Roberts Evaluation Pty Ltd

Social Impact Assessment

Background Report - Fitzroy

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1 Introduction

The Department of Human Services (DHS) wishes to prepare a Master Plan for the Atherton Gardens Housing Estate (AHE), Fitzroy to guide renewal of the site over the next 15 to 20 years. The Master Plan will provide a blueprint for the staged redevelopment of the estate to incorporate a mix of social housing and private housing, retail and commercial spaces and community facilities.

The stated goals for the Master Plan are:

- *The creation of an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable community on each site*
- *A significant increase in the total number of units on each site thus increasing affordable housing options, including private, not-for-profit or affordable rental housing, in well located areas*
- *Broadening the social mix on each site through tenure diversity while ensuring no net loss of public housing units*
- *Attracting significant levels of private investment in each site, to assist in funding upgrades and to support the delivery of new affordable housing*
- *Demonstrating the long-term benefits of investment, in the application of universal design principles and the inclusion of community scale environmental sustainability features.*

Renewal of the Fitzroy housing estate is intended to drive social change through the creation of new resident communities, while maintaining the current number of public housing units on each estate. Amongst other things, DHS wishes to reduce the proportion of disadvantaged tenants on the estate, and in doing so support the social, economic and physical integration of existing tenants in the wider community and reduce social stigma associated with the estate.

This report documents the existing physical and social conditions of AHE and considers the potential efficacy of physical renewal to facilitate the desired social change. The report provides the baseline information to inform the Social Impact Assessment (SIA) process that will be undertaken in relation to the preferred Master Plan.

1.1 A Framework for Social Impact Assessment

SIA is an applied interdisciplinary field aimed at understanding and assessing the impacts of change on individuals, families, communities and society. It draws on existing knowledge and methods used in a number of social science disciplines including sociology, psychology, human geography, economics and political science. SIA differs from other types of social science analysis in that it is anticipatory. That is, the goal is to assess the consequences of an action before the event has taken place.[1] The International Association for Impact Assessment defines SIA as follows:

> *SIA is a research and analytical process that identifies how a particular project, intervention or development impacts or changes people's way of life, their culture (shared beliefs, customs and values) or community (its cohesion, stability, character, services and facilities).*

SIA refers to a 'best practice' process, rather than a detailed methodology. SIA practitioners typically make use of a variety of social research methods throughout the SIA process collect information

[1]Burdge, R.J. (1995). *A community guide to social impact assessment*. Middleton, Wisconsin: Social Ecology Press.

about existing conditions and to assess likely social impacts. The SIA process is outlined below (see Figure 1). Depending on the context of SIA the steps may overlap or be undertaken concurrently.

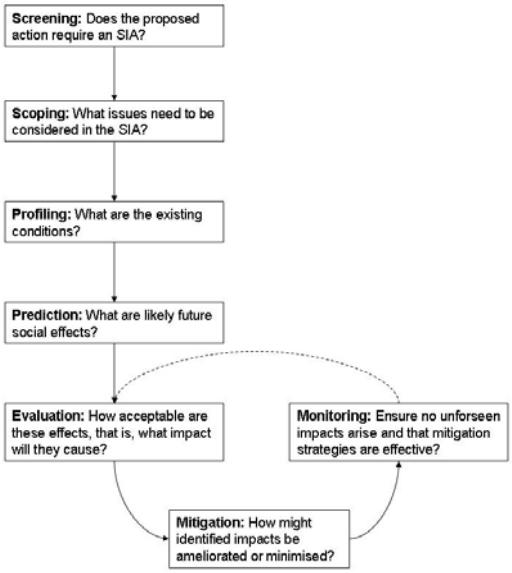

Figure 1-1: Steps in the SIA Process

1.2 **Report Structure**

The report is broken into two parts:

Part 1 – Outlines the existing policy context and physical and social conditions within AHE and surrounds. Part 1 consists of the following Sections:

- Policy Context
- The Atherton Gardens' Housing Estate
- Demographic Overview
- Community Facilities
- Open Space
- Community Attitudes

Part 2 – Summarises existing research and knowledge relating to the potential of urban renewal of AHE to deliver the desired social change and implications for the Master Plan and provides the rationale for the design objectives and requirements. Part 2 consists of the following Sections:

- Housing
- Community Facilities
- Open Space
- Built Form

1.3 **Limitations**

The report has relied on input from residents, service providers and the broader community, presented in Draft Stakeholder Engagement Phase 1 Feedback Report.

The information presented in this report is based on a number of qualitative research/consultation activities and therefore does not reflect the views of a representative sample of people. Notwithstanding, while the report is limited in terms of representativeness it provides a good indication of the attitudes and behavioural patterns of existing residents.

This report was undertaken by Roberts Evaluation on behalf of the Department of Human Services and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Victorian Government.

PART 1 - EXISTING CONDITIONS

2 Policy Context

2.1 Introduction

This section provides a brief overview of relevant government policies that set the context within which assessment of the likely social impacts associated with the Master Plan will be assessed.

2.2 State Policy

Melbourne 2030

In 2002, the State Government released The *Melbourne 2030* Strategy (DPCD 2002). This document lays out a 30 year strategy to facilitate accommodation of an additional 626,000 households by the year 2030, as well as improving the quality of life for the existing residents.

A major feature of *Melbourne 2030* is the plan to concentrate housing development and social, employment and economic opportunities in a hierarchy of activity centres. By locating housing and community facilities and services in activity centres it is suggested that these facilities and services will be more accessible to those who need them, making Melbourne a fairer city.

Melbourne 2030 suggests that higher-density housing should be designed to fit the context and enhance the character of local areas while providing a variety of housing options for different types of households. Development along these lines can improve access to local services and accommodate the changing housing needs of those who do not want to break their links with their local community.

Melbourne @ 5 Million

In 2008, another strategic document was released by the State Government called Melbourne @ 5 million (DPCD 2008). *Melbourne @ 5 million* provides policy initiatives that are complementary to the directions of *Melbourne 2030* but mindful of more recent information about population trends. The Victoria in Future (VIF) projections on which the strategy is based, indicate that the Melbourne's population is likely to reach 5 million before 2030. Actively managing this growth and change is an important part of Melbourne's future livability.

2.3 Local Policy

Council Plan 2009-13

The Council Plan describes the Council and community's priorities based on the challenges and opportunities facing the municipality. Research, analysis and consultation were carried out over 12 months to develop the Council Plan which was adopted by Council in June 2009. Council identified five Strategic Objectives for Yarra"s medium-term direction:

- *Making Yarra More Liveable*
- *Ensuring a Sustainable Yarra*
- *Serving Yarra"s Community*
- *Supporting a Diverse and Dynamic Yarra*
- *Building Council's Capacity and Performance*

The City of Yarra Municipal Public Health Plan 2009-2012.

This document represents the planning connection that exists between State and Local governments, as well as other local stakeholders including the community. The Plan focuses upon four priority areas of community health, namely:

- *Healthier eating and a physically active community;*
- *Reducing the harm from alcohol, tobacco and other drugs;*
- *Improving mental health; and*
- *Improving the health of Indigenous populations*.

The City of Yarra Municipal Public Health Plan 2009-2012 is a strategic document that seeks to involve the community in planning and in finding the best ways to respond to these health priorities over the next four years.

Safer Yarra Plan (2011 – 2014)

The Safer Yarra Plan documents Council's approach to raising community awareness about safety issues, achieving better coordination of Council and local services and engaging the community to develop local solutions.

The plan identifies ways Council can work collaboratively with community groups, police and government agencies to address critical safety concerns, including issues involving drugs, alcohol and crime. The vision for a safer Yarra articulated in the Strategy is:

- *healthy relationships between people, where community members know and understand one another, show respect and consideration toward each other, and can enjoy their private and shared space in peace (social connections and diversity);*
- *a built environment that is designed and maintained in ways that reflect and support the diversity of people's daily activities and interactions with one another, and which is free of risks of harm to self and others (safe, clean and welcoming physical environments); and*
- *a place where every person has the opportunity to be engaged in productive and meaningful activity that respects and contributes to their own and other peoples well-being (civic engagement).*

Other Strategies and Policies

A number of other state and local polices and strategies are relevant in the context of identifying and assessing the likely social impacts associated with the Master Plan. These are discussed at relevant points within the report and include:

- *Guidelines for Higher Density Development (DSE)*
- *Municipal Wide Infrastructure Plan*
- *Yarra Open Space Strategy*
- *The Aboriginal Partnerships Plan 2010*

3 The Atherton Housing Estate

3.1 Site Context

The Atherton Housing Estate (AHE) is situated in the suburb of Fitzroy, which is located immediately to the north east of Melbourne's Central Business District (CBD).

The site comprises 4.8 hectares and is generally bound by Brunswick Street to the west, Gertrude Street to the south, Napier Street to the east and King William Street/Condell Street to the north. All accommodation at AHE is owned and managed by the Director of Housing (DoH). Brunswick, Smith and Gertrude Streets are shopping and entertainment strips (see Figure 5.1).

3.2 The Site

Accommodation on the site is contained within four high rise towers (each 20 storeys) constructed from pre-fabricated concrete panels. Two towers are located close to Brunswick Street (140 and 90 Brunswick Street) and two located close to Napier Street (125 and 95 Napier Street). Each tower consists of approximately 200 dwellings. The towers provide a total 793 dwelling, the majority of which are two or three bedroom apartments (see Table 3.1).

Table 3-1: Accommodation at AHE

2 Bedroom	3 Bedroom	4+ Bedrooms	Total
476	315	2	793

Source: DHS 2011

Existing (un-renovated) dwellings offer a very modest quality of housing. Ceiling heights are 2.4 metres and the configuration of dwellings separates kitchen and living areas, reducing the sense of space within the apartments. Existing kitchen and bathroom facilities are tired and in need of replacement. Anecdotal reports indicate that dwellings offer a relatively poor level of acoustic privacy and are not well insulated. Moreover, at present, none of the existing apartments is provisioned with private open space.

In recent times, a progressive program of internal renovation has seen a proportion of apartments fitted with modernised kitchen and bathrooms and the layout of apartments has been re-configured to combine kitchen and living areas, a process that has introduced greater natural light and sense of space to the dwellings (by the end of 11/12 50 of the 80 floors will have been upgraded or just over 60%). Un-renovated dwellings rely on communal laundry facilities on each floor. However, renovated dwellings incorporate internal laundries.

An expansive open space corridor runs north/south and bisects the paired towers. Open space to the south of the site has been landscaped with garden beds, trees, paths and two children's playgrounds. Two further playgrounds are located to the east of 140 Brunswick Street and the west of 125 Napier Street respectively. A BBQ area is located immediately to the east of 90 Brunswick Street. Open space to the middle of the site has not been specifically landscaped and includes large grassed areas. An existing Council managed open space (soccer field and cricket nets) oriented to Napier Street increases the sense of openness in the middle to northern part of the site. A community garden is located near 125 Napier Street and a basketball court is located to the east of 140 Brunswick Street.

A large multi-storey car park is located to the western boundary of the site between the two eastern towers. Entry to the car park is from Napier Street.

A second car park to the North West corner of the site is currently being re-developed to accommodate a mixed use, medium density development comprising the following:

- Kindergarten
- Housing
- Retail
- Community Centre

The towers are the legacy of slum reclamation projects undertaken by the Victorian Housing Commission in Melbourne's inner suburbs in the 1960s and early 1970s. During this period, 'run down' areas were replaced with high-rise housing estates. The AHE replaced a neighbourhood made up of over 250 buildings, spread across eight streets. The AHE represents a comprehensive departure from the urban fabric it replaced in terms of street layout, architectural style, building materials, height, site coverage and diversity of land use. The extent of the departure is made clear by the 'Atherton Gardens Estate Model' which is housed by Museum Victoria (see figure at right). The model shows a section of the original neighbourhood demolished in the 1960s, and part of the new Atherton Gardens Estate after construction was completed in 1971. The previous neighbourhood is described by Museum Victoria in the following way:

> *About fifty shops were clustered along Brunswick, Gertrude, Webb and Condell Streets. People could buy fish, meat, fruit and vegetables, and groceries. They could also do their banking, clean, dry and repair their clothes. A Methodist Church provided a place of worship. A range of industries could be found too, squeezed in alongside houses and businesses. They ranged from clothing and furniture manufacturers to mechanics, electroplaters and a large timber yard. There was a thriving, albeit notorious, social culture in the local hotels, cafes and clubs, some of which also illicitly operated as sly-grog shops and gambling dens. These were located on Gertrude, Condell, Brunswick and Napier Streets. Some cafes and clubs became important community hubs for recently arrived European migrants.*

At the time of their construction, the towers were the subject of substantial negative commentary (Costello 2005). These critiques described the high-rise block as ghettos, rife with social disorder and crime. The high rise form itself was considered to be 'alien' to the architectural and housing preferences of the Australian urban citizenry, and the estates were described as highly visible enclaves of disadvantaged people (Jamieson and Jacobs 1996, 78, 83). Local community resistance to further 'slum' clearance projects contributed to the cessation of the high-rise construction program in the 1970s.

To the present day the towers are a contentious part of the local built environment, and evoke positive and negative reactions. To illustrate, the City of Yarra suggests the towers are a reminder of the starting point for many of Melbourne's migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, initially Vietnamese refugees in the 1970.s, the East Timorese around ten years ago and more recently people from east African countries such as Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea.[2] However, as Section 7 illustrates, a degree of social stigma is associated with AHE, which in part arises from the striking distinction between the built form of the estates and their immediate environs.

[2] City of Yarra Submission 2011

Figure 3-1: Atherton Street neighbourhood as it would have appeared in 1960, and Atherton Gardens Estate as it would have appeared in 1971. (Source Museum Victoria 2011)

4 Demographic Overview

4.1 Introduction

This Section draws on a number of sources to provide an overview of the demographic characteristics of AHE residents and the surrounding community of Fitzroy.

4.2 2011 Census

Table 4-1 provides a selection of demographic data for the AHE,[3] Fitzroy and Greater Melbourne. At the time of the 2011 Census AHE was home to approximately 1,837 people. The following observations can be made based on the 2011 Census data:

- The age profile of the AHE population is notably different from that of Fitzroy and Greater Melbourne. Specifically, there are fewer adults aged 20 to 40 in the AHE population compared with the Fitzroy community and more children, youths and persons aged between 75 and 84 (see Figure below). When compared with the population of Greater Melbourne the differences are less striking but still evident in that there are more children under 14 years. The differences most likely reflect the attractiveness of the Fitzroy area to young professional singles and couples, whereas the AHE is home to a large proportion of families with dependent children.

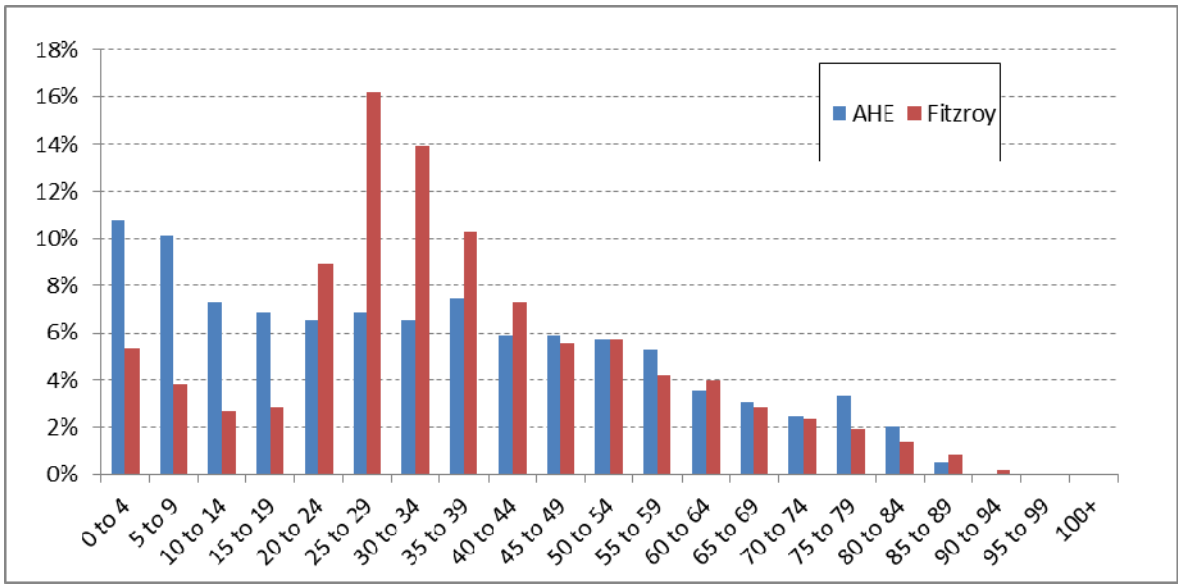

Figure 4-1 Age Profile of AHE and Fitzroy *Source: ABS Census 2011*

- Consistent with the above, the AHE population is comprised of relatively fewer group households and couples without children and a greater proportion of families with children than Fitzroy as a whole. A large proportion of all families (49%) living within the AHE were single parent families at the time of the last Census.
- Median weekly personal ($270) and household income ($433) of AHE residents was substantially lower than that observed for Fitzroy ($788 and $1,484) and Greater Melbourne ($591 and $1,333). 46% of AHE households had an income of less than $400 per week.
- Consistent with the above, labour force participation among AHE residents was very low (29.2%) at the time of the last Census and unemployment was very high (29.5%).
- The ethnic background of AHE residents was very heterogeneous at the time of the last Census. To illustrate, at this time 68% of estate residents were born overseas and 86% spoke a language other than English. In 2011, 16% of AHE residents were born in Vietnam and 12% were born in China. A substantial proportion of residents were also born in Africa including Sudan (7.2%),

[3] Comprising ABS SA1s: 2114201, 2114203, 2114204, 2114205

Eritrea (2%), Somalia (3%) and Ethiopia (2.9%). This is also reflected in demographic data collected as part of the Victoria University Community Survey (see below).

- A much lower proportion of AHE households owned a vehicle (48%) compared with the Fitzroy average (70%).
- A relatively large proportion of residents (8.3%) reported they need assistance with core activities, indicating that they have a severe or profound disability. By way of comparison, 4.1% of Fitzroy residents and 4.5% of the Greater Melbourne population reported a need for assistance. However, a large proportion of AHE residents did not answer the question and it is possible that a greater proportion of the AHE population may need assistance with core activities than is indicated by the census data.

The above data indicate that the AHE population is substantially different to the surrounding community of Fitzroy, in terms of household composition, age structure, ethnicity and socio-economic status. This observation is reflected by the spatial distribution of ABS SEIFA index scores in the vicinity of AHE. The ABS SEIFA Index of disadvantage is produced by combing a number of indicators of economic and social disadvantage to produce a score which indicates the relative disadvantage of particular geographical areas throughout the country. As the Figure below shows, AHE represents an island of relative disadvantage in a sea of relative affluence.

Many stakeholders consulted as part of this project emphasised that the existing demographic profile of the AHE is the result of declining size of the public housing portfolio relative to the population and allocation policy which targets housing to those in greatest need. Combined these factors have resulted in 'residualisation' of the AHE population. That is, the AHE population has changed from one dominated by low-income working families aspiring to home ownership to one predominantly characterised by tenants with high and complex needs.

4.3 VU Community Survey

Demographic data collected by the Victoria University community survey (see Section 7) are generally consistent with Census data for the AHE and indicate that the population is subject to substantial socio-economic disadvantage. To illustrate, the survey indicates that a large proportion (91%) of AHE residents receive some type of government benefit, whereas only 21% of survey respondents living in the surrounding area receive benefits. Similarly, the survey data indicate that 36.6% of AHE residents had left school at the completion of year 10 or earlier compared with only 9% for the control group.

As reported above, VU survey data indicate that AHE has seen an increase in people from African regions. Specifically, a substantial proportion of survey respondents were born in the Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia.

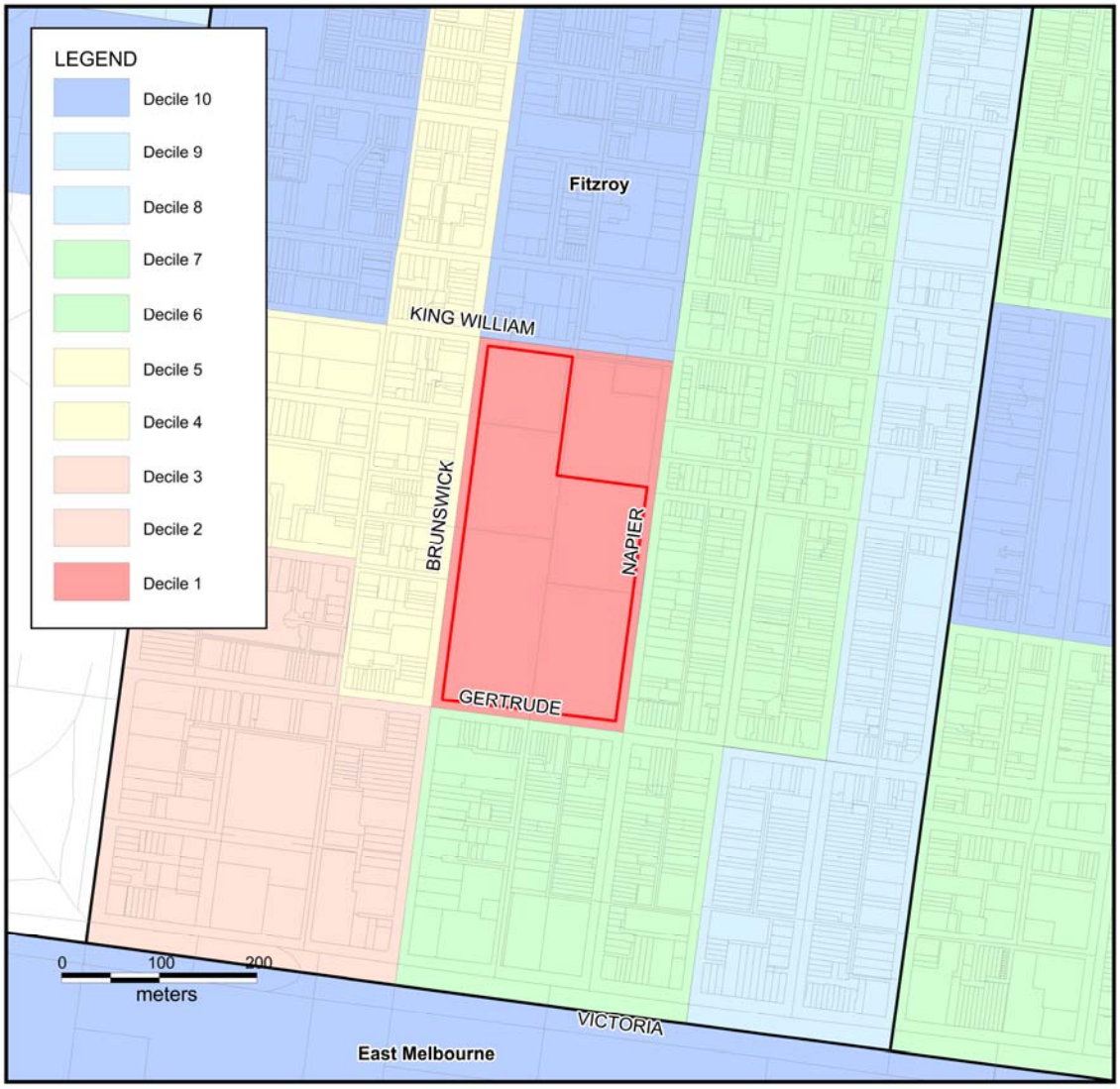

Figure 4-2: SEIFA Index of Disadvantage (2006) for areas surrounding AHE. Each of the four ABS CCDs covering the AHE have SEIFA Index of Disadvantage scores placing them in the lowest 1% of Victorian CCDs.

