

MACQUARIE
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL
SCIENCES

GEOGRAPHY AND
PLANNING

SOCIOLOGY

Faculty of Arts



MACQUARIE
University

Final Report

Vertical Villages: Community, Place and Urban Density Pilot

By Miriam Williams, Emma Mitchell, Kate Cavanough, Kristian Ruming, Amanda Wise, and Isaac Harrison

December 2021



FAITH
HOUSING
ALLIANCE

formerly Churches Housing Inc




BaptistCare

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgment of Country	6
Report Attributions	6
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	7
1. INTRODUCTION	12
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 High-Density Living and Community	15
2.1.1 Understanding ‘community’ in high density	15
2.2 Living Together in Diversity	17
2.2.1 Bringing diverse populations together	17
2.2.2 Diversity and apartment density	18
2.3 Social Mix and Mixed Tenure	19
2.3.1 Understanding social interactions in mixed-tenure neighbourhoods	20
2.3.2 Addressing residual and new stigma	21
2.3.3 Community development in ‘mixed’ neighbourhoods	21
2.4 Urban Design	23
2.4.1. Shared spaces creating community connections	24
2.4.2 Streets facilitating neighbourhood walkability	25
2.4.3 Parks and open spaces	25
2.4.4 Third spaces and public space	26
2.4.5 Child and dog friendly environments	27
2.5 Faith-Based Organisations, Redevelopment and Community Development	28
2.5.1 Defining faith-based organisations	28
2.5.2 Social assets in the city	29
2.5.3 Faith-based organisations as actors in urban redevelopment	31
2.5.4 The possibilities of post-secular posture	32
2.6 Placemaking	34
2.6.1 Defining place	34
2.6.2 A brief history and contested definitions of placemaking	34
2.6.3 Types of placemaking	35
2.6.4 Placemaking toolkits	36
2.6.4.1 Project for Public Spaces	37
2.6.4.2 CoDesign Studio Neighbourhood Project	38
2.6.5 Placemaking can have unintended effects	39
2.6.6 Placemaking with/by diverse communities	40
2.6.7 Valuing placemaking	41
3. RESEARCH CONTEXT	43
3.1 Overview	43
3.2 Demographic Profile: Case Study Suburbs	44
3.2.1 Macquarie Park	44
3.2.2 Chatswood	45
3.2.3 Epping	46
3.2.4 Parramatta	47
3.2.5 Bankstown	48

3.3. Demographic Profile: SA2 level	49
3.3.1 Macquarie Park	50
3.3.2 Chatswood	50
3.3.3 Epping	51
3.3.4 Parramatta	51
3.3.5 Bankstown	52
4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH	53
4.1 Research Methods	53
4.1.1 Resident questionnaire	53
4.1.1.1 Questionnaire participant profile	54
4.1.2 Resident interviews	54
4.1.3 Expert interviews	55
4.2 Limitations and Challenges	56
5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	57
5.1 Resident Experiences	57
5.1.1 Apartment/complex design and facilities	57
5.1.1.1 Suitability of design	58
5.1.1.2 Shared facilities: access and use	59
5.1.2 Contact and connection between neighbours	63
5.1.1.3 Existing interactions with neighbours	63
5.1.1.4 Desired interactions	64
5.1.2 Living in socially mixed buildings or complexes	67
5.1.2.1 Mixed tenure	67
5.1.2.2 Cultural and language diversity	69
5.1.2.3 Age mix	71
5.1.3 The role of FBOs in community development	72
5.1.3.1 Feelings about FBOs	72
5.1.3.2 Desired activities	73
5.1.4 The impact of COVID-19 on existing residents	75
5.2 Expert Insights	77
5.2.1 Urban design	77
5.2.1.1 Design processes	77
5.2.1.2 Design features	80
5.2.1.3 Communal/shared spaces: design for connection	82
5.2.1.4 Designing for flexibility and privacy	83
5.2.1.5 Designing public spaces and public realm for community connection	84
5.2.1.6 Designing for social mix and housing affordability	86
5.2.2 Community development with/in diverse communities	87
5.2.2.1 Asset-based community development	87
5.2.2.2 Working respectfully with diverse communities	88
5.2.2.3 Professional neighbouring: intentional 'live-in' Community Building	89
5.2.3 FBO-led community development: post-secular posture?	91
5.2.4 FBOs as actors in urban redevelopment	93
5.2.4.1: Values-led development	93
5.2.4.2 FBOs as large landholders in cities who can think strategically about their properties	94
5.3 COVID-19 Impacts: some brief reflections	97
5.3.1 COVID-19 impacts: built environment	97
5.3.2 COVID-19 impacts: community development	98
6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	99
6.1. Community Building in Socially Mixed Apartment Complexes and Neighbourhoods	99

Vertical Villages: Community, Place and Density Pilot	
6.2 Designing for Resident Connection and Wellbeing	101
6.3 Working as Faith-Based Organisations in Community Development and Redevelopment	103
7. REFERENCE LIST	105
8. APPENDIX	111
8.1 Appendix 1: Recent Developments in Macquarie Park	111
8.2 Appendix 2: Demographic tables	112
8.3 Appendix 3: Research Questionnaire	113

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1 Location and Population of Case Study Areas in Greater Sydney (at SA2 level)	44
Figure 3.2 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Macquarie Park (suburb)	45
Figure 3.3 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Macquarie Park (suburb).....	45
Figure 3.4 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Chatswood (suburb)	46
Figure 3.5 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Chatswood (suburb).....	46
Figure 3.6 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Epping (suburb)	47
Figure 3.7 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Epping (suburb)	47
Figure 3.8 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Parramatta (suburb).....	47
Figure 3.9 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Parramatta (suburb)	48
Figure 3.10 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Bankstown (suburb)	48
Figure 3.11 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Bankstown (suburb)	49
Figure 3.12 Migration of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments (SA2).....	49
Figure 3.13 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Macquarie Park-Marsfield (SA2)	50
Figure 3.14 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Chatswood (SA2)	50
Figure 3.15 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Epping (SA2).....	51
Figure 3.16 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Parramatta-Rosehill (SA2)	51
Figure 3.17 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Bankstown (SA2)	52
Figure 4.1 Interviewees by Suburb	54
Figure 4.2 Expert Interview Participants	55
Figure 5.1 Suitability of Apartment Design	58
Figure 5.2 Perceptions of Shared Spaces.....	60
Figure 5.3 Access and Use of Shared Spaces	60
Figure 5.4 Frequency of Use of Shared Facilities	60
Figure 5.5 Who Is and Is Not Using Common Facilities.....	61
Figure 5.6 How Well Do Residents Know Their Neighbours?.....	63
Figure 5.7 Resident Interest in Connecting More with Their Neighbours	65
Figure 5.8 How Appealing Would It Be to Live in Mix-Tenure Apartments.....	67
Figure 5.9 Interactions with Residents from Different Cultural and Language Backgrounds	69
Figure 5.10 Type of Activities Residents would be Interested in Attending.....	74
Figure 5.11 Resident Experiences of Living in High-Rise Apartments During the COVID-19 Pandemic	75
Figure 5.12 Who was More Likely to be Lonely Since the COVID-19 Pandemic.....	75
Figure 5.13 Perceived Effect of Coronavirus on Future Desire to be Socially Involved with Neighbours	75
Figure 5.14 Design Features for Neighbour Connection: Some Examples.....	80
Figure 5.15 Ideas for Designing Streets and Public Realm with Community in Mind.....	85
Figure 8.2.1 Languages at SA2.....	112
Figure 8.2.2 Household Type at SA2.....	112



ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF COUNTRY

We acknowledge the traditional custodians of the land upon which Macquarie University is situated, the Wattamattagal people of the Darug nation, whose cultures and customs have nurtured, and continue to nurture, this land since the Dreamtime. We pay our respects to the Darug people and the Wattamattagal clan.

We also wish to acknowledge the Elders of the Darug nation, past, present and future, and pay our respects to them. We further wish to honour and pay our respects to the ancestors and spirits of this land. The University continues to develop respectful and reciprocal relationships with all Indigenous people in Australia and with other Indigenous people throughout the world.

REPORT ATTRIBUTIONS

This final report has been prepared for 'Vertical Villages: Community, Place and Urban Density Pilot'. The project was funded through an Enterprise Partnership Scheme between Macquarie University, Faith Housing Alliance (formerly Churches Housing, supported by a grant from the Salvation Army) and BaptistCare. The data and insights from this report remain the copyright of the authors and may appear in future journal articles or other academic outputs.

Suggested citation:

Williams, M., Mitchell, E., Cavanough, K., Ruming, K., Wise, A. and Harrison, I. (2021) Vertical Villages: Community, Place and Urban Density Pilot Project, *Final Report*, Macquarie University: North Ryde.

Acknowledgments:

Thank you to the research participants for your contributions to the report. Thank you also to Tracy Cheung for your contribution as a research assistant for one of the resident interviews. Thank you to two Planning Student interns, Yun Na Kim and Julian Enrique Portilla Contreras for work reviewing placemaking toolkits and social infrastructure in Macquarie Park and their supervisor, Dr Jessica McLean. Thank you to Andrew Goodwin for demographic assistance. Thank you to Chris Marcatili for their copy-editing assistance. All photos have been sourced free from [Unsplash](https://unsplash.com).

Thank you to the Research Reference Group members: Magnus Linder, Mark Schultz, Mark Broomfield, Steven Ball, Robert Powell, Rose Thomson and Nathan Moulds. Thank you also to the broader Vertical Villages group Gregory Whittaker, Cory Schut, Tim Blencowe, Ruth Niemczyk and Together for Ryde.



MACQUARIE
University



FAITH
HOUSING
ALLIANCE
formerly Churches Housing Inc



BaptistCare

Executive Summary

This report has been written for the Vertical Villages: Community, Place and Urban Density Pilot project. This pilot project is a partnership between Macquarie University, BaptistCare and Faith Housing Alliance (formerly Churches Housing, supported by a grant from the Salvation Army). The aim of the project is to explore the role and potential of faith-based organisations (FBOs) to facilitate placemaking and community development in multicultural high-rise/high-density urban environments.

This study uses the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) definition of high density as dwellings of four or more storeys. The study involved an online questionnaire and 25 semi-structured interviews with residents of high-rise apartments across five suburbs of Sydney and 16 interviews with expert urban designers, placemakers, and community developers offering insight on their experience and practice. This report draws together the findings of this empirical fieldwork and a large literature review in order to make recommendations for FBOs, non-government organisations (NGOs), urban designers and policymakers who are interested in enhancing resident experiences of community connection and wellbeing in high-density urban neighbourhoods.

KEY FINDINGS: RESIDENTS

Participants were mostly satisfied with shared spaces provisioned in apartment developments even if they considered them not entirely fit for purpose.

- Residents were divided as to the suitability of raising children, growing old and hosting visitors in their apartment.
- Social infrastructure within apartment buildings and complexes, and in the surrounding neighbourhood, were important for residents.
- Residents were mostly satisfied with the shared spaces within their development, although many found them to be too small to gather in.
- 55% of survey respondents made use of shared facilities whilst 30% of residents did not. Those over 50 and those with children were more likely to use common facilities.
- Facilities being busy and crowded was the most common deterrent to using available facilities among interviewees.
- Interview participants spoke about desiring access to green space or gardens in their complex.

Most participants described limited interaction with neighbours but were interested in changing that.

- A third (37%) of questionnaire respondents knew no-one in the building they lived in well enough to have a conversation with and over half (57%) had no-one they would ask a favour of or invite into their apartment.
- 64% of questionnaire respondents desired to interact more with their neighbours.
- Among interviewees, migrants who were relatively new to the country particularly wanted more opportunities to meet and get to know their neighbours.
- Some residents interviewed had no desire to interact with neighbours, particularly if they were busy professionals or preferred to spend their free time with existing friends and family.

Participants were generally positive about the forms of social mix they observed in their apartment building or complex (age and life stage, cultural and linguistic diversity, private rental and ownership) but were more sceptical about the prospect of combining public and private tenure.

- Just under half (48%) of questionnaire respondents indicated living in an apartment block with a mix of private and public/social housing would be unappealing, while a quarter of respondents said it would appeal to them.
- Interview respondents raised concerns about potential antisocial behaviour of public housing tenants but also spoke of broadening their horizons by living among people from different walks of life.
- More than half (56%) of the questionnaire respondents indicated they interacted with other residents from different cultural and language backgrounds at least monthly.
- Interview respondents were overwhelmingly positive about living in multicultural buildings, although they discussed some challenges that they had experienced that were associated with language barriers. They also provided examples of how they facilitated meaningful contact with neighbours despite language barriers.
- Diverse views exist as to the suitability of apartments for ageing. At the same time, interview respondents positively associated age with people having more time for socialising with other residents.
- Some owners were more reluctant to get to know neighbours who were renting as it was perceived there was a high turnover of tenants.

Participants were wary but open to the role of FBOs in fostering connection and building community.

- 44% of questionnaire respondents indicated that they would be comfortable attending a community development activity organised by a church group, while 25% indicated that they would feel uncomfortable.
- Interviewees had mixed feelings about the role of FBOs in community development. Activities specifically labelled as 'faith' activities were seen as potentially inappropriate for multi-faith groups or seen as targeted at people from secular backgrounds. Incorporating prayers or other 'dogma' into activities targeted at the general community may make participants uncomfortable and feel pressured due to past experiences.
- The most popular activities run by FBOs that questionnaire participants would be happy to attend were a community garden (52%), a community market day (51%), and a community café day (45%).
- Interviewees were most interested in attending interest-based activities in their local neighbourhood.

Participants were able to shelter at and work from home during the pandemic, though almost half felt more lonely.

- Questionnaire respondents overwhelmingly agreed that they were able to stay socially distanced from their neighbours during the pandemic (89%) and that their apartment was suitable for working or studying from home (77%).
- One third of questionnaire respondents agreed that they were more lonely since the pandemic.

KEY FINDINGS: EXPERTS

Urban design experts identified the importance of authentic community engagement that is sensitive to language diversity.

- Authentic community engagement, consultation and co-design processes in the early stages of community development, placemaking and residential development projects can strengthen development outcomes and placemaking activities.
- Providing engagement materials in a range of languages and reaching out to people at migrant resource centres, neighbourhood houses or other locations frequented by newly arrived migrants may also assist practitioners reach a more diverse audience, such as migrants and people from non-English speaking backgrounds.

Designing for diversity requires consultation, variation and flexibility.

- Enabling a harmonious integration of diversity involves built form considerations and facilitation (sometimes mediation) by community leaders.
- Providing a range of dwelling sizes and typologies within the same suburb is important, as it allows people to move into the home that suits their needs and maintain the local connections that they have built.

Designing for community connection and wellbeing requires provisioning and programming communal spaces.

- Provisioning generous foyers, circulation spaces, communal/shared spaces and shared corridors/breezeways can potentially enhance neighbour connection.

Programming shared spaces and designing flexible communal spaces can assist in resident use and neighbour connection through particular activities e.g. pot-luck, bike workshops or community rooms.

- Giving people opportunities to manage their interactions with the community is one way of providing a balance between privacy and desire for social interaction.
- The public realm (e.g. streets and public open spaces) plays a key role in community life. Making sure that it includes vibrant and safe spaces for the community is important.
- Enhancing resident experiences of place can be assisted by: thinking creatively about placemaking within the public realm; ensuring open access to parks and playgrounds despite tenure; provisioning access to local amenities in high-density environments; provisioning sustainable retail; and creating spaces with diversity in mind.

Existing design policy constrains innovative apartment design.

- Current design guides both enable and constrain particular forms of development. Innovative forms of co-housing are excluded from the NSW SEPP65 and the ADG.

Community developers should approach cultural and language diversity as an asset to community building, while acknowledging the divisions that could exist.

- Asset-based community development (ABCD) emphasises the assets, skills, networks and resources that exist with communities. It has been used by a number of expert community developers to engage with residents.
- Food became a common theme in interviews as a way to connect diverse communities but needs to be provisioned/facilitated with intentionality and in a way that is mindful of cultural diversity and difference.

Commitment and motivation were concerns for community development workers embedded in specific places and communities.

- The ‘professional neighbouring’ model of ‘live-in’ community building was used by several community development workers from FBOs. Experts pointed to the opportunities offered by this model for facilitating connections in high-rise buildings but emphasised the need for appropriate training and support for people who are working and living in a neighbourhood.
- Different theological perspectives may shape how people engage in community development, with a post-secular posture potentially being more conducive to working within professional, secular contexts.

FBOs as actors are uniquely positioned for urban redevelopment.

- FBO-led developments were seen as having the capacity to be motivated by more-than-market values, such as community wellbeing, providing social and community housing, and building community.
- Many FBOs are large property holders with the potential to think strategically across the city.
- Providing examples of previous redevelopments to church congregations wishing to redevelop their buildings into multi-purpose Vertical Villages can assist in helping FBOs understand precedents and possibilities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Community building in socially mixed apartment complexes and neighbourhoods:

- **Invest in people as ‘social infrastructure’:** FBOs might seek out and support existing resident ‘connectors’ to grow and lead their community development activities.
- **Facilitate ground-up and resident-driven activities:** FBOs can act as a connector between council, developer, and community to launch and sustain activities that residents want but may not have the confidence or capacity to initiate or run themselves.
- **Make it easy and inviting:** Set up diverse, voluntary, and low-stakes activities to attract those who want more connection.
- **Signal openness:** Incorporate diverse festivals, languages, and flags. Furnish church buildings to feel public and inviting.
- **Allow for language diversity:** Disseminate information in languages other than English. Pictorial signage can help overcome low (English) literacy. Hire multilingual individuals to act as mediators (Easthope et al., 2019). Acknowledge residents who act as informal translators.
- **Focus on holding ‘doing’ activities for mixed language groups:** ‘Doing’ activities can take the pressure off group members who may feel they need to converse at length when there are linguistic barriers. Ensure careful facilitation and watch for subtle forms of exclusion.
- **Address structural inequalities through resource allocation:** Ensure cost is not a barrier to participation in activities or places such as playgrounds and parks, which should be equitably accessible (Easthope et al., 2020; Rishbeth et al., 2018).

Designing for resident connection and wellbeing:

- **Break down very large developments into smaller sections:** Form communities of less than 30 people to create a gradation in community scales and enabling a village feel.
- **Value circulation spaces:** Consideration should be given to the design of corridors, lobbies and communal facilities.
- **Design for flexibility and agency:** Allow for personalisation of shared spaces and enable people to have agency in the building by providing clarity around use of shared spaces and encouraging initiative. Involve the local community in the management of shared resources.

- **Consider the street:** The design of the ground floor is important. Local businesses have a better chance of survival when they interface well with the street.
- **Proximity to amenities:** Community interaction and individual wellbeing is improved in high-density/high-rise apartments when they are within walking distance (800m) of local amenities.
- **Value green open spaces:** Access to quality public and private green spaces is particularly important in high-density areas.
- **Activate ‘third spaces’ and ground floor community rooms:** The activation of ‘third spaces’ can be facilitated by FBOs, community workers and teams of local residents.
- **Include communal open space:** Outdoor terraces were highlighted as particularly crucial for the community during the COVID-19 lockdown.
- **Value community builders:** Children and pets (such as dogs) enable interaction with neighbours. Families are more likely to live in a high-rise context when the apartments are a suitable size and the building is close to local amenities (schools and parks).
- **Child-centred design:** Parks and schools should be within easy walking distance without crossing busy roads. The provision of safe paths and communal play spaces suitable for older children to ride and play unsupervised is an important way of ‘replacing’ the traditional backyard.
- **Connect with technology:** Many new builds now often have specialised apps for connecting residents.
- **Include and maintain shared facilities:** People are more likely to meet one another in a development if there are well designed, transparent and safe communal spaces included.

Working as FBOs in community development and redevelopment:

- **Branch out from traditional faith-based activities:** Be transparent about whether activities involve faith-based content to allow residents to opt in or opt out.
- **Properly resource community development activities:** Ensure appropriate training, supervision and resourcing of community development activities and the people involved.
- **Program ‘communal spaces’:** Work towards dynamic and flexible programming of communal spaces to maximise the potential of community engagement.
- **Consider ensuring the ongoing use of church-owned land for community wellbeing:** There is ongoing potential to use well-situated church properties for social purposes such as affordable housing and community development.
- **Understand the opportunities and challenges of church redevelopment by:**
 - Establishing an advisory body of relevant industry professionals and key representatives for churches undergoing development (Mian, 2008).
 - Providing education and material for churches considering development so that they are informed about the process and developers do not take advantage of them (Mian, 2008).
 - Drawing on precedents to inspire and show how developments have occurred previously.
 - Building a church’s appreciation for the potential of their future buildings to provide social benefit (Mian, 2008).
 - Identifying key aims and values early in the development process to ensure commitment to mission/values over financial profit.
 - Providing access to an appropriate planner, lawyer, architect and developer who can work well with FBOs and understand their specific values and challenges (Mian, 2008).
- **Pursue a holistic design process:** the design process establishes community buy-in and ensures that the future development reflects community needs. The early work of establishing the brief, research and community engagement is critical to the value and impact of the future development.



(Photo by [Robert Bye](#) on [Unsplash](#))

1. Introduction

Now more than ever, people in Australia are living in high-density urban environments. One in 10 people live in apartments, with 85% of these people living in apartments in major cities (Easthope et al., 2020, p. 6). The number of people living in apartments in Sydney has increased over time with 21% of dwellings being apartments in 1996 compared to 28% in 2016 (Troy et al., 2020, p. 3). Successive state governments have pushed for more apartments to be built, encouraging cities to be built up rather than out (Easthope et al., 2020). In 2016 the proportion of Sydney apartments that were in four or more storey buildings grew from 33% in 1996 to 46% (Troy et al., 2020, p. 4). Governments have promoted apartment living as a way to address issues of affordability in cities, which has had equity implications. Troy et al. (2020) argue that building more homes at higher density has been the main policy objective at the expense of other crucial factors like livability and affordability.

