to live in the community is informal care, provided by a partner or other family member. The government continues to increase support for carers – including the most recent round of policy reforms (DOHA, 2012) – through ongoing pensions, respite care and carer support and counselling services. The potential for such support for older Australians will depend on family circumstances, including the relative health of a partner and – particularly in light of higher lone person households – the geographical proximity of children (Percival and Kelly, 2004).

A further constraining factor will be the potential to modify homes in response to deteriorating mobility and health. This will, in turn depend on two factors: the suitability of the housing, and the financial circumstances of the individual. Where finances are not a factor, modification will be a viable option, but support for home modifications, although highly valued is not well organised (Jones et al., 2008). The adaptation of the built environment to meet the needs of an ageing population is not limited to the building, and equally applies to the surrounding neighbourhood. As Judd et al. (2010: 279) conclude:

> Clearly, from the responses of older home owners, some local authorities are doing better than others in implementing age friendly neighbourhood design. However, as the number of older people increase this will become increasingly important, particularly in those areas where older people are likely to be more highly concentrated.

Retirement homes and 'over 55' complexes

The variety of specialised aged care housing options, and commensurate terminology used to describe them, make definitions difficult. A primary distinction can be based upon the degree to which residents remain independent. Where there is a degree of independence, aged-specific housing is usually under the umbrella term of retirement homes. Otherwise, it is usually under the umbrella of residential aged care or nursing homes (described below). Often the same complexes provide both options, allowing residents to 'age in place' as their health and independence deteriorates.

Within retirement homes, McNelis (2004: 1) identifies three further key variables. The first is the "type of housing and support model", or the degree of services provided, which is spread across a spectrum from none, in which case a housing complex functions like any other multi-dwelling housing complex, to numerous specialised services that can include both lifestyle amenities and health and aged care related facilities.

The second variable is the cost to the resident or "capital funding arrangements" of the management. Bridge et al. (2011) describe ingoing, ongoing and outgoing fees. Ingoing fees can include the purchase of a strata title or similar, the purchase of shares in the company managing the complex, or an upfront lease payment, donation, bond or loan with the complex's management. Ongoing fees or contributions cover ongoing maintenance and servicing, and vary in line with the extent of services provided and the business model of the management (for profit, not for profit, government subsidised, etc.). Outgoing fees can include specifically defined departure or exit fees, or proportional costs depending on the return on the incoming costs (i.e. the sale of the strata title or shares) and the length of time spent in the facility (i.e. a form of deferred management fees). Incoming costs in particular can be prohibitively high in some instances. In one study (Bridge et al., 2011), all interviewees living in a for-profit retirement home had previously owned their own home. This suggests that without having the proceeds of selling a family home, such facilities are likely to be beyond financial reach. However, ongoing costs are typically set proportionally to individual income, and the aged pension in particular, so are not usually considered excessive.

The third variable is the type of organisation providing the housing and, where applicable, the services and facilities. This includes for-profit, not-for-profit, and government agencies. The for-profit complexes typically target higher income retirees with lifestyle facilities and services. The not-for-profit model, a form of rental accommodation, is often provided for lower income retirees through limits on incomes and assets. Government funded aged housing is a form of social housing for older Australians. The last two are discussed in more detail in a subsequent section on older renters.

Within retirement homes, there are two broad categories of residents: *planners*, who foresee future difficulties in staying in a separate dwelling, and *reactors*, who are already experiencing some difficulties (Gardner, 1994). As one of the main triggers for a downsizing move is the difficulty in maintenance or access in a family home (Judd et al., *forthcoming*), most fall within the latter category. This suggests that, despite some advertising and marketing of high-end retirement homes, such moves are more likely to be in response to limited independence. ‘

The proportion of older Australians living in retirement homes remains small. Stimson and McCrea (2004) found less than 3% of over 65s lived in self-care retirement villages, less than half the percentage in the United States. However, Hugo (2007) found a much higher incidence lone persons in such homes, compared to couples: 3% and 1%, respectively. Whilst historically this is likely due to the death of a partner, the higher incidence of divorces among Boomers could translate into higher proportions living in such complexes. Indeed, retirement villages have been identified as the fastest growing form of housing for older Australians, albeit from a low base (Davy et al., 2010). Drawing upon the South Australia Monitoring and Surveillance System conducted in 2006, Hugo et al 2009 illustrate that the proportion of elderly Australians living in retirement villages and ‘other’ housing categories increases dramatically in the 85+ range to around 10% (and reflects a commensurate drop in ownership levels).

Residential aged care (hostels and nursing homes)

The other side of these various factors that increase the ability of older Australians to age in the community is the expected demand for residential aged care services. These services are split into two categories: low and high needs – with the facilities called hostels and nursing homes, respectively. The latest round of policy changes provide more flexibility in the grey area between the two categories (DOHA, 2012). Proportionally, the number of older Australians in residential aged care is falling. Hugo (2007: 7) states that “the rate at which older people entered nursing homes [in Australia has] diminished sharply. Prior to the mid-1980s, Australia had one of the highest rates of older people living in nursing homes in the world.” However, as Stimson and McCrea (2004: 1453) note, the number of very old Australians is still proportionally significant:

> Over 90% of older-person (aged 65 years and over) households in Australia occupy housing types where occupants can live independently; but that proportion declines to 66% for those aged 85 years and over, with a third of those aged 85 years old and over moving to where they can receive care and support.

Coupled with the growing volumes in subsequent age cohorts, there will be significant ongoing demand for such services, and subsequent governments continue to expand the aged care programmes. In sum, despite changing policy environments and changing demographics of baby boomers, when the time comes residential aged care will remain an important and significant part of the aged care policy, and by extension housing policy. Trends suggest, however, that the majority of Boomers retiring now are unlikely to move into such facilities until 2030 and beyond.

OLDER RENTERS

This group, although a small cohort, will have significant implications for the social housing sector in coming years. It comprises the Boomers reaching retirement age without having done what it is assumed their generation would do: buy a home and thereby secure residential assets. They are likely therefore to have continued rental expenditure post-retirement, further limiting financial security. While many remain in the private renter sector – with almost 200,000 older Australians in receipt of Commonwealth Rent Assistance – for many at this stage in life, accessing the social housing system becomes a key consideration. This may reflect finally securing priority on wait lists, but will also respond to concerns regarding affordability and security of tenure in the private rented sector.