Table 4-1 Selected Demographic Indicators

		AHE	Fitzroy	Greater Melbourne
Age and population	Population	1,837	9,430	3,999,982
	0-4 years	10.7%	5.3%	6.5%
	5-14 years	17.4%	6.5%	12.0%
	15-24 years	13.4%	11.7%	13.8%
	25-54 years	38.3%	58.8%	43.9%
	55-64 years	8.8%	8.2%	10.7%
	65 years and over	11.3%	9.4%	13.1%
	Median Age	30	33	36
	Household Size	2.5	2.1	2.6
Income	Median Personal Income	$270	$788	$591
	Median Household Income	$433	$1,484	$1,333
	Negative/Nil income	2.9%	1.8%	1.9%
	$1-$399	43.4%	14.0%	10.4%
	$400-$799	37.1%	16.0%	17.7%
	$800-$1,499	14.1%	18.9%	25.6%
	$1,500-$2,999	1.5%	30.0%	32.2%
	$3,000+	1.0%	19.3%	12.3%
Employment and training	Unemployment Rate	29.5%	6.2%	5.5%
	Labour Force Participation	29.2%	63.8%	62.5%
	Completed Year 12	47%	78.5%	59.3%
	Bachelor Degree or Higher	8%	42.6%	23.6%
Dwellings	Separate house	1.3%	2.8%	72.7%
	Semi-detached, townhouse, etc	0.0%	38.4%	11.6%
	Flat, unit or apartment:	98.7%	57.5%	15.3%
	Other Dwelling	0.0%	1.2%	0.4%
Tenure	Fully owned	2.6%	16.7%	33.5%
	Being purchased	1.7%	20.7%	37.7%
	Rented	94.5%	62.1%	28.0%
	Public/Social Housing	92.5%	20.3%	3.0%
	Other Tenure	1.2%	0.4%	0.8%
Households and families	**Households**			
	Lone Person Household	29.6%	32.4%	23.3%
	Group Household	4.5%	16.3%	4.7%
	Family Household	65.9%	51.3%	72.0%
	Families			
	Couple family with no children	19.6%	52.4%	34.8%
	Couple family with children	26.1%	24.7%	47.9%
	One parent family	49.0%	18.6%	15.3%
	Other Family	5.2%	4.3%	2.0%
Ethnicity	Born in Australia	32.0%	62.5%	66.8%
	Born Overseas	68.0%	37.5%	33.2%
	Speaks English only	14.1%	69.7%	69.5%
	Speaks other language	85.9%	30.3%	30.5%
Car ownership	Household Owns a Car	47.9%	70.3%	90.6%
Disability	Needs Assistance	8.3%	4.1%	4.5%
	Not Stated	12.0%	12.1%	5.2%

Source: ABS Census 2011

4.4 **Demand for Public Housing**

At present DHS categorises public housing applicants in accordance with the scheme outlined in the table below. It is DHS policy to find accommodation for people categorized under one of the early housing categories before people who are classified as 'Wait Turn'. Preference is given to Segment 1 applicants followed by Segment 2 and then Segment 3. The exception to this process is those households who have already been housed, but who must be relocated for reasons such as renovation or in the case of a disaster such as a flood or fire. Households assessed as in need of early housing have needs above and beyond those associated with low income.

Table 4-2: Public Housing Applicant Categories

Category		Description
Early Housing	Segment 1 - Recurring Homelessness	Those households who have a history of recurring homelessness, or are at risk of recurring homelessness and are unable to obtain or maintain housing in the private rental market.
	Segment 2 - Supported Housing	New and transfer applicants living in unsuitable housing who are either: – Receiving significant personal support through one of the nominated programs delivered through: – the Department of Human Services' Disability or Children, Youth and Families divisions, or – the Department of Health's Mental Health or Aged Care divisions. – Require housing with major or full disability modifications.
	Segment 3 - Special Housing Needs	Applicants whose current housing is highly unsuitable and alternative housing in the private rental market is unobtainable. Housing may be unsuitable for reasons such as insecure housing (homeless or residing in temporary accommodation), severe overcrowding, unsafe housing or an urgent medical need
	Other Early Housing	Special cases that require relocation following a disaster (such as the bushfires and floods) or due to renovation of their dwelling.
Wait Turn		Low income households that have not expressed other complex needs.

Source: DHS 2011

The table below shows how the existing population of AHE was categorized at the time of entry to the estate and also the size and categorisation of the existing public housing waiting list.

Table 4-3: AHE and Waiting List Data

Household Type	Early Housing				Wait Turn	Total
	Segment 1	Segment 2	Segment 3	Other		
AHE						
Couple	-	-	5	15	15	35
Couple + Children	-	-	41	23	32	96
Group	1	-	37	51	50	139
Older Couple	-	-	11	22	31	64
Older Single	-	1	13	66	40	120
Single Parents	7	-	68	42	59	176
Singles	2	-	42	39	44	127
Youth	-	-	2	-	3	5
Total	10	1	219	258	274	762
Source: DHS June 2011						
Waiting List						
Couple	4	16	144	5	915	1,084
Couple + Children	24	45	512	4	2,795	3,380
Group	20	65	446	7	1,837	2,375
Older Couple		27	183	4	1,577	1,791
Older Single	5	49	285	107	4,528	4,974
Single Parents	420	112	2,587	13	9,845	12,977
Singles	640	482	2,025	16	9,229	12,392
Youth	149	63	445	1	1,365	2,023
Other			2	1	18	21
Total	1,262	859	6,629	158	32,109	41,017

Source: DHS June 2010

In 2011 62,926 households were renting their dwelling from DHS according to the department's database. As can be seen from the table above, the waiting list for public housing in Victoria at June 2010 was 41,017 households. Of those households, 8,908 were classified as in need of early housing. The majority of the households in the early housing category were Segment 3. Relatively fewer households have been classified as Segment 1 or Segment 2. Given this, it can be expected that, as long as the allocation policy favours those in greatest need, public housing will be increasingly occupied by those who have social needs beyond those associated with low income.

5 Community Facilities

5.1 Introduction

This Section describes existing facilities and services in the area surrounding the subject site. Community facilities are built infrastructure that enable access to community services and variety of formal and informal social, educational and recreational opportunities. Consistent with the approach taken in City of Yarra's *Municipal Wide Infrastructure Plan*, facilities and services are mapped and analysed for the 'Fitzroy Neighbourhood'. Figure 5-1 shows the distribution of community facilities in the area.

5.2 Facilities Supporting Children's Services

5.2.1 Supply

There are seven licensed children's service providers located in the immediate environs of AHE. Only one service is operated by City of Yarra (Atherton Gardens Kindergarten), with the rest being operated by a mix of private and community organisations. As the map below shows, existing facilities in the neighbourhood are clustered in close proximity to AHE, providing a high level of spatial access for AHE residents.

Table 5-1: Children's Services in the Fitzroy Neighbourhood

Name	Service*	Licensed Places	Kinder Enrolments
Acacia Fitzroy Crèche	LDC/K	55	17
Annie Todd Children's Centre	LDC/K	25	2
Atherton Gardens Kindergarten	K	30	41
East West Child Care	LDC	25	-
John Street Childhood Co-op	LDC/K	57	16
St Vincent's Early Learning Centre	LDC/K	110	22
Napier Street Child and Family Resource	Occ	19	-
Fitzroy Pool Occasional Care	Occ	12	-

Source: DEECD 2011

**LDC = Long Day Care; K = Kindergarten; Occ = Occasional Care*

In addition to the services outlined above, there is an existing Maternal and Child Health Centre located at the Corner of Moor and Young Streets. A number of playgroups are run from the Atherton Gardens Preschool and the Fitzroy Maternal and Child Health Centre.

Of some note, a Children's Services Hub is currently being developed to the north east corner of the AHE. The Hub will provide:

- an early learning and childcare centre, offering long day care, preschool and occasional care (120 licensed places);
- a dedicated space for playgroups;
- family support services;
- maternal and child health services; and

- consulting rooms for visiting paediatric specialists; and
- early childhood intervention services.

The early learning and childcare component of the hub will be licensed to accommodate 120 children, adding substantially to the overall capacity of the children's services network in the local area.

5.2.2 Demand

The Table below provides an estimate of demand for children's services associated with the population of Fitzroy, now and into the future. The Table also estimates potential increased demand associated with potential redevelopment of the AHE to include private dwellings. Demand associated with the Master Plan would be above and beyond that associated with projected population growth for Fitzroy.

Two scenarios are considered, an additional 400 dwellings and an additional 800 dwellings. Average household size and age profile for the population of the potential new dwellings have been estimated using the projected household size and age profile for Fitzroy as at 2031. This assumption is conservative, in that it is likely that family households would be less common in any newly developed accommodation at AHE than the Fitzroy average. That is, the estimates below (and those provided later in relation to schools) represent a high demand scenario. If the proposed dwelling mix comprises a large proportion of one bedroom dwellings, then demand for children's services would most likely be lower than indicated.

Table 5-2: Estimated Demand for Children Services

Name	Benchmark	Fitzroy 2011	Fitzroy 2031	Master Plan (400)	Master Plan (800)
Maternal and Child Health (EFT)	1 EFT per 130 birth notifications	0.8	0.71	0.06	0.12
Long Day Care (places)	1 Place per 8.1 children aged 0-5	72	65	5	11
Kindergarten	1 enrolment per child aged 4	105	92	8	15
Occasional Care	1 place per 333 children aged 0-5	1.8	1.6	0.1	0.3
Playgroup	1 group per 250 children aged 0-3	1.3	1.1	0.1	0.2

Source: i.d. Consulting; Yarra Municipal Wide Infrastructure Plan

The Table above indicates the following:

- Demand for children's services will remain relatively stable over the next 20 years. Although population growth is projected for the Fitzroy neighbourhood (increase of 650 people between 2011 and 2031), age structure changes are projected to result in a slight reduction in the number of pre-school age children in the area. This projected decline would offset that associated with the Master Plan.
- In the case of Maternal and Child Health (M&CH), local demand can be met by less than one full time equivalent nurse. The proposed Atherton Children's Hub includes two M&CH Nurse Offices and therefore the facility should enable local demand to be met, including that generated by any increase in population associated with the Master Plan.

- In the case of long day care, demand for around 70 childcare places would be generated by the Fitzroy population over the next 20 years. At present, licensed Long Day Acre (LDC) providers located in the neighbourhood provide a total of 272 places. Some of this capacity is used to deliver four year old kindergarten programs. Moreover, it is almost certainly the case that families living outside Fitzroy who work in the area or in the CBD make use of local childcare facilities. In any case, with the addition of a 120 place centre in the form of Atherton Children's Hub, it is reasonable to suggest that local demand can be met, including demand generated by re-development of AHE under any realistic dwelling yield scenario.
- In the case of kindergarten, the local population will generate demand for approximately 100 enrolments to 2031. Actual enrolments in local facilities was 103 as at October 2011, suggesting that there is little to no net leakage of demand to or from the Fitzroy suburb.
- Kindergarten service providers located in close proximity to AHE have capacity to accommodate demand associated with the redevelopment of AHE:
  - There is currently one standalone kindergarten located in close proximity to AHE, the Atherton Gardens Kindergarten. This facility is licensed to accommodate 30 children. At present, the service has 41 enrolments and therefore runs at less than full capacity (60 enrolments based on a two group model).
  - The Atherton Children's Hub will incorporate a kindergarten. At present, relocation of the Atherton Gardens Kindergarten into this facility is being explored. If this were to occur, there would be no loss of licensed places.
  - The Acacia Fitzroy Crèche provides an integrated long day care/kindergarten program. The centre currently has 17 kindergarten enrolments and has and capacity to accommodate 25 children.
  - Long Day Care centres that provide a Kindergarten programs also could potentially accommodate more kindergarten enrolments, if required.
- When the capacity of existing kindergarten providers is considered alongside the additional capacity that will be developed as part of the Atherton Children's hub, then the existing facility network can meet demand, including that potentially associated with the Master Plan. Indeed, demand associated with as many as 1,200 additional dwellings could be met by existing kindergartens without building works. Moreover, depending on the allocation of space within the proposed Atherton Children's Hub between long day care and kindergarten and the willingness of existing long day providers to increase their kindergarten enrollments, demand associated with even greater dwelling yield scenarios could be met.
- The Fitzroy population only generates a very small level of demand for occasional care and the two existing centers provide for this demand.
- The number of playgroups currently available in Fitzroy should be adequate to meet future demand including that associated with the Master Plan. Moreover, a dedicated playgroup space is being developed within the Atherton Children's hub, which ensures that playgroups in the area can be accommodated into the future.

The above considered, the existing network of infrastructure supporting delivery of children's services in Fitzroy, combined with additional capacity being developed within the Atherton Children's Hub, is adequate and has capacity to address additional demand associated with the Master Plan. The same conclusion is reached by City of Yarra in its *Municipal Wide Infrastructure Plan*. However, the plan also points to the fact that some existing facilities, due to their location, limited footprint and proximity

to adjoining properties, are unlikely to be able to increase their capacity substantially and therefore service needs will need to be monitored carefully into the future.

5.3 Schools

5.3.1 Supply

There are currently two primary schools located in close proximity to AHE. Each school was contacted to ascertain existing enrollment numbers, maximum enrollment capacity and the extent to which AHE residents currently use the school. There is also a secondary school located close to AHE- Academy of Mary Immaculate.

Table 5-3: Primary Schools in Fitzroy

Name	Sector	Enroll.	Max Enroll	Comment
Fitzroy Primary	Gov.	145	220	The school takes a large number of enrolments from AHE. The school foresees no difficulties taking enrolments from potential future residents of private dwellings at AHE
Sacred Heart	Catholic	138	240	Nearly all enrolments are AHE residents. The school foresees no difficulties taking enrolments from potential future residents of private dwellings at AHE

5.3.2 Demand

The Table below provides an estimate of demand for primary and secondary school education associated with the population of Fitzroy, now and into the future.

Name	Enrolments	Fitzroy 2011	Fitzroy 2031	Master Plan (400)	Master Plan (800)
Primary	Government	237	241	20	39
	Catholic	118	121	10	20
	Independent	39	40	3	7
Secondary	Government	240	243	20	40
	Catholic	120	122	10	20
	Independent	40	41	3	7

Source: ABS Census 2011; i.d. Consulting 2010

As the Table above indicates, at present some demand generated locally is exported to bordering areas. In the case of Fitzroy, export of demand is not caused by capacity constraints within Fitzroy's two existing primary schools (both have ample capacity to increase enrolments), but rather due to the preferences of Fitzroy families.

Demand for primary and secondary school places generated by the Fitzroy population is projected to remain stable over the next 20 years. However, redevelopment of the AHE would increase demand by between 10% and 20% depending on overall dwelling yield. While the increase is substantial in percentage terms, in practice the implication for any particular local school would be modest. To illustrate, in the case of demand for Government primary schools places, an additional 40 enrolments is projected based on dwelling yield of 800. The existing Fitzroy primary school is conveniently located to enable access to primary school education for future residents and the school has ample capacity (in the order of 75 places) to address the quantum of demand likely to be associated with the

Master Plan. The same is true of the nearby Catholic primary school, which has capacity to take in a further 100 enrolments. Moreover, it is unlikely that all incoming families would use local schools. This considered, dwelling yield scenarios in excess of 800 could be supported by existing schools, with yields in the order of 1,200 dwellings being easily manageable.

There is only one secondary school located in the Fitzroy neighbourhood, Academy of Mary Immaculate. The nearest government secondary school is Collingwood College, located approximately one kilometre to the east. A number of private and public schools are located in the inner northern suburbs within 2-3 kilometres of Atherton Gardens. Selection of secondary school by families is not necessarily confined to schools located in immediate proximity of a family residence, and it reasonable to expect that additional demand for secondary school enrolments associated with the Master Plan would be distributed across a number of schools located in Melbourne's inner north.

The above considered, the local educational system can adsorb increased demand associated with the Master Plan.

5.4 **Community Meeting Spaces**

Public Meeting Spaces

There is a wide variety of spaces within the Fitzroy neighbourhood that support community based activity and/or are available for use by community members (including AHE residents) on an ad-hoc basis (See Table 5-4).

Table 5-4: Meeting Spaces in Fitzroy

Facility	Space	Capacity	Description
Fitzroy Library	Library		Offers collection of reading material, internet access, etc.
	Meeting Room 1	30 people	Both meeting rooms at Fitzroy library have disabled access, toilets with disabled access and a whiteboard available on request. Access to the kitchen facilities is also available on request.
	Meeting Room 2	10 people	
Yarra Community Youth Centre	Toy Library	N/A	A range of toys and games available for borrowing
	Main Room	80 people	Rooms have heating and air conditioning. Subsidised hire is available for not-for-profit organisations. Subject to application. Registered not-for-profit Yarra community groups are offered rooms at a discounted rates and Yarra-based senior citizens or youth groups can use the rooms free of charge.
	Community Room	40 people	
	Meeting Room	10 people	
Fitzroy Town Hall	Main hall	400 people	Both rooms are available on a fee for service basis. Subsidized hire is available for not-for-profit organisations.
	Reading Room	100 people	
Fitzroy Learning Network	Neighbourhood House		Community-based Neighbourhood House. Programmed activities and services include: English & conversation classes; Job search assistance; computer classes; ESL sewing; Refugee support, etc. The FLN manage the community garden on the Atherton Gardens estate.
St Mary's House of Welcome	Day Centre and Dinning Room		The Day Centre provides free meals, recreational activities, emergency relief, social work services and a sense of community for people in need.
	Meeting Room 1	20 people	Meeting rooms and other facilities are available for use by other agencies and community groups when not being used by St Mary's own programs. The rooms are only available during business hours as a staff member must be at the premises when they are in use. Priority is given to agencies that provide services to homeless or disadvantaged people but all requests will be considered. A fee of $50 is charged per event. AHE residents groups make use of these rooms.
	Meeting Room 2	20 people	
	Meeting Room 3	20 people	

Source: City of Yarra Website; pers.com. St Mary's

Communal Meeting Spaces

There are also a number of multi-purpose meeting spaces of varying size located within the AHE. These spaces are available for use by AHE residents and visiting service providers and are available for use by the broader community, although this is not widely known. As the table below shows there

is currently one large multipurpose space located on site and four other substantial spaces which can be booked for use by residents on a needs basis. There is also a smaller office space available.

In addition to spaces mentioned above, two other spaces, the multipurpose space at 90 Brunswick Street and the Kindergarten Room at 125 Napier Street, are currently being used to deliver specific programs (IT Hub and Kindergarten, playgroups, etc.). The existing spaces vary in terms of their quality. Some are tired, but all are functional.

Table 5-5: Multi-purpose Space located within AHE

	Name	Capacity	Description
140 Brunswick Street	Hall	Up to 200 People	Room has movable wall to allow for creation of two smaller rooms. Amenities include a kitchen (including oven, refrigerator and microwave) Flat screen TV, whiteboards, Ping-Pong table, heating/air-conditioning.
	Meeting Room	Up to 30 people	Amenities include white board, tables and chairs, heater.
	Office 2	4-5 people	Open Office – One office is made available on a needs basis for use by visitors and residents
90 Brunswick Street	Multipurpose Room	Up to 90 people	This space is currently used to provide an internet café for residents.
125 Napier Street	Meeting Room	Up to 60 people	Amenities include a basic kitchen with microwave and refrigerator
	Multipurpose Room	Up to 30 People	Amenities include a whiteboard, tables and chairs. This room is not heated and therefore while useful for some activities offers limited functionality.
	Kindergarten	Up to 200 people	Relocation of Atherton Gardens Kindergarten to the Atherton Children's Hub is being considered. If this relocation proceeds, this would free up a large multipurpose space, and associated outdoor space for other purposes.

Source: DHS pers.com 2011

5.4.1 Demand

Public Meeting Spaces

Demand for multipurpose community facilities and meeting spaces cannot be quantified in the same way as facilities which support delivery of essential services, as there is no clear service model/population nexus. However, these spaces are important in terms of enabling local community activities, which of course vary substantially depending on the age profile and cultural mix of the local population and the popularity of particular activities at any point in time.

One source of guidance on provision is the ASR report *Planning Guide for Community Infrastructure in Growth Areas*. This publication is designed to guide planning in green field areas and therefore suggestions regarding format for delivery do not translate to an established inner urban context. However, some guidance can be taken from recommendations regarding overall space requirements.

Table 5-6: Demand for Meeting Spaces

Name	Population Benchmark	Fitzroy 2011	Fitzroy 2031	Master Plan (400)	Master Plan (800)
Meeting Room 200+	1: 20,000	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.1
Meeting Room 100 to 200	1: 8,000	1.3	1.4	0.1	0.2
Meeting Room 50 to 100	1: 8,000	1.3	1.4	0.1	0.2
Meeting Room 20 to 50	1: 8,000	1.3	1.4	0.1	0.2
Meeting Room 1-20	1:4,000	2.5	2.7	0.2	0.4
Neighbourhood House	1: 20,000	0.5	0.5	0.04	0.09

Source: ASR 2008; i.d. Consulting 2011

When compared with the growth area provision standards, Fitzroy can be judged to be well provisioned with meeting spaces. The availability of the Fitzroy Town Hall means that local residents have access to two high quality larger spaces, and there are a number of other spaces of varying size located in buildings with a different focus, such as a library and youth services centre. It must also be remembered that, unlike growth areas, the Fitzroy neighbourhood is home to a very large number of cafes, pubs, bars and restaurants, which complement the existing set of community facilities in providing a wide variety of semi-private spaces that enable social interaction. Figure 5-1 shows the extent of land zoned for business purposes in the immediate environs of AHE.

The additional demand for community meeting spaces generated by a potential redevelopment of the AHE would be modest and would not necessitate expansion of the existing network of publically available meetings spaces.

Communal Meeting Spaces

The needs of existing AHE residents are somewhat different to those of the surrounding community. Specifically, public housing tenants are among the lowest income households in our community, and for this reason may be excluded from using semi-private spaces within the Fitzroy area, such as cafes, pubs and restaurants. In addition, at this point in time, existing residents do not have access to private outdoor open space, and enjoy relatively modest private indoor living areas. As a result, residents rely on communal spaces within AHE to augment their existing private accommodation. Even so, the number and variety of spaces located within AHE is substantial, and exceeds what is available at other public housing estates, such as Richmond and Prahran.

To confirm the level of utilisation of existing facilities at AHE, the booking register for the 140 Brunswick Street Hall and Meeting Room and the 125 Napier Street Meeting Room was inspected for the week 19 September to 25 September 2011. Each of these three spaces is used by a variety of community groups for varying purposes, including: English classes, ethno-specific resident group meetings, home-work club, table tennis, etc. The 140 Brunswick Street Hall is the most heavily utilised space with approximately 60% of available hours booked for use in the week studied. The meeting room at 140 Brunswick Street was not utilized to the same extent with only 20% of available time being booked. The meeting room at 125 Napier Street was booked for 36% of available time throughout the week. Comments made by the Brotherhood of St Lawrence (the organisation that manages the booking process) indicate that there is no shortage of space *per se*, but that existing spaces could be managed better and the amenity they provide improved, to ensure they deliver greatest benefit to the resident population.

The picture presented by the booking schedules and the feedback of the Brotherhood of St Lawrence runs counter to the view of some stakeholders consulted by CAPIRE including some residents. Some specific comments include:

- Meeting Room Space: Additional meeting room spaces that are flexible, adaptable and free for the various groups are needed within the estate.
- Socialising Space: Residents expressed a desire for spaces on the estate to socialise with other residents. Spaces that are clean, safe and welcoming for all are required.
- Youth recreation space: There is a need for a dedicated undercover youth space which has extended opening hours. The space could include a range of uses including recreation, arts and computers. Ongoing investment and resources will be required.

Service providers consulted by CAPIRE did not express a desire to take up permanent accommodation within AHE, as each already has their own premises in the local area. In any case, some service providers considered that it is beneficial for AHE residents to travel off the estate grounds to access facilities and services as this assists in integrating residents in the broader community.