Concern over the lack of community facilities and increasing levels of social isolation for apartment residents has led FBOs and local churches to ask how they might assist in facilitating community development in multicultural high-density environments in order to enable the creation of cities where all can flourish physically, emotionally and relationally. High-density living refers to environments where the number of people and dwellings are greater than a defined number, which varies across the literature. For the purposes of this study, the ABS definition of high density as dwellings of four or more storeys is used.

The aim of this research is to explore the role and potential of FBOs to facilitate placemaking and community development in multicultural high-rise/high-density urban environments. Informed by sociological, geographical and planning literature around density, multiculturalism, community development, placemaking and cities, this report will:

- explore examples of FBO-led and secular community development in high-density, multicultural urban environments;

Vertical Villages: Community, Place and Density Pilot

- investigate the experiences of residents in high-rise apartments across five Sydney suburbs that have culturally diverse populations living in high-density urban environments, with attention to their sense of connection and belonging to their neighbourhood/community;
- explore the ways in which placemaking and community development can be facilitated in mix-tenure (private and social housing) developments through urban design and practice;
- evaluate existing placemaking toolkits through the lenses of faith-based community development;
- develop an online toolkit and research report that draws on the evaluation of existing toolkits, resident questionnaire/interviews, academic literature and expert interviews to inform urban design, placemaking and community development in high-density urban environments.

This pilot research project is a partnership between Macquarie University, BaptistCare and Faith Housing Alliance (Formerly Churches Housing) which was supported by a grant from the Salvation Army and Together for Ryde. The collaboration aims to further engage faith-based community development organisations, practitioners, and scholars to better understand what works at the critical interfaces between housing, faith and community development practice in urban contexts.

This report is one of two final outputs of the Vertical Villages pilot research project. Firstly, an overview of the literature on urban density, cultural diversity, social mix, urban design, FBOs and placemaking is provided. Secondly, an overview of the research context and methods situates the research project. The research was conducted in 2020 and included an online questionnaire which elicited 114 responses, 25 semi-structured interviews with residents of high-rise apartments, and 16 interviews with urban design, community development and placemaking practitioners. The research focused on five suburbs – Macquarie Park, Epping, Chatswood, Parramatta and Bankstown – all of which are characterised by a culturally diverse population living in high-density urban environments. Thirdly, the results and discussion of both resident and expert research data to explore resident experiences of living in high density and their perceptions along with expert participant reflections is provided. Finally, the report concludes by making recommendations for people who are interested in enhancing resident experiences of community connection and wellbeing in high-density urban neighbourhoods.



(Photo by Daniel DiNuzzo on [Unsplash](#))

2. Literature Review

Understanding the role and potential for FBOs to foster community connection and wellbeing in high-density and multicultural urban environments involves engaging with a wide range of literature. Specifically, this section engages with six key sets of key literature.

The first section provides an overview of research on high-density living and community connection. Burgeoning literature in this area points to the diverse desires and experiences of residents, with residents desiring both privacy and the opportunity to connect with neighbours on their terms.

The second section outlines the literature on diversity in the city, highlighting how mundane everyday encounters matter, emphasising the need for cultural diversity to be considered in practical approaches to community development with apartment residents.

The third section reviews the substantial literature on social mix and mixed-tenure approaches to housing provision, emphasising the heavily critiqued nature of social mix policies. This section discusses how there is little evidence of mixing across tenures in mixed-tenured developments and the equal provisioning of social infrastructure can assist in combating stigma.

The fourth section provides an overview of key areas of urban design that contribute to community connection and encounter in cities, including shared spaces, parks and open spaces, third and public spaces, and child and dog friendly environments.

The fifth section offers an overview of literature on FBOs in the city with a focus on defining FBOs, understanding FBOs as actors in urban development, the role of social capital, and the possibilities of a post-secular posture in shaping community development activities.

The final section provides an overview of the literature on placemaking and various histories, types of placemaking, unintended effects and practices of placemaking with diverse communities.

2.1 HIGH-DENSITY LIVING AND COMMUNITY

High density figures as both the positive and negative ‘epitome’ of urban living, signifying both the problems and possibilities of urban life. These remain active debates, though common to both positions is that there are unique challenges associated with people living in close physical proximity and needing to share restricted amounts of space. Apartment buildings are not simply vertical neighbourhoods or villages that can be easily compared with lower density neighbourhoods (Easthope et al., 2019, p. 79).

The relationship between higher density living and feelings of social connection is not straightforward. Urban design can go some way towards fostering social connection, with Connon et al (2018: 51) emphasising that ‘accessible, well-connected street design and quality open spaces can foster social interaction in the course of day-to-day life’ with mental health benefits. The presence of other people can create a sense of connection or relationship even with strangers who encounter others through casual contact (Appold (2011, p. 152). However, Connon et al. (2018, p. 51) found that the argument that high density is more likely to increase social isolation is still present, though less common, in the literature on urban density and wellbeing.

It is important to note the different degrees to which apartment residents may desire social interaction or community participation (Easthope and Judd, 2010). For example, the people Thompson (2019) interviewed in her study of social connections in high-rise apartments in Sydney tended to like the idea of strong community in the abstract but saw it as undesirable or impractical in practice. Likewise, the research conducted by Bretherton and Pleace (2008, p. 46) across the UK found a ‘high degree of indifference’ about communal amenities and many residents had little interest in community interaction. Thompson (2019, p. 231) warns that overstating the ideal of community involvement could deter or ‘demotivate residents to connect with their neighbours’. These contradictory findings necessitate more situated research that accounts for how we understand the concept of ‘community’, differences in demographics, social need, and design of high-density living environments.

Apartment buildings are not simply vertical neighbourhoods or villages that can be easily compared with lower density neighbourhoods.

2.1.1 UNDERSTANDING ‘COMMUNITY’ IN HIGH DENSITY

How ‘community’ is understood, as a place or process, impacts upon how urban design and community development is envisaged (Foth, 2004). High-rise and high-density living has been associated in the literature with a ‘disappearing sense of neighbourhood or community’ (Cho and Lee, 2011, p. 1428). This is countered by work that insists higher density living can support rather than detract from a sense of community and neighbouring (Appold, 2011, p. 150). For this to be the case, Appold (2011, p. 170) argues, there is a need to think differently about the nature and model of ‘community’ that exists and that can be encountered in higher density urban environments. Appold (2011, p. 170) attests that there is a need to let go of neighbourhood-based public life as the model of community and stop ‘trying to force communities to fit old forms’. Otherwise more informal and intangible networks and resources might be overlooked when mapping the assets of communities that live in high-density environments (Foth, 2004). Such discussions are not settled but continue as live debates to which this report contributes.

Recent sociological research challenges dichotomous conceptualisations that characterise community as either place (neighbourhood) based or argue that place is irrelevant, as community is comprised entirely of social networks that are as likely to be found at work, in leisure activities, or in virtual spaces as they are the ‘local’ neighbourhood. Contemporary research offers a more nuanced picture, arguing that while place remains important it is not the only source of community. Social ties are fundamental, but they change throughout the course of life, with place-based neighbourhood ties holding greater significance for families with children, the socially isolated, disadvantaged, and

the elderly. Thus, place (neighbourhood) is not the sole source of community but is especially important for some population groups.

Blokland (2017) understands community in multidimensional terms encompassing symbolic belonging, as well as engagements, encounters, and social ties. For Blokland (2017, p. 89), social ties emerge from different forms of encounter; both durable engagements and fluid encounters (2017, p. 89). Durable engagements are linked to institutions – for example, familiar parents at the school gate or work colleagues. Fluid encounters include familiar shopkeepers, a homeless person seen every day, a person seen on the bus regularly, or incidental encounters with ‘familiar faces’ in an apartment building. This approach is important for several reasons. First, it acknowledges the importance of ‘weak ties’. Second, it disrupts the ideal of a singular tightly knit bounded sense of community. Such an approach situates these dynamics *in a particular time and place*.

Building upon this approach, work in planning and urban design has sought to address the ways in which ‘casual social ties’ (CSTs) might be fostered between residents as a way of encouraging a sense of community. CSTs are understood as facilitating a sense of conviviality. CSTs are also more informal connections compared to primary relationships, such as those with family and close friends. However, they are seen as important in creating a sense of belonging and neighbourhood cohesion by promoting cooperation, and both a sense of trust and understanding (Thompson (2019). CSTs are most beneficial when privacy is respected, but assistance is provided when necessary (Reid, 2015, p. 442). Thompson (2019, p. 230) argues that casual ties ‘supported feelings of safety, trust, home and belonging, opened avenues for favours, and increased wellbeing through enjoyable interaction in the local area’. Thus, encouraging loose connections that require low investment of time and emotion and accommodate residents’ preferences for privacy emerges as a core principle which could guide community development activities.

Apartment dwelling creates unique challenges for neighbouring and the creation of a sense of community. Maintaining a level of privacy and managing relations with neighbours are particularly important in high-density living because people live in close physical proximity and are required to share some common facilities, which has strong implications for quality of life and sense of community (Easthope and Judd, 2010). At times, proximity can promote conflict and tension rather than positive social connections (Easthope and Judd, 2010). Conflicts between people living in apartments commonly arise over the way people use common areas and the intrusion of noise (Easthope and Judd, 2010). Tensions also arise around the use and maintenance of transition spaces between public and private, such as walkways or barbeque areas. Tensions between residents are often exacerbated in apartment blocks characterised by diverse household types, social mix, and different lifestyles (Easthope and Judd, 2010). Understanding people’s experience of apartment living and how they negotiate these conflicts is important to an understanding of community.

Residents of high-density apartments desire privacy and the opportunity to form casual social ties through positive social interactions with neighbours on their terms.

KEY LESSONS FROM HIGH DENSITY-LIVING AND COMMUNITY LITERATURE

- ⇒ Encounters between people in high density neighbourhoods can be both fluid or durable.
- ⇒ Casual social ties are important for creating a sense of belonging.
- ⇒ Providing accessible, inviting and convenient shared spaces for residents may promote casual and chance encounters.
- ⇒ Conflict is common over the use of shared spaces and the impacts of noise.
- ⇒ Privacy is important for residents of high-rise buildings.

2.2 LIVING TOGETHER IN DIVERSITY

There is ongoing debate about whether diversity weakens or strengthens people's experiences of community connection. A key focus has been on understanding 'how to foster social interactions that will lead to a strong and inclusive society' (Onyx et al., 2011, p. 47). On one hand, it has been argued that cultural diversity encourages people to withdraw from communal life, evidenced by low levels of trust and community participation. On the other hand, there is a growing body of work that explores how people from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds (e.g. age and income) get along in everyday situations to understand the possibilities and challenges of living together in difference (Wise and Noble, 2016). This approach reflects the growing attention to multiculturalism as an everyday, lived experience (Wise and Velayutham, 2009). Here, routine encounters both in ordinary (informal) and specific (formal) spaces, such as neighbourhoods (Wessendorf, 2013; Wise, 2005), schools (e.g. Ho et al., 2015), sport and leisure spaces (Aquino et al., 2020), and workplaces (Wise, 2016a, 2016b; Wise and Noble, 2016; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Wise and Velayutham, 2020) emerge as vital. Cultural diversity is understood as an 'unexceptional' part of everyday urban life rather than something 'celebratory or conflictual' per se (Neal et al., 2015, p. 464). Emphasising the everyday nature of diversity draws attention to the need for policy makers and organisations to consider how meaningful connections might be fostered between diverse populations.

Cultural diversity is part of everyday urban life.

2.2.1 BRINGING DIVERSE POPULATIONS TOGETHER

Research on lived experiences of diversity has drawn attention to the positive potential of cross-cultural contact in urban neighbourhoods. Many argue that mundane and casual encounters can foster familiarity with and acceptance of difference (Watson, 2009; Wessendorf, 2013; Wise and Velayutham, 2009). There is some debate about whether these casual everyday encounters can cut through structural inequalities, result in challenging stereotypes, or be converted into meaningful change in approaches to different others (Valentine, 2008). Wise and Noble (2016, p. 425) emphasise that negotiating tension and conflict is part of – not counter to – 'the capacity to live together'. Within this literature there are three key themes with implications for the Vertical Villages project: the role of key people, the importance of neutral social settings, and the importance of particular practices. Each are attended to in turn.

Firstly, the literature points to the importance of key people becoming points of contact and playing a role in bringing diverse groups together. For example, Wise (2009) and Noble (2009) show the role and labour of certain individuals in bringing people together. For example, Wise (2009), in her study of Ashfield, found that key individuals tended to be outgoing and cheerful women who opened up moments of engagement between culturally different residents by exchanging gifts of food and care and sharing information. In another example, Blokland and Nast (2014) identified people with small children and dogs as 'contact assets' in parks and playgrounds because they use them more intensively and offer a reason to converse. Community developers can leverage and invest in this potential by finding and resourcing connecting individuals residing in the area. If experiencing neighbourhood belonging is determined by everyday encounters and not by individual residential biographies and personal networks, attempts to encourage inclusive community development may also have to change, which has consequences for urban policies (Blokland and Nast, 2014, p. 1143).

Secondly, certain social settings or '*social infrastructures*' can provide low-stakes points of contact between diverse groups. Social infrastructures refers to 'the networks of spaces, facilities, institutions and groups that create affordances for social connection' (Latham and Layton, 2019, p. 3). Klinenberg (2018) argues for a broad definition of social infrastructures that can include places like libraries, community meeting spaces, neighbourhood shopping streets, parks, playgrounds, sport fields and swimming pools, courtyards, community gardens and 'other spaces that invite people into the public realm'. Social infrastructures also include civic spaces, such as churches, civic associations, regular markets, as well as commercial establishments. Such spaces include places that no-one owns,

such as neighbourhood houses (Anderson, 2004), parks and cafes (Neal et al., 2015), markets (Watson, 2009), and other public infrastructure (e.g. public benches) (Rishbeth and Rogaly, 2017). Anderson (2004: 21) discusses the value of these ‘neutral social settings... which no group expressly owns but all are encouraged to share’. Neal et al. (2015, p. 469) argue that parks can bring together diverse populations as they become ordinary and repeated sites of connection and encounter. Moreover, Watson (2009, p. 1582) argues that the ease of access, informality, and openness of markets promotes ‘easy encounters and informal connections’ for the people who visit. At the same time, the provision of physical infrastructure on streets and in parks can further assist people to interact. This is shown in the work of Rishbeth and Rogaly (2017), who discuss how the combination of public benches and a giant TV screen encouraged and legitimated ‘lingering’ in a town square in Woolwich, London. Lingering in the square gave people the comfort of being ‘alone alongside others’ and sometimes opened up opportunities to be drawn into conversation.

Thirdly, particular intentional and unintentional practices can play a role in making sites feel welcoming or not. For example, Butcher (2019, p. 391) shows how shared spaces are shaped by ‘cultural rules about what is permissible or not in a space’. These rules make some people more at ease than others, as they determine how people are meant to interact. Ye (2019, p. 484) argues that while fleeting encounters may allow for a ‘low stakes form of inclusion’, they can also function as ‘daily modes of monitoring and organising diversity’ that reinforce dominant codes of conduct. People may elect to avoid rather than participate in public spaces if they feel their visibility attracts judgement (Rishbeth and Rogaly, 2017, p. 47). These contributions suggest that the provision of social and physical infrastructure alone is not enough to facilitate meaningful contact between diverse groups. Attention needs to be paid to how structural inequalities and hierarchies are performed through local strategies and programs of inclusion.

Intentional everyday practices of neighbouring, care and inclusion are important for connecting people. For example, Wise (2005, p. 182) shows how small and simple gestures of kindness and neighbourliness – watering plants, exchanging food, looking out for or watching over neighbours – create an ‘open orientation to the suburb and the strangers that share the place’ even if this does not result in greater intimacy or deeper friendships. This research points to how belonging may be defined by ways of participating locally (Wessendorf, 2013), shared presence or attachment to place (Neal et al., 2015; Watson, 2009), or public familiarity (Blokland and Nast, 2014). The literature shows that ‘fluid, brief and incidental encounters’ should not be overlooked or underestimated when trying to find or build community (Blokland and Nast, 2014, p. 1145). These brief convivial encounters can have lasting impacts for people’s sense of connection and belonging.

Mundane everyday encounters between people and place matter. Key people can facilitate inclusion. Social infrastructure is important and so is how shared spaces are governed in apartment complexes.

2.2.2 DIVERSITY AND APARTMENT DENSITY

Growing urban diversity and increasing urban density have largely been addressed in isolation (Liu et al., 2018). There has been limited attention to residential apartment buildings as sites of intercultural interaction in studies of multicultural community. The bulk of the research has focused on public and semipublic spaces in the neighbourhood. However, apartments are increasingly acknowledged as key sites of both informal social interaction and, via apartment governance practices, more formal connections (Easthope et al., 2019; Liu et al., 2018).

While not explicitly focused on cultural diversity, studies of apartment dwelling have shown that living in close proximity to ethnically diverse others is not sufficient to diversify social networks or increase understanding across difference (Appold, 2011; Easthope and Judd, 2010; Thompson, 2019). Preliminary research on diversity in private (strata-title) apartments in Sydney shows the importance of cultural background in mediating resident engagement in the communal aspects of the building (Easthope et al., 2019). Newly arrived migrants or Australians with little experience of apartment living may come with different expectations and practices around the use of public and

private space, which can create tension. Lack of English competency can make communicating rules that govern apartment living difficult and deter residents from diverse cultural backgrounds from participating on management committees.

Easthope et al. (2019, p. 85) note that cultural diversity is often not explicitly considered in the development of practical approaches to community building in apartment complexes. They draw on interviews with 12 strata managers to identify strategies for address diversity in buildings, including:

- Appointing an intermediary who can translate for other residents to improve participation in the management committees;
- Uniform application of rules to prevent the perception that certain groups are treated favourably or unfavourably;
- Pictorial signage to create culturally neutral communication.

Wise and Velayutham (2014), in their study of high-rise public housing estates in Singapore, looked specifically at ethnic, racial and religious coexistence. They found design features, such as common open corridors and shared recreational facilities, made a difference to multicultural neighbouring. In particular, the shared public spaces of the playground and lifts meant that neighbours regularly met outside the home and that repeated encounters led to familiarity and ‘casual ties’. In the large outdoor recreational space on the estate, there were multiple zones for activities to suit different ages, genders and ethnicities, while the layout provided opportunities for ‘sitting’ together. The playground drew children into the space, who were, in turn, supervised by parents and grandparents who interacted with one another. The adult exercise equipment area and the walking track drew a diverse range of ages to the space. In addition, sports facilities and meeting spaces were used for a variety of events and regular activities that enabled various regular groups, including religious and cultural activities. Building upon the discussion of social infrastructures above, it is clear that the provision of activities and spaces that draw multi-generational residents, and that are inclusive and encouraging of different cultural uses, are key to building harmonious high-rise living in a way that fosters loose neighbouring ties.

Cultural diversity needs to be considered in practical approaches to community development with apartment residents.

KEY LESSONS FROM LIVING TOGETHER IN DIVERSITY LITERATURE

- ⇒ Promote practitioner sensitivity to the multicultural context of community development activities without assuming the importance of ethnicity or cultural background in all scenarios.
- ⇒ Understand local perceptions of diversity and how this may impact a sense of place and attitude to community development activities.
- ⇒ Seek out and support existing resident ‘connectors’ to grow their community development activities.
- ⇒ Promote low-key, low-stakes community participation.
- ⇒ Design for and promote different uses of spaces and diverse activities.
- ⇒ Social infrastructure can play a key role in fostering resident connection.
- ⇒ Address structural inequalities through resource allocation of appropriate social infrastructure.
- ⇒ Allow for language diversity in the dissemination of information and resident engagement.

2.3 SOCIAL MIX AND MIXED TENURE

Social mix can refer to a mix of income, education, gender, age, ethnicity, household type, or tenure (Atkinson, 2008). In the context of community regeneration of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the focus tends to be on tenure mix, bringing private owners into areas dominated by social rental

(Arthurson, 2010, p. 50). Social mix is framed as a way to remedy the social exclusion of public housing tenants and promote social cohesion by creating 'balanced' communities (Arthurson et al., 2015). A key premise is that by breaking up the concentration of disadvantage in neighbourhoods, residents will become better integrated into mainstream society through ongoing contact and interaction with home owners and working residents (Arthurson, 2010; Morris et al., 2012). This idea is founded on a belief that better-off residents act as role models for disadvantaged residents. Further, social mix policy is intended to remedy the problems of concentrated disadvantage, such as stigma and the absence of appropriate services and amenities (Arthurson, 2013). Despite the dominance of social mix as a policy objective, it is difficult to evaluate policy implementation (Morris et al., 2012, p. 5) and outcomes for residents. Thus, the concept of social mix has received much attention and critique in academic literature that is concerned with the impacts and potential challenges posed by social mix policies. Critics have argued that social mix can contribute to the stigmatisation of social tenants by framing their behaviour and values as the problem, positioning social housing as illegitimate or problematic rather than a valuable social good (Ruming, 2014, p. 166), while community regeneration initiatives displace low-income groups, resulting in 'segregation and polarisation' (Lees, 2008, p. 2463). How social mix is configured, planned for, designed and implemented therefore needs to take the complexities of stigma into consideration.

Social mix policies have not had the desired outcomes policymakers had in mind and have been heavily critiqued.

2.3.1 UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL INTERACTIONS IN MIXED-TENURE NEIGHBOURHOODS

The extent to which mixed-tenure neighbourhoods facilitate connections between people of different incomes is debated. Interaction across tenure tends to be limited, casual, and shallow when it does occur, with people living in mixed-tenure neighbourhoods preferring cordiality and privacy (Arthurson, 2010; Bretherton and Pleace, 2008; Chaskin and Joseph, 2011; de Souza, 2019). It is not that these kinds of interactions have no value (Thompson, 2018), but that they do not necessarily provide the intended benefits to disadvantaged residents.

Both Ruming et al. (2004) and Arthurson (2010) found lifestyle to be a significant barrier to mixing across tenure, with homeowners typically too busy to engage with other local residents and more likely to work and socialise outside the neighbourhood. Arthurson (2010) also argues that the design and scale of tenure mix plays an important role in mediating contact between neighbours. If tenure groups are housed in separate buildings or streets, there may be little opportunity for cross-tenure contact. However, a finer scale of social mix (interspersing different housing tenures in a building or street) may heighten the perception of difference and lead to conflict.