Elusive home ownership

Whilst baby boomers are more likely than not to reach retirement as a home owner, there will be a significant minority that continues to rely on the rental sector, in both private and social rental properties. Some of those reaching retirement without a housing asset will have never achieved home ownership but, as Beer and Faulkner (2009: 112) state:

> Remarkably, 82 per cent of renters aged 55 years and over in the [study] indicated they had previously been in the home ownership market. The reasons for moving represent both voluntary and involuntary factors with relationship breakdown accounting for over one-quarter of the responses.

Although some older Australians rent by choice, most are in such a position due to personal circumstances and financial constraints. Furthermore, whereas working age people are likely to be able to compete (or at least survive) on the rental market, retirees are less likely to do so. Retirement may reduce ongoing income and, as noted previously, pensions and other welfare are built on the assumption that home ownership will remove ongoing housing costs. As Faulkner (2001: 15) notes, "aged persons living in the private rental sector have long been identified as those in greatest housing need". This is because, as Beer and Faulkner (2009: 124), state "older people in the private rental market have to contend with insecurity of tenure, inappropriateness and lack of suitability of accommodation as they age, and affordability issues".

Table 3, reproduced from the ABS 2009-10 Survey of Income and Housing (SIH), indicates the breakdown of housing assistance by age group and compares these figures with those living unassisted in the private rented sector. Although the proportion of CRA recipient households reduces amongst older cohorts (and the role of social housing for these age groups increases), the 8% of retirees receiving CRA equates to 188,000 pensioner households. This is far from an insignificant number, and older CRA recipients are likely to be more represented in certain parts of the major cities than others, and thus representing an important element of local housing market dynamics in those areas.

Table 3: Housing assistance type by selected personal characteristics, 2009-2010

Age group	Social housing households % persons	CRA(a) recipient households % persons	Unassisted private renter households % persons
Under 18	32	39	20
18-30	8	18	35
31-40	10	17	23
41-50	15	9	13
51-64	17	9	8
65+	18	8	1

Source: ABS 2009-10 Survey of Income and Housing

Tenant insecurity

Renters, including older renters, are significantly more mobile than home owners. A comparison from the survey undertaken by Beer and Faulkner (2009) is shown in Table 4. Although this may be partially attributed to the lower moving costs experienced by renters (Lin, 2005), it inevitably reflects insecurity associated with the tenure (Jones et al, 2007). One reason for the higher mobility rates is the greater difficulty in adapting a rented home to meet changing health circumstances and ability. Home modifications are more difficult to be approved and, unless government services provide it, to finance (Judd et al, 2004).

Table 4: Survey respondents moving to current property in last ten years, by age cohort

Per cent moved last 10 Yrs by cohort	55-64	65-74	75+
Paying Mortgage	50.4	43.3	0.0
Own Outright	34.4	32.3	22.0
Private rental	70.6	61.5	70.0

Source: Beer and Faulkner 2009: 134

Affordability is likely to contribute to the higher incidence of mobility amongst private renters. One response is to move to evermore marginal housing. Bridge et al (2011: 10, 41) shows that mobile and manufactured home communities, boarding houses and hostels remain home to small numbers of older Australians: less than 6% of the survey sample. Commonwealth rent assistance (CRA) can help retirees with no income other than the pension remain competitive on the rental market, however the decreasing affordability of market rental in many major cities is affects older Australians more severely.

Challenges for the social housing system

The second response to chronic insecurity on the rental market among older Australians is a greater shift to social housing. Jones (2004) found nearly half of renters over 64 years old (48.3%) are in the social housing sector, and the proportion increases with age, to 57.8% of those over 84 years. However, Jones et al (2007: viii) state that:

> The social housing system is unlikely to be able to adequately respond alone to these demands from older renters due to the lack of growth in the sector and the competing claims of other population groups. Older people will continue to constitute a high proportion of tenants in the social housing system, but a steadily increasing proportion of low-income older households will be renting in the market sector.

The challenges facing the social housing sector, in light of the expected retirement of baby boomers is threefold. First is the overall volume. The larger population, coupled with prevailing proportions of households outside homeownership, mean that even as a residual housing option, social housing demand will climb. Second is the suitability of the social housing stock. Even as more existing social housing stock is tenanted by older Australians, it is potentially not well suited to the complex needs and limited independence of older Australians. More of the growth in specialised housing will need to come from the not-for-profit sector, including non-profit retirement homes, or ‘independent living units’ (McNelis, 2004). It is also worth noting that renters, and social housing renters are more likely to end up in nursing homes. Third is the cost of providing such housing. Even as the onus shifts away from government housing provision, the need for high levels of subsidy will strain government finances and policy. The low incomes of older social housing tenants, along with the complex needs will mean specialised, and therefore expensive, housing will be needed.

C: HOUSING DEMAND AND MARKET CONSIDERATIONS ARISING

In this third section, we take forward key debates arising in the preceding section and consider broader housing demand and market implications arising. A number of core arguments frame our discussions here.

Firstly, a primary focus of much of the literature has been to build a better understanding of the housing needs of ageing households, with debate largely framed in terms of the imbalance between appropriate (and desirable) options for retirees and existing supply. This is entirely valid, but inevitably leads to a focus on particular, distinct components and housing products for retiring and older households (such as retirement villages) We would argue that the decisions of older households should equally be seen as integral to, and operating within, the broader housing market. They already are, and will increasingly become, a key player in mainstream market dynamics and thus understanding residential decisions and behaviours of this cohort infuses much broader supply/demand considerations. The Boomers, in terms of their sheer numbers, but also in longevity post-retirement, will increasingly shape the mainstream rather than simply seen as a distinct category with distinct needs.

Secondly, metropolitan and regional planning frameworks hold out much hope for Boomers: children 'leaving the nest' and retirement makes them an obvious market for smaller properties in well serviced, highly accessible locations within the 'Compact City'. At the same time, they release family housing in desirable locations in our metropolitan cities. Downsizing will become increasingly prevalent, especially given the increasingly fragmented nature of households reaching retirement. Nevertheless Boomer households in retirement, as long as their choices are directed more by choice rather than constraint, are likely to operate within the housing system in ways which are often inefficient – as is the case with other age groups - in terms of utilisation and that reflect investment alongside shelter considerations. An understandable desire to age in place exemplifies this.

The argument here is that we need to be thinking about how supply and demand policy considerations work in the context of a complex, 'inefficient' housing system. Rather than positioning 'housing an ageing population' as a specific area of policy interest, the long-term strategic questions are arguably tied more to better understanding how the decisions and challenges facing this cohort will increasingly shape wider housing system and market issues. This includes acknowledging that interesting trends are in train – for example sea-change, tree-change and family-support migration – but not to let those particular phenomena overshadow broader trends. Our metropolitan cities are ageing, and understanding the future decisions and behaviours of our Boomers within the 'mainstream' market should be a core focus.