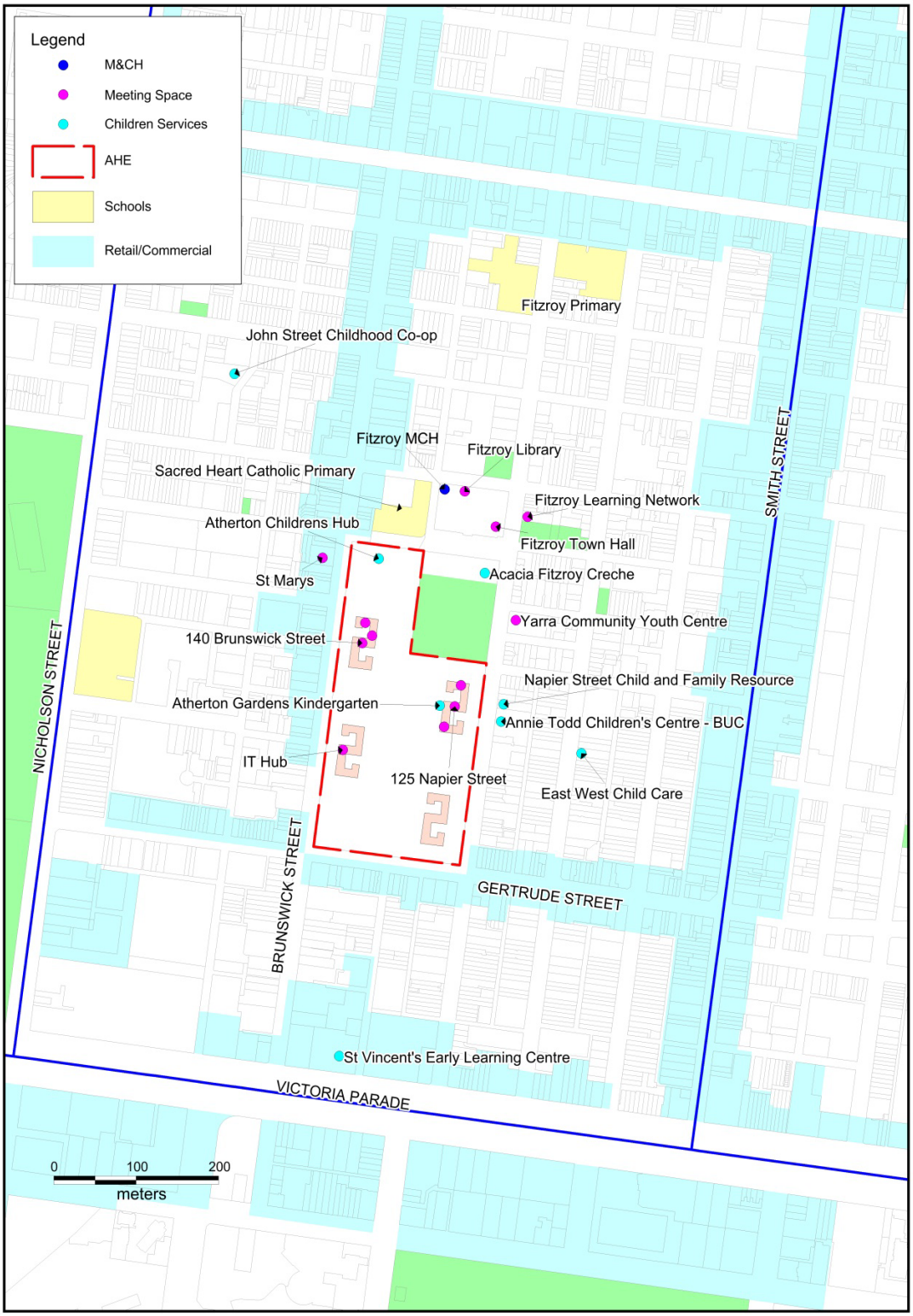

Figure 5-1: Community Facilities

6 Open Space and Recreation

6.1 Introduction

This section provides an overview of existing open space located within and surrounding AHE.

6.2 Supply

A total of approximately 2.16 hectares of open space is available in the Fitzroy (2.42 square metres per person). The overall amount of open space in the Fitzroy neighbourhood is low when compared with other suburbs in the City of Yarra. However, suburb level comparisons tell only part of the story. To illustrate, data provided in the City of Yarra Open Space Staregy (YOSS) show Richmond/Cremorne/Burnley has relatively abundant open space when compared with Fitzroy (in terms of percentage of land coverage and per capita). However, many Richmond residents live more than 500 metres from any open space, and much further from larger open spaces. By way of comparison, residents of AHE have a number of small, medium and larger open spaces located within 500 metres of their place of residence (including the Carton Gardens and Fitzroy Gardens, both located in City of Melbourne).

Table 6-1: Open Space in City of Yarra

Precinct	Area (sq.m)	Open Space (sq.m)	% of Land Area	Per Capita (sq. m)
Fitzroy	1,381,545	21,597	1.6%	2.4
Collingwood	1,302,568	1,180	0.1%	0.2
Abbotsford	1,405,701	112,370	8.0%	27.8
Richmond, Cremorne and Burnley	6,163,142	427,332	6.9%	17.7
North Fitzroy/Clifton Hill	4,151,562	720,828	17.4%	45.3

Source: YOSS 2006

The majority of public open space in Fitzroy is located in close proximity to AHE. Figure 6-1 and Table 6-2 below provide information about open space in Fitzroy.

Table 6-2: Open Space in Fitzroy

Name	Approx. Size	Facilities
Atherton Reserve	0.8 Ha	Junior soccer field with goal posts. ground used for Casual participation. The ground is too small for official competition
George Street Reserve	0.04 Ha	None
Condell Street Park	0.2 Ha	Children's Playground and seating
Gary Owen Park	0.1	BBQ facilities are available
King William Reserve	0.02 Ha	Children Playground, seating
Smith Reserve	0.5 Ha	Children's Playground BBQ facilities and picnic tables are available
King Park	0.05 Ha	None
Whitlam Place	0.1 Ha	Seating

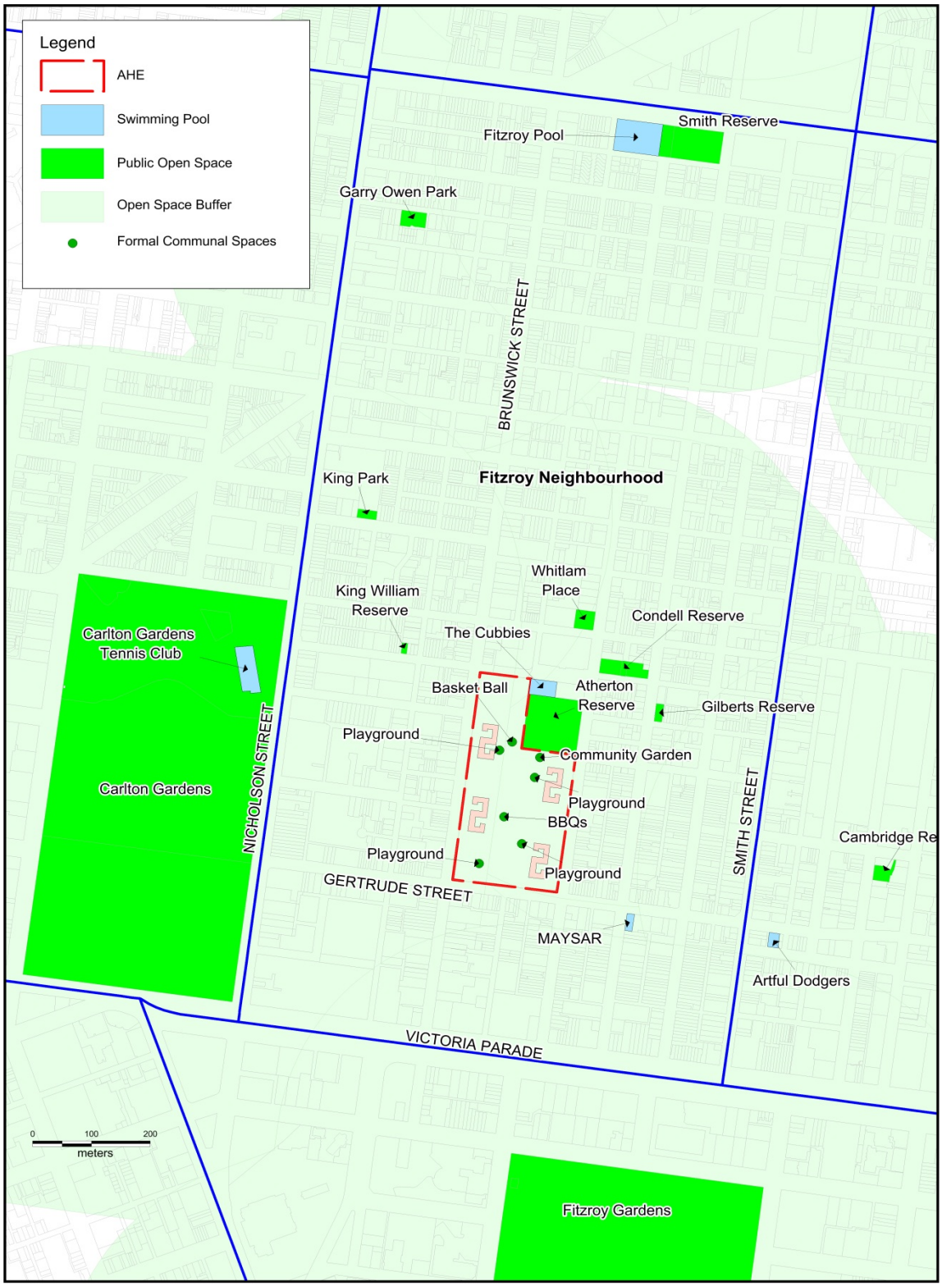

Figure 6-1: Open Space

A number of key recreational assets are located close to AHE which augment existing publically available open spaces, specifically:

- Fitzroy Outdoor Swimming Pool and Leisure Centre – incorporates 50m outdoor pool and gym
- Adventured Playground (Cubbies) – Playground located on Crown land administered by Council. The playground acts as a casual drop-in service and a 'backyard' for local 6-16 year olds estate residents. The space provides an opportunity for children to play freely and creatively.
- Melbourne Aboriginal Youth Sport & Recreation (MAYSR) – lost cost gym facility. Operators have indicated that youth living at AHE would be permitted to access the gym at little to no cost.
- Carlton Gardens Tennis Club
- Artful Dodgers Art Space – provides innovative and creative spaces for young people whose lives have been affected by difficult circumstances. Young people work in fully equipped art and music studios with experienced artists and musicians - exploring and developing their creative skills, meeting and connecting with other artists and musicians and getting involved in high profile projects, exhibitions and other public outcome events.

6.3 **Demand**

Planning standards relating to provision of open space typically suggest that residents should enjoy access to a hierarchy of spaces, with smaller spaces being available within walking distance (400m-800m) and larger spaces being available within a short drive (2-3 kilometres). As Figure 6-1 indicates, the majority of Fitzroy residents enjoy access to at least some public open space within 400 metres of their residence. In the case of AHE, seven public open spaces of varying size/incorporating varying facilities are located within 400 metres of the estate, one of which is the Carlton Gardens. Moreover, within 500 metres of AHE there is an open space of metropolitan significance, the Fitzroy Gardens. The Carlton Gardens and Fitzroy Gardens augment the more modest open spaces located in Fitzroy.

6.4 **Communal Open Space at AHE**

In addition to the publically available open space in Fitzroy, a large amount of communal open space is available for use by estate residents (described in Section 3.2). There is currently approximately 3.5 hectares of useable communal open space on the site, an amount of space that exceeds available public open space in Fitzroy by some margin. At present the land is fenced and signs located on the fences indicate that the land is private property for use by estate residents only.

6.4.1 Residents' Views

A survey conducted by Victoria University (described in greater detail below) indicates that parts of the existing expansive communal open space which are landscaped to support active use (children playgrounds, community gardens and basketball court) are well utilized by estate residents (see Table 7.7). However, the survey does not explore the use of passive open space on the site, or its value to residents.

Qualitative research conducted by CAPIRE indicates that existing communal open space is valued by AHE residents for its aesthetics, the activity it supports and as a meeting space. In the words of one resident: *it's like our village.* Estate residents typically see existing communal open space as a necessary substitute for a lack of private open space. As one resident suggested: *what people forget is that the open space is our backyards. It's all we have. How would you feel if someone decided to take away your backyard?* Indeed, despite the relatively large amount of open space surrounding the

existing towers, some residents expressed the view that there is insufficient open space available. One suggestion was to develop a dedicated soccer pitch within the estate to engage young people

Given that existing dwellings do not include private open spaces, the importance of communal open space in terms of securing an adequate quality of life of AHE residents should be recognised and addressed through the Master Plan. Notwithstanding, comments like those above illustrate the relatively insulated nature of the AHE community (also see Section 7.4), and in particular a tendency for residents to rely primarily on facilities and open spaces within the estate grounds (or in very close proximity) to meet their needs. Anecdotal information provided by CAPIRE indicates that residents do not use existing publically accessible open spaces or facilities in the immediate environs to any great extent. This considered, it is likely that any loss of communal open space within AHE will be seen negatively by some residents.

CAPIRE's research indicates that existing spaces suffer from ongoing issues relating to inappropriate use/antisocial behaviour, leading to safety concerns. Suggestions were made by residents and other stakeholders regarding ways to better activate open spaces areas in order to increase surveillance and safety. Some people felt that more people on the estate would create a safer environment through passive surveillance. Introducing businesses on the estate was also identified as an opportunity to create a more secure environment. Speaking broadly, residents and other stakeholders recommended a creative approach be taken to (re)design of communal open spaces to make them safe, accessible and functional. A number of activated spaces were suggested, each with a unique form and function (for example BBQs, tables and seating, play spaces). It was also suggested that open space needs to be child friendly, enable disability access, be well lit and offer shade.

Residents and other stakeholders also suggested that a meeting space that recognises the local Aboriginal groups could be provided. This would facilitate sharing of Aboriginal culture with estate residents estate and surrounding area.

6.4.2 City of Yarra Open Space Strategy

The City of Yarra's Open Space Strategy (YOSS) suggests that the landscaped grounds of the AHE provide a 'borrowed green' which augments existing public open space in the area. The YOSS recognizes that the AHE grounds are not part of the public open space network. However, the Strategy does point to the potential benefit of establishing pedestrian links through the estate to enable greater access between Brunswick and Gertrude Streets and public open spaces, such as Atherton Reserve and Condell Park.

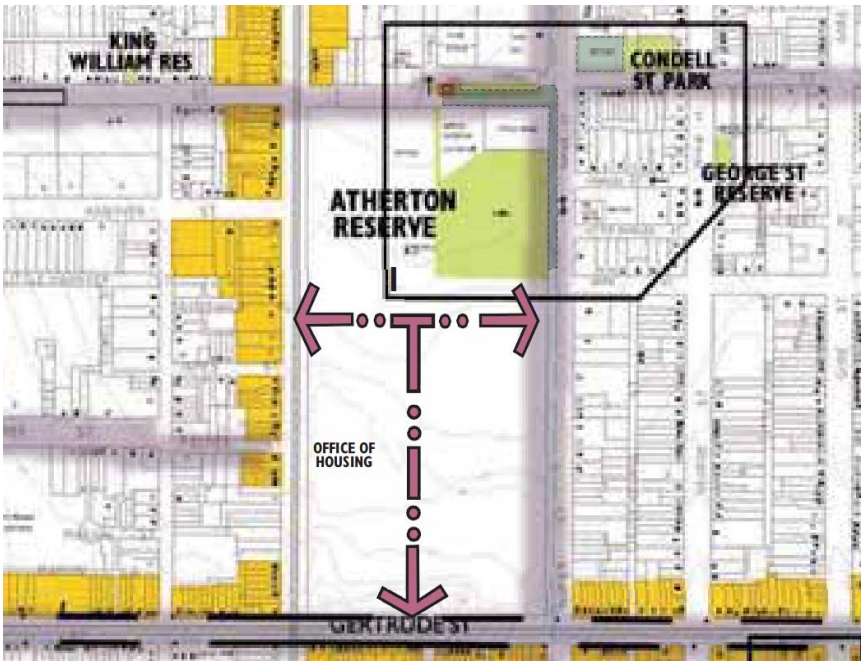

Figure 6-2: Pedestrian Links Suggested in the YOSS

6.5 Open Space and the Indigenous Community

For some time, Indigenous communities and individuals have lived in the suburbs of Fitzroy and Collingwood. From the 1920s onwards, the Indigenous community of Melbourne began to steadily increase and over time, Fitzroy and Collingwood became a meeting point for Indigenous people from throughout Victoria and beyond. By the 1940s and 1950s, the area was seen as the first port of call for Indigenous families when they moved from country Victoria to Melbourne.

By the 1950s, more than 300 Indigenous people lived in Fitzroy, with many more Indigenous people living in surrounding inner city suburbs. At this time Fitzroy was home to the largest Indigenous community in Victoria and became a social and political hub from which the Indigenous political movement emerged. In the 1960s and 1970s, the area saw the birth of several important Aboriginal community organisations. Today, most of these organisations service the Indigenous community in areas such as health, housing, legal issues, sport, recreation, education and community and child-care services.

Open space to the southern end of AHE is specifically identified in the *Fitzroy Aboriginal Heritage Walking Trail Map* produced by City of Yarra. As the publication explains:

> *Site 6 - Corner of Gertrude Street and Napier Street - The development of the Atherton Gardens Housing Estate in the late 1950s led to the displacement of a large community of people. This community included a significant number of Aboriginal families, few of whom were later housed in the new high-rise buildings. Many of those displaced resettled further north, but still maintained strong connections with the Fitzroy area. During the 1980s, the Estate's park was a popular and safe gathering place for homeless Aboriginal people – one of whom was successful singer–songwriter Archie Roach. The park also came to form an important meeting place for Aboriginal visitors to the area looking to connect with Melbourne's Aboriginal community. The grate–covered drain at this site — often referred to as 'the Fridge' — was used to keep alcohol cool in the warmer months and out of sight from prying police eyes.*

Contemporary Indigenous groups continue to meet at the AHE. One group, known as the 'Parkies' meet regularly at the site. Members of this community may be homeless (or at risk of homelessness), unemployed (or have job security issues), have drug and alcohol issues, and/or have spent time in and out of the justice system. Many of the Parkies are members of the Stolen Generations or have family members who were part of the Stolen Generations – and carry the grief and trauma of being separated from family, culture and identity.[4]

[4] This section was developed using information contained in the City of Yarra – Aboriginal Partnerships Plan

7 Community Attitudes and Behaviour

7.1 Introduction

This section provides an overview of the livability of AHE and the surrounding neighbourhood and the quality of life enjoyed by AHE residents. Two sources of information have been used to construct the Section:

- A survey of AHE residents and residents of the surrounding area conducted by Victoria University (VU). The survey collects demographic data and information regarding the quality of life of estate and non-estate residents. A total of 207 face-to-face surveys were carried out with AHE residents and a further 100 telephone surveys were conducted with residents of adjoining areas. Result of the survey was reported for the AHE and for the following Socio-Economic Status (SES) groups:
  - Low: Residents of areas that achieved a SEIFA score in the Lower 30% or all areas.
  - Middle: Residents of areas that achieved a SEIFA score in the Middle 40% of all areas.
  - High: Residents of areas that achieved a SEIFA score in the highest 30% of all areas.
- Information collected by CAPIRE as part of broad program of preliminary consultation with AHE and surrounding residents.

7.2 Neighbourhood Satisfaction

The VU survey asked a number of questions relating respondents views regarding the reputation of their neighbourhood and their satisfaction with various aspects of neighbourhood amenity (see Table below).

Table 7-1: Neighbourhood Rating and Reputation

		AHE	Control
Rating of neighbourhood as a place to live	Good	43.5%	91.0%
	Average	44.9%	7.0%
	Poor	10.1%	2.0%
	Don't know/No response	15.0%	-
Generally my neighbourhood has a good reputation with the surrounding area	Disagree	22.7%	11.0%
	Neither	26.1%	5.0%
	Agree	36.2%	83.0%
	Don't know/No response	15.0%	1.0%

Source: VU (2011)

As the Table above shows, AHE residents were less likely to rate their neighbourhood as a good place to live, when compared with the Control Group. Similarly, AHE residents were much less likely to agree that their neighbourhood has a good reputation within the surrounding area. However, in some sense, both AHE and Control Group respondents live in the neighbourhood of Fitzroy. It is therefore likely that AHE respondents tend to consider AHE to be their neighbourhood, and so when making their response are comparing AHE with the surrounding Fitzroy area. Conversely, it appears that control residents think about their neighbourhood in broader terms than AHE respondents.

Consistent with the above, work conducted by CAPIRE indicates that residents of AHE spend the vast majority of their time within and in close proximity to AHE. Residents reported travelling to the Fitzroy Primary School and the Woolworths supermarket on Smith Street. However, many suggested that the Fitzroy Pool was too far away to visit. This finding is consistent with other research that has explored the range of movement of public housing residents. For example, Whitzman and Mizrachi (2009) monitored the movement of children living in Australian public and private high rise estates using GPS trackers. Only 29% of children living in public housing were found to venture beyond 800 metres of their residence on both weekdays and weekends. In contrast, 78% children living in private housing travelled beyond 800 metres of their residence on weekdays, and entire private housing sample travelling beyond 800 metres on the weekend.

Further to the above, it is clear from the work of CAPIRE that AHE and its residents suffer from social stigma, which inhibits AHE resident participation in the social and economic life of the broader community. For example, very few residents of the surrounding Fitzroy neighbourhood have ever visited AHE to socialise with estate residents or for any other purpose, to illustrate:

> *I've lived in Fitzroy for over 20 years and to be honest with you, I have only walked through the estate a couple of times (Participant, Community Information Session)*

Moreover, the existing built form and concentration of public housing have led to a perception among residents of surrounding areas that the estate is a no-go zone. Indeed, some residents of the surrounding community reported an unwillingness to let their children visit AHE to play with children that live on the estate. There was broad agreement among stakeholders consulted by CAPIRE that social stigma is an ongoing challenge for AHE.

The above considered, some recent community events at the estate including the Fitzroy Outdoor Cinema have encouraged non-estate residents to visit AHE.

Notwithstanding issues relating to stigma, AHE residents were keen to point out that, even within a limited spatial area, existing AHE resident can access the facilities and services they need, making the AHE and its immediate surrounds an ideal location to live. In the words of one resident:

> *Fitzroy has every service for the residents of the estate. They don't have to walk far at all to get everything they need. This is great for people who have just arrived in Australia and are trying to establish themselves (Participant, Focus Group)*

VU Survey respondents were also asked to comment on a number of potential neighbourhood amenity issues, such as noise, graffiti and vandalism and rubbish. It is clear from the responses that AHE residents are more concerned about these issues than respondents who reside in adjoining areas. To illustrate, 75% of AHE residents consider noise to be a problem, compared with 63% of high and middle areas and 50% of low areas.

Table 7-2: Neighbourhood Amenity Issues

		AHE	Control Group by Socio-Economic Status		
			Low	Middle	High
Noise	No Problem	24%	50%	38%	37%
	Minor Problem	40%	33%	38%	50%
	Big Problem	35%	17%	25%	13%
	Don't Know/No Response	1%	0%	0%	0%
Graffiti and vandalism	No Problem	28%	40%	43%	47%
	Minor Problem	36%	40%	43%	43%
	Big Problem	28%	17%	15%	10%
	Don't Know/No Response	9%	3%	0%	0%
Rubbish Left Lying Around	No Problem	26%	47%	38%	67%
	Minor Problem	37%	33%	50%	30%
	Big Problem	34%	20%	13%	3%
	Don't Know/No Response	3%	0%	0%	0%
Total Reponses		207	*30*	*40*	*30*

Source: VU (2011)

A higher proportion of estate residents consider graffiti and vandalism to be a problem than the control groups. However, the difference between the level of concern expressed by estate residents and other respondents is relatively small (64% of AHE residents consider graffiti and vandalism to be problem compared with 56% across the control groups). This considered, estate residents were far more likely to consider graffiti and vandalism to be a big problem than control group respondents. In any case, graffiti and vandalism are issues which raise concern within all parts of the local community. AHE respondents also expressed a notably higher level of concern in relation to rubbish being left around.