Social mix policy is premised on the idea that disadvantaged residents would benefit from more diverse networks; this fails to acknowledge the benefits of existing social ties that might be present in a neighbourhoods and which provide vital support for communities and households living in disadvantage (Arthurson (2010). Further, Patulny and Morris (2012) found that friendship networks of social housing residents were more heterogenous in terms of age, ethnicity, and education than private residents.

The high proportion of private renters in high-rise apartments and the greater transience of renters also presents challenges for building 'stable, long-term communities' (Easthope and Judd, 2010, p. 5). Resident perceptions of renters as lacking investment and care recurs in studies of apartment living (Arthurson, 2012; Bretherton and Pleace, 2008; Thompson, 2018). Nevertheless, in her study of four large apartment complexes in Sydney, Thompson (2018, p. 237) found that 'a far greater proportion of renters were lonely or contact-seeking, compared to owners' living in the same apartment block.

One factor that has been shown to encourage social mixing is being a family with children, because people with children spend more time in their neighbourhood (de Souza, 2019; van Beckhoven and

van Kempen, 2003). Arthurson (2010) found that having children who attend local schools facilitated mixing between parents from different tenures. However, the presence of children can also be a source of negative interactions in high-density developments where children making noise or playing unsupervised can create tension between neighbours (Chaskin and Joseph, 2011).

Overall, the evidence suggests that people prefer to have contact with other people who are similar to themselves (Parkes et al., 2002) and proximity is not enough to bridge relationships across difference. Similar class (Chaskin and Joseph, 2011) or linguistic (Kleit and Carnegie, 2011) background seem to be more important than proximity when it comes to people seeking to connect with others in their neighbourhood.

There is little evidence of mixing across tenures. Social housing residents generally have more heterogenous social connections.

2.3.2 ADDRESSING RESIDUAL AND NEW STIGMA

How owner-occupiers view social housing residents may impact on the success of social mix policies. Perceived differences between residents and the stigma attached to living in social housing can lead to cautiousness or conflict with neighbours (Arthurson, 2010, 2013; Bretherton and Pleace, 2011; Chaskin and Joseph, 2011). Owner-occupiers have expressed negative views of social mix as endangering their property value (Arthurson et al., 2015, p. 501; Bretherton and Pleace, 2011, p. 3438). Likewise, the expansion of private renting has been viewed as a problem by private owners who tend to perceive private renters as lacking care and investment in the property (Bretherton and Pleace, 2011, p. 3438). Private renters are perceived by owners (and social renters) to take less care of their property and surroundings due to the perceived transient nature of their stay in a particular dwelling (Arthurson, 2010; de Souza, 2019).

Addressing tenure-based stigma in new developments has emerged as a significant urban policy issue. Van den Nouwelant and Randolph (2016) argue that a ‘tenure blind’ design and layout is key to minimising stigma and its impact on housing market value. Such an approach involves ensuring a similar quality and appearance of all housing stock – no matter the tenure – and avoiding clusters of tenures (especially social housing) in particular locations. In addition to the original layout, they emphasise the need to be clear how apartment buildings will be managed in order to sustain effective maintenance and governance structures which encourage mix (van den Nouwelant and Randolph, 2016, p. 19).

Tensions can exist between people from different tenure types due to stigma. How social mix is configured, planned for, designed and implemented therefore needs to take the complexities of challenging stigma into consideration.

2.3.3 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ‘MIXED’ NEIGHBOURHOODS

A number of factors affect the success of social mix and need to be taken into consideration when considering community development in ‘mixed neighbourhoods’. Firstly, ensuring equal access to amenities for all tenure types is essential (van den Nouwelant and Randolph, 2016). Social tenants will rely on public amenities more if their housing has fewer private amenities, which can lead to contestation over the use of public and common facilities. Meanwhile, the provision of shared public amenities can encourage social integration between people from different tenures. In order for this to occur, amenities must be both available and affordable to low-income tenants (Easthope et al., 2020). Equal provision of amenities takes on added importance in high-density developments given the increase in demand and volume of residents.

Secondly, the way services and activities aimed at connecting residents are provided needs to be considered. The provision of services ‘to develop a sense of community’ is key to integrating mixed-tenure developments, however, the impact of such services can be limited to the period of direct service provision (i.e. community connections can end when a program or service ends) (Arthurson et al., 2015; van den Nouwelant and Randolph, 2016). For example, Arthurson et al. (2015) found in their study of an estate development in Melbourne that residents who participated in the government funded project were more likely to see the value of social mixing compared to those who did not, who tended to view social mix as a threat to their property values. Participants in this project felt as though the initiative alone was not enough to sustain social interactions and that connections between tenure groups were not maintained once the program ended. Thus, there is risk that residents can become reliant upon ‘outsiders’ to bring groups together during projects rather than these projects being initiated and driven by community members themselves. Further, there is a need to be aware of who is invited to participate in programs and events, as it might be appropriate to invite participants from outside communities targeted for redevelopment. For example, Bretherton and Pleace (2008) found that some residents in new-build, mixed-tenure, high-density developments felt segregated or ‘under siege’ from the surrounding deprived neighbourhood, and suggested that community development initiatives needed to extend beyond the site in order to avoid polarisation.

Thirdly, careful consideration of the kind of community that service providers and residents want is important for the success of community development initiatives. Residents may be uninterested in greater community participation as long as relations are courteous (Bretherton and Pleace, 2008). Critics argue that the social integration goals of social mix are based on out-dated or idealised models of ‘face-to-face, door-to-door community’ based on physical proximity (Gwyther, 2009, p. 153). This vision of community does not align with the extended and mobile affinities that many people prioritise and foster beyond their immediate neighbourhoods. However, not everyone has the resources or capacity to be mobile (Gwyther, 2011), resulting in some residents being more heavily reliant upon their neighbourhood for social ties than others. This is particularly the case for elderly and low-income residents (Arthurson, 2010; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003).

Finally, it is vital to recognise that some residents are more likely to be concerned with everyday considerations than abstract goals of social integration (Bijen and Piracha, 2017). For example, Bijen and Piracha (2017, p. 160), in their analysis of estate renewal programs across Sydney, found that concerns about residents’ ability to keep pets or utilise existing furniture in the new housing were more important than concerns with community barbeques or debates regarding the level of tenure mix in the area. The authors make the point that ‘good’ urban design will not create inclusive places if residents feel their lived conception of place is not reflected in official programs (Bijen and Piracha, 2017). They recommend that ‘extensive and targeted community consultation’ is required in the preliminary stages of program planning and implementation to understand residents’ everyday, inhabited experiences of place and ensure they are incorporated into the project (Bijen and Piracha, 2017, p. 161).

Equal provisioning of social infrastructure for both public and private residents is important to combat stigma. Community development activities need to involve residents from a broad area and be given ongoing funding to be sustained.

KEY LESSONS FROM THE SOCIAL MIX LITERATURE

- ⇒ Identify and evaluate the expected outcomes of pursuing social mix.
- ⇒ For estate renewal projects, consult with former residents in the preliminary stages to understand how they experience home and neighbourhood so this can be incorporated into design and community development activities.
- ⇒ To minimise stigma, implement 'tenure blind' design in new developments and make provisions for the ongoing maintenance of equal quality buildings and amenities.
- ⇒ Reflect on the vision of community underpinning community development goals and whether this aligns with the lifestyles and desires of residents.
- ⇒ Invest in resident initiated and driven programs to promote self-sustaining social interactions.
- ⇒ Consider relationships not only between tenants but also between new developments and the wider community when planning and targeting community building activities.

2.4 URBAN DESIGN

Despite the diversity of apartment residents, high-rise developments in Australia tend to be one- and two-bedroom apartments that cater to the lifestyle of mobile renters and the financial objectives of investor landlords (Randolph, 2006). Insensitivity to the needs of older people, people with disabilities, and families with children is the biggest issue associated with the design of high-rise housing in Australia (Easthope and Judd, 2010, p. 34). Accommodating diverse households requires adaptable design and a mix in size and shape of apartment dwellings (Easthope and Judd, 2010, p. 34). A more diverse stock of apartment dwellings can also offer affordable housing options (Randolph, 2006).

The built form plays an important role in facilitating connections between neighbours. The sites where encounters between strangers occur in cities are many and varied, and include cafés, parks, playgrounds, organised activities, gyms, recreation spaces, shared spaces within developments, places of work, and place of leisure. There are several interstate and international examples of urban design processes and manuals that may be useful to the Vertical Villages project. A typical urban design framework approaches a site from large-scale down to intimate street level details and is broken up into: (1) urban structure; (2) site layout; (3) building mass; (4) building program; (5) public interface; and (6) design detail.

Widely acclaimed examples of this include:

- The Boston Complete Streets Guidelines (2013)
- The Central Melbourne Design Guide (2018)
- The Adelaide Design Manual (2016).

The Government Architect of NSW (GANSW) released *Better Placed* (2018) and *Greener Places* (2017), which are attempts to improve the quality of spatial planning and urban design. A revision to the *Draft Urban Design Guide* is also currently under development by the GANSW. Rather than review existing design guides, the purpose of this section is to identify the key considerations in design scholarship that support social interactions between residents and how developments might be designed with community in mind. Shared spaces, streets, parks, third spaces and public spaces, and child and dog friendly apartments each play a role in potentially enabling urban design to support the formation of CSTs.

Urban design guides differ between context with particular apartment design guidelines being more conducive to fostering casual social connections through design.

2.4.1. SHARED SPACES CREATING COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS

Despite the provision of shared natural and open spaces being linked to a sense of community, research shows that common facilities are often lacking in apartment design and layout (Easthope and Judd, 2010). The availability and management of shared space, however, needs to be a priority for promoting a sense of community. Communal spaces that are visible, centrally located, and provide a specific amenity can support increased social activity (Easthope and Judd, 2010). Destinations within an apartment building such as gyms, pools, gardens and courtyards, or circulation spaces such as lifts, lobbies, carparks, building entrances, stairwells and corridors can assist residents to form CSTs (Thompson, 2019). Dogs, children, or issues needing to be resolved can catalyse social interaction. Research has shown that the smaller the number of people who use a space, the more likely residents are to acknowledge one another and that people are more likely to build relationships with those on the same floor (Thompson, 2019). Design principles such as creating 'soft edges' (Gehl, 2001), through adding character and some transparency to the private spaces of individual residents, may add to the sense of community and connection residents have with one another. Examples of this could be a small private balcony area for external entry dwellings or allowing doormats, decorations, nameplates, or other identity markers on internal facing entries. Communal noticeboards and tables may also add to a sense of community connection and provide residents with a way to learn about what is happening within an apartment block (Thompson, 2019).

The relationships between providing shared spaces and people using those spaces is not straightforward (Cho and Lee, 2011). Urban design should be sensitive to the diverse needs and orientations of residents, including differences in age, income, language and culture. The work of Cho and Lee (2011) revealed that people may wish to use an amenity or intend to participate in an activity but this participation and use may not eventuate. For example, new migrant families may wish to accommodate extended family visits, but find this a challenge when apartments are small (Easthope et al., 2020; Nethercote and Horne, 2016). Similar findings were revealed in the work of Nethercote and Horne (2016) and their study of families in apartment complexes in Melbourne. Some participants reported feeling able to use amenities to meet family needs, whilst others reported not feeling welcome to do so (Nethercote and Horne, 2016). Design is therefore one element that can assist in fostering community but it needs to be understood as always affected by practices of the people who occupy spaces and how they manage interactions.

Curating a series of activities and events within shared spaces can promote further use and social interaction. There are a variety of means to increase the use of shared spaces by residents:

- Ensure that shared utilities and spaces are easily located and that there is visibility from other communal areas of the building (Reid, 2015). Visibility gives people an opportunity to view a space before choosing whether they would like to enter.
- Avoid over regulation of the shared environments. Long lists that stipulate 'conditions of use' can be a deterrence. Use design solutions to mitigate noise impacts of communal spaces, reduce vandalism and other safety measures (Thompson, 2019).
- Involve residents in the management of shared spaces. Such practices create personal investment in the spaces, encourage greater participation, and ensure that spaces meet the actual needs of those who participate (Semenza and March, 2009).
- Provide spaces for functional needs that may be useful to residents (e.g. bike storage/repair, dog or car washing). A common interest and reason to use the space can promote CSTs (Lette, 2011).
- Shared spaces should be altered when they fail to thrive and remain unused by the residents. This could be achieved through tactical placemaking projects, idea generation or small discreet projects that bring residents together (Semenza and March, 2009).
- Provide play spaces for children within shared environments; this increases resident use of shared spaces as resident caregivers are more likely to participate in activities and spaces if their children are safe and occupied (Thompson, 2018).

The provision of shared spaces in developments is important for the development of CSTs. There is no guarantee these spaces will be used by residents. Creating visible, collectively managed, functional, child friendly and adaptable spaces may help.

2.4.2 STREETS FACILITATING NEIGHBOURHOOD WALKABILITY

Increasingly, planning and urban design have addressed the need for people to walk in their neighbourhood. According to Gehl (2010), vibrant streets are vital for the economic viability and environmental sustainability of a city. A walkable neighbourhood encourages people to get 'out and about' for both recreation and transport, build familiarity and create CSTs (French et al., 2014, p. 687). According to Jacobs (1961, p. 50), the sidewalk plays a central role in enabling encounters between residents. Speck (2012) argues that walkability might be improved through design practices shown in Box 1.

Box 1: Improving Walkability according to Speck (2012)

- **Put cars in their place and get the parking right:** Ensure that local planning does not prioritise vehicles over pedestrian connectivity. Recognise that streets are public spaces and need to be accessible for all users. Ensure that parking is appropriately located, and its cost passed on to the users.
- **Mix the land uses:** Integrate land uses that allow for workers and residents to be in the same location. This provides places for people in the neighbourhood to walk to.
- **Protect the pedestrian:** Create streets that encourage drivers to slow down and take caution. Contrary to current traffic management, Speck advocates for narrow lanes, shared streets and less signals, which cause drivers to take greater caution that may reduce road accidents.
- **Make public transport work and integrate bike infrastructure:** Integrate other forms of transport so that fewer cars are on the road and pedestrian destinations are within a reasonable walking distance. The success of walkability and good transit are interdependent. Cities designed for bikes improve the pedestrian environment and slow down cars.
- **Create comfortable spaces and plant trees:** Define spaces with the built form so that people feel comfortable on the street. A sense of enclosure is created by interruptions to lines of sight so that an outdoor space feels like a room. Trees add to this affect, as well as offering myriad other benefits.
- **Build interface:** creating visual interest, entertainment and safety at the street level is key to generating a pedestrian-friendly environment. Shop and street frontages need to be friendly and inviting, they need to support the street life of the community and support interaction. On-street dining, public benches, transparent facades to retail stores, landscaping, building entries and lobbies are all things that add to the street life. For this reason, it is vital to relocate grade level parking and building services to less visible environments. This is typically referred to as the 'human scale'; according to Ewing and Handy (2009), it is made up of the material objects and spaces that connect to how humans navigate the city.
- **Pick your winners:** It is impossible to succeed in achieving all of these things on every street. Being selective and concentrating activity in key locations is essential.

2.4.3 PARKS AND OPEN SPACES

Urban research has explored how public open spaces in communities potentially support social life of high-density neighbourhoods and there is a growing body of work that examines the relationship between spatial design and activation of public spaces (Zhang and Lawson, 2009). Quality public and semipublic open spaces contribute significantly to the social interaction of the local neighbourhood and the development of CSTs. In addition, there is a growing body of work

demonstrating the mental and physical health benefits of public green space, which improves wellbeing (Wood, Hooper, et al., 2017, p. 64). For example, Kuo et al. (1998) found that a stronger sense of community is linked to proximity to green spaces, access to trails or pathways within natural areas, as well as playgrounds and sporting amenities, while Neal et al. (2017) found these green open spaces were also important in fostering a sense of intercultural conviviality.

When outdoor space supports people lingering and ‘people watching’, social interaction becomes increasingly likely (Zhang and Lawson, 2009). Whyte (1980) (cited in Zhang and Lawson, 2009) makes recommendations for features in open spaces that might enable ‘lingering’, including the provision of seats, public art, edible gardens and water features, which each might encourage people to stay in public outdoor spaces. In addition, the Project for Public Spaces (2020) advocates for ‘the power of 10+’. They believe that it takes ten or more attractions to activate a public space. This can be anything from a ‘place to sit, playgrounds to enjoy, art to touch, music to hear, food to eat, history to experience, and people to meet’ (Project for Public Spaces, 2020). This ensures that there is something available for a range of users and no singular community becomes dominant.

Parks and open spaces support social life and casual connections.

2.4.4 THIRD SPACES AND PUBLIC SPACE

‘Third spaces’ are additional sites in cities that facilitate community connection through the development of CSTs. According to Oldenburg (1989, p. 16), third spaces are sites of gathering that are neither home nor a place of work that may support CSTs between strangers. Oldenburg (1989) measures the quality of a third space through its ability to facilitate sociability, relaxation, belonging, and levelling, with supporting features including the diversity of users, the regular use of the site, accessibility of the site, the low profile of the site, neutral ground provided, and the lack of scheduling (Thompson, 2018, p. 306). Under some circumstances, retailers, such as cafés and bookstores, can function as third spaces but entry is often conditional upon buying something (Thompson, 2018). Retail environments may serve to divide people rather than connect them if they are occupied by homogenous groups (Thompson, 2018). The provisioning of third spaces is, however, uneven throughout cities. For example, Thompson (2018) studied the role of third spaces in high-density mixed-use environments of Sydney, revealing that there were very few available. The two spaces available (a library and donut shop) were popular among a wide range of people due to the affordability, diverse programming (some particularly aimed at children), inclusivity of English as a second language, and the library being a relaxed, comfortable, well-maintained environment, with no pressure to move along after a certain amount of time (Thompson, 2018, p. 310). Thompson (2018) noted the absence of a public park or communal open space within the study area, which was lamented by residents.

Sites that are defined as ‘public space’ are often more prevalent in the city as they may include streets, footpaths, parks, beaches, city squares, high streets, public libraries, community centres and, depending on the context, also schoolyards (Altman and Zube, 1989; Carr et al., 1992). In some circumstances, shopping malls may be considered a public space. Public spaces are not always open access all the time, as access may be restricted at particular times of the day, or to allow for a specific use by a group. Carr et al. (1992) believe that public space should be supportive, democratic and meaningful, and address basic human needs, such as comfort, passive and active engagement, and discovery. Gehl (2010) advocates the importance of designing public spaces at the ‘human scale’, thereby supporting urban street life. As an architect, Gehl (2010) addresses the detailed design elements of public space, such as transport hierarchies that prioritise the pedestrian, spaces where people can sit and linger, and spatial qualities of the built form (Gehl, 2010). Project for Public Spaces have developed a hierarchy that emphasises themes of accessibility, activity and use, comfort and image, and sociability (Project for Public Spaces, 2020).

Provide third spaces and public spaces where people can sit, enjoy and linger without having to buy anything. Such spaces might need to be managed and curated in order to be sustainable in the long term.

2.4.5 CHILD AND DOG FRIENDLY ENVIRONMENTS

Residents with dependent children are more likely than other households to be out and about in the local area and participate in local community recreation and activities (Mackay, 2019). The walkability of a neighbourhood and proximity to local amenities, such as play spaces, parks, schools, shops and libraries, are of primary importance (Wood et al., 2011). However, Australia's high-density environments are not being designed with children in mind and there is a persisting view that apartments are not for family living (Krysiak, 2019). In response, a movement termed 'cities for play' is advocating for 'play' to be integrated into many aspects of urban life and urban design (Krysiak, 2019). This includes temporary activations and permanent fixtures within shared communal spaces, streets and laneways. The current NSW Apartment Design Guide (ADG) overlooks the needs and inclusion of children, highlighting the need for a policy shift in Australia (Krysiak, 2019). Australian census data demonstrates a rising demand for apartment living among families and the proportion of apartments that have three or more bedrooms is increasing (Andrews and Warner, 2020). However, the space allocation requirements for apartments with more than three bedrooms is too small in NSW (NSW Department of Planning and Environment, 2015).

In a similar vein, pets can be a catalyst for greater social interaction and facilitate the formation of CSTs (Wood, Karen, et al., 2017). Dogs enable people to meet as strangers are perceived as friendlier and more approachable when they have a dog (Graham and Glover, 2014). Dog owners are more likely to leave their homes and be in the local area on a daily basis. Walkability, as previously defined, supports this behaviour. Dog parks are a rising phenomenon that encourage higher levels of pet ownership and have been supported in the literature as spaces of community encounter (and conflict) (Graham and Glover, 2014). Pet ownership can, however, be expensive and is often not supported in lease agreements with tenants. This creates another possible divide between occupants who own and those who rent (Power, 2017, p. 337).

KEY LESSONS FROM THE URBAN DESIGN LITERATURE

- ⇒ Consider the street and pedestrian environments as critical components of the architectural brief and implement key strategies that make an environment walkable.
- ⇒ Ensure that there are destinations and amenities within walking distance.
- ⇒ Contribute to the quality of public green spaces in the local area and within the development.
- ⇒ Support the activation and program of local 'third spaces' and ensure 'neutral ground' so that participation is not conditional.
- ⇒ Incorporate 'play' into the urban structure and design spaces that give children agency, such as permanent and temporary playgrounds.
- ⇒ Include apartments that are a suitable size for families.
- ⇒ Support a dog park in the local area and pet-friendly lease agreements.
- ⇒ Allow residents to program and participate in the decisions that affect shared spaces within a development.
- ⇒ Include communal destination spaces within a development, such as a gym, community garden or rooftop terrace.
- ⇒ Create activities and programs that operate in this space.
- ⇒ Provide spaces and opportunities for residents to personalise environments in the building.
- ⇒ Utilise existing urban design guides as a manual or reference for best practice approaches.