These issues are expanded upon below.

Are we too focused on presuming distinct housing 'products' for ageing households?

Much of the debate to date has focused on understanding the specific housing needs of an ageing population, and from this, concerns regarding the potential mismatch between requirements, needs and demands and the availability of appropriate housing stock. Integral to these discussions is a series of assumptions. The first is that as the size of household declines – often in stages as children first (eventually!) leave the family home and at a later time through the loss of a partner – the size of that family home is no longer required. The second might suggest that older households reach a stage where the burden and costs of maintaining those homes is undesirable and/or a financial drain. This may be coupled with a need for higher levels of healthcare and support, and the need to move to more suitable accommodation. Although aged-care provision is an option for those in their 'early' retirement years, the need for such a move often precipitates when people reach their late 70s and early 80s: outright home ownership levels for the 65-74 age cohort remains very high but fall off sharply thereafter.

Such assumptions point to a logical, and, in broader planning and housing availability terms, beneficial, expectation that older homeowners will relinquish much prized family homes in areas where such properties are required by younger households on traditional housing pathways. In strategic planning terms, this shift (whether understood as a ‘downward’ or essentially equivalent one) into more appropriate and typically smaller accommodation, presents a win-win for more compact city form: freeing up stock in existing areas for larger households and providing a market for smaller, well located, well serviced properties. In the UK, recent research by the University of Reading in conjunction with McCarthy and Stone – one of the country’s largest providers of owner-occupied retirement housing – draws upon survey data from over 5000 moves into properties developed by the company between 2007 and 2010 (Ball et al., 2011). It highlights a number of findings pertinent to the mutual benefits assigned to downsizing.

- For every 5000 owner-occupied retirement dwellings provided, property to the average value of £1.1billion ($1.7billion) is ‘released into local housing markets through the sale of those previous homes’ (Ball, 2011, p. 28)
- Those houses tend to be large (from the survey, 46% moving from 4 bed homes; 27% 3 bed homes), preferred family housing (36% bungalow; 27% detached house) and (in UK terms) relatively modern (78% post war)

Although growth of the retirement village sector will continue, its potential future size and remit should perhaps not be overstated. In particular, its wider impact on broader housing market dynamics – especially within Australia’s major metropolitan areas – is likely to be more nuanced. While there may be added impetus behind a number of push factors, for example maintenance and upkeep, there are other issues and considerations that push back on such decisions, not least the role of the home and tax implications tied to property as part of wider retirement strategies. The nature of our housing system – essentially market-driven and fulfilling investment as much as shelter functions – ensures that other factors impose themselves. It is also a slow and sticky market with high transaction costs. It means that while logic might dictate otherwise, emotional attachment coupled with reluctance for upheaval in the latter years of life act as counterweights. A single elderly person can reasonably elect to remain in their 4-bedroom home. Equally, if they did decide to move, given their financial status within the market (equity rich and not needing a home loan), they can effectively compete with younger cohorts across a range of housing products.

There has been a fair amount of interest in making sure that taxation and regulatory frameworks should not act as a disincentive for older households to relinquish larger, family homes. For example, the former NSW Labor Government removed stamp duty for over-65s downsizing their primary residence and purchasing a new apartment or home up to $600,000 for a 2 year trial period (from mid-2010). The extent to which such measures weigh up against all other considerations can be disputed, particularly given the price points which shape the housing markets where demand pressures are pronounced (Chancellor, 2010). To use Sydney’s north shore as an example, a desire to encourage older households from their $1.2-$1.4 million family homes into a well-appointed $750-900,000 2-3 bedroom apartment along the Pacific Highway would see such a policy having little effect. Should housing and planning policy place added weight by encouraging older households to downsize if such efficiency imperatives are not applied elsewhere within the housing system?

The ageing of local housing markets

Rather than pointing out the rationale for downsizing and hoping that those rational decisions will get played out in terms of housing behaviour, there is a need to incorporate into policy debate the fact that the demand drivers and outcomes amongst older households will be as ‘messy’, ‘grey’ and inefficient (if not more) as with other age cohorts. It is appropriate to continue to point out the importance of providing new supply and types of development which may encourage downsizing, but we also need to better understand the impacts of a significant number of retired, owner-occupiers staying in their larger homes, in well-located neighbourhoods for 10-, 15-, indeed 20-years before feeling more comfortable, or facing little choice, but to relinquish the family home.

In part, this reflects the dynamics seen historically as suburbs and neighbourhoods – and their pioneering communities – age together. But it also potentially flows through into reduced mobility, and thus availability of housing stock, in these areas, and the continued accentuation of land and house values in well-connected neighbourhoods proximate to services and facilities that continue to feature in the daily lives of older households. The relevance of remaining close to employment opportunities as part of the motivation for remaining in these favoured locations exposes competing factors and considerations that very much frame the diversity of the Boomer generation. For some, work will have given way to early retirement. For others, continuing in the workforce sits comfortably in their post-65 plans, working through choice and on their terms, whether continuing full-time or in a part-time capacity. For others, work might be a necessary reality, either because the asset wealth which defines the majority of the cohort has eluded them, or because of Boomers' exposure to the vagaries of the financial markets. In recent years post GFC, many imminent retirees have had to reassess plans and regroup in the face of investment returns falling far short.

The impact of a growing number of older households on the dynamics of local housing markets will likely be felt more in certain market contexts than others, and evolve across time. We know that our cities operate as a series of submarkets, with different areas and different parts of the housing market often trending in quite different directions across market cycles. For example, higher value markets tend to lead the booms but also the declines; lower value areas often play catch-up/fall-back. To a certain extent these cyclical dynamics are already part of the mix within the complex availability/demand patterns in different parts of our cities. By their nature, more recent areas of housing supply, particularly on the fringe, are likely to be home to younger households, whereas more established areas will have an older demographic.

As local housing markets 'age', a number of considerations arguably come into play. The first is that the challenges of 'asset rich, cash poor' older households may see a higher proportion of homes in those neighbourhoods fall behind in necessary maintenance and upkeep. To date, Australia has essentially avoided wider neighbourhood-level decline that can emerge in lower value, predominantly owner-occupied markets with ageing householders. In the UK and parts of Europe, policy intervention and support has been directed towards assisting older homeowners through maintenance and repair grants. Problems become particularly prevalent in areas where housing demand has reduced, for example through reduced employment activity and population decline in deindustrialised cities.