Consultation conducted by CAPIRE indicates that some concerns relating to noise simply reflect a low level of acoustic privacy delivered by existing buildings at AHE. However, concerns among estate residents about neighbourhood amenity issues also potentially reflect low levels of informal social control within the estate. In this context it should be noted that mixed views were reported to CAPIRE regarding the extent of pride of place and sense of community among estate residents, with some stakeholders suggesting that sense of pride and community are universally high. However, other observations indicate neglect of the physical environment by some residents and visitors, and elevated levels of anti-social behaviour in communal areas and open space. Issues such as congregations of youth engaged in threatening behaviour were commonly reported, to illustrate:

> *Young people causing problems on the estate are not dealt with. Some of the kids causing problems are from outside (AHE Resident)*

These observations are more consistent with a community lacking internal cohesion and/or with fragmented interests, than a proud and unified one (see also Section 7.4).

VU survey respondents were also asked to comment on the extent to which houses and fences are looked after (or not). As the table below shows, issues relating to property maintenance are not of

great concern to most control group respondents (concern decreasing with increasing by SES). However this was not the case for AHE residents. Only 44% of AHE respondents stated that issues relating to house and fence maintenance created no problem for them. Notwithstanding, a large proportion of AHE respondents offered no opinion on this topic, limiting the comparability of results for the AHE and control group.

Table 7-3: Perceived Property Maintenance Issues

		Control Group by Socio-Economic Status			AHE
		Low	Middle	High	
House and Fences not Looked After	No Problem	60%	60%	70%	44%
	Minor Problem	30%	40%	27%	27%
	Big Problem	10%	0%	3%	13%
	Don't Know/No Response	0%	0%	0%	16%
	Total Reponses	*30*	*40*	*30*	*207*

Source: VU (2011)

The VU survey and qualitative research undertaken by CAPIRE give an impression of a perceived higher degree of social and physical disorder at AHE compared with surrounding areas, although a degree of disorder is reported by the control group.

7.3 **Personal Safety and Crime**

VU Survey respondents were asked a number of questions about personal safety and crime. For example, respondents were asked if they had been a victim of crime in the past 12 months. As the table below indicates, a substantially larger proportion of AHE respondents reported that they had been the victim of crime compared with the control groups.

Similarly, a much larger proportion of AHE respondents rated their neighbourhood as 'poor' in relation to crime and personal safety. Interestingly, for the control groups neighbourhood rating was related to SES, with ratings improving with increased SES. This is despite greater victimization among the higher SES groups. The data do not allow the reasons for this pattern to be investigated in detail. However, it is possible that the type of crimes experienced in each SES group vary, with varying impact on respondents' assessment of safety. In any case, what is clear is that AHE responses do not fit with the pattern observed in the control group, in that they are more frequently the victim of crime and also rate their neighbourhood relatively poorly. This considered, it is clear that the crimes which are experienced by AHE respondents have a greater impact on their perception of safety than do those experienced by the control groups.

Table 7-4: Exposure to Crime and Rating of Neighbourhood

		Control Group by Socio-Economic Status			AHE
		Low	Middle	High	
Victim of Crime in past 12 Months		6.7%	7.5%	13.3%	16.3%
Rating of neighbourhood in relation to crime and personal safety	Good	56%	50%	70%	19.3%
	Average	23%	47.5%	26.7%	41.5%
	Poor	20%	2.5%	3.3%	33.8%
	Don't Know/No Response	0%	0%	0%	5.3%

Source: VU (2011)

Respondents were also asked to comment on the extent to which they feel safe walking alone after dark and whether they feel that children can play outside safely. As the table below indicates, fewer AHE residents agreed that they feel safe walking alone at night (40%) compared with the control groups, in which at least 70% and as many as 83.3% agreed. The lower socio economic group was more likely to disagree with the statement than the middle and high segments of the control group. However, it seems that less AHE residents feel less safe walking alone after dark, even when compared with the low group.

The proportion of respondents that agreed that children can play safely outside was 60% for each of the control group segments, compared with 43% for the AHE. However, the proportion of AHE residents that disagreed with the statement was the lower than the control groups. A large proportion of AHE residents did not answer the question or neither agreed nor disagreed. The results are therefore difficult to interpret, save to say that notable proportions of people in all groups are concerned about the safety of children playing in the Fitzroy neighbourhood.

Table 7-5: Issues Relating to Crime and Safety

		Control Group by Socio-Economic Status			AHE
		Low	Middle	High	
Feel Safe walking alone after dark	Strongly disagree	16.7%	-	-	8.2%
	Disagree	10.0%	20.0%	13.3%	28.0%
	Neither	3.3%		3.3%	12.6%
	Agree	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	38.6%
	Strongly Agree	20.0%	30.0%	33.3%	1.4%
	No Response/Not Relevant	-	-	-	4.8%
Children can play safely outside	Strongly disagree	13.3%	2.5%	3.3%	5.3%
	Disagree	16.7%	32.5%	20.0%	15.5%
	Neither	10.0%	-	16.7%	15.0%
	Agree	56.7%	45.0%	43.3%	39.6%
	Strongly Agree	3.3%	15.0%	16.7%	4.3%
	No Response/Not Relevant	-	-	-	20.3%

Source: VU (2011)

Work undertaken by CAPIRE indicates that some residents are concerned about anti-social behaviours within the estate (e.g. public drunkenness, drug taking and dealing, etc.) and believe a proportion of residents and visitors consider that these behaviours can be practised within the estate without fear of reprisal. To illustrate:

> *Security guards in the internals sections of the building are not doing their job appropriately as drug suppliers are now getting onto the estate. Office of Housing should be responsible for this (AHE Resident)*

Stakeholders consulted by CAPIRE reported concern that children are being exposed to violence and drugs at a very young age and certain behaviours are being *normalised*. Service providers in particular felt this was a key issue and challenge in the context of social and physical renewal of the estate.

Although resident and stakeholder feedback outlined above must be interpreted carefully, combined with survey data, the feedback provides an impression of a community subject to a higher than normal exposure to crime and anti-social behaviour, which impacts upon perceptions of safety, and in turn potentially the health and wellbeing of residents. Moreover, the existing built environment, including fences and signs indicating that AHE is private property, contributes to the sense that the estate is a place where different standards of behaviour apply. A number of stakeholders consulted by CAPIRE indicated that breaking down physical barriers between the estate and the surrounding urban environment and encouraging visitation by non-residents for the purpose of recreation, relaxation, shopping, etc., would potentially improve safety within the estate.

> *To be honest, it is the 'private property, no tresspassing' signs that make me feel this way (unsafe). If the property was opened to public access and was better integrated with the surrounding community and streets, it would feel much more welcoming for residents and visitors alike (Community Survey)*

> *Shops could be located on the ground floor. Cafes could open up onto the green space (AHE Resident)*

7.4 **Social Networks**

Residents of AHE have formed a large number of formal and informal social groups. In the main these groups are based on common ethnic identity, although a number of groups are based around activities, such as dancing and music. Some existing groups include:

- Breakfast Club
- Chinese Tenant Association
- Fitzroy Chinese Association
- Vietnamese Languages School
- Islamic Society
- Fitzroy Youth Music
- Homework Club
- Reading Group
- Fitzroy Social Club
- Liberia Group
- Table Tennis Group
- Community Safety Working Group
- Children Dancing Group

Although there are numerous groups which engage in communal activities, and while this relatively high level of civic engagement undoubtedly has benefits for participants, the activity has not translated into high levels of 'bridging' social capital or the weak social ties that produce this capital.[5]

[5] For the purpose this report the OECD definition of social capital is adopted: *Social capital is networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups.' (OECD 2001).*

To illustrate, the VU survey asked a number of questions which indicate the extent to which Fitzroy residents trust one another and/or work together to solve problems . As the table below shows, a much lower proportion of AHE residents agree with the statement, *I can trust most people in the neighbourhood* (33.8%) compared with at least 73.3% and a high as 96.7% of respondents in the control groups. Trust and trustworthiness are the bedrock of most personal relationships, facilitate various day-to-day interactions, and play an important role in commerce. As a result, the absence of trust among neighbours at AHE potentially limits the ability of residents to engage in social and economic activity. Consistent with the above, only 42% of AHE residents agreed that neighbours generally look after one other, compared with at least 70% and as high as 86.7% of control group respondents.

Table 7-6: Indicators of Bridging Social Capital at AHE

		Control Group by Socio-Economic Status			AHE
		Low	Middle	High	
I can trust most people in the neighbourhood	Strongly disagree	6.7%	-	-	8.2%
	Disagree	16.7%	17.5%	-	23.7%
	Neither	3.3%	-	3.3%	24.2%
	Agree	60.0%	60.0%	56.7%	32.4%
	Strongly Agree	13.3%	22.5%	40.0%	1.4%
	No Response/Not Relevant	-	-	-	1.0%
Neighbours generally look after one another	Strongly disagree	6.7%	5.0%	-	7.7%
	Disagree	13.3%	20.0%	10.0%	19.8%
	Neither	10.0%	-	3.3%	19.3%
	Agree	53.3%	52.5%	50.0%	39.1%
	Strongly Agree	16.7%	22.5%	36.7%	2.9%
	No Response/Not Relevant	-	-	-	11.1%

Source: VU (2011)

Qualitative research undertaken by CAPIRE indicates that many AHE residents associate primarily within tight social groups based on common ethnic or familial ties and rely on these groups for advice and support. Furthermore, a degree of inter-group conflict was evident, with groups competing for resources such as access to communal indoor spaces. Similarly, residents of the surrounding Fitzroy community typically reported they had not had any contact with residents of the estate. In some cases, non-estate residents were frustrated by this fact, but were unsure how to incorporate AHE residents into the social networks of the broader community.

Sociological research investigating the extent of weak and strong social ties in ghettoised communities in the US and Mexico identifies a pervasive use of strong ties by the poor and insecure and explains this behaviour as a response to acute economic pressures. Importantly, in these communities the heavy concentration of social energy in strong ties has the impact of fragmenting

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Bridging social capital is the product of links across groups with disparate characteristics (weak ties) whereas 'bonding' social capital is the product of links between people with similar characteristics (strong ties). Consistent with much of the literature on the topic, trust between community members and collective action to solve problems are taken as indicators of social capital

communities into encapsulated networks with poor connections between these units. Moreover, individuals so encapsulated lose the advantages associated with the outreach of weak ties, explaining in part the self-perpetuating character of poverty in these communities (Granovetter 1983).

There are certainly parallels between research conducted within American ghettos and conditions observed at AHE. Indeed, many stakeholders consulted by CAPIRE were concerned about the estate being '*ghettoised'* and stressed that addressing the stigma of public housing and creating community pride is an ongoing challenge. To illustrate:

> *The stigma from the outside world is a key challenge. It leads to a loss of vitality for the community. The wide range of ethnic backgrounds and the changing tenant mix affects the ability to create a cohesive mix. (Participant, Community Information Session)*

Given prevailing high levels of relative socio-economic disadvantage within AHE, social networks which incorporate trust and which extend to include a variety of AHE residents and members of the broader community, would be a valuable asset for AHE residents. As Putnam (2000) suggests:

> *when seeking jobs - or political allies - the 'weak' ties that link me to distant acquaintances who move in different circles from mine are actually more valuable that the 'strong' ties that link me to relatives and intimate friends whose sociological niche is very like my own… Bonding social capital is good for 'getting by', but bridging social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead*

However, the evidence suggests AHE residents are less likely to have established networks of weak ties within the AHE population or with the broader Fitzroy community.

In a draft Community Plan for Public Housing Estates in Yarra (developed by DHS and City of Yarra) the public housing residents of Yarra are described as a community of people with a shared experience of living in public housing, and specifically high-rise public housing. Furthermore, *although individuals and families may come from diverse backgrounds, their living arrangements in public housing are a common bond which brings them together*. While AHE residents obviously live proximate to one another, the extent to which the estate population can be described as a unified and/or cohesive community is limited. Many existing residents do not trust or rely on their neighbours, indicative of the relative absence of weak social ties. Moreover, AHE residents tend to associate mainly within smaller social groupings based on common ethic or familial ties, and are suspicious of and have limited interactions with the broader AHE and Fitzroy community.

7.5 **Community Facilities**

The survey also asked AHE respondents to comment on their use and the quality of community facilities. Specifically, estate residents were asked to report whether they had used a particular facility in the past 12 months and to rate the quality of each facility as 'Good', 'Average' or 'Poor'.

As the Table below shows, all community facilities that are available on site at AHE have been used by at least 26% of respondents in the 12 months prior to the survey, and a number of facilities such as the Community Hall were used by a large majority of respondents.

Table 7-7: Community Facilities, Use and Quality

	Used in last 12 months	Quality Rating		
		Good	Average	Poor
Children's Playground	43.5%	39.6%	25.1%	8.7%
IT Hub	2.4%	13.5%	13.0%	26.6%
Community Garden	44.4%	37.2%	23.2%	8.7%
Community Hall-Room	68.1%	42.5%	28.5%	9.7%
BBQ Facilities	38.2%	29.0%	23.2%	7.7%
Basketball Court	32.4%	37.7%	16.9%	9.7%
Soccer Ground	30.4%	46.4%	13.0%	5.8%
Neighbourhood House	26.1%	23.7%	13.5%	5.3%
Housing Office	86.5%	31.4%	34.8%	22.7%

Source: VU (2011)

The survey data also provide an indication of users' satisfaction with existing facilities. Most facilities are rated as either good or average with around 12% of respondents rating each facility as poor. The notable exceptions are the Housing Office and the IT Hub. The author's inspection of each of the listed facilities indicates that in the main facilities are serviceable and fit for purpose (although a little tired), consistent with resident ratings. Moreover, anecdotal information collected on-site indicates that dissatisfaction with the IT Hub relates mainly to the quality of internet connection provided and charges associated with access, rather than room in which the Hub is situated. Notwithstanding, it is clear that the existing community spaces could benefit from an upgrade.

Resident feedback obtained by CAPIRE indicates that the AHE population values all existing community facilities, but also regard existing infrastructure as ageing and in need of repair. In particular, existing playgrounds were identified as infrastructure that is depressed and ageing. As indicated above, residents consulted by CAPIRE indicated a desire for provision or more spaces for meeting and socialising, and also a dedicated space for the estate's youth.

The proposed youth space was a direct response to residents' concerns regarding youth boredom. It was observed by participants of the engagement process that many young people have had their schooling disrupted and do not feel connected to their community, especially those from the Horn of Africa. It was also widely discussed that young people living on the estate do not have their 'own' place to go, other than outside areas.

CAPIRE also identified a number of programs run by Victoria Police and others aimed at keeping children and youth living at AHE active through sports such as soccer and bikes. These programs have been initiated largely in the preceding five years, before which there was no activities designed to engage young people in place.

7.6 **Housing**

Results of the VU survey indicate that AHE residents were less satisfied with their housing than respondents who reside in adjoining areas. However, a large proportion of AHE residents were satisfied with their current housing (60%) and only 19% were not satisfied or very dissatisfied.

Within the Control Group, satisfaction with housing was related to socio-economic status (SES) with the 'high' group expressing a higher degree of satisfaction. This is not surprising given that control respondents undoubtedly apply financial resources in different measures to the purchase of housing. Nevertheless, AHE households were less satisfied even when compared with 'low' control respondents. The author's inspection of dwelling units within the AHE leaves no doubt that the un-renovated dwellings provide a relatively poor quality of housing, even when compared with lower end private rental accommodation. In contrast, the renovated dwelling units provide a comfortable, albeit basic living environment. This considered, the survey results are easily understood.

Table 7-8: Satisfaction with Housing

	Control Group by Socio-Economic Status			AHE
	Low	Middle	High	
Very Satisfied	33%	65%	73%	15%
Satisfied	43%	25%	27%	45%
Neither	17%	8%	0%	21%
Not Satisfied	7%	3%	0%	16%
Very Dissatisfied	0%	0%	0%	3%
Total Reponses	*30*	*40*	*30*	*207*

Source: VU (2011)

Qualitative research undertaken by CAPIRE found that existing residents suffer from over heating dwellings during extreme weather events. The orientation of the existing towers causes the homes to get very hot and there are minimal places for respite on the estate. As one resident noted: *when it's hot everyone goes outside and sits in the shade because it's the only place to try and cool off. There is no point staying in your flat. You bake.* Many tenants felt there is a need for more shade, cooling and cool spaces on the estate.

7.7 **Summary**

The above discussion demonstrates that physical and social conditions at AHE are such that the quality of life enjoyed by AHE residents is negatively affected by their residence within the estate. Specifically, AHE residents:

- Rate their neighbourhood poorly compared with residents of the surrounding area.
- Have greater concerns relating to personal safety and crime.
- Have limited social networks within the AHE resident population or among the broader Fitzroy community.
- Value existing community facilities, within the estate, but consider that these should be expanded to better address their needs.

- Have a limited sphere of influence and are reluctant to access community facilities and open space located in relatively close proximity to the estate.
- Express lower levels of satisfaction with their housing than people in the broader community.

These findings are indicative of a social environment lacking informal social controls and positive role models, and a built environment that signals difference and encourages stigma.

PART 2 - KNOWLEDGE REVIEW, DESIGN OBJECTIVES AND REQUIREMENTS

8 Housing

8.1 Introduction

This section provides discussion of research and case study material of relevance in the context of determining the mix of tenures and dwelling types and sizes for the Master Plan.

8.2 Tenure, Dwellings and Social Mix

Tenure and use (dwelling mix) represent the principal potential design tools through which the objective to broaden the social mix of the estate population can be achieved and are therefore considered together. Tenure and dwelling mix are also relevant in the context of affordable housing objectives set for the Master Plan.

Below, academic literature and case study material relating to neighbourhood social mix and mixed tenure initiatives are considered. The specific objective is to identify likely impacts associated with broadening social mix at AHE and whether any particular social mix would deliver a more positive mix of impacts. Following the lead of Tunstall and Fenton (2006) the following key questions are addressed:

- *Composition:* what sort of mixing is relevant? Ethnicity, race, religion, immigrant status, income, housing tenure, some or all of the above?
- *Concentration:* What amount of mixing should be sought? What amounts of which groups comprise the ideal mix, or are minimally required to produce the desired outcomes?
- *Scale:* Over what level of geography should the relevant mix be sought?

Having addressed these questions, the discussion then considers how tenure/dwelling mix can be used to facilitate delivery of an optimal social mix and affordable housing within the AHE.

In this context, it is worth noting that tenure/dwelling diversification is a strategy that has been employed by numerous housing authorities in Australia and overseas to address a range of interrelated housing management problems within larger public housing estates. Amongst other things, housing agencies have employed tenure/dwelling diversification schemes to break up concentrations of disadvantaged tenants in the belief this will reduce social dysfunction and aid better integration of disadvantaged households into the social mainstream. However, despite the popularity of tenure diversification strategies, the premise that neighbourhood social mix is a desirable goal has been challenged on conceptual and empirical grounds by a wide range of scholars. Indeed, Galster (2011) suggests that *planners should take these challenges seriously, and not take the pursuit of social mix as a matter of faith.* The following section has been developed with this advice in mind and draws largely on the work of Joseph (2006), Tunstall and Fenton (2006), Arthurson (2002, 2010a and 2010b) and Galster (2011).

8.3 **Social Mix and Social Outcomes**

8.3.1 Theory

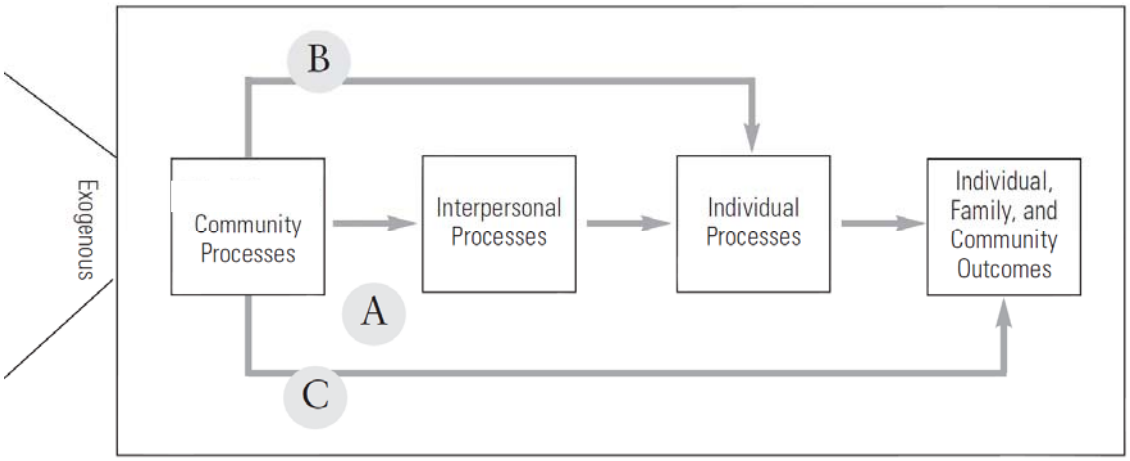
The suggestion that neighbourhood social mix influences quality of life is founded on a belief that where people live affects their life chances over and above non-spatial explanatory social categories (such as gender, unemployment, ill health, etc.). As Buck (2001: 2252) suggests, the likely effectiveness of a social mix policy depends on the answer to the following:

> *Does it make my life chances worse if my neighbour is poor rather than rich or a large proportion of my neighbours are poor, or disadvantaged on some other dimension?*

A number of processes have been suggested in the academic literature through which social mix can potentially influence the quality of life of AHE residents:

- Role Modelling - each person's attitudes and behaviours may be influenced (for better or worse) by their interactions with others. Individual attitudes and behaviours may be influenced through 'distal' role modelling, that is, observing and emulating other from a distance; or 'proximal' role modelling, which relies on residents interacting directly, providing advice, feedback, etc. In either case, neighbourhood social mix influences the type of cultural and behavioural exemplars a person is exposed to, potentially influencing their own attitudes and behaviours.
- Social Networks - a person's social network is a potential source of information, resources and opportunity. Although residents of modern urban neighbourhoods generally rely less on neighbours for intimate support than in previous eras, proximity still influences network formation, particularly in the case of disadvantaged households. Therefore, neighbourhood social mix may influence the composition/character of individual social networks with potential implications for individual access to information, resources and opportunity.
- Social Control - neighbourhood level adherence to norms and rules is influenced by formal social controls (such as policing) and informal social control, or rather the efforts of local residents to maintain order. Many studies associate higher levels of socioeconomic status, residential stability, and homeownership with increased social organisation and elevated levels of collective efficacy. As a result, neighbourhoods with varying social mix will potentially have greater or lesser capacity to take action to maintain social control in the community, with implications for the quality of the life of all residents.
- Place Economy - residents of any area will have varying capacity to advocate for public goods and services and influence public policy. In addition, differential spending power will make neighbourhoods more or less attractive for retail and commercial development. In extreme cases, disadvantaged households in a neighbourhood are perceived by external actors as dominant, causing institutional, governmental or market actors to negatively stereotype a place and/or reduce the flows of resources to that place. Therefore, neighbourhoods with varying social mix may be more or less effective in attracting public and private investment in services and infrastructure and/or visitation from non-residents, directly affecting quality of life for residents.

The processes outlined above would potentially act at different 'levels' (community, interpersonal and individual) and via one or more key pathways to influence outcomes in the context of urban renewal at AHE (see Figure Below).



Level	Social Mix Process
Community	Increased social control that promotes greater accountability to social norms Individual and collective leveraging of external resources The generation of a culture of work and social responsibility
Interpersonal	Interaction among social groups, including information sharing, the building of social networks, and role-modelling
Individual	Behaviour modification (self-regulation, use of time, job search methods), change in aspirations, and sense of efficacy

Figure 8-1: Pathways through which social mix affects outcomes (adapted from Joseph 2006)

As the figure above illustrates, social mix can potentially influence higher level community processes and in turn social outcomes through one of three pathways:

- From community processes to interpersonal processes to individual processes to outcomes (Pathway A)
- From community processes to individual processes to outcomes (Pathway B)
- From community processes directly to outcomes (Pathway C)

It is noteworthy that only pathway A relies upon direct interaction between people in a neighbourhood from different social groups.

Table 8-1 below outlines some examples of how these processes and pathways may potentially work to influence social outcomes at AHE.