2.5 FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS, REDEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Historically, church buildings have been situated in central locations in city landscapes, acting as an anchor point for town planning (Mian, 2008). The physical location of such buildings has been implicated with colonialism and state power in settler-colonial contexts such as Australia (Porter et al., 2019). FBOs play multiple roles in social service provisioning and community development, an area that many have actively sought to increase over time (Cloke et al., 2013). How FBOs engage with people and place in the city is both complex and contested.

For some researchers, concerns over neoliberal policy shifts to outsource the responsibility for providing services to the community sector is evidence of the complicity of FBOs in enabling neoliberalism (Williams et al., 2012). For others there is evidence that FBOs continue to resist neoliberal policy tendencies (Williams et al., 2012). Cloke et al. (2013), for example, argue that FBOs resist neoliberalism in multiple ways: actively meeting the needs of people in their communities who are unsupported by governments; rejecting the individualisation of welfare responsibility and depiction of the deserving poor; and continuing to be involved in advocacy, protest and ‘speaking truth to power’ (Cloke et al., 2013, p. 13). While valid concerns remain about the outsourcing of government infrastructure and services, FBOs can emerge as important and innovative players in shaping cities that facilitate collective wellbeing.

The literature focuses on several different types of social action in the community development sector undertaken by FBOs including, but not limited to:

- Basic welfare provision and government services;
- Community building through social action initiatives (e.g. community gardens, community arts programs, community meals);
- Community centres/drop-in centres;
- Public participation, engagement, advocacy and activism; and
- Building of communal social (or socio-spiritual) capital.

This report draws on literature coming out of Australia, the UK, South Africa, and America due to the cultural similarities of these countries with an Australian context. This review is mainly concerned with Christian FBOs due to the composition of project partners, the high statistical presence of Christian FBOs in Australia, and an inability to do justice to the complexities of multiple faiths. This is not to the exclusion of other faiths in the discussion, particularly as there are identifiable minority communities associated with faith communities. For this reason, there is discussion in this review around interfaith collaboration and post-secular rapprochement. This section concludes by offering recommendations for the Vertical Villages project and future work that seeks to explore the relationship between wellbeing, placemaking, and community development with FBOs.

FBOs are diverse in aim, practice, and motivation and have different ways of approaching community development and social action.

2.5.1 DEFINING FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS

This research adopts a broad definition of FBOs in order to capture the diversity of activities and organisational structures that they comprise. FBOs include communities of faith and social service organisations from a faith-based background. Within the literature, an FBO may encompass a variety of organisations, networks, and religious congregations that operate with very different contextually-specific capacities and motivations.

The diversity of FBOs provisioning care in the city is increasing with the emergence of new

organisations (Cloke et al., 2013). An FBO may be a large and complex institution or an informal community that shares common beliefs and values. An FBO may also vary in the degree to which 'faith' is present in their operations or practices. Sider and Unruh (2004, p. 119) developed a six-fold typology to categorise the breadth of faith expression within FBOs, including: faith-permeated; faith-centred; faith-affiliated; faith background; faith-secular partnership; and secular (Sider and Unruh, 2004). They note that there are ramifications around the ethics, funding sources, and other practicalities that depend on what degree to which the 'faith' of the organisation is manifest or evident (Sider and Unruh, 2004).

The organisational structures of FBOs are diverse, with the size and capacity of FBOs varying greatly. At the smaller and more informal end of the spectrum, FBOs include religious congregations, faith-motivated social action groups or places of worship. At the other end of the spectrum, an FBO can be a professional organisation that employs hundreds if not thousands of staff, manages a sizeable budget, and are key providers of social services on behalf of the government (Dinham and Lowndes, 2008, p. 825). The professionalisation of FBOs is often related to a lower degree of 'faith' presence infused into programs due to expectations by government when seeking funding or collaborating with other agencies (Dinham and Lowndes, 2008, p. 825). Cloke and Beaumont (2012, p. 46) note that this interagency and government collaboration has many strengths, yet it often results in an 'emptying out of theological values in order to gain acceptance in political arenas and among secular co-workers.' At times this is due to a well-founded suspicion of religious beliefs playing out in political processes (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012, p. 46). However, the extent to which this is apparent is dependent upon the specific actors within FBOs and how they are structured.

For example, the diversity of ways in which FBOs operate is articulated in the work of Howitt et al. (2020) on the Salvation Army and Ivanhoe Social Housing Estate. Local church congregations, regional bodies and broader social service arms of FBOs each play different roles (Howitt et al., 2020). As a provider of community/welfare operations outsourced by the federal and state governments, the Salvation Army has become a professional social service organisation with a strong reputation ensuring they are able to reach marginalised communities (Howitt et al., 2020). The local Salvation Army church congregation in Ryde was somewhat affluent yet disconnected from the service delivery arm of the church (Howitt et al., 2020). They were, however, able to support a community development project in Ivanhoe estate, termed the No. 47 Project, which enabled them to establish authentic and reciprocal relationships with residents through sustained relationship building (Howitt et al., 2020). Their approach of 'professional neighbouring' led to a mutuality and reciprocal relationship with those who lived on the Ivanhoe estate. Rather than being 'ministered to', the community were regarded more like family (Howitt et al., 2020, p. 97). Such distinctions between modes and scales of operation are apparent in other divisions between local church congregations, professionalised social service delivery arms of FBOs, and particular relational initiatives.

Over time, FBOs have become increasingly professionalised in order to partner with governments in social service provisioning. Such professionalisation has led to FBOs becoming less active in the profession of religious beliefs through community work.

2.5.2 SOCIAL ASSETS IN THE CITY

Local church groups have significant social assets that can facilitate community development in urban locations. Cloke et al. (2013, p. 5) outline how

churches and other religious congregations and networks represent the last remaining vestiges of social capital in many communities. The availability of buildings, social leaders, a capacity for collective action, pools of voluntary labour, and a propensity for charitable giving, together offer very significant potential for social action at a time when other frameworks of communitarianism and voluntarism appear to be on the wane.

Hepworth and Stitt (2007) suggest FBOs have the potential to:

- increase community cohesiveness through supporting cooperative resolution of collective problems, ensuring that people do not opt out of their communal responsibilities;
- facilitate greater collective trust in areas where people have interactions and regular exchanges with other citizens;
- mitigate social isolation and promote higher levels of participation;
- increase connections within a community, leading to members developing more empathy for strangers;
- serve as a channel for information and shared resources; and
- serve as a psychological buffer wherein citizens can better manage trauma and illnesses.

The majority of Christian congregations report that they are often trying to care for existing and future members, attending to the need to maintain buildings, run workshop and pay staff, rather than what is needed by the broader communities in which they are situated (Cloke et al., 2013, p. 5; Hepworth and Stitt, 2007). FBOs that work for wider social cohesion, such as by integrating socially marginalised groups, and combating racism and other social tensions, are often effective at building social goods in the wider community (Hepworth and Stitt, 2007).

Unfortunately, forms of exclusion and coercive control may also characterise the activities of a minority of FBOs who can be openly hostile to those perceived as ‘outsiders’ (Hepworth and Stitt, 2007). Hepworth and Stitt (2007) identify several problems associated with the exclusionary and controlling practices that should be noted:

- Inhibiting new ideas, willingness to learn, innovation and change.
- Exacerbating exclusionary practices, and developing and sustaining systemic social inequalities.
- Restricting individual freedoms and exerting tight controls over community members that can lead to increased levels of conformity or reduced degrees of privacy. It may also be punitive to deviant individuals.
- Seeing collective goods as a substitute for material and economic resources.
- Perpetuating stereotypes, particularly of ‘outsiders’.
- Maintaining practices that can be exploitative of women due to their reliance upon unpaid work, such as community care and community building activities mainly undertaken by women.

At times, motivations for social action can be in conflict, acting as a barrier to governments partnering with FBOs and changing how they operate. Cloke et al. (2013, p. 7) highlight that ‘the fear of overt evangelizing and proselytizing is often a key aspect of mutual mistrust’ in partnerships between governments and FBOs. Divides exist within the approaches taken by FBOs, with organisational debates occurring about the extent to which faith should be part of service delivery (Cloke et al., 2013, p. 15). For example, discussions about the extent that practical care to people in need should be provided without expectation that they have to engage with faith rituals have been taking place, leading some FBOs to become more professionalised (Cloke et al., 2013, p. 15). Such FBOs are moving away from practices that seek to convert participants to their local congregations or faith, to instead provide services without expectation (Cloke et al., 2013, p. 7). Similar conversations are important for FBOs seeking to engage with communities in high-rise buildings, with FBOs needing governance models that are able to coexist with expectations in secular contexts.

FBOs have many social assets that are used for the purposes of caring for members and the broader community. Governments and secular organisations are often wary of FBOs that demand people to participate in faith rituals and of overt evangelizing in community development settings. Relationship building and service provision without expectation is more conducive to community development.

2.5.3 FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS AS ACTORS IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

No space is neutral, unencumbered by the historical imprint of social struggle, nor by the relations of society that produce space. Space is implicated in the production of history and by its very nature replete with relations of domination and subordination, solidarity and cooperation. (Porter et al., 2019, p. 1133)

Church buildings have acted as an anchoring mechanism in town planning, creating a nexus for growth to develop outward from (Mian, 2008). The allocation of a central geographical location to church buildings within an area is, however, associated with power and privilege (Lake, 2011, p. 73). In Australia, Christian churches were allocated key parcels of land at the establishment of a city or town, which is a process that is implicated in the production and reproduction of colonisation (Porter et al., 2019). Australian cities remain *urban country* for Aboriginal peoples (Porter, 2018) and histories of colonisation need to be acknowledged by those seeking to engage in urban redevelopment and planning. The Christian church has been placed at the centre of urban developments. Such histories are important to remember and acknowledge in processes of redevelopment.

Many churches are turning to redevelopment to survive. The ‘product’ is their own church through the creation of mixed-use development projects. These mixed-use developments, in turn, transform the community. Not only the building and use change, the church itself becomes more entrepreneurial (Mian, 2008, p. 2155).

Diversely experienced declining religiosity and church participation, changing demographics, challenges in maintaining properties, and waves of immigration along with gentrification of the post-industrial city have each led FBOs to work in a new climate. The urban church has shrunk as a consequence and commodification of the remaining assets through redevelopment has followed wider social trends (Mian, 2008). At the same time, inner urban properties have increasingly become prime real estate for development in a scarce and inflated market. In the 1970s, churches in New York began selling their air rights and redeveloping their properties to provide affordable housing with churches/community centres at street level, as prices began to rise and there was a return of the ‘white flight’ back into the urban centres (Mian, 2008). The ‘survival of the fittest’ approach highlights why churches are pursuing development opportunities and the present need to do so, however, there are pitfalls that churches need to be aware of when pursuing redevelopment agendas (Mian, 2008, p. 2156):

- Market-rate housing can contribute to gentrification – the displacement of low-income people as a consequence increased rents and loss of local identity and sense of community.
- Historically significant buildings can be lost forever.
- Those in charge of development may lack an understanding of the process – work poorly with developers, architects and builders, be unwilling to collaborate with the community and misunderstand the statutory processes, including opportunities like identified tax abatements, government subsidies, cross-subsidies and inclusionary zoning.
- Churches that exist within a hierarchy may lose revenue to the governing body, and subsequently the local redistributive capacity is minimised. The parish and the denominational structure may also find that they have significant differences in vision.

At the same time, in the UK in particular, church communities have played an increasing role in facilitating public participation in planning processes. Since the 1990s, the UK government has engaged in community participation processes with the assistance of FBOs (Dinham and Lowndes, 2008; Furbey and Macey, 2005). Furbey and Macey (2005) acknowledge that the strengths of FBOs include: having existing involvement in their neighbourhoods and communities; local networks, leadership, management capacity and buildings to contribute to regeneration; memberships that include ‘hard-to-reach’ people with whom official regeneration initiatives are not connecting; and a particular willingness of members to volunteer. For example, the Inner Cities Religious Council (ICRC) was formed in the 1990s with representatives from five of the largest religious traditions in Britain – Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim and Sikh (Dinham and Lowndes, 2008a; Furbey and

Macey, 2005). The role of the ICRC included working together for positive urban renewal and social inclusion (Dinham and Lowndes, 2008a; Furbey and Macey, 2005). Policymakers included FBOs as key stakeholders due to an understanding that they could help harness local leadership, representation, community knowledge, and community assets (Dinham and Lowndes, 2008).

However, the move by the UK government to include FBOs in urban regeneration projects has also been critiqued. Dinham and Lowndes (2008, p. 827) observe that there are inherent risks in collaborating with faith groups that vary in beliefs and practices. Whilst individual churches are deeply embedded in a neighbourhood they can at times lack adequate systems for engagement and may perpetuate real or imagined prejudices that make it difficult for government organisations to create formal partnerships (De Beer, 2018). Furbey and Macey (2005, p. 11) note that, at their extreme, 'religious movements can present some of the most powerful and uncompromising expressions of introversion, authoritarianism and social disengagement in the face of globalisation and related cultural changes'. FBOs can be exclusionary, insular, and hostile towards others, promoting activities with the goal of proselytising or 'extending the fold' without the intention to participate in open social engagement and instead exert problematic control over participants (Furbey and Macey, 2005; Hepworth and Stitt, 2007). A lack of democratic representation in decision-making processes and the exclusion of certain groups, such as women, from leadership may be apparent in the activities of FBOs and at odds with secular values (Furbey and Macey, 2005). As such, Furbey and Macey (2005) argue that local authorities would be better placed to leverage the social assets of FBOs if their understanding of different faith communities was more nuanced and strategic policy and local governance was inclusive of voices that represent different faith communities. Such conflicts reveal the diversity of values and motivations of FBOs and the importance of engaging in open dialogue and boundary setting to ensure community development and engagement occurs in a way that respects and embraces diversity. Other agendas are also present in the movement of FBOs that seek to address social concerns in the city.

Remaining aware of histories of colonisation and injustice that have shaped cities is important. Expectations around inclusion, open social engagement and decision making need to be made apparent. Redevelopment of housing can lead to displacement of low-income tenants and affordable housing strategies need to be considered.

2.5.4 THE POSSIBILITIES OF POST-SECULAR POSTURE

Despite the challenges listed above, there also exists a subset of FBOs that have a meaningful desire to engage and seek justice through social action. Scholars such as Cloke and Beaumont (2012, p. 33) have questioned how 'spaces of care, protest, tolerance, reconciliation and ethical agreement' might be created in response to injustice, marginalisation, and disadvantaged in cities and the role of FBOs in enabling such spaces. Such questions have led them to develop the framing of 'post-secular rapprochement' (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012) in response to new ways FBOs are operating in post-secular contexts.

Post-secular rapprochement is defined as an embodiment of resistance to the prevailing injustices of 'neoliberal global capitalism' and a hope in advancing justice for all citizens of cities (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012, p. 31). FBOs are often motivated by care and justice to address concerns about disadvantage, with such motivations and concerns leading them to partner with government and civil society organisations.

FBOs are motivated by diverse theologies and understandings of social action. In their work on faith in action, Cloke et al. (2013, p. 5-6) identify four rationales that motivate FBO social action:

1. Normative Rationale: social action as a way to express ethics of commitment to the local community.

2. Resource Rationale: faith groups have experience and the capacity to engage with marginalised peoples and train volunteers.
3. Governance Rationale: existing policies, accountability and oversight structures can assist in connecting with marginalised or excluded groups in a grounded way.
4. Prophetic Rationale: faith groups engage with hopeful discourses to energise and motivate followers to address issues of injustice and oppression that shape existing experiences in the knowledge that there are more caring and just orderings of life that can be fostered.

For example, the No. 47 Project, was motivated by an understanding that every person is made in the image of God and therefore should be treated as though they have innate value (Howitt et al., 2020). Other incarnational ministry models explored by Cloke and Beaumont (2012, p. 47) were seen to be motivated by ‘theological imperatives such as peace, generosity, forgiveness, mercy and hospitality into everyday praxis of care for the other’ (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012, p. 47).

Cloke and Beaumont (2012) are particularly interested in understanding the conditions required to enable post-secular encounters and the spaces in which rapprochement transpires, which they argue enables two things. Firstly, they highlight the importance of critiquing fundamentalism and how both religious and secular fundamentalism hinders respect and constructive conversations across difference. Both do not necessarily acknowledge the role and importance of cultural difference. Instead, they advocate for a respect for difference, coexistence, mutual tolerance and acknowledgment of the potential for overlapping values between secular and faith-based organisations (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012). Such work is not simply cultivated but requires relationships of trust and respect.

Secondly, Cloke and Beaumont (2012) highlight the importance of focusing on praxis rather than dogma for both secularists and FBOs. Post-secular rapprochement may contribute to undoing the ‘longstanding perceived binary between evangelical and liberal positions within Christian faith’ (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012, p. 43) as it can embrace openness. Such an approach is important for FBOs seeking to work with people of other religions, no religion, or those that may disagree within the same religion. Cloke and Beaumont (2012, p. 42) argue that there is the potential for ‘faith-by-praxis [to] spill out agape [unconditional love] and caritas [Christian love or charity] into situations of need, and becomes attractive to others who consider doing something is better than doing nothing’. Finding ways of working with difference, without dogma, pressure, judgement and exclusion will be important for FBOs seeking to engage with diverse groups through social action.

Post-secular rapprochement provides a language for FBOs to articulate how faith-by-praxis might motivate social action in the city. Creating relationships of mutual trust and respect is important for FBOs working with residents in secular contexts.

LESSONS FROM FAITH-BASED ORGANISATION LITERATURE

- ⇒ There are a diversity of models, scales and theologies that motivate the work of FBOs.
- ⇒ Local church groups have significant social assets that can facilitate community development in urban locations.
- ⇒ FBOs seeking to engage with communities in high-rises need to consider operating with governance models that are able to coexist with expectations of inclusion in secular contexts.
- ⇒ Redevelopment of church buildings needs appropriate expertise and vision, with potential for developing affordable and social housing to address gentrification.
- ⇒ Praxis-oriented social action has the potential to inform articulations of FBO practice.

2.6 PLACEMAKING

Placemaking has emerged as a strategy for planners, developers and governments to reimagine and transform spaces in the city (Sweeney et al., 2018). Placemaking involves a range of activities that can be led by government, NGOs, communities or businesses (Lew, 2017), with government or business-led being the most common (Hartley et al. (2020)). This section begins by first providing an overview of the concept of place. Secondly, a brief history of the concept of placemaking is provided that highlights the various types of placemaking activities. This report emphasises the contested nature and practice of placemaking before providing detail on how placemaking has been implemented in practice, for example, in public spaces.

Placemaking is a relatively new community development and urban design practice shaping communities.

2.6.1 DEFINING PLACE

To understand placemaking it is important to first understand what is meant by the term ‘place’. Understandings of place are varied. Place is connected to memory, history, meaning, and is imagined to be a vital part of the human experience (Gregory, 2009). As Gregory (2009, p. 539) attests,

In a generic sense, a place is a geographical locale of any size or configuration comparable to equally generic meanings of area, region or location. In human geography and the humanities more generally, however, place is often attributed with greater significance (cf. landscape).

Vanclay (2008, p. 3) elaborates further, explaining that

place is space that is special to someone. The personal meanings that turn space into ‘place’ become embedded in people’s memories and in community stories. They can be associated with both positive and negative feelings.

Sweeney et al. (2018, p. 573) argue that places are ‘unstable relational coherences’. They emphasise the multiple ways in which place is emergent rather than fixed and involves ongoing practices, labour and performance. People may become attached to particular places, an attachment which Friedmann (2012) argues is subjective and immaterial yet can shape how people behave. Places are personal and have a range of cultural meanings for those who occupy or inhabit them. Such meanings are dependent upon culture, class, gender, and experiences, which shape people’s relationships to place which at times might be contested (Gregory, 2009). Places are not static but are constantly changing. Places can be private and/or public. To ‘make’ a place is to actively transform a location either spontaneously or through planned actions (Lew, 2017).

Place does not have one meaning, but multiple meanings. Places can be transformed by various urban actors.

2.6.2 A BRIEF HISTORY AND CONTESTED DEFINITIONS OF PLACEMAKING

The definition of placemaking is contested, however, ‘it is generally understood as a process of reshaping space in order to make it more appealing and usable, and to generate a sense of place’ (Sweeney et al., 2018, p. 574). For Vanclay (2008, p. 3), ‘place-making is the process of transforming “space” (that is, no-place) into “place” and can occur at individual and institutional levels’. It can involve altering how people experience places through transformation of the built form or social activity, such as holding festivals or events (Vanclay, 2008). While placemaking most often refers to deliberate top-down initiatives, placemaking can also occur through spontaneous and uncoordinated

activities (Lew, 2017). Placemaking is an ongoing and open-ended processes where there is no final project (Sweeney et al., 2018).

Various definitions of placemaking have been used by practitioners and academics. Vanclay (2008) points to how placemaking involves a physical change or alteration to a place, neighbourhood, or landscape that can be material, but also symbolic. Fincher et al. (2016, p. 520-521) explain how

Place-making is conceived variously as a physical strategy to improve the image of a place (as image is the engine for local economic growth), a social agenda for mobilising people behind a particular set of objectives, and/or a conduit for political action.

Fincher et al. (2016) focus on the ways in which placemaking has been used by ‘mega projects’ in Melbourne to attract residents and developer investment. Other authors provide a more apolitical definition of placemaking, focusing on how placemaking, via urban design regulations and practices, might be used to create an attractive built form, thereby encouraging a sense of place (Lew, 2017). Overtime, governments have integrated the practice of placemaking into planning governance through policies, design guides and tools (Smith, 2020). For example, the GANSW, in its *Better Placed* (2017) framework for place design, explains:

Place-making: Proposes a multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public spaces. ‘Place-making’ looks at understanding the local community with the intention of creating public spaces that promote health and well-being (NSW Government Architect, 2017, p. 31).

However, as Sweeney et al. (2018, p. 574) note, in urban design ‘placemaking is often uncritically portrayed as an accepted “good”, a necessary and expected ingredient for redevelopment and the reorienting of a landscape towards improved capital accumulation’. There is, therefore, a need to assess any particular form of placemaking to understand its impact on the community. Reference to placemaking can be ‘tokenistic’ and placemaking initiatives should be authentic and encourage government (and non-government) stakeholders to more fully capture the diverse forms of placemaking enacted by communities (Smith 2020).