High levels of immigration and the continued strength of underlying housing demand ensures that such severe neighbourhood (or indeed subregional) contractions have not really manifest themselves here and, as such, concerns regarding the ageing household-ageing neighbourhood nexus have remained relatively silent in the policy context. Market-led responses are characterised by turnover of stock to younger, often incoming, households, and individual re-investment in the neighbourhood through the Knockdown Rebuild (KDR) process. However, will the increasing proportion of older owner occupiers within local market contexts necessitate greater policy interest and consideration in time? We remain reliant on assumptions that those who achieved the Australian Dream will, for the most part, be self sufficient in their retirement. After 15 years of continuous economic – and in tandem, housing – market growth, policy awareness and ability to response to less positive conditions has withered. This is a concern in terms of preparedness if, or when, this situation changes.

The passing of the Boomer cohort: farewell privileging of residential asset classes?

At a more macro scale, there are also some equally large issues to consider in a country where residential-led growth is fundamentally important to broader economic activity. As a nation, and by international standards, a substantive proportion of our total wealth is tied up in bricks and mortar. State and Territory budgets – as evidenced most recently in the NSW context – are also pinning great optimism on kick-starting a residential sector recovery and in turn the broader economy. But looking at more structural shifts, what happens to the total value of that asset when the size, profile and consumption characteristics of the generations that follow change?

By definition, the Boomer generation is a 'bulging' cohort, helping push through increasing demand, and thus escalating prices. The current residential asset balance sheet for the country can be seen to reflect the fortunes of this group. However over time, as in any market, sellers have to meet buyers. If the following cohorts are smaller in absolute numbers, and choose or are forced through constraints to consume housing differently, then that embodied wealth may be questioned under changing demographic and economic realities. Crucially, Boomer choices and future pathways will be shaped by changing propensities for younger cohorts to follow, or be able to follow, in their housing footsteps.

Inevitably there are a myriad factors shaping future valuation of residential assets. Such issues may not be as front of mind as elsewhere at present – Australia's ageing household profile looks relatively youthful compared to countries such as Italy, Japan and parts of Eastern Europe. Wider structural demand for housing for owner occupation – and in particular the prized stock and locations that may be relinquished by downsizing Boomers – is unlikely to subdue in the short or indeed medium term given our metropolitan cities' strong population growth and recent underperforming trajectories on the supply side. However, these broader demographic shifts over the coming decades, coupled with the increasingly thwarted and fragmented nature of the housing pathways being charted by following generations, **do** arguably raise a series of broader, fundamental questions about the future role of housing as an asset class and economic driver on the longer-term.

What are the potential implications of changing attitudes and pathways towards homeownership of these cohorts – the buyers for Boomers' homes – on how those assets are priced in the long term? Will the importance of the family home in terms of asset-building strategies shift, and if so, what impact will that have on forward housing pathways for ageing households? Will the Austerity Age (yet to reach our shores) herald the deflation of the arguably excessive emphasis consumption-based economies have placed on housing in the past decade or so?

Disinvestment of residential assets by Boomers

A particular characteristic of the Australian housing system, and flowing from this, the financial portfolios of a significant minority of Australian households, is the ownership of residential property. This manifests as an army of 'Mum and Dad' investors, with around 1¾ million taxpayers (14% of all taxpayers) reporting an investment in property in 2008/09. Table 5 below breaks down ATO data from the 1% sample file in order to establish a picture of the propensity to hold investment property by age group

As one might expect, the proportion of property investors picks up significantly amongst age bands in the 30s onwards, with 13-14% of all taxpayers in age groups spanning the early 40s to late 50s reporting such an investment. The proportion falls off quite dramatically post 60, with only 4-5% of those in 65+ age groups holding an interest in investment property. It is difficult to identify the nature of multiple or portfolio holdings, but the vast majority of investments hold just one property (around 80-85%). Investment activity is prevalent across different income groups; the 2008/09 ATO data highlights that almost three quarters of the 1.1 million 'negatively geared' investors were low to moderate income households, earning less than $80,000 per annum. To a large extent, this profile is as might be expected, and the gearing up of investment mid-working life is also likely to be reflected in other asset investment classes, for example purchase of shares. It is also likely to demonstrate cohort effects and pick up the time period where deregulation and tax changes have created favourable terms for residential investment.

Table 5: Distribution of investment property interests, by age group

Age band	Proportion of ATO tax file returns identifying holding investment property
Under 20	0
20 to 24	1
25 to 29	6
30 to 34	10
35 to 39	12
40 to 44	13
45 to 49	14
50 to 54	14
55 to 59	13
60 to 64	9
65 to 69	4
70 and over	5
Total	100

Source: ATO 2008-2009, 1% sample

Nevertheless, the fairly dramatic drop-off towards retirement age points towards the importance of those residential investments held by Boomers: an integral part of DIY pension planning. It can be suggested that the incentive to divest these investments at this time will be heightened as taxable income reduces and thus the potential benefits of negative gearing are reduced. This may be overstated, since it is arguably more likely that rental properties held by those nearing retirement will have either been fully paid off or nearly paid off, and thus positively geared. If not, clearly its value to the owner is reduced after retirement (and as the figures suggest, nearly two thirds of all investment property is negatively geared, with average losses of $9,000 per annum).

Disinvestment is more likely to reflect the planned role for that property or portfolio of properties in providing for an assured pension, particularly for the sizeable number of lower and moderate income investors. In recent years, as the Boomers have reached retirement age, it is possible that we have seen a wave of rental properties made available on the market. This may well have been compounded by a) the collapse of the share market and annuity rates, forcing investors who might otherwise have held onto their property (ies) to replenish their anticipated retirement income through its sale, and b) the added impetus to sell off these properties in the form of the First Home Owners' Boost (FHOB). There is evidence that the FHOB helped underpin, and indeed stimulate, prices for lower value stock (see for example Randolph et al., 2012) during its availability. Further research is required, but anecdotally it appears that during the period of the Boost there was some transfer of housing from private rental to first home purchase.

Of key relevance here are the broader implications of disinvestment and its impact on local housing markets if Boomers reaching retirement look to unwind their investment property interests: the maturing of this cohort looking to exit this market will clearly have knock-on effects more widely. Positively, it may increase affordable supply for purchase at the lower end of the market. The corollary is of course loss of private rental stock unless sold to other investors. The bigger questions – as raised in the previous section – may seem quite distant, but what we do not know is how this wave of 'maturing' investment, and exit from those investments, will impact on the market, and indeed whether the next generation of investors are waiting in the wings to become the nation's landlords. These outcomes not only impact on the forward demand profiles of the Boomer generation, but on the nature, structure, and operation of our housing system more widely.