Table 8-1: Potential Impacts of Increased Social Mix at AHE - Process and Pathways

Process	Pathway	Example
Role Modelling	A	Proximity and interpersonal contact provide opportunities for social interaction, which may include proximal role modelling. Individuals modify their behaviours based on the direct influence and mentoring of others, and these modified behaviours lead to improved outcomes, such as school achievement and employment.
	B	More affluent households create a dominant culture of work and social responsibility. This leads to distal role-modelling whereby the actions and routines of more affluent families are observed at a distance and emulated by public housing residents. Individual behaviour modification in turn leads to improved individual outcomes
Social Networks	A	Proximity and interpersonal contact provide opportunities for social interaction between residents of different income levels and backgrounds. Social interaction leads to the building of familiarity and trust and eventually to the exchange of information and resources that support individual processes such as employment search.
Social Control	A	New interpersonal relationships among public and private tenants lead to greater accountability to each other and to others whom they both know, such as their children. People who commit a delinquent act while in these new networks are more likely to be recognised and held accountable by others. Less delinquent behaviour leads to improved outcomes
	B	Private tenants impose greater social control and an increased collective sense of vigilance promotes individual behaviour modification among those previously inclined to delinquency and crime.
	C	Private tenants impose greater social control which disincentivises crime and increases neighbourhood safety.
Political economy of place	C	Individual and collective leveraging of external resources by affluent households leads to higher quality local services and infrastructure

Adapted from Joseph (2006)

The processes and pathways described above are plausible. Indeed, common assertions regarding potential benefits of increasing social mix on public housing estates rely principally on the presumed positive influence of affluent households in terms of providing positive role models, strengthening social networks, promoting informal social control and facilitating public and private investment in services and infrastructure. However, although plausible causal pathways can be imagined, it is important to examine the empirical evidence which identifies (or not) their operation in practice. Moreover, the conditions under which the processes operate to deliver greatest benefit must be established (that is, in relation to what, in what concentration and at what scale should mixing be pursued, if at all).

8.4 **Practice**

Following a review of European and American research Galster (2011) concludes that there is convincing evidence from both regions that disadvantaged individuals are significantly harmed by the presence of sizable disadvantaged groups in their neighbourhood.[6] Specifically, high concentrations

[6] What sizeable means in this context is disused further in Section 8.5.2

of socially disadvantaged households have been empirically linked to negative outcomes like youth delinquency, criminality and mental health distress. Galster suggests that these negative outcomes result from negative peer/role modelling, weak social control, limited-resource networks and place stigmatization.

Furthermore, international work suggests that introduction of other tenures on existing public/social housing estates can eventually improve how these places are seen. For example Tunstall and Coulter (2006) assessed outcomes at 20 UK housing estates subject to varying degrees of urban renewal over the past 25 years. Of the 20 estates studied, eight underwent substantial re-development including the introduction of private housing and other tenures. Where estates underwent dramatic redevelopment, this course was chosen as previous improvement initiatives such as local management, resident involvement and smaller investment – had not overcome poor reputation or unpopularity. The authors conclude that the most dramatic effects in terms of removing stigma were achieved in estates that underwent dramatic redevelopment. Redevelopment schemes that transformed the appearance of estates, and in particular those that removed built form markers of tenure identity, were successful and well received by residents. In some cases residents of dramatically redeveloped estates felt the physical, tenure and atmospheric transformation was so great that their area could no longer be called an 'estate'. A senior housing officer in one redeveloped area reported that even though residents rejected the idea of renaming the area, children living there describe their home with the name for the wider local neighbourhood, and not the former name for the estate. It the context of the UK experience Tunstall and Fenton (2006) suggest that renewal projects that involve gradual and small tenure changes may not have much impact in terms of removing stigma, and even where radical redevelopment has taken place changing outsiders' perceptions of the most stigmatised estates can take years.

However, the same body of evidence indicates that the influence of advantaged neighbours on vulnerable individuals is smaller in absolute value than the influence of disadvantaged neighbours. That is, the research establishes that residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods often lack social ties with employed and better-educated people, which reduces opportunity and contributes to perpetuating individual disadvantage in neighbourhoods.[7] However, it does not necessarily follow that social relationships of the disadvantaged will be significantly altered by residence near advantaged individuals in mixed communities. Indeed, the American and European research is substantial and consistent in indicating that social mix alone does not induce substantial social interactions between groups that may enhance employment and other resource networks for the disadvantaged.[8]

The position is supported by Arthurson (2008), who following a review of the international literature concludes that: [9]

- little social interaction takes place between residents across different housing tenures in mixed tenure neighbourhoods; and
- where social interaction does occur, it is more likely between residents with similar socioeconomic characteristics.

[7] see Galster 2011

[8] American studies include: Rosenbaum (1991), Briggs (1997, 1998), Kleit (2001a, 2001b, 2002), Popkin, Harris, and Cunningham (2002); and Rosenbaum, Harris and Denton (2003). Western European Studies include: Atkinson and Kintrea (1998), Jupp (1999), Cole and Goodchild (2001), Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2003).

[9] The international literature on social mix was reviewed from 1990 until 2007. This included 57 journal articles, 13 reports, seven conference papers and three book chapters

The Australian experience has yielded similar results. For example, Randolph *et al.* (2004) conducted research in four public housing estates undergoing renewal programs and four 'control' estates (not subject to renewal). These estates were located in Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia. On the basis of their research they make the following observations:

- Tenure mix changes had facilitated substantial changes in social mix in the areas studied. Specifically, the concentration of public housing tenants fell significantly and the proportion of economically active people increased.
- Little evidence was found that social networks between tenants and new owners had developed.
- Few participants in the study thought there would be direct impacts on the employment opportunities for public tenants on renewal estates.

Similarly, Arthurson (2010) explored social mix policies implemented in three neighbourhoods in South Australia. These neighbourhoods previously had high concentrations of social housing and have been extensively redeveloped over the past 15 years. Changes to social mix have been achieved through demolition, sales of social housing and urban infill with new housing to attract homeowners or buyers. However, little evidence of mixing between socio-economic groups was identified. This finding is explained, in part at least, by lifestyle factors which influence greatly the time and energy residents can devote to social mixing with neighbours. To illustrate, in discussions about social interactions with other residents, numerous residents suggested that people's lives were too busy for much interaction. For example, it was suggested that as new homeowners were typically younger couples, often child-free and out working to pay their mortgages, they tended to spend little time in the neighbourhood. Arthurson suggests that the findings beg the question: *how many of us in contemporary society have the time or inclination to mix with our neighbours?* In the words of one neighbourhood resident:

> *I go to work every day early in the morning, I come home at night and I don't connect with my neighbours. So their whole theory around social mix is that it is meant to help people, but that is not necessarily happening in society today (private rental tenant).*

Ziersch & Arthurson (2007) studied a mixed tenure neighbourhood in Adelaide and also found little evidence of mixing between different social groups. In this study, stigma and snobbery were shown to be limiting interaction, in addition to lifestyle factors.

However, despite the seemingly limited potential for tenure mix initiatives to facilitate interaction between different socio-economic groups, a number of positive impacts were identified by Randolph *et al.* (2004) in their study. For example:

- Tenants in the renewal estates reported a significant reduction in the social stigma attached to their estates, although stigma still remained.
- Improvements in local amenity and landscaping have been generally implemented, sometimes in partnership with local councils.
- Reductions in crime and anti-social behaviour were perceived to have occurred by tenants, although systematic evidence across all the estates was not available.

On the basis of their work, Randolph et al. (2004) suggest that the major observable benefit of estate renewal for public housing tenants was the opportunity to live in a less stigmatised environment. Furthermore, they suggest that this in itself should be taken as a major success of the initiatives. Indeed, despite the apparent failure of renewal initiatives to facilitate integration of social networks

between tenure groups, overwhelming support was evident among stakeholders and tenants concerning the reduced concentration of public housing and increased social mix.

Consistent with the above, Baum, Arthurson and Rickson (2010) investigated the relationship between neighbourhood satisfaction and social mix within ABS Collector Districts (CCD) distributed throughout the eight metropolitan regions of Australia. They found that for both high and low income households, the presence of higher-income households was associated with higher neighbourhood satisfaction. Moreover, public housing tenants were significantly less satisfied with their neighbourhood if they lived in areas with higher shares of public housing.

Finally, it worth noting the results of a review by Morris *et. al.* (2012) who reviewed 11 studies which assessed social changes resulting from tenure diversification projects within public housing states in Australia, UK, Europe and the USA. They conclude that social mix does not necessarily lead to a lessening of disadvantage among public housing tenants. However, social mix usually leads to an improvement of the urban fabric and housing stock, which in turn improves the atmosphere of the areas concerned. However, they warn that in areas where social mix has been altered through deliberate government intervention, unless there is adequate consultation with tenants and high quality urban planning, social mix usually has minimal impact and can severely disrupt the lives of residents.

The above considered, increased social mix at AHE is most likely to deliver improved quality of life for existing residents by breaking up concentrated disadvantage, and in turn removing place stigma, improving safety, etc. Processes that rely on social interaction between socio-economic groups are less likely to generate substantial benefits, at least in the short term. As Galster (2011) states:

> *In sum, my reading of the evidence is that social mix can be beneficial for disadvantaged residents. The main benefits seem to transpire as the extremely negative consequences of concentrated deprivation are replaced by the comparatively weak but beneficial consequences of social mix.*

8.5 Composition, Concentration and Scale

The preceding discussion outlined the potential processes and pathways through which increased social mix can improve quality of life for existing AHE residents. It was concluded that a broadened social mix would potentially lead to improved quality of life, most likely through increased social control, removal of stigma and (to a lesser extent) distal role modelling. While benefits may also potentially arise from better integration of public housing residents' social networks with those of the broader community, experience suggests the interactions of this type would be limited, at least in the short term. The following examines what sort of social mix is likely to be most beneficial at AHE.

8.5.1 Composition

Much of the research and policy debate concerning neighbourhood social mix and mixed tenure initiatives deals with mix in terms of income or other indicators of socio-economic disadvantage. In this context, it is worth considering further how households with particular socio-economic circumstances may potentially co-exist at AHE. In addition, it is worth considering mixing in terms of other dimensions, such as ethnicity, and household/family type.

Socio-Economic Status

As discussed above, research from Australia and overseas has generated little evidence of social interaction between residents across socio-economic groups in mixed tenure neighbourhoods.

However, the evidence does illustrate that, to the extent that mixing does occur, it is more likely to be between residents with similar socio-economic characteristics (see review by Arthurson 2010). The above considered, social interaction between social groups at AHE is likely to be greatest if (at least some) new residents are of similar (although higher) socio-economic status compared with existing residents. It is these households that are most likely to develop interpersonal relationships with existing residents with the potential to generate positive social impacts (such as facilitating employment). However, as demonstrated in Section 4.4, relatively high proportions of public housing tenants suffer from a complex set of problems in addition to those associated with low income, which may limit their ability to become active participants in the social and economic mainstream. This would remain the case even if they are afforded an opportunity to mix with a broader range of people within the community. Therefore, although some social mixes may produce more interaction, expectations regarding the impact of this interaction for existing AHE residents should be tempered by a frank assessment of the capacities of many public housing residents.

Further to the above, increased social mix can also potentially generate negative impacts for local populations. For example, a number of commentators suggest the possibility that increased mix can highlight the relative deprivation of public housing (and other low income) households with negative impacts for self-esteem. Galster (2011) suggests that *there are enough hints of this effect in a European studies to make it risky to reject this mechanism completely, at least for some selected health and psychological outcomes*. Furthermore, it is possible that the lifestyles of different social groups may clash. For example, commenting on the experience of mixed tenure neighbourhoods in Scotland, Beekman *et al.* (2001) state that:

> *With increased contact, more evidence of tension between tenures appeared to emerge. At one level, this could be put down to differences in lifestyles and values. Tenants were often perceived by owners as being the cause of problems such as vandalism, loitering and other forms of anti-social behaviour whether evidence existed to support this or not (Beekman et al., 2001, p. 87).*

In the Australian context, Ziersch & Arthurson (2007) investigated the experiences of people living in an Adelaide neighbourhood undergoing renewal. A number of homeowners in the neighbourhood expressed negative perceptions about public housing tenants and in turn public housing tenants felt that homeowners were snobbish and unfriendly. Moreover, social division was not necessarily limited to adults. To illustrate, the researchers observed a battle for control of a playground between children from public housing and other neighbourhood children. These findings concur with those of other studies that have evaluated the results of changing social mix through regeneration projects in South Australia. For example, in Mitchell Park public housing tenants felt skeptical about whether new incoming and more affluent homeowners would want to live next door to them (Social Policy Research Group, 1998, p. 69).

In light of the above, it is worth noting that Baum, Arthurson and Rickson (2010) suggest impacts of more diverse social mix are uneven across social groups. Taking tenure mix as an example, their study shows that increased mixing did not lower the neighbourhood satisfaction of public housing tenants (the target group for many social mix programs), but did lower satisfaction among homeowners. In light of these findings, they refer to concerns raised by other commentators about the potential negative impacts of social mixing terms of inciting inter group conflict.

It therefore appears that some intergroup conflict may arise due to differing lifestyle/amenity expectations if the social mix of AHE is broadened. However, potential conflict should not be taken as a reason to avoid mixing. Many public housing tenants lead innocuous lifestyles that are unlikely to be of little interest/concern to incoming private residents. Although the groups may not interact a great

deal, the majority will co-exist in relative harmony. Greater harmony would be facilitated by vigilant management of estate grounds, common areas, etc. (see Kensington Case Study).

However, conflict may arise if incoming private households are exposed to anti-social behaviours or criminal activity (for example drug dealing in a flat next door). While it makes sense for people in all tenures to want to avoid contact with such behaviours, unless activities such as drug dealing are eradicated completely, some people at some time will be affected by the impacts this behaviour creates. Accordingly, arguing against mixing because certain anti-social/criminal activities will be undesirable for incoming private residents is analogous to suggesting that only public housing tenants should be exposed to antisocial behaviours. This view cannot be supported. Rather, it is not unreasonable for all members of our community to accept the possibility of exposure to these sorts of behaviours (i.e. mixing would generate greater ***social equity***). Indeed, the evidence suggests that public housing tenants, just like more affluent households, prefer to live in more affluent neighbourhoods, at least partly because exposure to anti-social behaviour is lower in these urban environments. It is also the case that potential future private residents at AHE would enter the estate knowing about its history and the overall tenancy mix, a fundamentally different circumstance to that where the 'tenure purity' of an affluent neighbourhood is altered.

In addition to social equity benefits, it is likely that greater mixing would produce a net reduction of anti-social behaviour - that is, mixing would generate greater ***social efficiency***. This is because there is likely to be social mix thresholds above/below which certain anti-social behaviours and other social problems manifest (see Section 8.5.2 below). The implication is that some social mixes will work to produce lower overall levels of anti-social behaviour, most likely those that do not include very high concentrations of public housing in any one place.

It is clear that existing conditions include relatively low levels of informal social control and substantial place stigma, conditions which 'authorise' anti-social behaviour (such as outsiders from the estate using the estate grounds to deal drugs, congregate to drink, etc.). These conditions are not an obvious feature of the surrounding urban area, and are at least partly a consequence of the concentration of public housing at AHE. The literature and case study material suggest that broadening social mix has the potential to increase social control, reduce stigma and thereby reduce impacts associated with anti-social behaviour for AHE residents. Specifically, households with greater interest in /capacity to maintain(ing) order would be introduced.

The above considered, the neighbourhood satisfaction trends identified by Baum, Arthurson and Rickson (2010) can be taken to *reflect the classic NIMBY attitude*. This attitude does not suggest mixing at AHE would produce poor social outcomes (in terms of efficiency or equity), nor does it mean that the vast majority of public housing tenants would not benefit from breaking place stigma and increased informal social control. Indeed, were conflict to arise, this would simply demonstrate that the processes of informal social control are working to dis-incentivise anti-social behaviours. As the influence of incoming households works to eradicate the worst excess, conflicts would subside. Finally, in the American context, there is a large body of evidence that mixing can increase the tolerance and reduce the prejudicial stereotypes of advantaged residents toward lower income households (Galster 2011). Therefore, while it is possible that some of the intolerance and snobbery identified in Australian studies may also arise at AHE, it is reasonable to expect that this would diminish over time.

Tenure

The international literature consistently indicates that homeowners tend to be more involved in their local community networks through activities, such as joining local organisations (Beekman et al. 2001;

Ditkovsky & van Vliet, 1984; Winter, 1994), working to solve local problems (Winter, 1994; DiPasquale & Glaeser, 1999) and in local social interactions (Hiscock, 2001). These observations are explained in terms of homeownership creating incentives to improve one's local area, as the value of the home is tied to the quality of the community. It is also contended that homeownership provides a barrier to geographical mobility (Glaeser & Sacerdote, 2000; Reingold et al., 2001) and mobility has been found to disrupt access to social support and exchange (Boisjoly et al., 1995).

In the Australian context, Athurson (2010) found that homeowners were more involved in local groups than public housing or private rental tenants. However, a contradictory finding was that tenants in housing co-operatives were the most involved of all tenures. Reflecting on this, the authors refer to work by Saegert & Winkel (1998) who argue that low-income housing co-operatives can constitute a type of 'ownership' and that even though the individual does not own the property: *the opportunity to control living conditions appears to provide an incentive similar to homeownership, even though financial incentives of homeownership is missing*.

The above indicates that broadening social mix within AHE is likely to be beneficial, and that potential benefits would be greater if the incoming population consists of tenure groups that have a clear interest in improving neighbourhood quality (i.e. homeowners and housing co-operative tenants).

Families and Children

A number of international studies suggest that children's play is important in bringing together different income groups, and that social interaction is facilitated when owners and renters send their children to the same local schools (for example, Jupp, 1999; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000). However, findings are inconsistent (for example see Beekman et al. 2001) and do not always point to mixing between different income groups even when children do attend the same schools. Furthermore, a number of observers point out that many affluent households choose to send their children to private schools, or schools outside the local neighbourhood circumventing opportunities for social integration.

In the Australian context, Athurson (2010) found that in the case of Adelaide neighbourhood, where social interaction between tenures occurred, it was generally with immediate neighbours and due to the presence of children. However*, the level of interaction described was often perfunctory, such as waving or saying hello in the street or facilitated by the presence of children*. As one research participant noted:

> *One person on one side keeps very much to himself. He'll wave and that's probably it. The people on the other side, our two youngest kids play with them. You might get an acknowledgement occasionally from them . . . think that's the trend now, anyway. People tend not to be quite as friendly. (N70, social housing tenant)*

Nevertheless, numerous respondents did suggest that the presence of children at local schools facilitated higher levels of mixing across tenures. In this respect, the findings of Arthurson concur with other studies that identify residents with children and local schools as important places for facilitating at least some level of social interaction across different groups.

Ethnicity

A number of international studies are available which indicate that mix of advantaged and disadvantaged groups defined in income/employment terms is more powerful than the mix defined purely in terms of immigrant ethnicity or national origin. For example, Andersson *et al*. (2007) find that the income mix of a neighbourhood is by far the stronger statistical predictor of individual Swedes'

incomes over a subsequent five-year period than other potential measures of neighbourhood social mix, including ethnicity.

In the Australian context, Baum, Arthurson and Rickson (2010) find for both low and high-income households that the relationship between neighbourhood satisfaction and neighbourhood income mix is much more powerful than ethnic mix.

This said, there is clear evidence from AHE that ethnic groups at AHE associate with one another and work together to solve problems. This is consistent with the findings of numerous studies of the role 'ethnic neighbourhoods' in mediating access to employment. A recent example in a European context is provided by the work of Coniglio (2004) who shows that minority non-local language speakers access labour markets via neighbourhood bilinguals who act as intermediaries within the wider labour market. On a similar vein, Tunstall and Fenton (2006) find that minority ethnic households are more likely to find specialist shops and services in neighbourhoods with many households from similar backgrounds as themselves.

The above considered, the benefits for immigrants that arise from living in close proximity to people of the same ethnic background appear greatest when at least some people in the ethic community are economically and social integrated with the broader community.

8.5.2 **C**oncentration

The above discussion indicates that a broadened social mix would most likely be beneficial for AHE residents. Moreover, the benefits of mixing are likely to be enhanced to the extent that incoming populations include households whose socio-economic status is similar to that of existing residents, families with children and owner-occupiers/housing co-operative tenants.

The question then arises as to the overall level of mixing that would be most beneficial. In the main, the answer to this question relies on consideration of the potential for threshold effects. That is, if there are concentrations of disadvantage below which negative effects are removed or substantially reduced, then mixing should seek to dilute disadvantaged households below such levels. Following a review of the American research Galster (2011) draws the following conclusions:

- The independent impacts of neighbourhood poverty rates in encouraging negative outcomes for individuals like crime, school leaving, and duration of poverty spells appear to be nil unless the neighbourhood exceeds about 20% poverty, whereupon the externality effects grow rapidly until the neighbourhood reaches approximately 40% poverty; subsequent increases in the poverty population appear to have no marginal external effect.
- Analogously, the independent impacts of neighbourhood poverty rates in discouraging positive behaviours like working appear to be nil unless the neighbourhood exceeds about 15% poverty, whereupon the effects grow rapidly until the neighbourhood reaches roughly 30% poverty; subsequent increases in poverty appear to have no marginal effect.
- A strong negative relationship between neighbourhood property value changes and increases in neighbourhood disadvantage (poverty rates) has been identified, but only after poverty rate exceeds roughly the same 15-20% threshold as noted above.

Consistent with the above, market research conducted in relation to the redevelopment of the Kensington public housing estate indicated that private buyers were unlikely to pay market rates for housing within the estate unless private dwellings comprised between 60-70% of all dwellings. The estate now incorporates almost 55% private stock. Moreover, built form conceals the tenure identity of

much of the public housing stock, which is indistinguishable from private housing within the estate. The combined effect of increased mix and the move away from built form which signals tenure status has been sufficient to remove stigma and attract private investment at levels comparable with that in the surrounding suburb.

The above considered, a regime of complete segregation (neighbourhoods of either concentrated advantage or concentrated disadvantage) appears to be less socially efficient than one in which every neighbourhood has an equal share of the disadvantaged. Moreover, not every degree of social mix is more efficient than complete segregation. That is, only mixes with low concentrations (less than around 20-40%) of disadvantaged households appear to be more socially efficient.

There appears to be no Australian research that specifically attempts to identify social mix thresholds above/below which area effects manifest. However, as the work of Baum, Arthurson and Rickson (2010) shows, residents of larger public housing estates have a lower level of satisfaction with their neighbourhood than public housing residents located in mixed tenure CCDs.

In the specific case of AHE, the local CCDs are a place of very highly concentrated disadvantage and existing social conditions include place stigmatization and other negative social outcomes (such as poor perceptions of safety). Moreover, it is likely that links between social mix and social outcomes at AHE would display a similar pattern (i.e. characterised by non-linearity/thresholds) to those identified in American neighbourhoods by Galster, and intimated by market research and experience at Kensington. As a result, it is unlikely that prevailing conditions at AHE would be materially affected through development of a proportionally small number of dwellings on the site for occupation by more affluent households. Rather, social mix would need to be altered substantially to successfully combat existing area effects.

8.5.3 Scale

Social mix can influence quality of life in neighbourhoods and moreover only particular mixes will deliver improved quality of life (specifically, mixes with relatively low concentrations of severely disadvantaged households), the final question is, at what scale should mixing be pursued.

Some guidance is provided by the international research base. For example, several Western European studies (e.g. Buck 2001, Bolster et al. 2004, Knies 2007, Van Ham and Manley 2009), find statistically significant relationships between individual outcomes and neighbourhood variables at various scales, but stronger correlations are observed when the latter are measured at comparatively smaller spatial scales (typically measured in the several hundreds of households instead of the many thousands).

At smaller scales the impact of mixing is less clear. A number of European (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998;) and American (Kleit, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2005), Clampet-Lundquist, 2004) studies show that the degree of social interactions among different groups residing in a common neighbourhood was enhanced if the groups were more mixed at the block-or building-level scale. On this basis Jupp (1999, p. 81) advocates for pepper-potting of different housing tenures. However, he suggests that even then, low levels of social interaction between tenants studied *are hardly sufficient to create a considerably more inclusive society*. Moreover, as discussed above, very fine grained mixing may heighten potential intergroup conflicts over differences in lifestyles (Goodchild and Cole, 2001; Beekman et al, 2001; Chaskin and Joseph, 2010).