Placemaking has been adopted by governments, developers and practitioners to transform and activate existing and new places. It has become increasingly popular as a strategy to reactivate urban places.

2.6.3 TYPES OF PLACEMAKING

Placemaking can be tangible (i.e. physical transformations of the built environment), intangible (i.e. shifts in how people experience particular spaces) or include a mix of both (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 9). As Sweeney et al. (2018, p. 574) remind us, ‘the politics of placemaking varies, emerging from diverse assemblages and contexts, and cannot be simply defined according to whether a project fits within a formal or informal approach’. According to Lew (2017, p. 455), placemaking can seem to be focused on transforming the built form, however, many placemaking activities seek to ‘enhance human connectivity, social interaction, and social and relational capital’. Placemaking might provide people with new insights and knowledges of particular places through experiential activities that shape people’s connection and perception of a place.

Lew (2017) provides an overview of four different placemaking approaches which assist practitioners to understand how placemaking might be enacted in practiced:

1. Standard placemaking, which can be instigated by local governments overtime and may involve improvements to the built form.
2. Strategic placemaking involves new top-down investment in activities and the built form to provide a catalyst for the redevelopment of a city area. This form of placemaking might include

the development/redevelopment of venues, holding events, or the development of transport nodes.

3. Creative placemaking involves the use of diverse artistic forms to create more vibrant places. Such placemaking includes holding festivals, events, and performances, along with creating public artworks such as murals or sculptures. In addition, it can involve the transformation of buildings and monuments or the installation of creative street signage or landmarking.
4. Tactical or community-led placemaking includes a wide range of temporary or experimental projects. Such activities may be permanent or temporary and are often bottom-up or community led. Tactical placemaking has much in common with what is known as do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism, which is associated with informal, low-cost or grassroots activities (Sweeney et al., 2018). Sweeney et al. (2018, p. 574) explain that ‘informal or DIY urbanism is frequently characterised by smaller-scale, grassroots spatial practices which challenge the optic of precinct-level regeneration projects’. Emerging out of strength-based community development approaches that seek to enhance social capital (CoDesign Studio, 2019b), community-led placemaking is defined by Hartley et al. (2020, p. 429) as:

a participatory approach to placemaking where the projects are initiated, led, implemented, or managed by local leaders – local residents, volunteers of community organisations – to impact their own local places. There is potential to activate local communities to take a greater role in leading, delivering, and managing placemaking projects.

This form of placemaking is often mobilised in areas that are experiencing urban regeneration and is, therefore, particularly relevant to the Vertical Villages project (CoDesign Studio, 2019b). Community-led placemaking involves actively engaging people in shaping placemaking activities to enhance community connection and activate place and where practical projects that are community-owned and instigated (CoDesign Studio, 2019b). Such work has similarities with asset-based community development (ABCD) frameworks, which look within communities for the assets, networks, strengths and passions that will shape that community (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993). Rather than focusing on the needs or deficits that are present, the approach recognises the many gifts and capacities communities have which can be strengthened from within to generate community projects (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993).

Various placemaking toolkits have been developed to assist communities and groups in undertaking placemaking projects. Cohen et al. (2018) provide an overview and assessment of these toolkits, paying particular attention to how they measure the impacts of placemaking.

Community-led or tactical placemaking is the most relevant form of placemaking for local congregations, whereas larger FBOs who have greater control of the physical design of new developments might wish to enact strategic placemaking along with curating a series of tactical or community-led activities.

2.6.4 PLACEMAKING TOOLKITS

Placemaking inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community. Strengthening the connection between people and the places they share, placemaking refers to a collaborative process by which we can shape our public realm in order to maximize shared value. More than just promoting better urban design, placemaking facilitates creative patterns of use, paying particular attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and support its ongoing evolution (Project for Public Spaces, 2018, p. 2).

Placemaking toolkits vary in terms of their content, audience and purpose; a range of strategic, tactical, creative and standard placemaking activities are outlined below. Analysis of 12 toolkits revealed their varied audiences, including placemaking toolkits that were developed to assist rural communities (Jackson Hole Public Art, 2020), create healthy streets (Create Streets and Architects, 2018), local artists (International Downtown Association and Springboard for the Arts, 2016), realtor associations (National Association of Realtors, 2017), governments or cities (Cardinaal et al., 2020; Thompson and McCue, 2015), LBGQT communities (Planning Out, 2019), and community organisations (Newcastle City Council, 2012; Project for Public Spaces and Metropolitan Planning Council, 2008). The majority of these toolkits suggest methods for engaging communities and stakeholders, inspiration for particular projects, and ways of evaluating their success. Many toolkits include particular worksheets and lists of resources to inspire and facilitate placemaking practices (e.g. Jackson Hole Public Art, 2020). Storytelling and narrative practices are often important in enabling people to express their sense of attachment to place (Cohen et al., 2018). Very few toolkits address cultural and language diversity, revealing a need for further toolkits to address this gap. This section provides an overview of two leading placemaking approaches: (1) Project for Public Spaces, an international placemaking organisation, and (2) Co-Design Studios Victoria, drawing on their Neighbourhood Project.

2.6.4.1 PROJECT FOR PUBLIC SPACES

Project for Public Spaces (2018) is one of the most well-known international professional bodies advocating for the activation and transformation of public spaces. They have developed a place wheel to assist people in assessing how places are used, the types of activities which occur there, how comfortable and safe people feel in a place, how able people are to access a place and its connectivity, and the diverse social groups that feel welcome and have a sense of ownership (Project for Public Spaces, 2018). They advocate for the involvement of communities in placemaking projects in order to leverage their ‘assets, inspiration, and potential’ to create ‘quality public spaces that contribute to people’s health, happiness, and well-being’ (Project for Public Spaces, 2021, p. np).

Their approach to placemaking centres on community engagement and activation, which involves the following 11 principles summarised from the Project for Public Spaces (2021):

1. **The community is the expert:** find out what the assets, context and issues are within the local community.
2. **Create a place, not a design:** create a place with a strong sense of community and identity.
3. **Look for partners:** find allies to support the project such as local groups and organisations.
4. **You can see a lot just by observing:** seek to understand how people use existing spaces and what is missing.
5. **Have a vision:** develop goals that emerge from existing communities.
6. **Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper:** start with experimental improvements that can happen quickly.
7. **Triangulate:** create connections between activities.
8. **They always say ‘it can’t be done’:** embrace and learn from obstacles.
9. **Form supports function:** learn from the community and how people use the space.
10. **Money is not the issue:** the benefits of placemaking will be wide-ranging.
11. **You are never finished:** changes are needed and placemaking is an ongoing process.

In addition, the processes used by the Project for Public Space for activating and transforming public spaces are community led and involve a range of community-based and expert stakeholders. The Project for Public Spaces (2018, p. 18) placemaking process includes: (1) defining place, identify stakeholders, (2) evaluate space, identify issues, (3) place vision, and; (4) ongoing re-evaluation and long-term improvements. They have been engaged in creating a number of toolkits for organisations, including Placemaking Chicago, which provides a range of steps to help carry out placemaking projects (Project for Public Spaces and Metropolitan Planning Council, 2008) and includes the following steps provided in the box below:

A Guide to Neighborhood Placemaking in Chicago
Step-by-step Guide

Getting ready

Step 1: Assess public space challenges

Step 2: Select a site

Step 3: Identify key stakeholders

Evaluating your neighbourhood

Step 4: Collect data

Making a place plan

Step 5: Conduct place evaluation workshop

Step 6: Translate the ideas into action with a working group

Step 7: Develop a visual concept plan

Step 8: Create a summary report and presentation

Implementing your place plan

Step 9: Implement short-term actions

Step 10: Develop long-term design and management plans

Step 11: Assess results and replicate

(Source: Project for Public Spaces, 2018).

2.6.4.2 CODESIGN STUDIO NEIGHBOURHOOD PROJECT

CoDesign Studio is an urban design and community engagement consultancy based in Victoria. Between 2015 and 2019, CoDesign Studio developed

The Neighbourhood Project, a practice-based program that worked with community groups and local governments in Australia to tackle process barriers while concurrently activating underutilised public land and developing a model for community-led [development] (Hartley et al., 2020, p. 428).

Centred around the areas of people, process and place, this project was a form of community-led placemaking that assisted in facilitating 14 tactical community-led placemaking activities in nine neighbourhoods that engaged over 60,000 residents who led projects that included ‘community gardens, pop-up parks, street events, community murals, and local art projects’ (Hartley et al., 2020, p. 430). CoDesign Studio (2019b) identified activities that were developed in relationships with community members, including using underutilised spaces, greening projects, regular events, creative projects, food and markets, and sharing initiatives. To begin, the Neighbourhood Project identified a number of barriers that prevented community-led placemaking from occurring, including:

- Process barriers, which ‘include red tape, paying project fees, and land access’.
- Knowledge barriers, which ‘includes a lack of practical know-how, from navigating permit applications and liaising with council to practical small-scale construction skill’.
- Network barriers, which include a ‘lack of social capital or not knowing enough neighbours, which may make it difficult for projects to gain traction’ (Hartley et al., 2020, p. 429).

Such barriers were addressed through the Neighbourhood Project, which provided a series of training, information resources and support services to community groups and local councils interested in tactical placemaking projects (Hartley et al., 2020). Steps in the process are provided in the box below. These steps centre on the three key areas of people, process and place.

CoDesign Studio People, Process and Place Framework

People: Activating local citizenship around community-led placemaking:

- ‘Start with local ideas rather than a plan’: ask people what they would like, what ideas they have.
- ‘Mobilise around early innovators’: identify and engage local leaders who can bring people together.
- ‘Create agency to enable long-term change’: set out how stakeholders will work together by identifying goals, defining roles and how decisions will be made, and determining how conflict and planning will be managed.
- ‘Strengthen community–council relationships by working together’: build connections between local leaders and council, know who can help in council and build trusting connections and relationships together.

Process: Facilitating an enabling environment in support of community-led placemaking:

- ‘Establish an enabling environment that will support community leadership’: begin by exploring options with the community and create a space for experimentation, set boundaries and guidelines to make the possibilities clear and address risks with temporary measures.
- ‘Create a “yes” culture within council’: build trust, collaborate and resource communities.
- ‘Encourage cross-organisational collaboration by establishing a placemaking leadership team’: provide one group for communities to liaise with who are resourced to support placemaking activities.

Place: How do we use a space? How do we feel connected to a space?

- ‘Build on local strengths and assets, and work with what you have’: assets come from within.
- ‘Learn by doing’: projects can be easy, temporary, cheap, experimental pilots of more long-term projects that may be evaluated and improved on over time.
- ‘Benchmark places and measure outcomes’: understand how people use the place before, during and after the project. Observe and unpack these uses and develop ways to measure the success of the project.

(Source: CoDesign Studio, 2019b)

The community-led placemaking manual created by CoDesign Studio (2019a) provides a step-by-step overview of the methodology used for placemaking. This methodology seeks to ‘catalyse long term systemic change’ and includes practical guides and processes which can be found at: <https://www.codesignstudio.com.au/free-guides>.

Placemaking toolkits are diverse, with many outlining ways to engage with stakeholders, offering inspiring examples, and ways to evaluate the ‘success’ of a project.

2.6.5 PLACEMAKING CAN HAVE UNINTENDED EFFECTS

One critic of placemaking asks, ‘Which people do we want to gather, visit and live in vibrant places? Is it just some people? Is it already well-off people? It is traditionally excluded people? Is it poor people? New people? People of color?’ (Mehta, 2012, p. 1). A focus on physical design, as well as image marketing, can gloss over the complexity of human relations that real places are made of (Nikitin, 2013). (Lew, 2017, p. 458).

Placemaking may be enacted to increase development profit while, simultaneously, potentially increasing inequality and neighbourhood displacement (Lew, 2017). Practitioners and advocates need to be aware of the unintended effects of placemaking activities, such as gentrification, loss of affordable housing, loss of diverse businesses, and increased inequality (Lew, 2017). Placemaking may perpetuate ongoing inequalities of access to vibrant and attractive places which continue to only be accessible to those with money (Lew, 2017).

However, it is possible for the negative effects of placemaking activities to be mitigated by putting in place certain conditions, such as affordable housing targets or rent controls (Cohen et al., 2018, p.

16). Proponents need to be aware of how placemaking might be practiced in a way that engages with diverse communities and shape the city to the benefit of all, rather than the few. Placemaking practitioners need to be aware of and seek to address the complex effects placemaking may have on a neighbourhood through its design, implementation and ongoing maintenance. This is no easy feat. In particular, placemaking practices should enhance rather than erode the distinctive local character of a place rather than homogenise and promote sameness (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 16).

Defining ‘successful placemaking’ is challenging (Lew (2017, p. 460):

Those that define success are mostly likely those who will benefit most from that definition. The second question is whose story is being told through placemaking? This is a question of cultural heritage and social history, which is usually, but not always, incorporated in the placemaking theme of a place (Alderman et al., 2012; Lou, 2010). Placemaking can have significant implications for underrepresented or oppressed groups within a community, by either appreciating their contributions or continuing to suppress them.

According to Cohen et al. (2018), the success of placemaking activities is, firstly, dependent upon how well people are able to be involved in the process and have a sense of connection and ownership over the project. Secondly, it is dependent upon how well the activities are able to incorporate the values and views of diverse ‘sometimes dissenting stakeholders’ (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 9). Successful placemaking is context specific, which acknowledges and incorporates local social, cultural and political characteristics.

Placemaking can have unintended outcomes despite good intentions. Placemaking practitioners need to be aware of conflict and tensions that might emerge from placemaking projects, along with any unintended consequences. Strategies are needed to engage multiple communities in diverse neighbourhoods.

2.6.6 PLACEMAKING WITH/BY DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

Literature on placemaking and cultural diversity in cities emphasises the importance of approaching diversity carefully. A key concern is how neighbourhood affinity forms and evolves in multiethnic places. The focus needs to be on everyday practices of connection, belonging, and neighbouring rather than assumed ethnic difference (Fox and Jones, 2013). This work provides important insights for placemaking activities that enable cross-cultural engagement.

Placemaking activities in diverse communities have tended to promote ideals of mixing in policies geared towards social cohesion. For example, Wessendorf’s (2013) study of Hackney in London shows how an ‘ethos of mixing’ became part of the celebration and performance of diverse places, but this approach can also alienate those who do not want to mix. Oke et al. (2018) found that a dominant form of placemaking in Footscray, Melbourne, involved affirming the multicultural character of the suburb. However, while the diversity of the suburb was celebrated by many residents, how they understood and valued diversity differed. For example, some associated it with comfort in the presence of other newcomers and people of colour while others thought of it as being a hub for an ethnic community. Understanding how residents view diversity is an important step in developing inclusive placemaking programs that encourage positive encounters with diverse others.

A key question, then, is what conditions allow diversity to be projected as a part of, rather than an obstacle to, a shared neighbourhood identity? Pemberton and Phillimore (2018) found that where population change was recent and there was a high degree of population turnover, diversity was seen to get in the way of forming a neighbourhood identity. In contrast, a longer history of immigration – which made diversity unremarkable and allowed visible differences to blend in – seemed to support a positive sense of place based on the identification of diversity as a shared characteristic. This work

suggests that placemaking activities in diverse neighbourhoods need to be aware of and respond to the history of diversity and speed of change in an area and how this might influence residents' openness to diversity.

The embodied nature of placemaking and the ways people connect to place through their senses is also important. Wise (2010) draws attention to the 'sensuous' and embodied dynamics of placemaking. Bodies become habituated to particular ways of being in and moving through space; unfamiliar smells, streetscapes, and habits can be disorienting and make people feel out-of-place or displaced (Wise, 2010). For example, for Anglo-Celtic elderly residents in Ashfield, local shopping was a key part of their sense of belonging. As Chinese retailers increasingly dominated the main street, different expectations and practices around customer service and aisle layout in Chinese-owned shops heightened their sense of 'bodily displacement' (Wise, 2005, p. 175). Embodied feelings of emplacement or displacement are affected when increasing density transforms neighbourhoods and intensifies the use of shared space. It is therefore important for placemaking activities to understand what comfortable and inviting spaces feel like to different residents in order to create opportunities for connection. Understanding the embodied nature of placemaking also highlights the importance of flexible and inclusive design that enables diverse residents to make use and relate to shared space in their own way.

Diversity can be a cause for celebration and contribute to a positive sense of place in urban neighbourhoods. Flexible and inclusive design of the built environment is important to enable diverse residents to make use of and relate to shared space in their own way.

2.6.7 VALUING PLACEMAKING

The diverse economic, social and cultural value of placemaking can be difficult to measure. Cohen et al. (2018) developed a toolkit for Lendlease which might be used to measure the environmental, social and economic value of placemaking. According to Cohen et al. (2018, p. 19), indicators to assess the impact of placemaking activities include:

- Environmental indicators: upgrades and investment to the public realm, walkability and environmental benefits;
- Social indicators: civic participation, health and wellbeing, place attachment, cultural memory (via storytelling) and reduced crime; and
- Economic indicators: education and skills development, employment, increased investment in infrastructure, uplift in property values, increased retail and local business, tourism and place-brand value.

Placemaking activities might lead to greater civic participation, increase a sense of community, reduce social isolation and enhance social networks (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 23). Importantly, such outcomes can be achieved through participation in the placemaking process, with research revealing how involvement in placemaking initiatives can increase the sense of community and create new friendships and connections (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 23). Social indicators can often seem intangible, but can also include measures such as 'increased income, reduced unemployment, resident retention, increased population diversity, increased property values, [and] increased educational qualifications' (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 24).

Placemaking has a number of social, economic and environmental values in urban neighbourhoods. Placemaking may increase social connection and social networks.

LESSONS FROM THE PLACEMAKING LITERATURE

- ⇒ Community-led and tactical placemaking are potentially the most relevant forms of placemaking to FBOs and local groups interested in instigating and resourcing projects.
- ⇒ FBOs that seek to transform places through the built environment may consider engaging in community-led activities alongside redevelopments.
- ⇒ Promoting practitioner sensitivity to the multicultural context of placemaking activities without assuming the importance of ethnicity or cultural background in all scenarios is important.
- ⇒ Further work is needed in developing resources for, by and with linguistically and culturally diverse participants.
- ⇒ Allow for language diversity in the dissemination of information and resident engagement.



(Photo by [Pip Christie](#) on [Unsplash](#))

3. Research Context

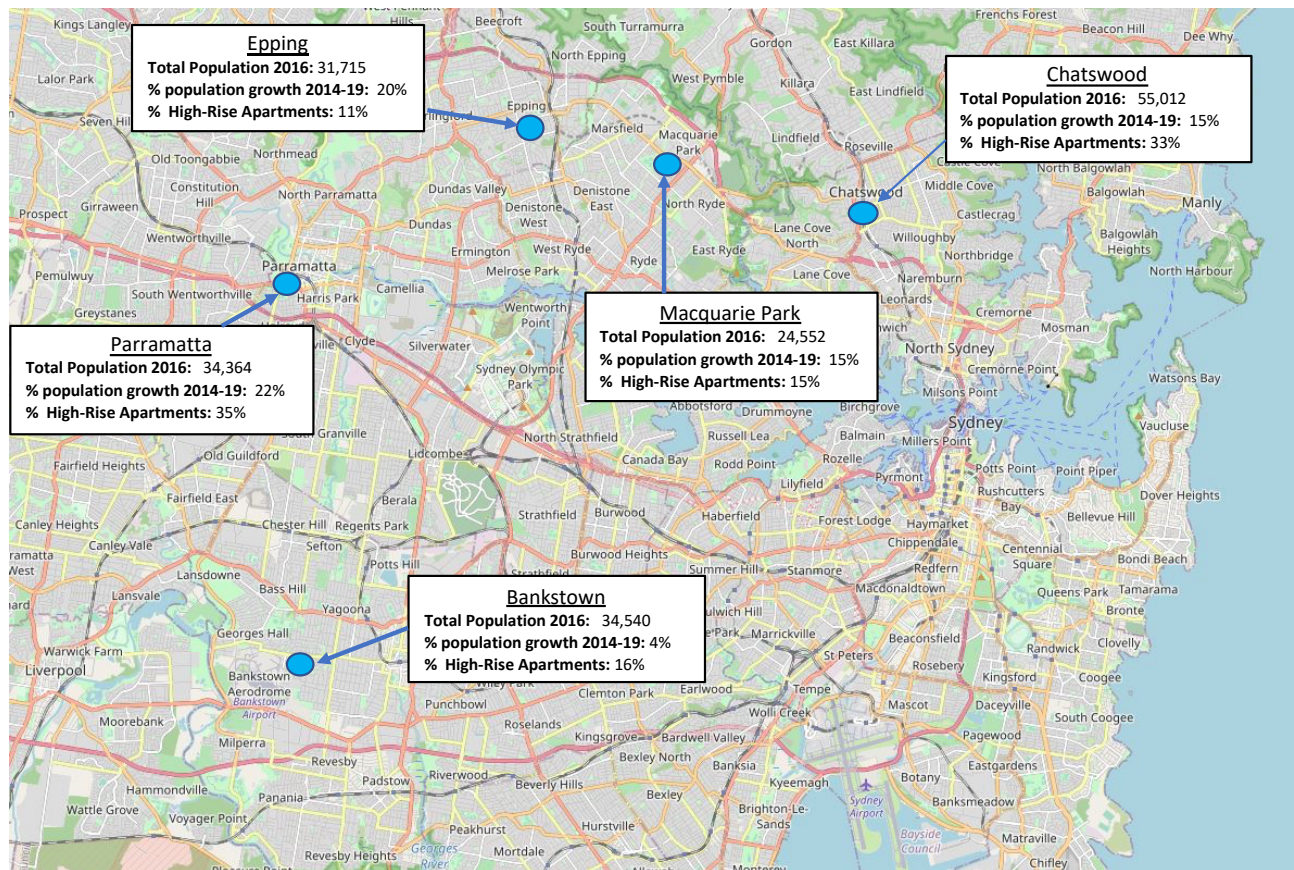
3.1 OVERVIEW

This section provides a demographic overview of the case study suburbs. These five suburbs were selected based on the presence of culturally diverse populations living in high-density areas. Figure 3.1 provides a map of case study locations. In Sydney, migrants (Liu et al., 2018) and people on low-incomes (Easthope et al., 2020) are over-represented as a proportion of apartment residents.