What we cannot ascertain from the ATO figures is the extent to which the decline in the proportion of older households holding investment property captures said households moving into those investment properties and making them their primary residence. Anecdotally, we know that this happens to a certain extent, or at least is stated as a possibility when discussing with investors their motivations and intentions (Seelig et al., 2009) but this warrants further research. Whether this translates in practice, and if so, the likely scale of this as a housing pathway for Boomer retirees, are unclear. Such 'staging' strategies (and the same would go for those moving into second or holiday homes) may have notable impacts on certain markets (for small coastal or tree-change communities), but it is important to keep this in context: in terms of their possible implications on broader metropolitan housing market trends and demand issues, they are likely to be of limited relevance.

D: RESEARCH ISSUES FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION

As well as there being a pressing need, this is an opportune time for the NHSC to consider further research in this field. The first of the Boomer generation have recently reached retirement, during a time of significant financial turmoil. This has tested the fundamentals of Super, dependency on the stock markets, and the role of residential investment as part of DIY strategies in place by many in this age cohort. In the latter half of 2012, the data from the 2011 Census will be released by the ABS, giving access to our most detailed, quantitative, longitudinal resource and enabling comparative analysis against previous intercensal periods enable trend data to be updated.

We also need more detailed understanding into motivations and behaviours driving the housing options and decisions made by Boomers; a clearer understanding as to how those options and outcomes will vary given the diversity amongst this age cohort; and how those options and outcomes may differ from preceding generations. On the one hand, future housing pathways for many will be tied to complex financial and taxation considerations reflective of the asset base enjoyed by many Boomers. On the other, they will be shaped by much simpler, grounded imperatives of wanting to stay connected to family and community, and indeed often to the family home. In-depth qualitative research is required to explore these issues and options, taking into consideration the factors that compete to influence those decisions.

A further over-arching observation shaping the proposed research area is the need to determine Boomer trends not only in terms of 'need' and the suitability of particular aged housing or retiring housing options, but also to understand how their choices and constraints will shape wider housing market dynamics – whether in locking out younger cohorts from family housing, exercising their equity positions in competitive markets, or the implications of offloading investment properties or indeed moving to those investments or holiday homes. This will clearly play out across geographies and across housing markets in different ways. We would argue that much of current research interest is missing this bigger picture through its focus on the specificities.

An indicative research program

The following provide some potential areas for further research focus:

- **Development of Boomer typology and data review**
- **Understanding trends in housing behaviours, motivations and outcomes for the pre-, post- and Boomer generations**
- **Investment/asset decisions during transition to retirement**
- **Boomers' housing pathways and metropolitan/regional planning frameworks**

In practice, a number of these projects would be best developed in tandem, or structured as sub-components under a broader umbrella. For example, the first project identified (Boomer Typology and data review) will provide important contextual development as to how the diversity of the Boomer generation can be appropriately captured in all components of the research envisaged, Likewise, whilst the case is made here for gaining a better in-depth understanding of behaviours and expectations through a mixed methods approach, there is a significant amount of insight to be drawn from drawing together all relevant insight from a series of data sources (see Data Review, below). As noted, the timely release of 2011 Census data in waves from June 2012 offers an excellent platform to undertake trend analysis incorporating the transition of the first Boomers into retirement.

1. Development of boomer typology and data review

The Boomer typology outlined in Section B of this scoping study is intended as a starting point for discussion. Some are more robust and meaningful than others, and some may still cover a level of diversity worthy of further disaggregation. Drawing upon the Census and other key data sources (see Table 6), trend analysis can be carried out to identify whether - and if so, how - the nature and behaviours of the Boomers entering retirement demonstrate distinct characteristics from previous generations, beyond their sheer size . We can also start to gain an indication of the relative size of each of these indicative types across the Boomers as a whole.

Table 6: Data Review

Source	Measures of interest include:	Age reporting/cohorts
ABS Census Sample size: universal	• Dwelling size/bedroom count • Household Growth at the LGA/SLA level • Tenure • Type of landlord • Household structure (couples, with children, living alone) • Household incomes • Previous residence 1 year/5 years ago • Migration: in flows by age cohort, outflows, net movement	(for 2011) Single, by 5 year, by 10 year grouping to 115
Housing, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) (Annual waves, longitudinal panel) Sample size: Approx. 8000	• Satisfaction with home (living space, number of bedrooms, comfort, distance from public transport, access to services used, housing needs in general) • Satisfaction with safety • Sense of community • Satisfaction with neighbourhood • Preference to continue living in current area • Bedroom count • Tenure • Landlord • Rent costs • Mortgage payments, amount outstanding, overpaying, year expected to pay off	15-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74, 75+
Survey of Income and Housing (SIH) Biannual (02, 04, 06, 08, 10, 12) Sample size: Approx. 18000 (09-10)	• Household wealth • Household net worth • Household characteristics of net worth groups • Main source of income (wage, pensions, allowances etc, by age cohort. • Value/type of assets and liabilities held, including property, by age cohort	15-24, 25-34, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74, 75+

Australian tax office (ATO) Annual taxation statistics 1% confidentialised sample of tax return information	• Income tax payment/other tax liabilities • Investment in residential assets (other than main residence)	<18, 18-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75+
Valuer General's/strata data (Accessibility will vary across jurisdictions)	• House sales/prices • Investment property identifier Address of owner/location of property	

Given our principal focus on housing and location choices, understanding how these trends differ in different market contexts will be of key importance. Census data will be the principal resource here. It is available disaggregated at a spatial scale where we relate characteristics and trends to local housing markets and dynamics. It also crucially provides mobility data so that we can understand who is moving, where they are going, and between which types of property they are moving. This will help us not only ascertain whether longer distance moves – for example driven by tree- or sea- change - are becoming more prevalent, but will also help us to better understand the implications of this large cohort on intra-metropolitan moves and supply/demand considerations. HILDA and the SIH are less useful in this regard (although the boost in sample size for the SIH in 09-10 should make metropolitan-level sample-sizes fairly robust).