In reality, a variety of views are expressed by academic and social commentators regarding the benefits of very fine grained social mixing. For example, Arthurson (2010) following a review of the social mix research suggests that *it (social mix) seems a desirable goal at the neighbourhood level*

rather than building or housing cluster. However, Galster (2011) largely on the basis of the same research suggests mixing at the scale of a couple of hundred dwellings, but not at a finer scale (for example within buildings). In the Australian context, work conducted by Baum, Arthurson and Rickson (2010) identifies significant relationships between social mix and neighbourhood satisfaction at the CCD level. The implication of this work is that clusters of disadvantage/public housing at the scale of around 200 dwellings are sufficient to change ratings of neighbourhood satisfaction for residents and consequently that mixing employed at a finer grain has the potential to improve ratings. Indeed, they suggest that:

> *around 200 dwellings… represents the best level of aggregation with which to consider the impact of neighbourhood social mix as other higher levels of aggregation (such as suburb, postal code or statistical local area) are too large to offer any meaningful understanding*

Stakeholders consulted as part of this project also had varying opinions regarding the benefits of very fine grain mixing (i.e. between and within buildings). Greater consensus was available when mixing was discussed at the inter-building scale.

How should this research and opinion be used to direct regeneration at AHE? The observed place stigma and poor perceptions of safety at AHE (see Section 7) demonstrate that neighbourhood level mixing is not necessarily sufficient to avoid area effects. That is, if increased mix was pursued in the local neighbourhood (i.e. Fitzroy), but not in a way that introduced greater mixing at AHE, existing stigma could reasonably be expected to persist in relation to AHE.

However, there is not strong evidence suggesting that tenure mixing within buildings will facilitate high value social interactions between tenure groups. The above considered, mixing at AHE should seek primarily to diminish place stigmatisation and increase social control, by breaking up significant clusters of public housing at least at the scale of buildings. Moreover, where tenure status is concealed and clusters of buildings providing one tenure or another are avoided, then building level mix has greatest potential to contribute to resolving issues relating to stigma and social control.

As to whether tenures should be mixed within buildings or between floors, the research available cannot enable this question to be answered with great confidence. In any case, renewal initiatives undertaken within Australia (such as Kensington) appear to have achieved substantial place improvements without intra-building tenure mixing. If intra-building mix is pursued, that the proportion of social housing should be lowered to below the 40% threshold identified by Galster for neighbourhoods (and preferably to 20%).

8.6 The Influence of Dwellings Type and Size

The figure below makes use of data collected as part of the 2011 Census to illustrate the link between dwelling type (unit/apartment, town house) and dwelling size (bedrooms) and tenure type within Inner Melbourne.

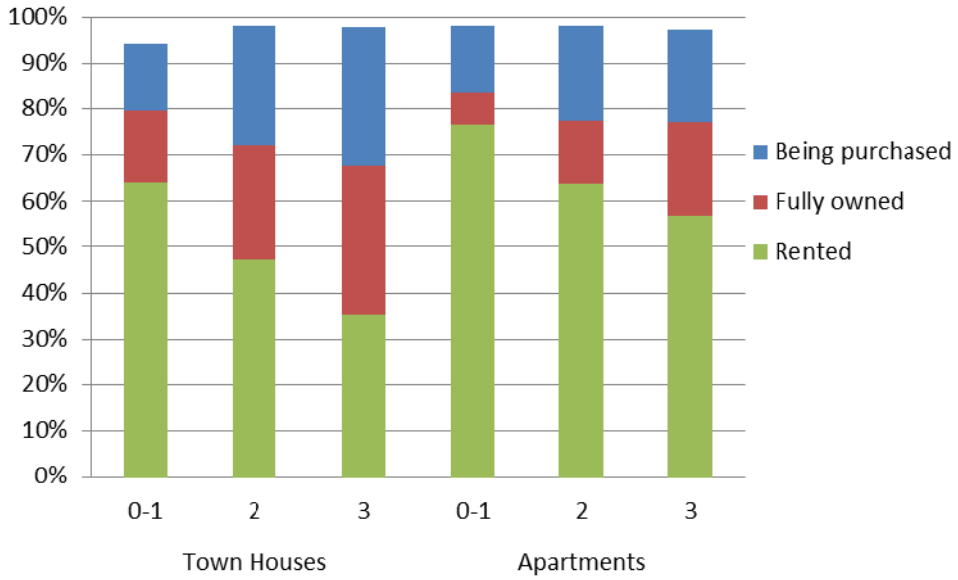


Figure 8-2: Tenure and Dwelling Type/Size (Bedrooms) in Inner Melbourne

A greater proportion of households living in townhouses were owner occupiers (54%) than was the case with unit/apartments (30%). By way of comparison, owner occupiers comprised 69% of households living in detached dwellings in Inner Melbourne as at 2011. In the case of both townhouses and apartments, owner occupation becomes more common as dwelling size increases with owner occupiers comprising respectively 62% and 40% of households residing in townhouses and apartments with three bedrooms (see Figure above).

The type of households that take residence in a dwelling is also influenced by dwelling type and size. To illustrate, the table below compares dwelling type and size with household/family type and household size for Inner Melbourne.

Table 8-2: Household/Family Type and Dwelling Type/Size in Inner Melbourne

	Semi-detached, row or terrace house, townhouse, etc.			Flat, unit or apartment, etc.			Detached House		
Bedroom	0-1	2	3	0-1	2	3	0-1	2	3
Couple	40%	38%	22%	34%	35%	22%	44%	37%	21%
Couple with children	3%	22%	43%	3%	13%	27%	6%	25%	50%
One parent family	2%	7%	10%	2%	7%	19%	1%	7%	9%
Other family	0%	2%	2%	1%	3%	4%	1%	2%	2%
Lone Person	50%	18%	8%	57%	22%	9%	44%	19%	7%
Group Household	4%	13%	16%	4%	19%	19%	3%	10%	10%

Ave. HH Size	1.3	1.9	2.5	1.3	1.8	2.4	1.4	1.9	2.6

Source: ABS Census 2011

As the table above shows, average household size increases with the number of bedrooms provided and is marginally higher in townhouses compared with apartments. This trend reflects the take up of apartments and townhouses of varying sizes by different household/family types. Specifically, and not surprisingly, families with children comprise a smaller proportion of households residing in apartments compared with other dwelling types, and families with children are less common in smaller dwellings no matter what the dwelling type (being virtually absent in the case of 1 bedroom apartments and townhouses). Conversely, lone person households are the dominant household type in the case of one bedroom apartments and townhouses, and represent an increasingly smaller share of all households as dwelling size increases.

The trends outlined above have implications for the age profile of populations residing in different dwelling types and sizes. As the table below shows, fewer children and youths live in small apartments and townhouses. Conversely, greater numbers of working age adults live in apartments and townhouses than detached dwellings, although their numbers decrease as dwelling size increases.

Table 8-3: Dwelling Type and Age Structure

	Semi-detached, row or terrace house, townhouse, etc.			Flat, unit or apartment, etc.			Detached House		
Bedroom	0-1	2	3	0-1	2	3	0-1	2	3
0-4 years	1%	5%	8%	1%	4%	5%	2%	8%	6%
5-9 years	0%	2%	5%	0%	2%	4%	0%	6%	3%
10-14 years	0%	1%	4%	0%	1%	4%	1%	5%	2%
15-19 years	0%	1%	4%	1%	2%	5%	0%	4%	1%
20-24 years	4%	5%	8%	10%	10%	12%	5%	6%	4%
25-29 years	14%	13%	11%	24%	21%	14%	14%	7%	11%
30-39 years	16%	17%	9%	20%	18%	9%	14%	7%	14%
40-49 years	9%	13%	9%	11%	11%	7%	10%	8%	12%
50-59 years	8%	9%	8%	7%	7%	6%	9%	9%	8%
60 years +	5%	6%	7%	5%	5%	6%	6%	8%	7%
Ave. HH Size	1.3	1.9	2.5	1.3	1.8	2.4	1.4	1.9	2.6

Source: ABS Census 2011

At the time of the 2011 Census, one and two bedroom dwellings comprised the vast majority of existing apartment stock in Inner Melbourne (approximately 85%). However, larger apartments are the dwelling type most likely to attract families with children and owner occupiers, and it is this household/tenure type that would be most likely to facilitate increased informal social control at AHE. Moreover, families with children would potentially send children to local schools and make use of local family and children's services in the area, opening a potential pathway for social interaction with existing AHE residents.

Townhouses (or rather dwellings with direct street access) with two or more bedrooms would be more likely than apartments of any size to attract families with children and owner occupiers.

8.7 **Property Management**

Commentators from across the world emphasise that physical renewal is a necessary component of strategies to address area affects including place stigma, but that physical renewal alone may not be sufficient to address major issues.

In addition, an effective approach to property management and community engagement must accompany physical renewal. The experience of urban renewal at Kensington serves to illustrate the potential effectiveness of renewal strategies that include physical renewal and place management strategies. In this example, a full time place manager is located within the grounds of the estate and provides a responsive approach to physical maintenance and tenancy management (See Appendix 2).

Residents and other stakeholders consulted by CAPIRE also referred to the importance of place management, to illustrate:

> *If better management was in place, like Kensington Urban Communities, then redevelopment could be put on the table (Resident of AHE, Community Information Session)*

It should also be noted that Place Management teams have been introduced at AHE. However, they are not yet responsible for physical maintenance of the site as is the case at Kensington.

8.8 **Summary and Design Objectives for AHE**

The preceding discussion suggests that broadening social mix at AHE has the potential to deliver positive social outcomes for existing AHE residents and residents of the surrounding area. The following key findings have been made:

- Causal pathways between tenure and dwelling mix, social mix and social outcomes that do not rely on social interaction between different social groups are most likely to yield benefits. Specifically, increased social control, improved economy of place and (to a lesser extent) distal role modelling are mechanisms that are likely to yield improvements in terms of reduced crime, increased safety and reduced stigma.
- Residents of different tenures are unlikely to interact in ways that lead to potential social benefits. The interactions that does occur would most likely be between residents across only a modest range of incomes. Where larger income gaps exist between residents in different housing tenures, the probability of interaction appears more remote. This is irrespective of whether mixing is pursued within or between buildings.
- Social interaction between tenure groups would be facilitated by the provision of accommodation suitable for families with children.
- Social mixing on the basis of economic status seems more important than on the basis of immigrant status in terms of enabling access to employment and other opportunities.
- The research and case study material suggest that mixing at AHE would need to dilute disadvantaged households to less than 50% of all households to remove stigma.

- Mixing should be pursued at the scale of multiple hundreds of households as a minimum.
- The design of the mixed tenure development is important. Development which disguises the tenure identity of buildings and that uses a built form in keeping with the surrounding urban environment is more likely to succeed in terms of reducing place stigma.

A well-designed mixed tenure development at AHE is likely to deliver substantial positive social benefits to existing residents of the estate and its surrounds. However, consistent with the advice of a number of commentators, caution must be taken not to expect too much from a physical renewal process alone. The following comments are indicative of the cautious support for mixed tenure development prevalent in the academic literature:

> *Planners should not be lulled into thinking that social mix - even at its most successful - is a panacea for disadvantage. Neighbourhood environment alone may be insufficient to change drastically the economic prospects of adults who lack basic human capital, social skills, or means of transportation that would unlock doors of opportunity. It will take a more comprehensive set of social welfare interventions and supports to provide fair opportunities for all citizens, even in a world of 'optimally' socially mixed neighbourhoods (Galster 2011)*

> *Low-income residents living in mixed-income developments are ideally afforded a set of opportunities that other forms of low-income housing typically do not offer. These include an attractive, affordable, well-managed home; a mix of fellow tenants who demand safe surroundings and market amenities while effecting greater social control over their living environment; a better place for their children to grow and play; and participation in a more empowered constituency that demands and typically receives higher-quality goods and services from public and private actors. Yet even with these observable socioeconomic supports, mixed-income developments in and of themselves cannot be expected to fully counteract poverty for their residents. The underlying causes and multiple effects of poverty are structural and too interwoven to be solved from just a housing platform (Costigan 2006).*

On the basis of the above, the following design objectives are suggested for the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Tenure) Public - should comprise up to 50% of all dwellings. A critical mass of public housing should be retained on-site to ensure existing social and service networks can continue to operate

Design Objective (Location/Arrangement) Tenure mixing should be pursued at the building level (as a minimum). Private and public buildings should be dispersed throughout the site and not concentrated in particular zones.

Design Objective (Design Detail) Building Design should conceal tenure status.

Design Objective: (Use) Private dwellings - A mix of one, two and three+ bedroom apartments should be developed to attract families with children and owner occupation. Inclusion of dwellings with direct street access as part of the dwelling mix would be beneficial.

9 Community Facilities

9.1 Introduction

This section considers the type/number of community facilities that should be developed within AHE to meet the needs of existing and future residents and facilitate physical and social integration of the estate and its surrounds with the broader Fitzroy neighbourhood. All Australian jurisdictions have developed key policies which support provision of community facilities and open space and recognize the value of this infrastructure in contributing to the overall health and well-being of communities. To illustrate:

> *Investment in social infrastructure is essential for the health, wellbeing and economic prosperity of communities. It plays an important role in bringing people together, developing social capital, maintaining quality of life, and developing the skills and resilience essential to strong communities. (Queensland Government Office of Urban Management, 2006, Social Infrastructure Planning Implementation Guidelines No.5)*

In addition to meeting broader community needs, community facilities form part of the public realm. If appropriately targeted and designed to encourage use by a diverse range of people, these assets can activate urban areas and contribute to creating a sense of community, belonging and identity for local communities.

9.2 Children's Services

As discussed in Section 5.2, children's services located close to AHE have capacity to accommodate additional demand created by an increase in population at AHE, such as that likely to be associated with implementation of the Master Plan.

However, location of children's services within AHE, particularly in a way that makes these services readily accessible to the broader community, has the potential to aid physical and social integration of the estate. To this end, the soon to be developed Atherton Children Hub, which will be located to the north west corner of AHE, would achieve this objective. The key challenge for the Master Plan is to ensure that this facility is physically integrated with the broader estate. Hence the following design objective will be of paramount importance.

Design Objective: (Use) Ensure pedestrian connections are established from King William Street to existing and future public open space within AHE, in a manner that integrates the Atherton Children Hub with the AHE.

9.3 Meeting Spaces

9.3.1 Public Meeting Spaces

The supply of public meeting spaces in the Fitzroy is adequate and would not require expansion due to the Master Plan.

9.3.2 Communal Meeting Spaces

It is reasonable that some spaces be incorporated with the Master Plan Area to respond directly to the needs of existing and future residents. At present there is one larger space (200 person on capacity), one mid-range space (60 person capacity) and two smaller spaces (30 person capacity). There is also a small office space available for general use.

Inspection of the current booking register indicates that demand is greatest for the larger space. This may simply reflect the fact that the larger space (140 Brunswick Hall), is a reasonably pleasant space, rather than the size requirement of particular user groups (for example, it is doubtful whether the home work club requires a 200 person capacity venue). Depending on the approach taken to red-development of the site, it is suggested that the existing mix of spaces be retained (either *in situ*, or developed as part of new buildings). If existing spaces are to be provided within new buildings, they should be clustered in community hub.

A more strategic approach to managing the spaces should be employed, whereby, larger spaces are reserved for activities with greater space requirements, and activity distributed more evenly between spaces. Consideration should be given to associating types of activity with particular spaces (for example more active activities such a table tennis may be directed to one space or another). In this way residents of all tenures will be encouraged to frequent different spaces depending on their various needs. Finally, no space should be associated with one tenure group or another. Attempts should be made to ensure this is understood by situating facilities in locations which work against their association with one any particular tenure group.

In addition to the formal meeting spaces outlined above, it is recommended below that a mix of communal indoor and outdoor spaces be provided for casual use. Each building should have at least one such space associated with it (or located within in it in the case of indoor spaces). While the size of these spaces should reflect their primary intended use (i.e. gym, library/reading room, barbecue area etc.) they should be easily adaptable.

Residents have expressed an interest in developing a dedicated youth space. In this context, it should be recognized that the City of Yarra Community Youth Centre is located on Napier Street, only meters from the AHE. Youths living within AHE looking to participate in formal youth programs should look to this facility and also the Cubbies adventure playground, also located immediately adjacent to AHE. Moreover, there are a range of existing public and semi-private outdoor and indoor spaces that can support the activities of young people located within and in close proximity to AHE.

However, it would still be potentially beneficial to incorporate an indoor space aimed at the needs and interests of young people within the estate (amenities provided to be determined in consultation with young people), particularly given resident concerns relating to youth boredom (see Section 7.5). Therefore, one of the recommended indoor communal spaces (see below) should be made available for casual use by youths. This space should be located toward Atherton Reserve in a high traffic part of the estate. Visual access of the space should be possible from the outside. More generally, all communal indoor spaces within the state should be made available for use by young people and enable their participation in recreation, arts, IT etc.

9.4 **Indoor Recreation**

Resident suggestions to provide an enclosed recreation centre are likely to reflect a limited view of opportunities available within the Fitzroy neighbourhood. Even if a new facility was constructed issues relating to programming and supervision would need to be solved. Therefore, effort should be made to support youth to make better use of existing assets to meet their needs. One clear opportunity is that presented by the MAYSR Gym, which has expressed an interest accepting youths from AHE at little to no cost.

The above considered, although an indoor stadium/recreation space is not necessarily required to meet the needs of AHE residents alone, if development of such a facility was aligned with the broader strategic objectives of City of Yarra, consideration may be given to a joint venture, which sees a public

indoor recreation asset develop on site. Such an objective could not be identified in City of Yarra's Open space or sports strategies, however.

9.5 **Retail**

It was beyond the scope of this study to consider demand for retail floor space within AHE. However, to the extent that market conditions support inclusion of retail floor space, this has the potential to activate the estate.

Stakeholders consulted by CAPIRE were supportive of the introduction of retail and/or commercial uses into the estate. In particular, this was seen as an opportunity to develop a market or food co-op, linked with the existing community garden, which could provide residents with access to affordable and fresh food. Similarly, a number of stakeholder suggested developing a social enterprise café which employs AHE residents.

Based on these findings the following design objectives will be important.

Design Objective: (Use) Retain and expand existing provision of indoor communal open spaces provided to support the activities of formal groups. As a minimum provide

1 space 200 person capacity

1 space 90 person capacity

1 space 60 person capacity

2 spaces 30 person capacity

1 office space

Design Objective: (Use) Each building should comprise at least one communal indoor space for casual use. One such space should be dedicated to meeting the needs of youths within the estate and amenities provided following consultation with younger residents.

10 Open Space

10.1 **Introduction**

This section considers the amount and type of open space that would be required within AHE to deliver an adequate quality of life for existing and future residents. Urban open space delivers a host of environmental, social, economic, psychological and physical benefits.

Requirements relating to open space provision in higher density housing developments are currently dictated by Clause 52.35 and the *Guidelines for Higher Density Residential Development* (Department of Sustainability and Environment, 2004). The *Guidelines for Higher Density Residential Development* Objective 6.1: "*Ensure access to open space for all residents*" addresses the functionality, form and orientation of open spaces in high density residential developments. This section considers what open space should be provided within AHE in light of the Guidelines and specific information regarding the needs and aspirations of existing and future communities.

10.2 **Tenure**

In relation to tenure, the Guidelines (at 6.1.2) suggest that open space should be clearly defined as private or public and that access and associated facilities and landscaping should be designed accordingly. There is clear support for this approach in the literature, mostly in the form of evidence linking effective management of space (through clear delineation of the space/management responsibility and regular maintenance), and reductions in unauthorised use of space. That is, clearly bounded spaces that are provided for an obvious purpose and that are well-maintained signify a sense of 'ownership' and proprietary concern in relation to the space, which acts as a disincentive for unsanctioned use/behaviours. Design that seeks to reinforce notions of propriety concern (or a 'sense of ownership') is commonly said to increase the 'territoriality' of a space (See Cozens *et. al*. 2005).

In the case of the Kensington Case Study, there is evidence that improved landscaping which provides legible pedestrian routes through the estate, removal of fences and other barriers (which confused the distinction between public and private open space) and diligent management of estate grounds, has increased pedestrian through traffic (an authorised use) and reduced crime and antisocial behaviour in open spaces throughout the estate.

However, typical of performance based approaches to urban planning the *Guidelines* provide no minimum requirement in relation to either public or private open space (although a minimum size for private open space, when provided, is recommended). Rather, the guidelines simply state that open space can be provided as:

- private open space including balconies, terraces or courtyards;
- communal open space shared between dwellings; or
- public open space accessible to residents and visitors.

Research relating to social mix discussed above indicates potential for conflict between tenants of different social groups. Researchers working in the area of social mix research highlight the importance of providing a hierarchy of spaces including private, communal and public space. Provision of variety of spaces enables people to choose when to mingle or stay apart.

Moreover, Australian research consistently shows that residents of high density environments place a high value on access to private open space (Buys *et al* 2008; Metropolis Research 2005). Moreover, private (and communal) open spaces can play an important role in facilitating social interactions. For

example Henderson-Wilson (2008) conducted a cross-tenure study of inner-city high-rise residents in Sydney and Melbourne. They found that many residents did not have access to outdoor areas to entertain, and considered that this was a contributing factor in their development lacking a strong sense of social connectedness. Conversely, when open spaces were provided, especially containing barbecues, they created a stronger sense of community.

Standards for higher density development in Vancouver (discussed further below) suggest that all dwellings should have a private open space (such as a balcony). In the case of dwellings provided to accommodate families, the Vancouver standards suggest a minimum size of 1.8 m deep by 2.7 m wide. The Vancouver standards also suggest that private open space should be designed to maximise sunlight access, safety, adaptability for a variety of family activities

Given the likely diverse mix of future residents at AHE, each dwelling should be provisioned with private open space and also a mix of communal and public spaces should be provided. In the case of private open space, the existing Guidelines provide clear direction, stating that each space should be large enough to accommodate outdoor seating.

The above considered the following design objectives should guide the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Tenure) All dwellings should be provided with private open space.
Design Objective: (Use) Private open space should be of sufficient size to accommodate outdoor seating

The type of public and communal spaces that should be provided are discussed further below

10.3 **Use**

The existing *Guidelines* are not prescriptive regarding use or quantity of open space (and have been criticized for this reason, see Guthrie and March 2011; and Whitzman and Mizrachi (2009). Given the lack of direction in terms of function/quantity, determining how open spaces at AHE should be used and how much space should be provided must be done with reference to functional objectives. Public and communal open space at AHE, like all open spaces, can contribute to meeting three main functional objectives: facilitating solar access and a sense of openness; providing pedestrian connections; and enabling activity. Each of these functions is discussed below in the context of the needs of the AHE population.

At this point it is worth noting that all public (and communal) open space within AHE, regardless of its functional purpose, should be designed to be a desirable place. In this way, design will encourage occupation and use, rather than abandonment, leading to greater levels of safety.

Solar access and a sense of openness

The value of public/communal open space in terms of providing a sense of openness and facilitating solar access to private indoor and outdoor spaces space is recognized in the existing *Guidelines* which suggest that open space should *provide an outlook for as many dwellings as possible and allow solar access to private and shared open spaces.*

Although not prescriptive, the Guidelines suggest that outlooks should include substantial greenery (at 6.5) and therefore that *substantial areas* should be left for landscaping *to provide sufficient growing room for trees between buildings and property boundaries.* The figure below is included within the *Guidelines*. Its shows separations between buildings sufficient to allow trees in excess of 15 metres high (the actual separation depicted is greater than 20 metres).