To provide a more complete overview of the case study locations, two scales of ABS data are used. Section 3.2 provides an overview of key demographic characteristics for the case study suburbs.¹ This section provides a snapshot of key demographic characteristics, such as population size, dwelling types, employment, language and heritage. Section 3.3 focuses specifically on the make-up of residents living in high-rise apartments in the case study locations (specifically by language and household type). For this analysis, high-rise apartments are defined as four storeys or more. This section uses Statistical Area 2 (SA2) data as it was not possible to analyse data on language in high-rise apartments using suburb level data due to restriction on the ABS census data.

¹ ABS State Suburb (SSC).

Figure 3.1 Location and Population of Case Study Areas in Greater Sydney (at SA2 level)



(Map source: openstreetmap.org)

3.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: CASE STUDY SUBURBS

This section provides an overview of key demographic characteristics for the case study suburbs.

3.2.1 MACQUARIE PARK

Macquarie Park is located within the City of Ryde local government area (LGA) in North Sydney. Many research and development, technology, pharmaceutical, health and education multinational firms are located in Macquarie Park, which is part of the Economic Corridor of Sydney and ‘set to become Australia’s fourth largest commercial precinct by 2030’ (Greater Sydney Commission, 2018, p. 54). Macquarie Park had 878,950 square metres of office floor space available in 2017, and is predicted to have between 73,000–79,000 jobs by 2036 (Greater Sydney Commission, 2018, p. 58 and 63).

In 2016, there were 8,144 people living in the suburb of Macquarie Park, with a median age of 29, as shown in Figure 3.2. 79.6% of dwellings in Macquarie Park were flats or apartments with 18.8% of dwellings being semidetached terrace or townhouses. 58.3% of the dwellings were occupied by families and 9.8% by group households. 59% of households worked full-time in 2016 and 23.9% worked part-time (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

² Chatswood data includes SA2 data from Chatswood (East)–Artarmon and Chatswood (West)–Lane Cove North. Macquarie Park includes SA2 data from Macquarie Park and Marsfield, Bankstown includes SA2 Bankstown North and Bankstown South Parramatta includes Parramatta–Rosehill SA2 Epping includes Epping–North Epping SA2

Figure 3.2 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Macquarie Park (suburb)

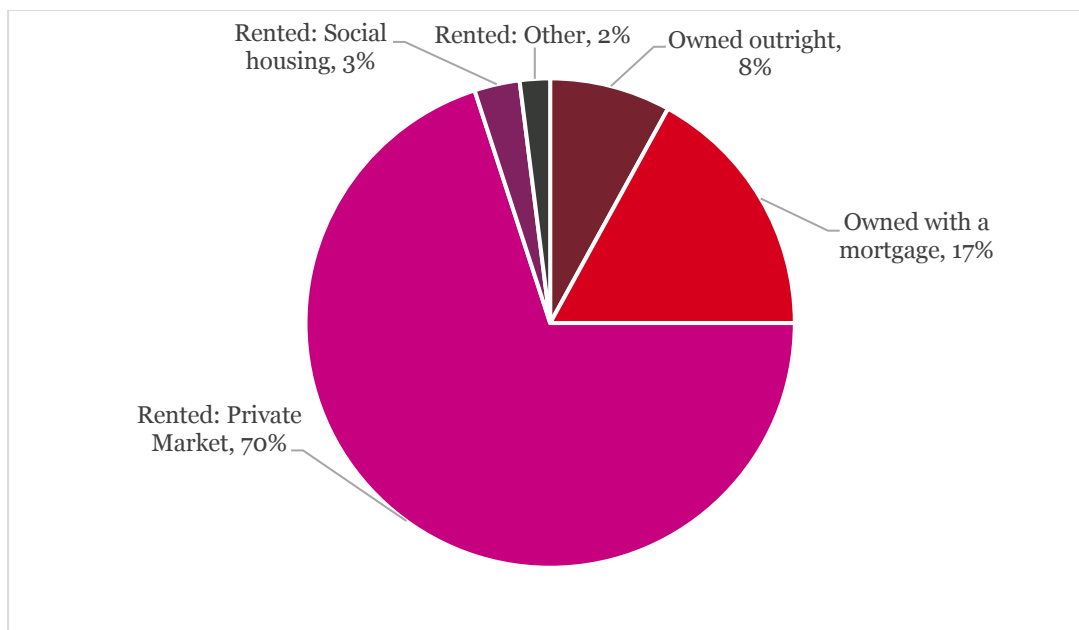
Key Statistics for Macquarie Park (SSC)	Number
People living in Macquarie Park	8,144
Median age	29
Number of families	1,795
Median weekly household income	\$1,631
Median weekly rent	\$460
Dwellings rented	66.7%

(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

The top three languages spoken in the suburb of Macquarie Park other than English were Mandarin (15.5%), Cantonese (4.8%) and Hindi (4.5%). 33.8% of people identified as having no religion as their religious affiliation, 13.8% as Catholic and 9.2% identified as Hindu. 20.8% of people living in Macquarie Park identified Chinese as their Ancestry, 12.6% as English, 10.2% as Australian and 9.4% as Indian, with 31.8% of the population being born in Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

Half (50%) of all of the dwellings in Macquarie Park were considered to be high-rise dwellings, with most (70%) being rented privately from a landlord or real estate agent (Figure 3.3). Only 8% of high-rise apartments were owned outright, with a further 17% owned with a mortgage. Social housing made up 3% of high-rise apartments (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

Figure 3.3 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Macquarie Park (suburb)



(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

3.2.2 CHATSWOOD

The suburb of Chatswood is located within the Willoughby City Council LGA in North Sydney and is a strategic centre in the North District of Sydney. It is one of the top ten office precincts in Greater Sydney, with 919 square metres of office floor space (Greater Sydney Commission, 2018, p. 58).

In 2016, there were 24,913 people living in the suburb of Chatswood, with a median age of 34, as shown in Figure 3.4. 65.6% of dwellings in Chatswood were flats or apartments, with 4.6% of dwellings being semidetached terraces or townhouses. 58.3% of the dwellings were occupied by families and 9.8% by group households. 62.4% of households worked full-time in 2016 and 27% worked part-time, with 38% being professionals (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016b).

Figure 3.4 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Chatswood (suburb)

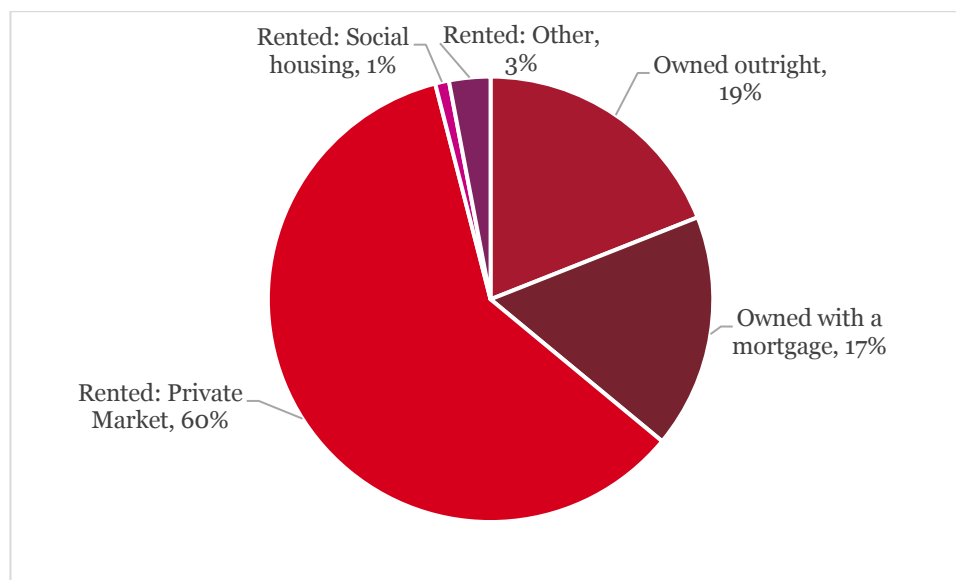
Key Statistics for Chatswood (SSC)	Number
People living in Chatswood	24,913
Median age	34
Number of families	6,506
Median weekly household income	\$1,881
Median weekly rent	\$600
Dwellings rented	47.1%

(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016b).

The top three languages spoken in the suburb of Chatswood other than English were Mandarin (22.9%), Cantonese (12.3%) and Korean (7.2%) (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016b). 42.6% of people identified as having no religion as their religious affiliation, 15.8% as Catholic, and 6.9% identified as Buddhist. 34.1% of people living in Chatswood identified Chinese as their Ancestry, 12% as English, 9.1% as Australian, and 6.5% as Korean, with 32.4% of the population being born in Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016b).

In 2016, 50% of dwellings were in high-rises in the suburb of Chatswood, with most (60%) being rented privately from a landlord or real estate agent (Figure 3.5). 19% of high-rise apartments were owned outright, with a further 17% owned with a mortgage. Social housing accounted for only 1% of high-rise apartments (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

Figure 3.5 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Chatswood (suburb)



(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d)

3.2.3 EPPING

The suburb of Epping is located in the Parramatta City Council LGA. In 2016, there were 23,688 people living in Epping, with a median age of 36, as shown in Figure 3.6. 32.2% of dwellings in Epping were flats or apartments, with 12% of dwellings being semidetached terrace or townhouses. 78.5% of the dwellings were occupied by families and 5.9% by group households. 60.3% of households worked full-time in 2016 and 28.6% worked part-time, with 40.4% being employed as professionals (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016c).

The top three languages spoken in Epping other than English were Mandarin (20.6%), Cantonese (12%) and Korean (9.1%). 36.1% of people identified as having no religion as their religious affiliation, 15.1% as Catholic, 8.4% identified as Anglican and 6.4% as Hindu. 31% of people living in Epping identified Chinese as their Ancestry, 13.5% as English, 11.9% as Australian, 7.9% as Korean and 6.4% Indian, with 41.4% of the population being born in Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016c).

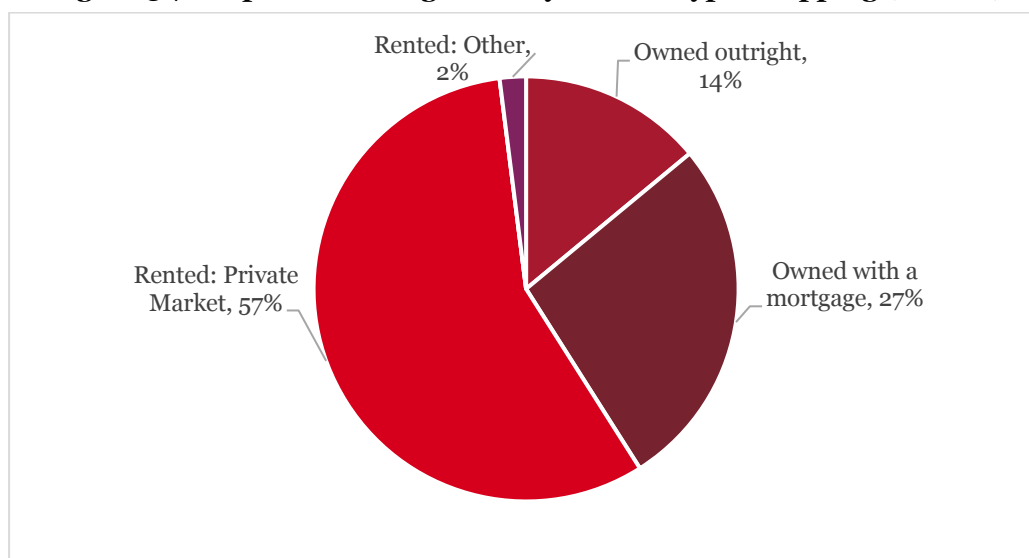
Figure 3.6 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Epping (suburb)

Key Statistics for Epping (SSC)	Number
People living in Epping	23,688
Median age	36
Number of families	6,436
Median weekly household income	\$1,973
Median weekly rent	\$530
Dwellings rented	33.6%

(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016c).

Just under half (47%) of dwellings in Epping were considered to be high rise in 2016, with most (57%) being rented privately from a landlord or real estate agent (Figure 3.7). 14% of high-rise apartments were owned outright, with a further 27% owned with a mortgage. No high-rise social housing was present (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

Figure 3.7 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Epping (suburb)



(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016c)

3.2.4 PARRAMATTA

Parramatta is a high-density suburb within Parramatta City Council LGA with over 81.6% of dwelling being flats or apartments. In 2016, there were 25,798 people living in Parramatta, with a median age of 31, as shown in Figure 3.8. 69.5% of the dwellings were occupied by families and 9.2% by group households. 65.4% of households worked full-time in 2016 and 21.2% worked part-time (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016e).

Figure 3.8 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Parramatta (suburb)

Key Statistics for Parramatta (SSC)	Number
People living in Parramatta	25,798
Median age	31
Number of families	6,429
Median weekly household income	\$1,739
Median weekly rent	\$430
Dwellings rented	68.4%

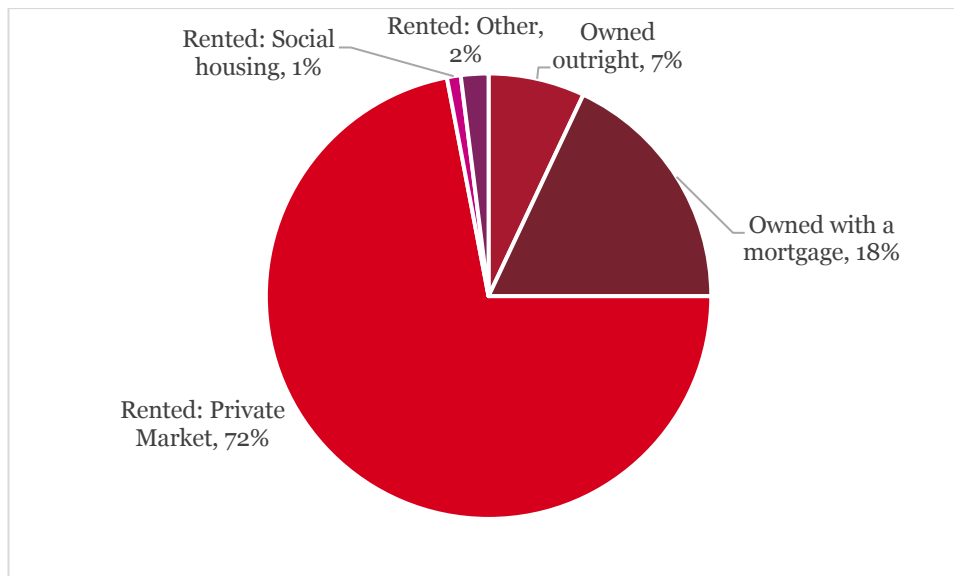
(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016e)

The top three languages spoken in Parramatta other than English were Mandarin (11.8%), Hindi (9.8%) and Cantonese (4.5%). 28.5% of people identified as Hindu as their religious affiliation, 21.4% as having no religion, and 12.7% as Catholic. 26.9% of people living in Parramatta identified Indian

as their Ancestry, 16.3% as Chinese, 7.7% as English, and 6.5% as Australian, with 24.3% of the population being born in Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016e).

Just under half (47%) of dwellings in Parramatta were considered to be high-rise dwellings in 2016, with most (72%) being rented privately from a landlord or real estate agent (Figure 3.9). Only 7% of high-rise apartments were owned outright, with a further 18% owned with a mortgage. Social housing accounted for only 1% of high-rise apartments (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016d).

Figure 3.9 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Parramatta (suburb)



(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016e)

3.2.5 BANKSTOWN

Bankstown is located in the Canterbury-Bankstown Council LGA in the South-West of Sydney. It is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse areas of Sydney. In 2016, there were 32,113 people living in Bankstown, with a median age of 32 as shown in Figure 3.10. 19.9% of dwellings in Bankstown were flats or apartments, with 12.2% of dwellings being semidetached terrace or townhouse. 72% of the dwellings were occupied by families and 3.8% by group households. 54.3% of households worked full-time in 2016 and 29.6% worked part-time, with 17.2% being employed as professionals and 13.3% employed as technicians and trades workers (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016a).

Figure 3.10 Key Statistics from 2016 Census for Bankstown (suburb)

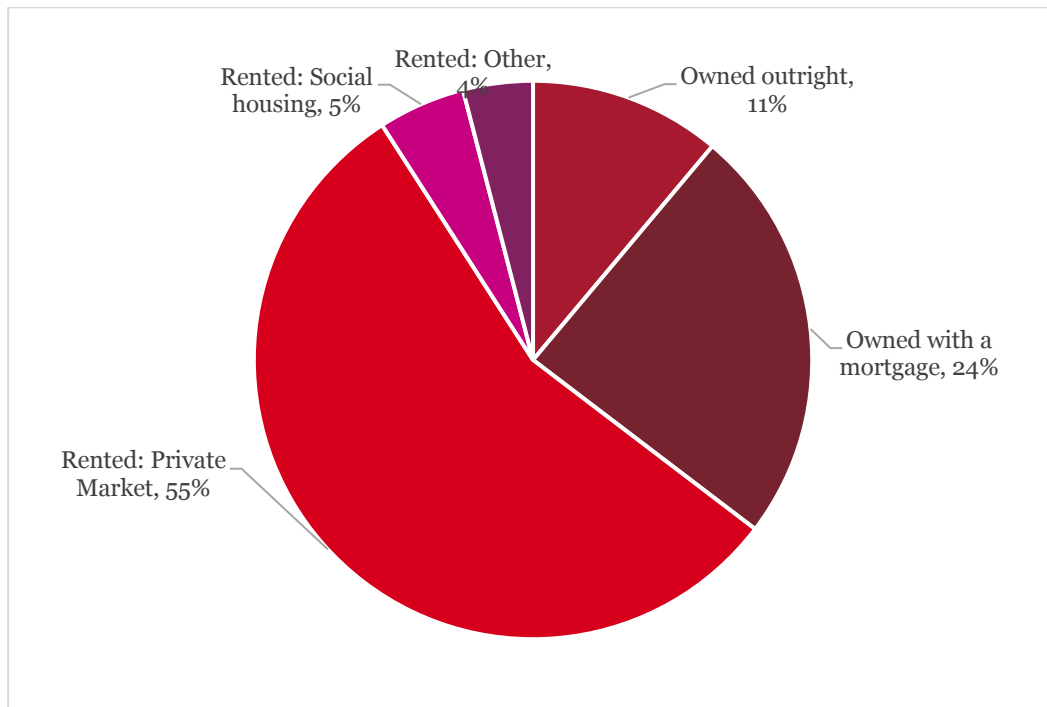
Key Statistics for Bankstown (SSC)	Number
People living in Bankstown	32,113
Median age	32
Number of families	7,809
Median weekly household income	\$1,120
Median weekly rent	\$400
Dwellings rented	66.7%

(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016a)

The top three languages spoken in Bankstown other than English were Arabic (21.1%), Vietnamese (19%) and Mandarin (4.9%) (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016a). 28.9% of people identified Islam as their religious affiliation, 17.7% were Catholic, and 12.9% indicated no religion (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016a). 16.3% of people living in Bankstown identified Vietnamese as their Ancestry, 12.7% as Lebanese, 9.5% as Chinese and 6.8% as Australian, with 37.1% of the population being born in Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016a).

Only 17% of dwellings in Bankstown were considered to be high-rise dwellings in 2016, with most (55%) being rented privately from a landlord or real estate agent (Figure 3.11). 11% of high-rise apartments were owned outright, with a further 24% owned with a mortgage. Social housing accounted for 5% of high-rise apartments (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016a).

Figure 3.11 Proportion of High Rise by Tenure Type in Bankstown (suburb)



(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016a)

3.3. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: SA2 LEVEL

A significant proportion of people living in high-rise apartments in the case study locations (SA2) were migrants, ranging from 59% of high-rise residents in Bankstown to 75% of residents in high-rise apartments in Paramatta and Epping. Most of these residents arrived in Australia between 2006 and 2015, as shown in Figure 3.12.

Figure 3.12 Migration of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments (SA2)

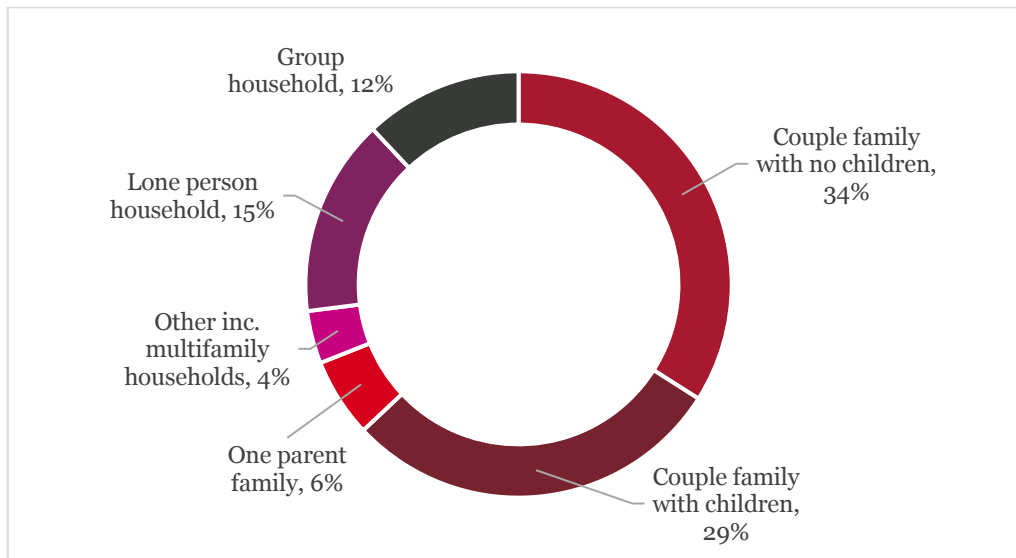
Migration of people in 4 or more storeys	Parramatta - Rosehill	Epping - North Epping	Macquarie Park - Marsfield	Chatswood	Bankstown
Arrived before 1996	5%	10%	10%	14%	13%
Arrived 1996–2005	9%	11%	11%	13%	14%
Arrived 2006–2015	53%	50%	47%	35%	30%
Arrived Jan–Aug 2016	8%	5%	4%	4%	2%
Born in Australia	25%	25%	28%	34%	41%

(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f)

3.3.1 MACQUARIE PARK

The top four languages spoken at home in high-rise apartments in Macquarie Park were English (25%), Mandarin (22%), Cantonese (6%) and Hindi (4%). In terms of household structure in high-rise apartments (Figure 3.13), family households were the most common, either without children (i.e. couple living alone, with 35%) or with children (29%). The other main household types for residents in high-rise apartments were lone person households (15%) and group households (12%) (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f).