The outcomes for this research may comprise:

- A refined typology, including an indication of the relative significance of each within the overall Boomer group, and understanding of how those different types manifest themselves spatially
- An up-to-date analysis of relevant demographic/housing/asset/wealth data as a contextual foundation for other Boomer research

2. Understanding trends in housing behaviours, motivations and outcomes for the pre-, post- and Boomer generations

Are the Boomers different? If so how, and what implications will it have on housing markets – spatially and over time? This project is perhaps the most important piece of research to be undertaken, and builds upon a proposal by the NHSC in 2009 to tease out the different housing pathways, expectations and outcomes across two generations. With this more explicit focus on the Boomers rather than Gen Y's seeking to enter the market, we propose looking to develop a study focusing on the trajectories of retiring cohorts past, present and future.

- *Present*: The first Boomers reached 65 in 2011, and whilst many will have retired before that age and similarly many will remain in employment now, it is as good a snap shot as any to explore key issues/factors/considerations shaping Boomer decisions in relation to their housing and location choices at this key milestone.

- *Past*: How different is the Boomer cohort from preceding retirees? What did the trajectories of those now 75-80 look like 10-15 years ago? How have those pathways manifest themselves, and to what extent did they confirm to preferences and options for this cohort at the time of their retirement?

- *Future*: In order to understand Boomer choices, options and their impact on housing markets, there is a need to gain insight from those that are following in their wake. There are two dimensions to this: the younger Boomers (those approaching their 50s) and likely to share many of the housing asset/expectations of the older Boomers, and the generation expected to buy, and be able to buy those residential assets from the Boomers. If their housing, employment and wealth building trajectories look quite different (and the exclusion of lower and moderate income Gen X and Y from the Australian housing market points to some interesting knock on effects), then the future options open to Boomers expecting to downsize, release equity etc might not do simply to plan. What do the housing demand profiles for those cohorts following in the Boomers' wake look like?

In order to tease out insight from across these different cohorts (and indeed, application of the Boomer typology to further stratify insight), a mixed methods approach is proposed. Building on the contextual background provided through the data review (Project A, above), a national survey with reach across four age cohorts of interest: 45-54; 55-64; 65-74; 75+ is suggested, followed by a series of focus groups.

The aim would be to secure at least 1000 responses across each of the cohorts (and so 4000 in total), with particular targets of at least 1000 in three Metropolitan cities (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane/Gold Coast and a further 1000 across regional/coastal areas. This is a robust sample size when aggregated, however it will be important to also achieve sufficient numbers, by cohort, across geographies so that these data can be tied back to local housing profiles and market dynamics. The greater the degree of disaggregation desired – and given the diversity seen within each of the age cohorts – places greater strain on the sample size, and there would need to be a fair degree of pragmatism in this regard.

A number of options can be explored for survey administration.

- The first is to conduct the survey through engaging an online panel. There are a number of advantages to this approach. Firstly, it provides the opportunity to reach our target sample in a range of capital and regional centres, across different housing and labour market contexts, and by the different age cohorts of interest. The larger market research companies either maintain their own panels or utilise shared platforms (such as the Lightspeed Panel[2]). Secondly, it is relatively cost effective, and ensures respondent data capture at the time of completion. Some concerns can be raised: selection and sampling control are difficult, with many panels often comprising those 'opting-in' and completing surveys for reimbursement. Furthermore, whilst substantive coverage of Panels is offered at the national level, they may exhibit patchiness when honing in at the subregional (or lower) scale.

- Alternatively, a postal completion survey marketed through a national magazine/website could be used. This would rely upon the readership of those publications/websites according to the sample required for the survey. There are some fairly good avenues in this regard (for example *50 Something or Seniors Living*) has large audience amongst the 'young-olds', however given our need to talk to cohorts stretching back to 45-54, media targeted towards those retiring and retired are not going to offer the necessary breadth. Seeking to meet those requirements across a range of publications becomes increasing complex and expensive.

The survey will provide good insight across a range of issues, although perhaps its key contribution will be to act as a recruitment mechanism for more in-depth discussions through focus groups. In order to acknowledge the diversity amongst cohorts and reflect different housing pathways and housing market contexts, a series of 16-20 focus groups can be envisaged, with 4-5 in each of the age cohorts. Each group would comprise 8-10 participants and last between 90 minutes and 2 hours. The focus group environment will provide a means to explore factors shaping the housing behaviour, expectations, choices and constraints and strategies for each of our cohorts.

[2] Lightspeed was among the first companies in Australia to be independently audited and accredited with the Association of Market and Social Research Organisations' Quality Standard for Online Access Panels (QSOAP). The Lightspeed panel is recruited using both offline and online sources offering a more representative sample to access for the study

While discussions with those in the Boomer cohorts will focus on current/imminent decisions, those with our older and younger cohorts offer the opportunity to take a retrospective and prospective take on those issues respectively. All group participates will be asked to map out their life housing pathways, as far as they can recollect, and reflect upon the key drivers, options, constraints, trade-offs etc. at key stages.

The outcomes of this project will be a major study into the factors shaping housing and location choice, and how this translates into the housing behaviours and outcomes for the Boomer generation.

3. Investment/asset decisions during transition to retirement

This more specific project would explore how the myriad factors shaping investment/asset holdings at the time of retirement are negotiated by Boomers in their primary residence options and other property-asset decisions. For example:

- We are interested in understanding – both in terms of personal financial but also wider economic and market considerations – decisions to divest investment properties or holiday homes.
- Equally, decisions might be made to move into properties previously held as investments and make them the primary residence. Such decisions will obviously be made in the context of wider macro-economic and housing market trends, and as experienced over the past few years post-Global Financial Crisis, even careful retirement planning can quickly unravel.
- There is also interest in whether Boomers use the opportunity of finance/asset regrouping at the time of retirement to assist their children, for example by helping them with a deposit to access the housing market. Where this is so, there are series of interesting dimensions to explore – in terms of intergenerational transfer as part of households' financial planning, but also in terms of the implications of such transfers in terms of driving demand characteristics and propensities in different submarkets
- With Boomers expected to live in 'healthy, mobile, independent' retirement for longer, there is interest in whether their attitude to risk and asset exposure will continue post-retirement or indeed if there is an understandable retreat to the caution and conservative nature of previous retirement cohorts. Will the retirement investment decisions of Boomers help 'manage down' the housing market, as much as they helped bolster its upward trajectory in recent years?

Again, a multi-staged research project can be envisaged. Given that the Boomers of interest here can be quite tightly defined, stretching across those either preparing for retirement or having recently experienced it, the sample will be potentially easier to reach. Using the targeted publication or website such as *50 Something*/*Seniors Living*, is likely to be more effective in this context. This could be followed up through focus group or a series of in-depth interviews.