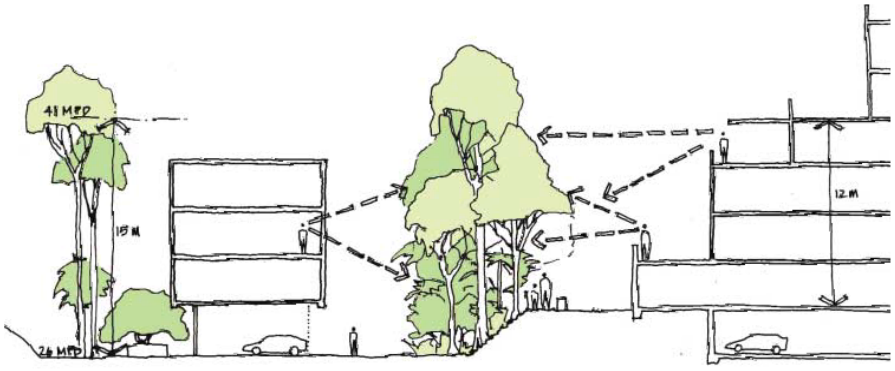


Figure 10-1: Provide an Outlook For As Many Dwellings As Possible

The idea that buildings should be separated at least a minimum distance is a feature of planning controls for higher density environments in other jurisdictions.[10] Moreover, these controls typically stipulate greater separation as the height of buildings increases, suggesting that structures should be stepped back from 'street level' as their height increases. Similar advice is contained within the Guidelines, although a performance approach is used, rather than minimum distances.

In light of the above, although the existing Guidelines do not contain explicit requirements in relation to minimum quantities of public/communal open space, in order to deliver adequate amenity to private spaces (indoor and outdoor) minimum spacing between buildings is necessary. Moreover, as buildings get taller, greater separation is required. These design requirements are reasonable and in fact, must be fulfilled to obtain planning approval. There are no features of the existing or potential future population that necessitate a different approach to that taken in the Guidelines in relation to minimum building separations.

The above considered the following design objectives should guide the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Use) Ensure open space between buildings is sufficient to enable an outlook from dwellings that includes substantial greenery, and are otherwise consistent with the DSE Guidelines.

Provides connections

The existing Guidelines do not emphasis the importance of pedestrian connections or site permeability, other than suggesting that public open spaces should be well connected with pedestrian routes within the site and with surrounding areas. However, the importance of open space areas in contributing to the permeability of a high density site should not be ignored. This is particularly the case in the context of AHE, which constitutes a large impermeable barrier to movement within the Fitzroy suburb, which is out of character with the surrounding permeable urban fabric (see Section 3).

The City of Yarra Open Space Strategy (YOSS) alludes to the potential for pedestrian routes to be established through AHE. Specifically routes allowing access between Brunswick Street and Napier Street, and from Gertrude Street through to the Atherton Reserve are suggested. By introducing connections such as those outlined in the in YOSS, would integrate AHE physically with its surrounds an important first step in removing stigma associated with the estate. A hierarchy of pedestrian routes will be required through the entire site to enable access to buildings and open space within the site,

[10] For example see Liverpool Local Environmental Plan 2008 - Reg 7.4, Liverpool, NSW

and nearby open spaces and facilities. The public access routes described above should be the highest order elements in this hierarchy and be designed to be easily identifiable, and deliver a high degree of amenity.

The above considered the following design objectives should guide the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Use) Develop a prominent public open space corridor with supporting pedestrian infrastructure (pathway, seating, etc.) enabling access through AHE in an east west and north south direction, consistent with the YOSS.

Enables Activity - Public Open Space

As suggested in Section 8, the ability of the Master Plan to remove stigma and encourage use of the AHE by visitors, as well as residents, is fundamental to the success of the project. Integration of AHE with its surrounds both physically and socially would be aided through incorporation of public open space within the AHE.

The Master Plan presents an opportunity to enhance the existing network of open space in Fitzroy, with benefits for the broader community, and at the same time, lessening the (physical and social) distinction between the estate and its surrounds. Stakeholders consulted as part of the initial consultation phase, including AHE residents, were supportive of moves to provide public open space on-site.[11]

The existing *Guidelines* do not dictate what sort of public open space should be provided within a high density development, or how much, other than to say (at Obj 6.6) any open space provided should be appropriate to its context. According to the *Guidelines*

> *Public open spaces can take a variety of forms including neighbourhood parks, squares or plazas. These are generally most successful if they are relatively small (not larger than a block), lined with active edges, with access to sun and shade and opportunities for passive recreation. They can provide a focus for community activity and should be located in prominent, important, easily accessible places. Direct access to important pedestrian routes integrated with an area's wider circulation network will support the regular use of such open spaces, and will assist in supporting their vitality and safety.*

As the Guidelines suggest, the particular type of open space chosen for AHE should complement spaces available in the immediate environs. At present there are a number of public open spaces in close proximity to the site, including the Atherton Reserve and number of smaller open spaces such as George Street Reserve, Condell Street Park and Whitlam Place. To compliment these existing spaces, a passive urban open space should be developed. Consistent with the guidelines, the space should be approximately the size of a street block (around 0.5-1 hectares).

Fitzroy is densely populated area, with a large proportion of buildings made from brick and stone. As a result, the public open space should have a green character, which provides ample shade and a respite from the urban heat island.

It would also be beneficial in terms of facilitating physical and social integration of AHE and surrounding communities, to permit public access to some active open spaces within AHE, such as playgrounds/basketball court and thereby further contribute to overall public open space provision in the area (see below).

[11] CAPIRE (2011)

The approach taken to open space provision should recognize the significance of existing communal space within AHE to Victoria's Indigenous community.

The above considered the following design objectives should guide the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Use) Include a passive urban open space in a prominent, important, easily accessible place within AHE with direct access to important pedestrian routes. The Space should not be 0.5 to 1 Hectare in size, lined with active edges, with access to sun and shade and opportunities for passive recreation. The space should have a green character.

Design Objective: (Location Arrangement) Connect the public open space with Atherton Reserve (visually and with pedestrian routes), to create an open space corridor extending through AHE.

Design Objective: (Use) Consider each existing functionally specific open space area in terms of suitability for public access, including playgrounds and the basketball area.

Design Objective: (Location Arrangement /Design Detail): The approach taken to open space provision should recognize the significance of existing communal space within AHE to Victoria's Indigenous community.

Enables Activity – Communal Open Space

In addition to public open spaces a number of communal open spaces should be provided for use by estate residents. These spaces should respond specifically to the needs of the resident population/fill gaps that are not met by existing public open space in close proximity to the AHE.

As with public open space the design of communal spaces can create safe places by making them desirable and therefore occupied rather than abandoned. These spaces should be designed to encourage access and use. Specifically spaces are required to support:

- Socialising, Recreation, Relaxation
- Community building
- The needs of families with children and youth

Socialising, Recreation, Relaxation

Common areas are very important spaces in the context of higher density residential developments, as they offer opportunities for social exchange and interaction between residents as well as between residents and their friends. This is especially important since smaller apartments may not provide good spaces for entertainment and entertaining, a shortcoming that communal spaces can go some way towards addressing (Foth & Sanders 2005: 5-6). Common outdoor areas are also particularly important in those developments that do not include private outdoor space. This is demonstrated by the result of a cross-tenure study of inner-city high-rise residents in Sydney and Melbourne (Henderson-Wilson 2008). The study found that residents of developments which did not have include outdoor areas to entertain considered that this was a contributing factor in their development lacking a strong sense of social connectedness. Conversely, when open spaces were provided, especially containing barbecues, they created a stronger sense of community.

Guthrie and March (2011) investigated resident expectations regarding communal spaces in high-rise development in Melbourne (Docklands and Southbank). Key findings included:

- Spaces should support a range of activities and uses including relaxation, social activities, etc. Respondents desired aesthetic variety and a *rich and varied environment, with ranges of colour, texture, shape and smell*.

- Communal open spaces should facilitate contact and relations between residents. In particular the extent and orientation of seating and tables was considered important. One participant in the study commented that communal open spaces provide “a place where kids and adults can gather and make friends”.

However, while communal open spaces are clearly beneficial in the context of higher density developments, a number of studies point to potential conflict regarding the use of communal open spaces in developments populated by a diverse range of households. For example, Mulholland Research and Consulting (2003), in a study on privacy and density in London, found that diverse household types within a development can exacerbate problems with use of communal spaces, especially as families see communal spaces as play zones, while older singles and couples preferred quiet social space, and younger adults preferred to use them for noisier entertaining. In some cases, this has led to deadlock in residents’ associations, with an inability to get all residents to agree over appropriate levels of privacy and freedom.

The above considered, and consistent with the Singapore and Vancouver open space recommendations, a variety of smaller, tailored communal open spaces should be provided within AHE that allow for a range of passive and social activities.

The above considered the following design objectives should guide the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Tenure/Use) Provide one significant public open space between 0.5 and 1 hectare.

Design Objective (Tenure/Use): A variety of communal spaces (indoor and outdoor) should be provided that support social activity and relaxation. Provide one indoor/outdoor space per 100 dwellings.

Community Building – Community Gardens

One of the key aims of the Master Plan is to broaden social mix at AHE and in turn facilitate greater interaction between existing estate residents and the broader community. The potential for this to occur and the likelihood that interaction would generate enhanced social and economic participation for estate residents has been discussed above. Notwithstanding, the goals of increasing interaction can be furthered through inclusion of open spaces that encourage shared activity among existing and future estate residents.

An activity that has been shown to encourage social interaction between social groups is community gardening. Community gardens have been shown to:

- Improve health by involving people in physical exercise and encouraging uptake of healthy diets/providing access to fresh produce encourage uptake of more healthy diets (see Litt et al 2011)
- Support skills development and increased confidence
- Enhance social interaction - as places where people come together with a common purpose, community gardens are places where people get to meet others

In addition, community gardens have been shown to improve land values in areas close to the garden. For example, in their 2008 study of New York neighbourhoods, Voicu and Been modelled the impact on real estate prices within 1,000 feet of community gardens. They found that community

gardens have significant positive effects, especially in poorer neighbourhoods where neighbouring property values increased by as much as 9.2 per-cent within five years of gardens opening.[12]

In line with experience elsewhere, stakeholder feedback collected as part of the Master Planning process has confirmed that current alue the existing community garden located at AHE both in terms of enjoyment obtained from gardening, social contact and aesthetics.

Garden plot take up rates have been studied in detail by Cultivating Communities who currently manage community garden plots at AHE. At present there are 65 active plots at Fitzroy (1 plot per 12 dwellings), with around 35 people on a waiting list to obtain a plot. Waiting lists are likely to underestimate demand, particularly when lists are seen as impractically long by potential gardens. This considered, a total demand of around 1 plot per 7-8 dwellings is evident.

Cultivating Communities have indicated that it is desirable that gardens incorporate at least 30 plots and no more than 60 plots. The minimum size relates to building critical mass and enthusiasm among gardens and the maximum size relates to difficulties which arise in managing large community groups.

The above considered the following design objectives should guide the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Use) Provide at least one community garden plot for every 12 dwellings located at AHE.

Design Objective (Tenure): Garden plots in each garden should be available to residents of all tenures. No one gardens should become dominated by residents of one tenure or another

Design Objective: (Location/Arrangement) Gardens should be comprised of at least 30 plots and no more than 60 plots. Plots should be located to ensure adequate solar access. Community gardens may be located at ground level, or on roof tops, etc.

Design Objective: (Design Detail) Fencing should allow for the visual amenity contribution of the gardens to contribute to the aesthetics of AHE, while also maintaining security.

Families with Children

A recent investigation of the adequacy of open spaces within high density development in Melbourne for families conducted by Guthrie and March (2011) provides some insight into the likely needs and aspirations of future residents. The researchers inspected a number of high rise developments in Docklands and Southbank and interviewed 26 resident households.

The researchers found that open spaces within existing high density developments do not respond well to the needs of families with children. In particular, those interviewed indicated that the type of spaces provided did not allow a place for children to 'burn off energy'. Moreover, due to the location of spaces, no interviewees allowed their children to use spaces unsupervised.

Whitzman and Mizrachi (2009) in their report to the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (Vertical Living Kids) suggest that, in order to make high rise living environments suitable for children[13]:

[12] Voicu, I. and Been, V. 2008, "The Effect of Community Gardens on Neighbouring Property Values", Real Estate Economics 36:2, pp. 241–283

[13] The Report was provided by City of Yarra, indicating their endorsement of the content, at least in general terms

An approach based on the Singapore and Vancouver should be followed in Melbourne and other Australian cities. Both cities promote a range of apartment sizes, including three and four bedroom apartments, in high rise accommodation. They also promote a range of household income types living in neighbourhoods. Then they support these families through a hierarchy of play spaces, from child-safe balconies to courtyard play spaces overlooked by housing, through larger playgrounds and recreation centres with good walking (low car traffic) access. Singapore provides a model for how destinations, walkability, and a network of recreational spaces can be planned into high rise housing, through an implicit assumption that families will be living there

The specific elements of the Singapore spatial hierarchy advocated in the Vertical Living Kids document are:

- 'Doorstep' facilities like a small games court or a children's playground provided within every cluster of three to four buildings, comprising 500 to 1,000 units.
- One children's playground and hard court for volleyball or badminton to every 1,000-1,200 dwelling units
- One neighbourhood park of at least 1-1.5 hectares plus one football field for every 'neighbourhood' of 6,000 dwelling units
- Precincts in turn are linked by footpaths to neighbourhood centres, which are in turn linked by both footpaths and rapid transport to town centres.

The specific elements of the Vancouver approach advocated in the *Vertical Living Kids* document are:

- Sites with family housing should be within 0.8 km walking distance of an elementary school and its outdoor play area, a day-care centre, an after-school care facility, a community centre, and grocery shopping and within 0.4km walking distance to a playground and a public transit stop
- Common Open Space - the number of households related to a common, semi-private outdoor open space should not exceed 100
- Common Open Space - experience has shown that children will play everywhere; the entire site should be designed to withstand use by children

If, as *Vertical Living Kids* suggests, these standards should guide provision of open space within AHE, the implications are:

- AHE is currently over provisioned with formal children's playground (four existing and only one is required). Density increase associated with the Master Plan would generate additional demand, perhaps necessitating two play areas (in this context, it should be noted that an existing public children's playground is located 250 metres to the north east at Condell Street Park, which is located within the distance threshold suggested in the Vancouver standards).
- An existing Catholic primary school is located immediately to the north of the AHE (Sacred Heart Catholic Primary) and a public primary school is located 400 metres to the north (Fitzroy Primary), which contribute to making the site a suitable location for higher density living.
- The one existing basketball court at AHE meets the Singapore standard. It is unlikely that the Master Plan would increase dwelling numbers to a level where a second court would be required (2,400 dwellings).
- The Vancouver standards suggest that a number of communal outdoor open spaces be provided throughout the Master Plan area roughly at a rate of one per 100 dwellings. It is possible that the

recommended number of communal spaces be provided as a mix of indoor and outdoor spaces (for example, gyms, BBQ areas, spaces for youth, etc.) Combined with facilitating convenient access to public open spaces located in close proximity to AHE (such as Atherton Gardens Reserve) these spaces would ensure the estate residents enjoy access to open space consistent with the Singapore and Vancouver standards.

Further to the above, Vertical Living Kids recommends; provision of a spatial hierarchy of interesting local play spaces that allow for a gradual extension of children's travel range, facilitating informal surveillance of play spaces for younger children from adjacent housing, and supporting innovative design and age-appropriate play spaces for older children. With this in mind, one of two recommended children's playgrounds should be aimed at older children. This playground should be located close(er) to Atherton Gardens Reserve and a connection with this reserve should be established, to facilitate extension of play ranges. The other playground aimed at younger children and should be imbedded within the grounds of AHE, to enable a more sheltered secure play environment.

Some residents consulted by CAPIRE suggested development of a dedicated soccer pitch within the estate is required to engage young people. Given the proximity of Atherton Reserve, this is unnecessary.

The above considered the following design objectives should guide the Master Plan.

Design Objective: (Use) Incorporate hard-court play area (basketball area) and two children's playgrounds within master plan area.

Design Objective: (Tenure) Hard-court play area one playground to be made accessible to general public . One children's play area (targeted at younger children) to be accessible to residents only

Design Objective: (Arrangement/Location) Basketball court and playground for older children associated with Atherton Reserve. Playground for younger children can be imbedded within the estate

11 The Built Form

11.1 **Introduction**

The preceding discussion suggests that tenure mixing at AHE that does not achieve a minimum proportion of private housing on-site and/or which is not accompanied by substantial physical renewal is less likely to reduce stigma and make AHE attractive to the private housing market/visitors. These conclusions, combined with the DHS objective to retain existing public housing stock, suggest a need to increase housing density on-site. Indeed, DHS has articulated the following goal for the Master Plan:

> *A significant increase in the total number of units on each site thus increasing affordable housing options, including private, not-for-profit or affordable rental housing, in well located areas*

This section considers the issue of building height in the context of the objective to increase density at AHE. Specially, the question of whether taller buildings can provide an adequate standard of living is considered. Requirements relating built form in the case of higher density housing developments are currently set out by Clause 52.35 and the *Guidelines for Higher Density Residential Development,* along with other planning scheme provisions which deal with neighbourhood character, amenity, etc. The requirements of the Guidelines in terms of open space provision have been considered in the preceding section.

11.2 **High Rise Living**

A number of early studies concluded that high-rise buildings, by and large, are not beneficial for residents, detecting problems ranging from mental stress, anxiety and suicide to behavioral problems (see Gifford 2007). In Melbourne, high-rise living has been traditionally associated with public housing and for this reason has for many years been associated with the social problems observed in these estates. However, more recently high-rise living has become a new residential option allied to affluent inner-city living (Costello 2005).

The effect of high rise-living on quality of life is influenced by a number of factors, including: the location of the building, access to facilities and services and open space and the particular characteristics of the resident including economic status, the degree of choice that residents have to select their housing, life cycle stage, gender and culture. Indeed, despite his review of early literature which tends to indicate negative impacts for residents, Gifford (2007) concedes that some individuals seem to prefer high-rise living and suggest that conclusions regarding potential negative impacts should be read tentatively. Further to the above, research investigating high-rise living tends to look at buildings greater than 15 storeys, leaving some doubt regarding the implications of this work in the context of ‘mid-range buildings’ (up to 15 storeys). Not surprisingly, Whitzman and Mizrachi (2009) surmise, *we are left with the following question: is high rise housing per se the problem?*

Noting the caution applied by Whitzman and Mizrachi (2009) it does appear that high rise buildings are more satisfactory for residents when they are more luxurious, located in better neighbourhoods and residents chose to live in them. Moreover, high rise housing (or at least apartments on higher floors) may not serve the needs of families with children particularly well. To illustrate, Bengtsson (1974) links increased building heights with restrictions on children’s independent play in a comparative study of low rise (two to three storeys) and high rise housing estates (15 storeys) outside Copenhagen. The study revealed that young children from the low rise apartment blocks played on their own outdoors at a younger age and played more frequently for longer periods of time than children who resided in the high rise estates). Similarly, anecdotal information collected as part of this

project by CAPIRE indicates that families living at AHE are concerned about the extent to which communal play spaces can be supervised from apartment windows on higher floors.

11.2.1 The Singapore Experience

The experience of high rise living in Singapore indicates that over time, inhabitants of this city have become more accustomed to high rise living and ultimately more accepting this form of housing. For example, Lim (1994) found that the percentage of residents willing to live on the10th floor and above had gradually increased from 27.9% in 1973 to 35.7% in 1977 and to 47.3% in 1981.

Similar observations have been made by Yuen (2007) who concludes that as building heights in Singapore have increased, more residents are living on (and preferring) higher floors. The author reports results of a recent survey of Singapore's social housing tenants which indicates that very high and very low floor levels are less attractive to Singapore residents than floor levels between six and 30 storeys. However, while many residents were willing to live between the sixth to thirtieth floor, less than 2% were willing to live higher than 50 storeys. Yuen concludes that as people in Singapore become used to high-rise living, more are willing to live higher and under certain conditions high-rise buildings *may yet provide a satisfying living experience*.

Table 11-1: Highest floor in which survey respondents were willing to live

Highest floor	Respondents (%)
1-5	0.9
6-10	11.3
11-15	12.5
16-20	22.4
21-25	12.2
26-30	25.9
31-50	13.1
Higher than 50	1.7

Source: Yuen 2007

11.2.2 Social Context

Although high-rise living has become increasingly accepted and desired by residents of Singapore, this does not necessarily imply that high-rise living environments are suitable for future residents of AHE. As Van Vliet (1983) argues, appropriating findings of international research related to high rise housing to an Australian context is problematic. This is because, perceptions of high rise living are likely to differ when people live in a culture where high rise, high density living is the norm. While the Singapore experience suggests that what is normal can change through time, even in this city the process has been relatively slow. Notwithstanding, in a culture where high-rise housing has become the norm, this housing form (given certain conditions) can deliver an acceptable quality of life to residents.

In the context of high rise living in Melbourne, it is likely that the community attitudes regarding the suitability of high-rise apartments as places to bring up children will be formed with reference to the living environment/opportunities enjoyed by the majority. As van Vliet (1983) emphasises *apartment children do not… live in a vacuum*, rather*, they are embedded in more encompassing social, cultural and spatial systems that may alleviate or exacerbate any effects that may occur*. Moreover, in

Australia we are used to low density living, and our thinking tends to be related to this standard. Also, existing stigmatization of Melbourne's high rise public housing estates will play a part in directing community attitudes regarding the suitability of apartments as places to raise children.

The consideration of social context and its impact on desirability/perceived suitability of higher density living for families makes it all the more important that built form outcomes at AHE disguise tenure status, that building heights integrate well with surrounding areas, and that residents are afforded with access to adequate communal indoor and outdoor spaces.

Further to the above, Deakin University has recently completed the *Living High but Healthy* inquiry which sought to investigate the potential of high rise buildings to deliver adequate living conditions for residents. This study established that a range of factors impact on inner city high-rise residents' health and wellbeing, either directly or indirectly. In particular, poor access to open space and nature was found to diminish resident wellbeing. Moreover, for public housing tenants in particular, the availability of parks, gardens and/or a body of water was found to enhance residents' quality of life, provided it was safe and easy to access. The inquiry highlights the following factors as key to ensuring residents live high and healthy:

- Safe and easy access to natural environments, in particular, community gardens, rooftop gardens and urban parks
- Apartment views that include trees, green spaces and/or water
- Safe and easy access to inner city facilities such as bicycle networks, efficient public transport, child care facilities and health services
- Opportunities for residents to participate in environmentally sustainable practices
- Opportunities to develop socially inclusive neighbourhoods and a strong sense of community

11.2.3 Amenity at Ground Level

A number of contemporary commentators advocate for denser urban forms based on buildings of around six storeys in order enable high quality street level spaces to be delivered. For example, Kate Shaw of Melbourne University suggests that:

> *Building in strategic locations to a height of four to six storeys can accommodate the projected population increases and produce small ground-floor spaces that are better suited to diverse uses*[14]

Similarly Capeluto and Shaviv (2001) analysed different urban environments in terms of the maximum density that could be achieved without preventing solar access to dwellings and ground level open spaces. They conclude that high densities can be achieved with six storey buildings while preserving the solar access for neighbouring buildings, as well solar access to open spaces between buildings.

Ground level amenity is clearly an important objective in the context of a high density development. However, ground level amenity is a functional objective and does not necessarily limit height. Rather, the need to ensure ground level amenity presents a design challenge for those seeking to develop taller buildings.

[14] Shaw, K (2011) Disturbing Developments The Age October 13, 2011

11.3 **Urban Context**

The *Guidelines for Higher Density Residential Development,* suggest that higher density development must fit within the prevailing urban context, which is explained in the following way:

> *Urban context concerns the broader setting of a development – including its existing physical surroundings, its social and economic environment, and a strategic view of the area in which it is located and its role over time. One key aspect of urban context is understanding neighbourhood character – how the features of an area come together to make a particular place distinctive. All new development should make a positive contribution to an area's character, protecting and contributing to its valued natural, built and community qualities However, higher density development implies a context that is changing – at least to some degree. Consequently, a second key aspect is to consider how the area is likely to change over time.*

The Guidelines provide detailed advice regarding the manner in which higher density developments can be designed to respond to local urban context and ensure adequate amenity within apartments and at ground level. In the context of the preceding discussion, it is important that the approach to re-development at AHE perform well in relation to these Guidelines to ensure a high level of built form integration and internal and external amenity within the estate.

11.4 **High Density Living and AHE**

The above considered, it seems likely that taller buildings can potentially deliver an adequate standard of living for their residents. Moreover, high-density residential housing has become a legitimised response to concerns about increasing suburban sprawl. As such, high-rise housing fits neatly into urban consolidation models and is now considered to be integral to the production of economically sustainable cities (Costello 2005).