Figure 3.13 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Macquarie Park-Marsfield (SA2)

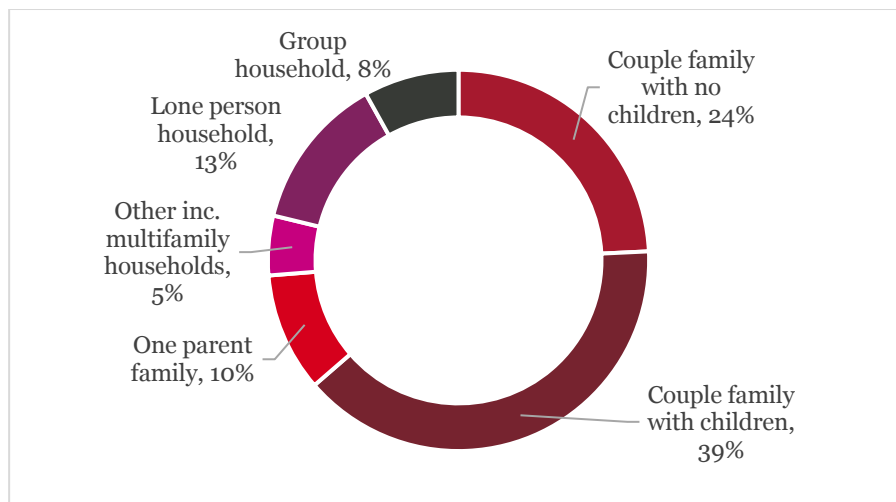


(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f)

3.3.2 CHATSWOOD

The top four languages spoken at home in high-rise apartments in Chatswood were English (27%), Mandarin (21%), Cantonese (11%) and Korean (8%). In terms of household structure in high-rise apartments (Figure 3.14), family households were the most common, either with children (39%) or without children (24%). The other main household types for residents in high-rise apartments were lone person households (13%) and single parent households (10%). Group households accounted for 12% of households in high-rise apartments (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f).

Figure 3.14 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Chatswood (SA2)

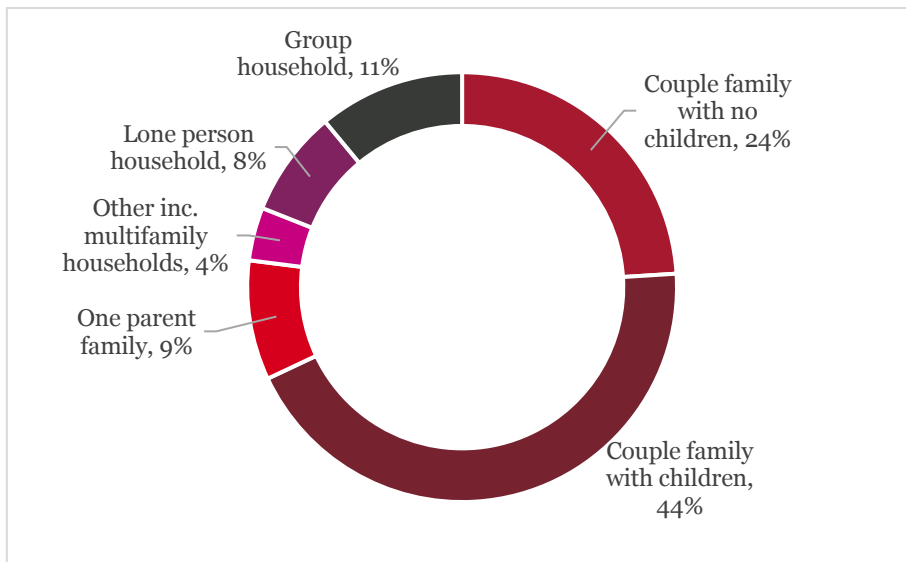


(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f)

3.3.3 EPPING

The top four languages spoken at home in high-rise apartments in Epping were Mandarin (34%), English (16%), Korean (11%) and Cantonese (11%). In terms of household structure in high-rise apartments (Figure 3.15), family households were the most common, either with children (44%) or without children (24%). The other main household types for residents in high-rise apartments were group households (11%) and single parent households (9%). Lone person households accounted for 8% of households in high-rise apartments (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f).

Figure 3.15 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Epping (SA2)

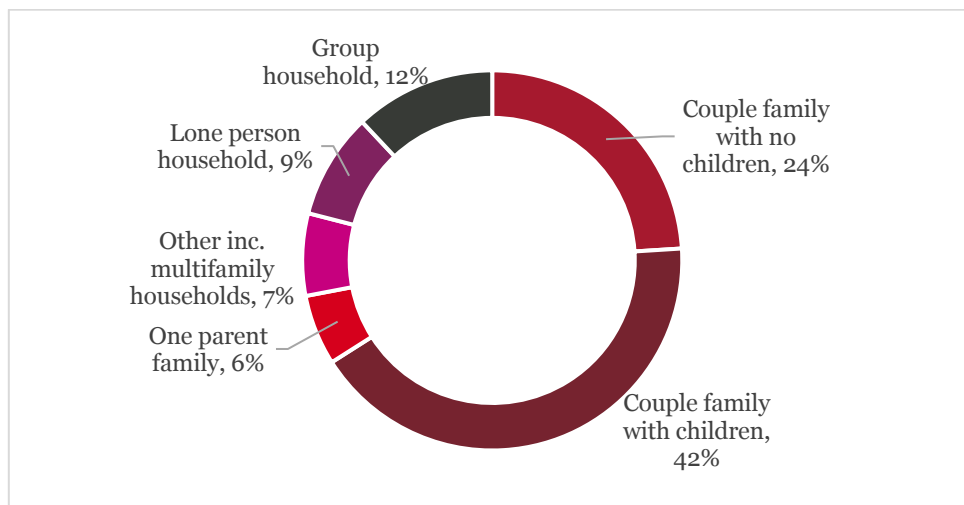


(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f)

3.3.4 PARRAMATTA

The top four languages spoken at home in high-rise apartments in Parramatta-Rosehill were English (15%), Mandarin (13%), Hindi (12%) and Tamil (6%). In terms of household structure in high-rise apartments (Figure 3.16), family households were the most common, either with children (42%) or without children (24%). The other main household types for residents in high-rise apartments were groups households (12%) and lone parent households (9%). One parent households accounted for 6% of households in high-rise apartments (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f).

Figure 3.16 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Parramatta-Rosehill (SA2)

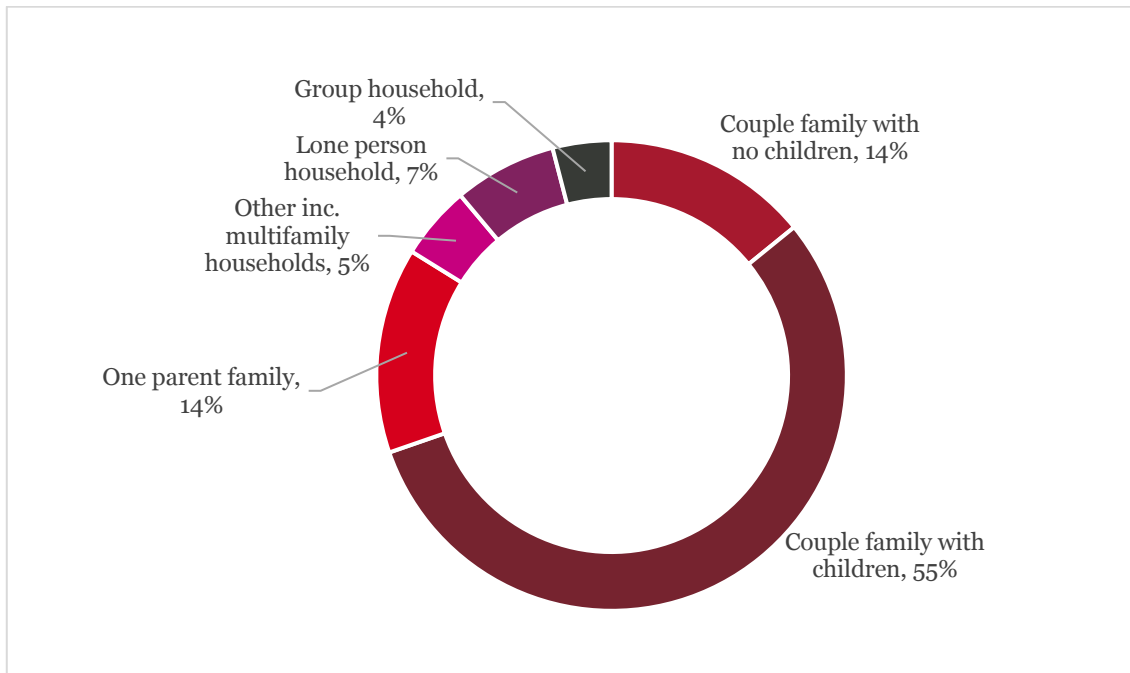


(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f)

3.3.5 BANKSTOWN

The top four languages spoken at home in high-rise apartments in Bankstown were Arabic (21%), English (16%), Vietnamese (9%) and Urdu (8%). In terms of household structure in high-rise apartments (Figure 3.17), family households with children were the most significantly represented (55%). Family households and one parent families each accounted for 14% of households in high-rise apartments. Lone person households accounted for 7% of households, while only 4% were living in group households (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f).

Figure 3.17 Household Type of Residents Living in High-Rise Apartments Bankstown (SA2)



(Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2016f)



(Photo by [Arjun Komath](#) on [Unsplash](#))

4. Research Design and Approach

4.1 RESEARCH METHODS

To address the objectives of this project – outlined in the Introduction (Section 1.1) – a multi-method research approach was adopted to draw together the opinions and experiences of residents living in high-rise apartments and expert practitioners working in the fields of urban design, placemaking and community development. Three forms of primary data collection were undertaken. First, an online questionnaire of residents in high-rise apartments across the five case study suburbs. Second, semi-structured interviews with residents. Third, in-depth interviews with practitioners. This section provides details of the methods used. Ethics approval was granted by Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (Project ID: 6041).

4.1.1 RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was developed by the Chief Investigators and administered online using the LimeSurvey platform. The questionnaire covered topics such as the availability and use of amenities, contact and connection with neighbours, attitudes to FBO-led community activities, perceptions of social mix, and the impact of COVID-19 (Appendix 3). Two thousand postcards containing a link to the questionnaire were delivered by a pamphlet company to high-rise residential buildings and complexes in each of the case study suburbs (10,000 delivered in total). ‘Participate in our research’ was translated in 11 languages on the front of recruitment postcard to encourage participation by diverse language groups. The questionnaire was also advertised on suburb-based community Facebook pages. The questionnaire was open for six weeks from 29 October 2020 to 10 December 2020. Participants had the opportunity to enter a prize draw to win one of 10 \$100 gift cards at the end of the questionnaire. In total, 114 resident questionnaires were completed and included in the analysis.

4.1.1.1 QUESTIONNAIRE PARTICIPANT PROFILE

- **Location:** The majority of participants were from Epping (29%), Parramatta (27%) and Macquarie Park (23%). There were fewer participants from Chatswood (13%) and Bankstown (7%).
- **Length of Residence:** Most respondents had lived in their suburb and apartment for less than five years, with the greatest proportion residing in their suburb (28%) and apartment (41%) for less than a year.
- **Tenure:** Almost two thirds (63%) rented from a private landlord, while just over a third (34%) owned their dwelling (11% outright and 23% with a mortgage).
- **Household Type:** Almost three quarters of respondents (74%) lived with immediate family, with an additional 5% living with extended family. 11% were living in a share house and 10% living alone.
- **Number of Bedrooms:** Two-bedroom apartments were the most common (68%), followed by one bedroom (18%) and three bedrooms (11%).
- **Number of Residents:** Most participants had two people living in their apartment (46%). 29% had three people living in their apartment. 11% were living alone.
- **Age:** Most participants were aged between 30–39 years (39%), followed by those aged 18–29 years (32%). 15% were aged between 40–49 years and 15% aged 50 years of older.
- **Household Income:** Participants tended to come from lower income households: 46.6% with annual household incomes less than \$100,000. 29% earned between \$100,000 and \$150,000, while 14% earned over \$200,000.
- **Sex:** Slightly more males (55%) than females (45%) completed the questionnaire.
- **Children:** Most participants did not have children (59%). 40% of participants did have children.
- **Religion:** Most participants indicated that they had no religion (37%). Around a quarter of respondents each identified as Christian and Hindu (26% and 25% respectively).
- **Country of Birth and Language:** Most participants were born in India (36%), followed by Australia (33%) and China (17%). Two thirds (66%) of participants spoke a language other than English at home, with Mandarin (26%), Hindi (23%) and Cantonese (19%) the most common.

4.1.2 RESIDENT INTERVIEWS

Twenty-five semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with high-rise residents across the case study suburbs. At the completion of the questionnaire participants were asked if they wanted to volunteer for an interview. In total, 74 questionnaire respondents volunteered to participate in an interview. Invitations were sent to volunteers until the quota of 25 interviewees had been reached. Interviews were conducted with participants from each case study suburb (Figure 4.1). Interviews included:

- 17 women and 8 men
- 14 renters and 11 owners
- 15 residing in high-amenities buildings/complexes and 10 with low or no amenities.

Figure 4.1 Interviewees by Suburb

Suburb	Macquarie Park	Bankstown	Epping	Parramatta	Chatswood
Number of interviewees	17	2	6	4	1

Interviews focused on existing and desired resident circumstances, existing and desired interaction with neighbours, neighbourhood or community involvement, the role of FBOs in building community, the impact of COVID-19 on social connection, and the perceptions and experiences of social mix. Interviews were held over Zoom or phone to accommodate social distancing measures

due to COVID-19. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by a professional transcription company. One interview was completed in Mandarin with the assistance of a bilingual research assistant, Tracy Cheung, who also transcribed and translated the interview. Resident interviews were thematically coded with the assistance of NVivo, guided by a combination of literature-derived and data-driven codes.

4.1.3 EXPERT INTERVIEWS

Sixteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with key practitioners in the areas of community development, placemaking, architecture and urban design (Figure 4.2). Expert interview participants were selected because of their expertise, knowledge and experience in working with residents in high-rise residential apartments or with FBOs. Some had been involved directly in the redevelopment of church land assets and the development of high-rise apartments, some were prominent architects and placemakers, while others were experts in community development.

Expert interview participants were invited to participate via phone or email contact. Two interview schedules were developed to guide the interviews on key themes, such as urban design features and processes, designing for social mix, community development, placemaking, multicultural community development, community engagement, and working with, for and/or as part of an FBO. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and an hour and were conducted remotely using Zoom or Skype. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed using a transcription company before being uploaded and analysed thematically in NVivo.

Figure 4.2 Expert Interview Participants

Name	Profession	Title
Allison Whitten	Urban Designer	Sustainable and Resilient Precincts Lead at City of Melbourne
Rev Dr Amelia Koh-Butler	Community Development	Uniting Church Minister and Western Sydney University Chaplain
Andy Fergus	Urban Designer	Sole Practitioner
Dominic Grenot	Community Development	PhD candidate, previously Public Housing Liaison Officer at City of Sydney
Eli Giannini	Architect	Director MGS Architects
Rev Geoff Pound	Community Development	Pastor of West Melbourne Community Church
Dr Gerard Reinmuth	Architect	Director at Terroir and Professor of Practice, UTS
James Legge	Architect	Director of Architecture Firm, Six Degrees
Rev Jono Ingram	Placemaking and Community Development	Director at We Love Aintree, and Place Manager at Grassroots Placemakers
Julia Suh	Placemaking	
Kylie Legge	Placemaking	Director at Place Partners, and Founder and CEO of Place Score
Maggie McKeand	Community Development	Community Engagement and Partnerships Manager at Assemble
Nathan Moulds	Community Development	Program Manager, Food and Financial Assistance Partnerships at Anglicare
Phillip Ward	Placemaking	Co-founder at Public Realm Lab
Participant 1	Developer	
Robyn Gawenda	Community Development	Executive Director and Co-CEO at Footscray Community Arts Centre

4.2 LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

This research has several limitations which need to be acknowledged. First, the small sample size means descriptive analysis should be interpreted cautiously and not be taken as representative of the population being studied. The small sample size also restricted the use of more advanced statistical analysis techniques in the following sections. Second, given that the questionnaire was anonymous and advertised online, it is possible that some participants are from outside the designated case study suburbs. Third, the number of expert interviews was slightly below the initial target (20). This lower number is due to COVID-19 related lockdowns, which impacted the ability of expert participants to devote time to the project. Fourth, the original project design included a series of community development workshops with residents and members of local groups. Due to restrictions on face-to-face research during the COVID-19 pandemic, this element of the project was dropped.



(Photo by David Todd McCarty on Unsplash)

5. Results and Discussion

5.1 RESIDENT EXPERIENCES

This project provides qualitative insights into resident experiences and perceptions of living in high-rise apartments. This section also explores the key themes that emerged from the resident questionnaire and interviews. Firstly, the design of apartments and the availability of facilities is discussed, providing insight into existing and desired facilities for existing apartment residents. Secondly, a focus on people's experiences and perceptions of living in socially and culturally diverse apartment complexes is provided. Thirdly, resident feelings and perceptions of the role of FBOs in facilitating community development is discussed. Finally, an overview of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on people's experiences of living in high-rise apartments in 2020 is provided.

5.1.1 APARTMENT/COMPLEX DESIGN AND FACILITIES

In this section, the design of apartments and suitability for growing old, raising children and hosting visitors is provided. Second, detail on the existing facilities that were available to participants is discussed. Finally, insights are provided as to the facilities residents would like access to in their existing apartment complexes.

5.1.1.1 SUITABILITY OF DESIGN

To ascertain the suitability of the existing design of apartment buildings, participants were asked about the extent to which they perceived the design of their apartment to be suitable for raising children, growing old and hosting visitors (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Suitability of Apartment Design

To what extent is the design of your apartment suitable for...?	Not at all + 2	4 + Very much
Raising children	39%	37%
Growing old	27%	57%
Hosting visitors	32%	42%

Over half (57%) of questionnaire respondents felt the design of their apartment was suitable for growing old, while just over a quarter (27%) felt it was unsuitable. Perceptions about whether their apartment was suitable to raise children was mixed, with 39% feeling as though it was not suitable for raising children, compared to 37% of respondents who felt the design of their apartment was. Interviews provided more nuanced insights.

For interview participants, most felt that their apartment was a suitable place to grow old. The most common reason was **increased mobility due to lifts, followed by the low maintenance required of living in an apartment complex**. Some participants mentioned the possibility of minimising isolation by being close to neighbours, with one resident reflecting that:

Elderly residents like me I think it’s good, I think it’s good because I don’t need a playground. I can go elsewhere to the green side if I want to go for walks and all that, so for the elderly, I think it’s easy to maintain. You know you don’t have problems like fixing your roof you know like less to take care of we just take care of the interior you don’t have to take care of your outside you know. So that cuts out a lot of housing maintenance headaches as well as far as I’m concerned, I think that’s good. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Those who thought apartments were unsuitable for growing old in worried about older residents being **confined to their apartments**. Some respondents lived in apartments with no lift or one that was frequently out of order, while others worried about **mobility** in an emergency:

Maybe not because it’s pretty high. If you get a lower-level one, it’s okay. But once you get up, it might be hard for them to go up and down during a fire emergency. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Residents with children were pragmatic about the suitability of their apartment for raising children. For families with children, a key factor was the level of amenities provided, particularly space for unsupervised outdoor play. Sally,³ who had lived in her two-bedroom apartment for 18 years and raised a child there, spoke of the benefits of living close to other children but also of the challenges of supervision where there were no common play areas for children to play:

It’s difficult to say. It’s good in the sense of it’s convenient, and a lot of other children here, and there’s a swimming pool; so, it’s good like that. **It’s not good because there’s no front yard or backyard for the children to run around. We have to bring the children to the park. Very nearby, just across the road. Bring the children to the park. But then I have to supervise them there.** I can’t do my housework while they are playing, so it’s not... So, in this sense, it’s not very good. If they are playing in the backyard, then I can do my housework when they are playing; but in the park, I have to spend my time supervising them. *(Female, Epping, Owner, Low Amenities, 2-bedroom unit for 18 years, one child)*

Even in complexes that might be viewed as ‘high amenity’, body corporate by-laws often meant that children’s activity was highly restricted, diminishing the ‘return’ on amenity for these families. Namrita lived in a rented apartment with her two children, aged five and ten years. Her unit was

³ Pseudonyms are used throughout the discussion of resident experiences to enable participant confidentiality.

equipped with a large terrace where her younger child rode his bike and engaged with the children next door over the low wall dividing the terraces of each apartment. She praised the outdoor facilities available to residents, but noted that **rules and restrictions made it difficult to let children loose in communal spaces:**

Kids yes, but it comes with their own set of rules and restrictions and stuff like that. But again, if they want to maintain the quality of the provisions they are providing, the amenities they are providing, so rules go a big way in maintaining those facilities and amenities I would say. (*Female, Epping, Renter, High Amenities, 2 kids – 10 years and 5 years*)

Parents tended to describe **raising their children in an apartment as a necessity rather than a preference**. Such insights reflected those made by Chaskin and Joseph (2011), who noted how particular tensions can be created when children play unsupervised.