4. Boomers' housing pathways and metropolitan/regional planning frameworks

If ageing households have both health-related and financial means to stay within the general housing market for longer, there are ramifications in terms of appropriate and often desirable housing stock becoming less available. Where the benefits of staying within existing neighbourhoods have been enhanced, and the push factors reduced – as is arguably the case in many of Australian cities' inner neighbourhoods – the compulsion to stay put for longer is likely to strengthen. Although it is important not to overstate the impacts of Boomers in particular on such a shift – neighbourhoods/housing market contexts typically exhibit cyclical, ageing, characteristics – their decisions are likely to grow in significance in terms of wider local market dynamics.

Current assumptions in metropolitan planning strategies and Compact City frameworks that the reduced household size of older age groups translates into the need and preference for smaller accommodation arguably detract from consideration of the wider housing supply/demand implications of an ageing population. Where downsizing can be seen to be occurring according as per strategic planning aspirations, there is a need to better understand the contexts – in terms of geographies, local housing market profiles and households involved – in which this housing pathway option is translating in practice. More broadly, there is a need for research to demonstrate the influence and increasing centrality of ageing households on broader housing market dynamics and therefore longer term supply/demand considerations. Given current Commonwealth/COAG interest in improving capital city strategic planning processes, the time to further the evidence base, strengthening our understanding links between residential demand and planning delivery, is now.

Getting a feel for how such trends might feed through into broader housing supply/demand trends will be difficult to unravel and an appropriate research design would require further investigation. Longitudinal change could be explored through Census, housing market and Valuer General's data. More detailed insight into the implications of an increased older age cohort could be explored through local case studies.

REFERENCES

Australian Department of Families H, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FAHCSIA),. (2010) Accommodation Choices for Older Australians and their Families: what older Australians and their families need to know. http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/sa/seniors/pubs/accom_choices/Documents/haco_2011_fullversion.pdf: retrieved 30 May 2012.

Australian Department of Health and Ageing (DOHA). (2012) Living Longer. Living Better. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/publications/publishing.nsf/Content/CA2578620005D57ACA2579E2007B9DFC/$File/D0769%20Living%20Longer%20Living%20Better%20SCREEN%20070512.pdf: retrieved 22 May 2012.

Australian Treasury. (2009) Australia's Future Tax System: Consultation Paper. In: Australian Treasury (ed). http://taxreview.treasury.gov.au/content/ConsultationPaper.aspx?doc=html/publications/Papers/Consultation_Paper/section_10.htm#P346_38879: retrieved on 22 May 2012.

Australian Treasury. (2010) Austrlalia's Future Tax System: Final Report: Part 1 Overview. In: Australian Treasury (ed). http://taxreview.treasury.gov.au/content/FinalReport.aspx?doc=html/Publications/Papers/Final_Report_Part_1/ retrieved on 22 May 2012.

Ball, M., Blanchette, R., Nanda, A., Wyatt, P. (2011) Housing markets and independence in old age: expanding the opportunities. Reading: Henley Business School and the University of Reading

Beal DJ. (2001) Use of Housing Wealth by Older Australians. *Australasian Journal on Ageing* 20: 127-132.

Beer A and Faulkner D. (2009) 21st century housing careers and Australia's housing future. *AHURI Final Report No. 128.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Beer A, Faulkner D and Gabriel M. (2006) 21st Century housing careers and Australia's housing future: Literature review. *NRV2: Research Paper 1.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Bradbury B. (2010) Asset rich, but income poor: Australian housing wealth and retirement in an international context. *Social Policy Research Paper No. 41.* Canberra: Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.

Bridge C, Adams T, Phibbs P, et al. (2010) Reverse mortgages and older people: growth factors and implications for retirement decisions. *AHURI Final Report No. 146.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Bridge C, Davy L, Judd B, et al. (2011) Age-specific housing and care for low to moderate income older people. *AHURI Final Report No. 174.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Bridge C, Phibbs P, Kendig H, et al. (2008) The costs and benefits of using private housing as the 'home base' for care for older people: secondary data analysis. *AHURI Final Report No. 115.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Burnley IH and Murphy P. (2004) *Sea change : movement from metropolitan to arcadian Australia,* Sydney., NSW: UNSW Press.

Chancellor, J. (2010) 'Zero stamp duty lure for older homeowners to downsize', Sydney Morning Herald, http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/zero-stamp-duty-lure-for-older-homeowners-to-downsize-20100608-xs40.html#ixzz1w8hGuWuR, retrieved 22 May 2012

Chiuri MC and Jappelli T. (2008) Do the elderly reduce housing equity? An international comparison. *Journal of Population Economics* 23: 643-663.

Costello L. (2009) Urban–Rural Migration: housing availability and affordability. *Australian Geographer* 40: 219-233.

Davey J, de Joux V, Nana G, et al. (2004) Accommodation Options for Older People in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Centre for Housing Research Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Davis S and Bartlett H. (2008) Healthy ageing in rural Australia: issues and challenges. *Australas J Ageing* 27: 56-60.

Davy L, Bridge C, Judd B, et al. (2010) Age-specific housing for low to moderate-income older people. *AHURI Positioning Paper No. 134.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

de Vaus D, Gray M, Qu L, et al. (2007) The consequences of divorce for financial living standards in later life. *AIFS Research Paper No. 38,.* Melbourne: Australain Institute of Family Studies.

Faulkner D. (2001) Linkages among housing assistance, residential (re)location and use of community health and social care among old-old adults: shelter and non-shelter implications for housing policy development. *AHURI Positioning Paper No. 15.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Faulkner D. (2007) The older population and changing housing careers: Implications for housing provision. *Australasian Journal on Ageing* 26: 152-156.

Finlay, R. (2012) The Distribution of Household Wealth in Australia: Evidence from the 2010 HILDA Survey. RBA Bulletin March Quarter 2012.

Flood J and Baker E. (2010) Housing implications of economic, social, and spatial change. *AHURI Final Report No. 150.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Frost, W. (2003) Second Homes in Australia: An Exlporation of Statistical Sources, Faculty of Business and Economics Working Paper 81/03, Monash University, Melbourne.

Gallent N, Mace A and Tewdr-Jones M. (2005) *Second Homes,* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Gardner IL. (1994) Why People Move to Retirement Villages: home owners and non-home owners. *Australian Journal on Ageing* 13: 36-40.