Nevertheless, acceptance of the high rise housing form in Melbourne, particularly in the case of family households, will evolve relatively slowly as people are able to experience this housing form for themselves. In the meantime, and while public housing estates suffer substantial stigma, high rise apartment living may not be readily accepted as an acceptable housing form, particularly by families who have not necessarily chosen to live this way. As a result, to avoid perpetuating existing stigma relating to AHE and to ensure a high degree of satisfaction with housing among both the public and private future residents of AHE, it is important that the estate is well integrated with its surrounds and that tenure status of particular buildings is not obvious, whether as a result of their height, or design.

Against this background, the following objectives need to be achieved.

Design Objective (Use) Greater site coverage is appropriate within limits set by open space requirements and built form objectives
Design Objective (Design Detail) Building heights to ensure built form integration with Fitzroy precinct, and adequate ground level amenity, solar access, etc.
Design Objective (Arrangement/Location) Building design to mitigate bulk and scale. Tenure identify of buildings should not be obvious. Larger dwelling to be situated on lower levels to enable surveillance of open space used by children.

12 Design Objectives for AHE

On the basis of the preceding discussion, the following design objectives are suggested to guide development of the Master Plan. The design objectives represent what should be in place once the Master Plan. Design Objectives can be met by relating existing infrastructure, or developing new assets.

		Tenure	Use	Arrangement/Location	Design Detail	Comment
Housing	Existing	Public housing is only tenure	A mix of two and three bedroom apartments	Four high rise towers located at the corners of the estate.	Towers constructed from concrete and easily identifiable as public housing.	A mix of public and other tenures should be pursued. 'Area effects' such as stigmatisation operate above/below thresholds. Benefits of mixed tenure require a minimum degree of mixing. Dilution beyond a certain point would not deliver increased benefits. The Master Plan should conceal the tenure status of buildings.
	Master Plan	Public - should comprise up to 50% of all dwellings. A critical mass of public housing should be retained on-site to ensure existing social and service networks can continue to operate	Dwellings mix determined by DHS to meet client needs.	Tenure mixing should be pursued at the building level. Private and public buildings should be dispersed throughout the site and not concentrated in particular zones. Where possible, public and private buildings should be joined and share communal facilities at ground level. Larger dwellings (3+ bedrooms) (public and private) should be clustered in close proximity to Atherton Reserve, and situated on lower levels to enable surveillance of open space used by children.	Building design should conceal tenure status. Adequate storage should be provided to meet the needs of families Dwellings should provide a degree of internal amenity consistent with modern expectations, in terms of bathroom and kitchen facilities, insulation, heating and cooling, access to natural light, etc.	
		Affordable (social rental/market) housing comprise at least 10% of dwellings on the site	A mix of one, two and three+ bedroom apartments should be developed to attract families with children and owner occupation. Inclusion of dwellings with direct street access as part of the dwelling mix would be beneficial.			
		Private – to comprise at least 50% of housing				
Community Facilities	Existing	Used exclusively by estate residents	Kindergarten Meeting rooms: 1 space 200 person capacity 1 space 90 person capacity 1 space 60 person capacity 2 spaces 30 person capacity 1 office space			
	Master Plan (required)	N/A	Children's Services – None required. Need met by Atherton's Children's Hub	N/A	Create pedestrian linkages to Atherton Children Hub	
		Meeting spaces to be available for hire/booking by residents from all tenure groups Consider making spaces available to the broader community.	1 space 200 person capacity 1 space 90 person capacity 1 space 60 person capacity 2 spaces 30 person capacity 1 office space	Spaces to be clustered in a community hub	Rooms fit out to support a range of active and passive suers groups.	
		Available for casual use by residents of all tenures	A range of communal indoor and outdoor spaces supporting various uses (1 per 100 dwellings). 1 space dedicated for use by youths (Multi-purpose indoor recreational space for young people).	Each building should comprise at least one communal indoor space for casual use	Each space should be designed with a primary functional purpose in mind (i.e. gym, reading room, etc.) and at the same time be adaptable to other uses.	

		Tenure	Use	Arrangement/Location	Design Detail	Comment
	Master Plan (optional)	In partnership with Council. Open to public	Indoor recreational facility	Associated with Atherton Reserve	Determined in partnership with Council	Residents expressed the desire for an indoor recreation facility
Retail/Commercial Spaces	Existing	None				To the extent that market conditions support inclusion of retail floor space, this has the potential to activate the estate
	Master Plan	Private	To support a range of retail/commercial uses	To provide passive surveillance of open spaces		
Open Space - Public	Existing	There is currently no public open space	N/A			A hierarchy of spaces from private to semi-private to semi-public, to public including parks and shops should be available. These spaces would enable people to choose when to mingle or stay apart. The approach taken to open space provision within AHE should recognize the significance of existing communal space within AHE to Victoria's Indigenous community.
	Master Plan	Incorporate one principal public open space	Space to have a green character.	Space to be located in an prominent location and linked with key pedestrian routes Connect the public open space with Atherton Reserve (visually and with pedestrian routes), to create an open space corridor through AHE.	Space should support disability access, provide adequate seating and shade	
		Incorporate a prominent public accessible pedestrian route with supporting pedestrian infrastructure	Enable access through AHE in an east west and north south direction	Consistent with the YOSS	Landscaped to encourage use. Communal open spaces can be integrated with the pedestrian corridor.	
Open Space - Public or communal		Public or communal spaces can be used to provide dwellings with an outlook.	Ensure open space between buildings is sufficient to enable an outlook from dwellings that includes substantial greenery, and are otherwise consistent with the DSE Guidelines.	As required		
Open Space - Communal	Existing		Community Gardens – 1 plot for every 12 dwellings.	At the Base of 125 Napier Street		
			Basketball court	To the east of 120 Brunswick Street		
			Children's playgrounds (4)	Distributed throughout the site		
			BBQ area	To the east of 90 Brunswick Street		
			Passive Open Space	Distributed throughout the site		
	Master Plan	All communal open spaces should be accessible by residents of different tenures. Community garden plots to be managed through a wait list process. Some active spaces to be opened up for public use.	Community Gardens – At least 1 plot for every 12 dwellings.	Each gardens to have at least 30 plots and no more than 60 plots Fronted by active ground floors including building entries, retail, community facilities, etc. Can be provided on roof tops if appropriate	Where required fencing should allow communal open spaces to contribute to the aesthetics of AHE, while also maintaining security. Space should provide an outlook for as many dwellings as possible	
			Basketball area	Associated with Atherton Reserve		

		Tenure	Use	Arrangement/Location	Design Detail	Comment
			Children's playgrounds (2)	Playground for older children associated with Atherton Reserve. Playground for younger children can be imbedded within the estate		
			A range of communal indoor and outdoor spaces supporting various uses (1 per 100 dwellings). Uses may include BBQ areas, areas with seating, informal grassed areas to support light exercise, etc.	Each building should have least one communal outdoor space for casual use associated with it		
Private Open Space	Existing	None				
	Master Plan	Private open space should be available to dwellings of all tenures	Private open space can be provided in the form of balconies, terraces, courtyards, etc.	Well-connected to the building's interior	Of sufficient size to accommodate outdoor seating	
Built Form	Existing		Four 20 storey buildings 800 dwellings 4.8 hectares	All existing public dwellings are located in 20 storey towers		
	Master Plan	Private housing to be introduced to the site	Greater site coverage, within limits set by open space requirements and built form objectives	Building heights to ensure built form integration with Fitzroy precinct Larger dwelling to be situated on lower levels to enable surveillance of open space used by children.	Building design to mitigate bulk and scale. Tenure status of buildings should not be obvious. Public spaces between buildings should generally encourage passive surveillance and should be well lit at night (especially pedestrian pathways) and should be designed to maximise community safety and security. The Masterplan must comply with universal access provisions.	Integration of built form is important to ensure existing stigma is addressed.

12.1 **Place Making**

Place making should also be considered in the drafting of the Master Plan. Place making is the activity of giving meaning or coherence to a locale. The place making concept does not provide a set of prescriptive design or management solutions to deliver successful places, but rather emphasises deliberation, goal setting, directed design and management and ongoing monitoring and maintenance of places. In a place making exercise, what a place should or could be, and how it best respond to users' needs, is determined by those with an interest in the place.

Notwithstanding, all would agree that some places are more desirable than others. The question therefore becomes, why do people identify more strongly with and prefer to spend time in certain places as opposed to others. A number of common themes arise when people are asked what they want and expect from places:

- Safety and Security – Factors such as lighting, pedestrian traffic, and the surveillance offered by surrounding activities all contribute to the sense of safety within a place.
- Accessibility – the availability of direct pedestrian routes between destinations that are suitable for all members of the community contribute to accessibility.
- Amenities - the availability of seating, shade toilets and other infrastructure contribute to the overall comfort of a place and allow for extended visits.
- Sense of Ownership – when a place reflects local historical and cultural qualities, users feel a stronger sense of connection with the place.
- Aesthetics and Atmosphere - quality of the architecture/urban design and the aesthetic appeal of the surrounding built and natural environment all contribute to producing a beautiful and attractive place.
- Community Arts – the incorporation of art work designed/selected through a community engagement process increases aesthetic appeal and gives meaning to spaces.
- Social Interaction – opportunities for incidental social interaction contribute to the vibrancy and appeal of places.

Each of these aspects of place making should be considered in the drafting of Master Plans for the AHE. Moreover, existing design guidelines which outline in more detail how design can deliver a successful place should be consulted. These include:

- Place Management Information Booklet, State of Victoria (DPCD)
- Safer Design Guidelines (DSE)
- Healthy by Design, Victoria: a planner's guide to environments for active living (Heart Foundation).
- Other relevant guidelines relating to place making.

Finally, place making is an interactive process which allows for all stakeholders to participate in the design process. The Master Planning process should be inclusive and where possible respond to the needs of all existing and future users to deliver a functional, aesthetically pleasing and safe AHE. Assessment of the Master Plans as part of the SIA will take account of the extent to which the Master Plans have addressed the aspects of place making mentioned above.

13 References

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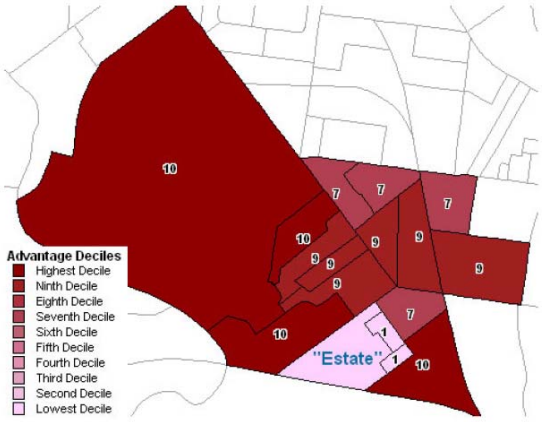
Appendix 1 – Kensington Case Study

Case Study: Kensington Estate Renewal

Background

The Kensington Housing estate is located on a six hectare site bounded by Derby Street to the north east, Kensington Road to the North West, Ormond Road to the south east and Altona Road to the south. As at March 1998 and before redevelopment, the Estate contained three 12 storey high rise blocks containing 316 dwellings and 14 blocks of walk-up units containing 415 dwellings, a total of 731 dwellings (See Figure A1).[15]

As at 1998 1,800 people lived within the estate, representing 30% of the population of Kensington. At this time, the estate was home to half the suburb's children and youths. Estate residents came from a range of cultural backgrounds with 80% speaking a language other than English at home. Large percentages of residents were born in Vietnam and the Horn of Africa.[16] The percentage of one parent families (27.9%) on the estate was double that of the surrounding suburb and almost three times that of the MSD.[17] OoH figures from 1998 indicate that the majority of residents relied on pensions of various types for their income and that 45% of those defined as 'in the labour force' were unemployed.[18]



The Estate ranked in the lowest decile in terms of relative socioeconomic disadvantage at the time of the 2001 Census. In contrast, the surrounding suburb was well above the median for the MSD.[19]

Social problems concentrated within the estate's grounds were of some concern prior to the estates re-development. Although no objective data on crime and anti-social behaviour is available for the time prior to redevelopment, a study commenced in 2003 asked relocated and existing tenants as well as residents from the surrounding neighbourhood what their major 'dislikes' were about the estate prior to the redevelopment. Crime and safety issues were mentioned by all groups with 64% of relocated residents and 29% of continuing residents nominating crime and safety first. Residents from the local area rated crime and safety second to the physical buildings at 33%.[20]

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[15] *Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd 1999, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Strategy Final Report, prepared for the Kensington Estate Redevelopment Advisory Committee by Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd in association with Maxine Cooper & Associates May 1999*

[16] *Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study prepared for the Department of Human Services by Swinburne University of Technology Institute of Social Research, August 2004, p. xii*

[17] *Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd 1999, Kensington Estate Project: Existing Demographic Profile Issues Paper 1, prepared for the Kensington Estate Redevelopment Advisory Committee by Perrott Lyon Mathieson PTY LTD in association with Maxine Cooper & Associates May 1999, p. 24*

[18] *Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd 1999, Kensington Estate Project: Existing Demographic Profile Issues Paper 1, pp. 27-29*

[19] *Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study p. 87*

[20] *Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study, pp. 34-36*

A high rise block on Derby Street containing 108 dwellings was demolished in 1998 prior to the development of the Estate Improvement Plan (see below) and all residents were relocated.

The Estate Improvement Plan

In 1999, the Department of Humans Services (DHS) began a planning process aimed at producing an Estate Improvement Plan to guide re-development of the estate.

The plan development process included a community engagement phase, during which the Kensington Estate Redevelopment Advisory Committee (KERAC) was formed. The committee was comprised of representatives of DHS, local community groups and businesses and estate residents. It was the role of the committee to advise DHS regarding the most appropriate approach to redevelopment.

In order to inform KERACs enquires, a market assessment was commissioned to investigate the private market's interest in different development scenarios/housing products. The research suggested that the optimum approach to re-development would deliver in the range of 30%-40% public housing and 60%-70% private housing. The research also indicated that market rates for private accommodation may not be achieved due to concerns about the workability of mixed tenure development, particularly if a high proportion of private housing was not incorporated within the estate.[21]

KERAC considered three different yield options (yields of 1,177, 1,047 and 897 dwellings respectively), and four public-private mix options for each yield scenario. Ultimately, the lower yield scenario was preferred on the basis that the higher density options would deliver built form outcomes too markedly different from the surrounding neighbourhood. After a series of consultations, KERAC recommended that approximately 652 new dwellings be developed. A minimum of 195 of these were to be allocated for public housing. A further 220 public housing dwellings would be retained in the two remaining tower blocks, bringing the total dwellings on site to over 872 (public housing comprising approximately 50%).

Although KERAC began their design process with the objective of no net loss of public housing dwellings, this objective was relinquished once the built form implications of retaining public housing and achieving the desired tenure mix became clear. Ultimately, KERAC recommended an approach which would result in the number of public dwellings at Kensington being reduced from 731 to 440, a loss of 291 dwellings (40%).

With regard to design, specific recommendations included extending the road network into the site to remove the super-block layout; active street frontages to encourage street activity and maximise natural surveillance; and minimal communal open spaces but rather private open spaces in the form of terraces and balconies.[22]

The mix of dwelling sizes for public housing units (in terms of bedroom numbers) was determined with reference to existing demographic data and trends and the state of underutilisation (165 households) and over-utilisation (25 households) of existing housing stock.[23] It was recommended that the proportion of 1 and 2 bedroom dwellings been increased. New apartments were to be comprised of 1 bedroom (48%), 2 bedroom (33%), 3 bedroom (17%) and 4+ bedrooms (2%).

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[21] *Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd 1999, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Strategy Final Report, pp.33-34*

[22] *Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd 1999, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Strategy Final Report, p. 39*

[23] *Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd 1999, Kensington Estate Project: Existing Demographic Profile Issues Paper 1, 33-34*

Other objectives set for the re-development included:

- Full integration of public and private housing to minimise division or perceived social stigma arising from any marked distinction between public and private housing.
- Public housing should be located so that whole street blocks or precincts are not exclusively public housing.
- Provision of a better standard of living for residents by providing private open space and access for the mobility impaired.
- Housing stock and site design to incorporate leading edge energy efficient and ecologically sustainable designs.

Implementation

In 2000, an invitation to tender to deliver the Estate Improvement Plan and was issued and DHS ultimately decided to partner with Becton.

The Kensington Community Liaison Committee (CLC) was established at this time to advise the government and Becton on the Estate's redevelopment. It was comprised of 40 members including public housing residents, community agencies, local government, neighbouring residents, local traders and businesses. For all intents and purposes the CLC represented a remodelled KERAC. The CLC continues to operate to the present day and has been critical in including residents' views and ideas in the redevelopment plan and supporting people to shape the design of their local community.[24] In consultation with the CLC, Becton reviewed the Estate Improvement Plan and proposed a detailed development and staging plan to guide redevelopment (the Master Plan).

Tenants from the walk up units were relocated and the walk-ups demolished between 2000 and 2003. Construction of new buildings commenced thereafter and is nearing completion.

[24] *Department of Human Services, "Kensington Community Liaison Committee", retrieved from* *http://www.dhs.vic.gov.au/about-the-department/plans,-programs-and-projects/projects-and-initiatives/housing-and-accommodation/kensington-redevelopment/kensington-community-liasion-committee*

A social impact study (SIS) was commenced in 2003 when the majority of the tenants had been relocated.[25] Data collected for the study indicate that 1,295 people from the estate were relocated at least temporarily. Four out of five households were relocated within five kilometres of Kensington. Only 40% of relocated residents said they would have preferred to stay on the estate if this option had been offered. A number of problems with the relocation process were identified by local services and community agencies. These related especially to families from Vietnam and the Horn of Africa, including disruption to children's schooling and the relative powerlessness of these residents to negotiate relocation options.[26] Moreover, the relocation of public housing tenants affected local shops and businesses as well as schools and community services organisations by removing customers and thereby reducing demand. The period of adjustment and success in adjusting to the new conditions has varied for each organisation, depending on their reliance on the estate population for custom.[27]

Current situation

There have been some changes to the original Master Plan including an increase in the number of private and public housing dwellings, amendments that ensure accessibility for people with limited mobility, addition of 1,600 metres of open space accessible to the local community and improved car parking and traffic management.[28]

At present 490 private dwellings, 200 new public dwellings and 15 social housing properties have been built and the units in the two remaining tower blocks are undergoing renovation.[29] The final stage of redevelopment is underway.[30] The actual dwelling yield achieved at completion is expected to be 953, an increase of 222 dwellings (or 30%). Of the total, 446 will be public housing (or 46% of all dwellings).

Other changes to the original plan include development of greater numbers three and four bedroom public housing dwellings. The original plan called for a reduction in the number of three bedroom units from 260 to 62. Four 4 bedroom units were to be built where none existed. The increase in larger dwellings was recommended in the 2004 social impact study based on the anticipated profile of returning tenants.[31]

The most recent version of the Master Plan is shown overleaf. As can be seen, building envelopes of new buildings correspond more or less with those of the demolished walk-up flats. The newly constructed buildings range in height from three storey town houses to 8 storey apartment buildings located toward the centre of the site. The placement of taller buildings combined with the natural slope of the land away from Derby Street means that the medium to high density built form of the estate does not dominate the local Victorian streetscapes. In addition, the new buildings are modern in appearance and public and private buildings cannot be distinguished, an approach which has successfully removed built form markers of tenure status. Neither the public or private buildings have a ground floor concierge facility. Reports made by existing public housing tenants indicate that they

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[25] Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study, p.1 Only 150 tenants remained on site.

[26] Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study, p. xiii.

[27] Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study, p. xiv

[28] Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study, p. 113.

[29] The social housing properties are owned by UCL.

[30] Department of Human Services 2011, Kensington Redevelopment, retrieved from http://www.dhs.vic.gov.au/about-the-department/plans,-programs-and-projects/projects-and-initiatives/housing-and-accommodation/kensington-redevelopment

[31] Hulse, K., Herbert, T., and Down, K. 2004, Kensington Estate Redevelopment Social Impact Study, p. 123.

are happy that the public and private housing buildings have been 'de-identified' and they are now proud to invite visitors to their apartments. [32]

Other aspects of the estate design work to integrate the estate into the Kensington community. For example, all fences have been taken down and there is no public housing signage. Streets on the estate have been incorporated into the surrounding road system and the estate's "green escarpment" links the Kensington shopping strip with the park and recreation centre on either side of the estate. This pedestrian link is now regularly used by the broader community

A small community garden has been established containing 14 resident plots. There is a substantial waiting list with interest in increased garden space to be included in future redevelopment design.[33]

Place Management

Both the DHS and the developer, Becton were committed to a place-based management approach and the integrated management of public and private housing in Kensington. Urban Communities Limited (UCL) evolved from this partnership. Set up as a not-for-profit business that reinvests in the Estate, Urban Communities was incorporated in 2007. In 2008, it became the first non-government organisation in Victoria to manage public housing tenancies. UCL collects fees for 11 body corporations and commissions for private landlords. UCL has also purchased 15 apartments to add to the stock of affordable housing. This housing is made available to key workers with moderate incomes at a reduced rent. [34]

As part of its role as place manager, UCL has channelled over $2 million in training and employment grants into the local community including placements for over 50 public housing residents. The cleaning and maintenance on the site is undertaken by an accredited training provider that is required to provide 12 work placements to local residents at any one time.[35] Plans for a new cafe and catering social enterprise at the base of one of the towers aims to create 33 jobs and 72 work experience placements.

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[32] *Urban Communities – The Kensington Public Housing Estate (DVD)*

[33] *Urban Communities Snapshot, April 2010*

[34] *Department of Human Services and Urban Communities Ltd, VPS Innovation Case Study Urban Communities Kensington, retrieved from http://www.egov.vic.gov.au/pdfs/innovation-case-studies-kensington.pdf*

[35] *Department of Human Services 2011, Kensington Redevelopment, retrieved from http://www.dhs.vic.gov.au/about-the-department/plans,-programs-and-projects/projects-and-initiatives/housing-and-accommodation/kensington-redevelopment*

Various activities have been undertaken to develop and maintain a sense of community on the Estate and ensure the residents can be involved in decision-making about the Estate. Community development activities include a housing week event, end of year party, volunteering opportunities including involvement on community committees and planning groups. Five residents sit on the Kensington CLC and 13 on a Residents Information Group. [36] UCL has also established partnerships with community groups in the area to facilitate community regeneration in the area including the local school, YMCA, Douta Galla Community Health and the Neighbourhood House.[37]

Social Outcomes

A number of positive social outcomes have been achieved through the redevelopment. These include reduced stigma and antisocial behaviour and increased pride of place among public housing residents. Anecdotal reports[38] indicate that residents of the surrounding Kensington neighbourhood now commonly walk through the estate and issues relating to drug taking and dealing in communal areas that were once wide spread have been largely eradicated. Limited objective data is available to support these conclusions, however.

Another pleasing observation is the increasing interest in owner occupation of the newly developed private dwellings. Initial sales of private dwellings were predominantly made to investors. This is borne out by the 2006 census which shows 20% of privately owned dwellings on the Estate were owner-occupied. However, the proportion of owner-occupiers has been increasing as properties are re-sold. [39] This is understandable, as the mixed tenure model was previously untested in Melbourne's housing market and it has taken time for owner-occupiers to become confident that the model can provide a suitable living environment. However, recent trends indicate that the development has succeeded in overcoming initial scepticism.

Similarly, market rents have been achieved for private dwellings, [40] further evidence that the approach to re-development of the site has successfully avoided 'market penalties' potentially associated with ongoing stigma.

Figures provided by UCL in 2010 show 100% occupancy has been maintained with rental arrears less than 1% of annual rental income. Only two critical anti-social incidents were reported in 2008/09 with no tenant evicted due to an anti-social issue. In the same period only 28 police call outs were recorded.[41]

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[36] *Urban Communities Snapshot, April 2010*

[37] *Department of Human Services and Urban Communities Ltd, VPS Innovation Case Study Urban Communities Kensington, p. 9*

[38] *Urban Communities – The Kensington Public Housing Estate (DVD)*

[39] *Department of Human Services and Urban Communities Ltd, VPS Innovation Case Study Urban Communities Kensington, p. 9;*

[40] *Urban Communities Snapshot, April 2010*

[41] *ibid*