Gurran N, Squires C and Blakely E. (2005) Meeting the Sea Change Challenge: Sea Change Communities in Coastal Australia. *Reoprt for the National Sea Change Taskforce.* University of Sydney: Planning Research Centre.

Haas WH and Serow WJ. (2002) The Baby Boom, Amenity Retirement Migration, and Retirement Communities: Will the Golden Age of Retirement Continue? *Research on Aging* 24: 150-164.

Han JH, Corcoran J and Baum S. (2008) Mapping Spatial and Temporal Patterns of Location Distributions of Old People in SEQ, Australia. *State of Australian Cities Conference.* Perth.

Howe A. (2006) Retirement Accommodation and Residential Aged Care in the ACT 2006-2026. In: Chief Minister's Department of the ACT Government (ed).

Hugo G. (2003) Australia's ageing population. *Australian Planner* 40: 109-118.

Hugo G. (2007) Some Spatial Dimensions of Australia's Future Aged Population: A Demographic Perspective. *Ageing 2030 – Creating the future.* Parliament House Sydney, 30-31 October 2007.

Hugo, G., Luszcz, M., Carson, E., Hinsliff, J., Edwards, P., Barton, C. and King, P. (2009) State of Ageing in South Australia. A Report to the South Australian Office for the Ageing (Adelaide: South Australian Government Department for Families and Communities)

Jones, A (2011) Housing older Australians: five challenges for policy and provision. *Aged and Community Services Australia Conference.*Sydney.

Jones A, Bell M, Tilse C, et al. (2007) Rental Housing Provision for Older Australians. *AHUR Final Report No. 98*. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Jones A, Jonge Dd and Phillips R. (2008) The role of home maintenance and modification services in achieving health, community care and housing outcomes in later life. *AHURI Final Report No. 123.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Judd B, Bridge C, Davey L, et al. (2012) Downsizing Amongst Older Australians. *forthcoming AHURI Positioning Paper.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Judd B, Olsberg D, Quinn J, et al. (2010) Dwelling, land and neighbourhood use by older home owners. *AHURI Final Report No. 144.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Judd B, Kavanagh K, Morris A, et al. (2004), Housing Options and Independent Living: Sustainable Outcomes for Older People who are Homeless. *AHURI Final Report No.62*. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Kelly JF, Weidmann B and Walsh M. (2011) The Housing We'd Choose. Melbourne: Grattan Institute.

Kelly, P. (1992) *The End of Certainty: the story of the 1980s.* Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Kelly S. (2003) Self Provision In Retirement? Forecasting Future Household Wealth. *Modelling Our Future: International Microsimulation Conference on Population, Ageing and Health, 7–12 December.* Canberra: National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling.

Laslett P. (1996) *A fresh map of life : the emergence of the Third Age,* Basingstoke, Eng.: Macmillan.

Lin, J. (2005). The housing transitions of seniors. *Canadian Social Trends* 11(8): 6.

Liu E and Easthope H. (2012) Multi-generation households in Australian cities. *AHURI Final Report No. 181.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Marshall N, Murphy PA, Burnley IH, et al. (2006) Australian intrastate migration-the story of Age Pensioners. *Australian Social Policy 2005.* Canberra: Australian Government Department of Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.

McKenzie F, Martin J and Paris C. (2008) Fiscal Policy and Mobility: The Impact of Multiple Residences on the Provision of Place-Based Service Funding. *Australasian Journal of Regional Studies* 14: 53-71.

McNelis S. (2004) Independent living units: the forgotten social housing sector. *AHURI Final Report No. 53.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Norris M and Winston N. (2010) Second-Home Owners: Escaping, Investing or Retiring? *Tourism Geographies* 12: 546-567.

Olsberg D and Winters M. (2005) Ageing in place: intergenerational and intrafamilial housing transfers and shifts in later life. *AHURI Final Report No. 88.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Ozanne E. (2009) Negotiating Identity in Late Life: Diversity Among Australian Baby Boomers. *Australian Social Work* 62: 132-154.

Paris C. (2008) Re-positioning second homes within housing studies: household investment, gentrification, multiple residence, mobility and hyper-consumption. *Housing Theory and Society* 25: 1-19.

Paris C, Jorgensen B and Martin J. (2009) The Ownership of Many Homes in Northern Ireland & Australia: Issues for States and Localities. *Australasian Journal of Regional Studies* 15: 65-80.

Percival R and Kelly S. (2004) Who's going to care? Informal care and an ageing population. University of Canberra: National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling.

Productivity Commission. (2011) Caring for Older Australians: Inquiry Report 53, Volume 2. http://www.pc.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0014/110930/aged-care-volume2.pdf: retrieved on 22 May 2012.

Quinn J, Judd B, Olsberg D, et al. (2009) Dwelling, land and neighbourhood use by older Home Owners. *AHURI Positioning Paper No. 111.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Randolph, B., Pinnegar, S. and Tice, A. (2012) The First Home Owner Boost in Australia: A case study of outcomes in the Sydney housing market, *Urban Policy and Research* Online first (ID: 711554 DOI:10.1080/08111146.2012.711554)

Robison JT and Moen P. (2000) A Life-Course Perspective on Housing Expectations and Shifts in Late Midlife. *Research on Aging* 22: 499-532.

Salt B. (2001) *The big shift : welcome to the third Australian culture : the Bernard Salt report,* South Yarra, Vic.: Hardie Grant Books.

Stimson RJ and McCrea R. (2004) A push-pull framework for modelling the relocation of retirees to a retirement village: The Australian experience. *Environment and Planning A* 36: 1451-1470.

Walters P. (2005) Space and Community: Growing Old in a New Suburb. *TASA Conference.* University of Tasmania, 6-8 December.

Wood G, Chamberlain C, Babacan A, et al. (2008) The implications of loss of a partner for older private renters. *AHURI Final Report No. 116,.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Wood G, Colic-Peisker V, Berry M, et al. (2010) Asset poverty and older Australians' transitions onto housing assistance programs. *AHURI Final Report No. 156.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Wulff M, Champion A and Lobo M. (2010) Household diversity and migration in mid-life: understanding residential mobility among 45-64 year olds in Melbourne, Australia. *Population, Space and Place* 16: 307-321.

Wulff M, Healy E and Reynolds M. (2004) Why Don't Small Households Live in Small Dwellings? - Disentangling a Planning Dilemma. *People and Place* 12: 2004.

Yates J and Bradbury B. (2010) Home ownership as a (crumbling) fourth pillar of social insurance in Australia. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 25: 193-211.