Notably, residents often pointed to the **accessibility of public parks** as making raising children in an apartment livable. Wang Wei, who lived in a one-bedroom apartment with his wife and who was new to fatherhood, articulated:

Until now I think it's true [the building complex is a good place to raise children], but I don't know. But I think the reason for us to raising children is not the building but the council's public service. (*Male, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities*)

Social infrastructure, such as parks and other open spaces, within close walking distance are often well utilised by families with children, making the public provisioning of such amenities important to consider for developers, state government, and councils (de Souza, 2019; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). Some parents were concerned that public amenities would not keep pace with the rate or scale of high-rise developments. As Namrita, who rented in a high amenity building in Epping, observed:

too many high-rises are not that convenient, at least if the council is building or giving permission to build so many high rises they should provide facilities as well and think about that, you know, expanding the library facilities or the road or the transportation, the buses, the schools. (*Female, Epping, Renter, High Amenities*)

Two 'take home' points emerge: (1) The provision of third and public green spaces are important for neighbourhoods with a high proportion of high rise due to the popularity and regular use of such facilities by families with children (Thompson, 2019). These spaces need to be within easy walking distance. Busy roads cutting access to these spaces diminish their utility as public 'backyards'. Easy neighbouring access to public green space should be a key consideration for the location of development precincts. (2) Apartment complex by-laws and regulations need to be 'child-centred' if a greater number of families are expected to raise children in high-density environments. By-laws and regulations should be designed to protect amenities for all, but also allow children to express their natural need for outdoor play, with designated times and spaces for bike riding, scooters, ball games, and noisy active play. Taking a perspective that centres on children's rights demands that these activities be considered as a normal rather than being framed as a problem to be regulated in order for children to fit into a model of co-living designed for adults. Unlike other 'noise' issues – such as late-night parties or loud music – children do not have the option to conduct their normal and natural activities 'elsewhere', due to safety and supervision issues.

5.1.1.2 SHARED FACILITIES: ACCESS AND USE

In the initial scoping of new developments occurring around Macquarie Park it was noted that the apartments were advertised with a range of common shared facilities. The range of facilities advertised on the websites of these developments are provided in Appendix 1, which shows how higher-end developments compare to more affordable ones. As noted in the literature, the provision of shared facilities can improve the wellbeing and satisfaction of residents at the same time as enabling spaces for the development of CSTs. In resident questionnaires residents were asked to indicate how they felt about the shared spaces that were available in their development. The responses (Figure 5.1.1.2) reveal that people are mostly satisfied with the shared spaces in their

development other than the size of the spaces provided. The responses suggests that people are more satisfied than not with the shared spaces in their building or complex. Most respondents indicated that the shared spaces in their apartment were safe (69%) and well maintained (58%). However, respondents were more likely to consider the shared spaces too small to gather in, with 44% indicating shared spaces were not large enough compared to 34% who said they were.

Figure 5.2 Perceptions of Shared Spaces

The shared spaces in my apartment building or complex are...	Not at all + 2	4 + Very much
Inviting	33%	35%
Large enough for people to gather in	44%	34%
Safe	9%	69%
Well designed	29%	43%
Well maintained	12%	58%
Used regularly by residents	26%	41%

In addition, residents were asked to indicate what shared spaces were available in their apartment complex in order to ascertain the types of facilities people had access to or use of (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 Access and Use of Shared Spaces

What shared spaces are available in your apartment building or complex and which of them do you use?	Access	Use (of those with access)
Outdoor seats/benches	65%	47%
Barbecue/outdoor cooking facilities	48%	42%
Playground	27%	32%
Community garden	43%	41%
Private garden or green space	25%	57%
Pool/spa	32%	75%
Communal kitchen space	8%	33%
Communal lounge space	13%	33%
Noticeboard for the building	70%	31%
Gym room	34%	64%
Communal laundry	4%	40%
Car parking	83%	89%
Communal clotheslines	9%	60%
Function room	14%	6%
Library	6%	57%
Lobby	39%	64%
Concierge	8%	89%

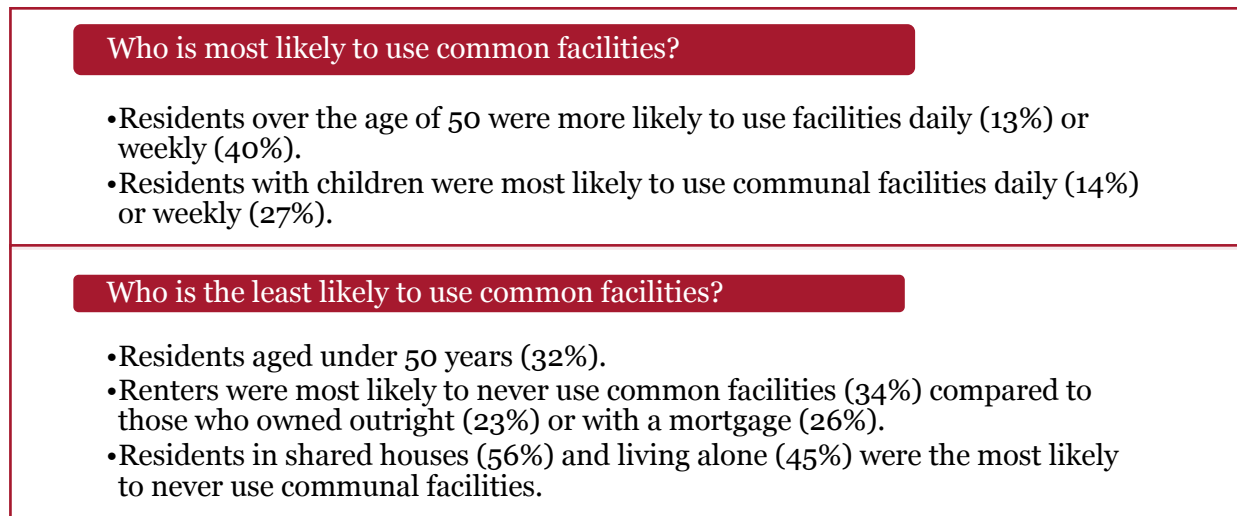
Almost two thirds (65%) of participants had access to outdoor seats or benches in their building or complex, though under half (47%) with access used them. A quarter (25%) of participants indicated that they had access to a private garden or green space, although it is unclear whether ‘private’ was interpreted as referring to individual apartments or the complex as a whole. 43% of participants indicated that they had access to a community garden in their building or complex, however, it is again unclear whether this was interpreted as a communal green space or garden patch that was communally tended. 43% of respondents with access to a community garden used it. Of those who said that had access to a private garden or green space, over half (57%) indicated they used it. Only 32% of respondents had access to a pool/spa, but three quarters (75%) of those with access used them.

Figure 5.4 Frequency of Use of Shared Facilities

How often do you...?	daily	weekly	monthly	yearly	never
Use the communal facilities in you building	10%	20%	25%	15%	30%

Figure 5.5 provides more detail about who used or did not use facilities and the frequency of use. The responses showed that residents over 50 and residents with children were more likely to make use of common facilities.

Figure 5.5 Who Is and Is Not Using Common Facilities



The questionnaire revealed that amenities were more important to the elderly and residents with children. To further understand why people were or were not using the shared facilities in their apartment buildings, interview participants were asked. Interviewees identified some barriers to using the facilities when they were available, besides COVID-19 restrictions, which had only recently been lifted at the time of interviews. Facilities being busy and crowded were the most common deterrent:

The pool is usually busy during the weekends because, you know, you have the families out and the kids and stuff. At that time, it does get busy as well as the gym in the evenings and then early mornings. Everyone uses it during those times, I guess. But during the day, it's not busy at all. So if you're home, if you're off on a weekday, then you can use the facilities easily, I would say. But yeah, I think now I have been noticing that it's quite busy, to be honest, yeah. *(Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities)*

Gym very often, pool not so much, because it was a really small one, and so many people used to use it. So I didn't feel really comfortable going in there. I mean, gym, definitely. I used to go every day. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities)*

One resident raised the inconvenience of the location of facilities in relation to her apartment as a reason why she did not use the amenities available, along with concerns about COVID-19:

Yeah, partly that [concern about COVID-19] and I'm also living on a higher part in a different building, so I don't pass that [common facilities] area all the time. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Another owner was appalled by the fee charged to use the common room in her apartment complex:

It's indoors and it's a room, it's quite a big room but it's indoor so that to me you really can't call it a common room if it's something which is closed and you need to apply to use it and pay to use it. So, what's so common about it, it's not normal you can't just walk in so that's no good, I thought it was really good initially when I brought it off the plan. My understanding was [before moving in] that it was a common room, that's great, but now I'm here it's not. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

As indicated in the quote above, the expectations potential residents have when buying into a development may be incongruent with the reality of what is provided by a developer, and the

restrictions that are placed upon its use. Such insights provide more depth to the reasons why people do and do not make use of available amenities. The convenience and accessibility of the shared facilities seem to be the most common reasons why participants chose not to use the shared facilities available.

Interview participants were asked about the types of shared spaces they would like to have access to. Among those with no or low amenities, a communal green space and shared library were the most desired:

If they had a garden inside, I would use the garden for walking and wandering and if they had a library because I still study so I need a quiet space to study and if they had somewhere so that people could have a picnic or barbecue, that would be good. *(Female, Parramatta, Renter, Low Amenities)*

I think a bit of shared grass and stuff is nice [...] just because it's, I think, better for, you know, pets and also children to be able to use. And it adds to what you don't have with the building lot. *(Female, Epping, Rent, Low Amenities)*

Alisha, who rarely used the swimming pool, spa, gym, and courtyard with a barbecue in her complex, also missed a green area:

I would like to just add one or two things. One main thing is the green area in the sense 'garden'. I have seen people having potted plants on their balcony, but I think if in future, they have something like a green area probably for just growing some trees or growing some vegetables like a gardening group, if they have an area for that, that would be very helpful for the residents as well as for the apartment. I feel like that. It would connect people definitely and it will also provide a way for good air quality. A green area is missing in most every apartment I have ever seen. Very rare we have seen a few apartments growing plants and stuff like that. That's one thing. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Literature points to the role of green space in improving residents' experiences of wellbeing (Wood, Hooper, et al., 2017). In addition, people also feel more connected to their communities when green spaces are provisioned (Zhang and Lawson, 2009).

When residents were asked if they could see themselves living in a high-rise apartment long term, more answered with a definitive no than a definitive yes. Young adults and families, in particular, planned for it to be a transitional accommodation before moving into (and ideally owning) a townhouse or house with a backyard, as Kiran articulated:

I would say not in the long term as in I'll probably stay there – I would like to stay there up until I can actually own a house. I mean, eventually my ultimate goal would be to settle down and get a house. So, I would prefer that but obviously if I had to live in like a communal place within a community, I don't mind living in a high-rise apartment. *(Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities)*

However, several were content to live in an apartment in the long term, even if they hoped to upgrade to one with more bedrooms or more communal amenities:

I prefer living in a high-rise but not this high-rise because there's no facilities and also because the outside environment is too noisy with too much construction. *(Female, Parramatta, Renter, Low Amenities)*

Sandra, who had lived in other apartments before buying one in Epping with few amenities, said I think it [living in apartments] is my choice of housing' *(Female, Epping, Owner, Low amenities)*. Wang Wei agreed:

'Yes I think so because the house we need a lot of time to handle the gardens and so many things, I'm not so skilled at that kind of thing.' *(Male, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Apartments need to be seen as a long-term option for residents who prefer high-density living, rather than a transitional form of housing, with design guides in particular needing to incorporate the needs of children growing up in apartments (Krysiak, 2019).

5.1.2 CONTACT AND CONNECTION BETWEEN NEIGHBOURS

Both the questionnaire and interviews asked residents to reflect upon their existing interactions with their neighbours and their desire for interaction. The results indicated the diversity of experiences and desires, with tenure and the presence of children in the household affecting their experiences of and desire for interaction with their neighbours.

5.1.1.3 EXISTING INTERACTIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS

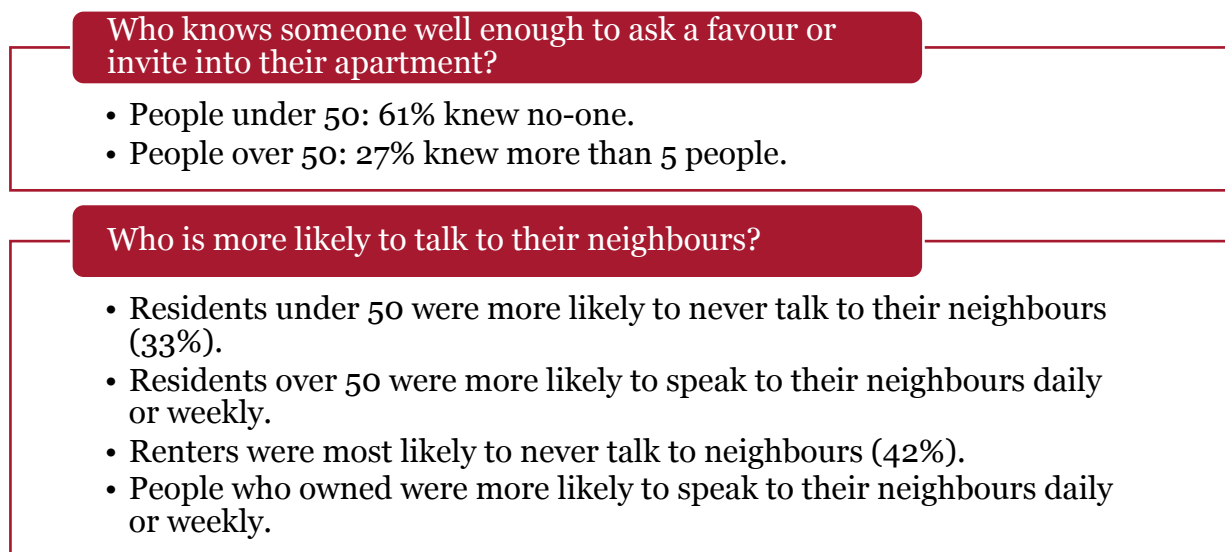
To ascertain how often residents interact with their neighbours, participants were asked to (1) indicate how many people they knew in their building well enough to have a conversation, and (2) if they knew anyone well enough to ask a favour or invite them into their apartment. More than a third (37%) of questionnaire respondents knew no-one in the building well enough to have a conversation and over half (57%) had no-one they would ask a favour of or invite into their apartment. This was echoed in interviews, where most residents described casual and fleeting interactions, such as a brief chat in the lift or acknowledging one another passing in the hall:

Just a little, you know, hi and those kind of interactions, not like we invite each other over for dinner or something like that but we do just – it's kind of like just small talk, I guess. *(Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities)*

I make that conscious effort of breaking through and smiling and talking in the lift, rather than standing quietly and not saying anything, but that really depends on the individual and how comfortable they are with each other. *(Female, Bankstown, Owner, Low Amenities)*

These two examples reveal the importance of 'circulation' spaces such as lobbies, foyers, lifts and hallways mentioned in the urban design literature in facilitating and making social interactions between residents possible, however fleeting (Thompson, 2019). Age is an important factor, with young residents knowing fewer people in their building they could have a conversation with, compared to older residents (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6 How Well Do Residents Know Their Neighbours?



For example, Sally had occupied the apartment she owned for 18 years and knew some residents well enough to spend time together, with children facilitating interactions:

But I think more than half of them I don't really know them, because people move in and move out, if they are renting. So, the ones I know are usually... have been here for quite a long time. [...] Sometimes we will go to the pool together. Swimming pool together. Especially when they have children the same age of mine. We go to English class together. Sometimes they invite me to their home to have casual lunch, or something like that. (*Female, Epping, Owner, Low Amenities, 2-bedroom unit for 18 years, one child*)

The questionnaire results show that Sally's experience of children facilitating interaction is common, confirming the findings of previous studies (de Souza, 2019; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003; Wood et al., 2011). Among respondents, those without children knew fewer people in their building that they could have a conversation with, compared to those with children. Likewise, residents in households without children had fewer people in the building they could ask a favour of or invite into their apartment, compared to those with children. More than two thirds (67%) of residents without children knew no-one, while most residents with children knew someone well enough to ask a favour or invite them to their apartment. Residents without children were most likely to never talk to neighbours (40%), while those who had children were more likely to speak to neighbours daily (18%) or weekly (33%).

Despite limited interaction, the majority of residents were positive about their relationships with their neighbours. More than half (58%) of questionnaire respondents felt accepted by other people living in their building, and that people in their building got along (59%). The questionnaire results suggest that some people tend to feel more accepted than others. Participants aged over 50 were more likely to agree that they felt accepted by people in the building (80%), compared with persons aged under 50 (55%). Outright owners were most likely to agree that they felt accepted by people in the building (100%), compared to other tenures (all around 50%). People in households without children were less likely to agree that they felt accepted by people in the building (46%), compared to those with children (76%).

Many interviewees described the people in their building as coming across as 'warm', 'respectable', 'friendly' and 'nice', even if they did not know them well or at all:

Yeah, like, everybody is pretty friendly, like, even though we don't talk to, like, like, nobody really has a conversation with anyone. Everybody that I passing – passing by they just tend to smile. So that's a really friendly vibe that we get from people. So, yeah, I feel – I feel like I'm accepted around here, so... (*Female, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities*)

Other research has shown how weak or casual ties contribute to a sense of community and belonging (Thompson, 2019). A handful of residents described the absence of 'issues' when asked if they felt welcomed or accepted with one noting "Yeah, I guess so. I don't feel unwelcome" (*Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, Low Amenities*) and another noting that "I think people are quite polite here. I don't, in particular, feel welcomed or unwelcomed. I say it is quite neutral" (*Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities*). Rather than feeling actively welcomed, these participants simply had not had cause to feel excluded or call their belonging into question.

5.1.1.4 DESIRED INTERACTIONS

It is likely that the project attracted participants who were interested in connecting with their neighbours more than those who were not due to the subject matter of the research. Almost two thirds (64%) of questionnaire respondents agreed that they would like to interact more with their neighbours, while 12% disagreed. Those with children were more likely to agree (73%) than those without children (62%). It is worth noting that desiring more participation does not necessarily mean people will act on it if given the opportunity (Thompson, 2019). Figure 5.7 provides insight into which participants were more or less interested in connecting with their neighbours. Throughout this discussion, it is important to be mindful of the diversity of desires for community involvement and how overstating the ideal of community involvement could deter people from interacting (Thompson, 2019, p. 231).

Figure 5.7 Resident Interest in Connecting More with Their Neighbours

Which participants were interested in connecting with their neighbours?

- Residents born in India (48%) and China (79%).
- Residents with a stated religion (75%).
- Residents over 50 (93%) and under 50 (61%).
- Residents with children (73%).

Which participants were least likely to want to connect with their neighbours?

- Residents born in Australia (48%).
- Residents with no religion (49%).

To understand people's interest in getting to know their neighbours in more depth, interview respondents were asked about it. Many of the interviewees were enthusiastic about the possibility of getting to know their neighbours more. Residents who were recent arrivals in Australia were particularly interested in creating connections in their apartment building or complex:

Yeah, I think that would be really actually good, to celebrate and connect with people nearby, and learn about them more, and be a helping hand to... like, in the time of need. So, I think that's good, to know each other, good to be connected with your neighbours. For example, the kids would like to have friends when they're at home. And also, the elderly people, when the kids are middle-aged, they leave from their home for their work or school, so they would love to have a connection. They would love to have friends nearby, connected, so that they can have a normal quick conversation, they can have a relaxed conversation, they can talk about things. So, I think, yeah, for the health of the community, health of the individuals, I think it is very good to have that sort of... (*Female, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities*)

I was just saying like if the building management, like the managers, if they were to put some sort of event, if there was any events organised, you know, where the focus would be to get the community to interact with each other, I would definitely be interested in that. That would be nice, you know, just keeping in mind all the COVID restrictions and stuff. Yeah, I think that would be something I would enjoy, maybe some sort of events that would be organised in the community hall or the community pool or wherever is possible. I would I think enjoy that, yeah, definitely. (*Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities*)

As illustrated above, some participants spoke with enthusiasm about getting to know other members in their community and even made suggestions of where such interactions might take place, such as in a community hall or pool.

Some interviewees suggested that building management or the strata committee could do more to facilitate connection among residents. The absence of social activities facilitated by building management or strata was demonstrated in the questionnaire, in which only 8% of respondents indicated that their building managers/strata organise events for residents. As Malika, who rented in a high-amenities building in Parramatta, commented:

They have a reception to take care of the common areas, garbage disposal, maintain hygiene, maintain the lift, maintain the fire points, everything they have. The physical maintenance is there. What about the maintenance of the mental lives of the people? I would say probably if there are people in the reception, I mean the strata, if they're involved in saying, 'Okay, let's have a meeting once in a year. Let's have all the residents come down. Let's have something for the kids to do. Let's have something for the residents to do.' If there's a meeting within an apartment complex, it would be

very good. If there is a playgroup or if there is a fitness group or like a swimming squad or a badminton playing group, or tennis playing group within the apartment complex, it's very easy. You don't go and search for people around. (*Female, Parramatta, Renter, High Amenities*)

Residents who were open to creating more opportunities for connection often saw access to help if needed and the safety associated with recognising others living in the building as important reasons for fostering friendliness and familiarity among residents.

By contrast, some older owner-occupiers active on their strata committee were interviewed who felt they already had their hands full responding to practical issues. For example, Roger, who owned an apartment in a high amenities complex in Macquarie Park, said he preferred not to get too close to his neighbours partly because of his personality but also to avoid queries about strata business:

There is a group of immediate neighbours that I don't specifically interact because no common interests, but also, I like to keep some level of privacy. So, I like to have that distance. I don't want to end up with the questions every day, 'What happened here? Did I go, or did I do whatever I said I would?' So, I'm trying to keep the immediate neighbours at arm's distance. (*Male, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities*)

Anna had owned and occupied her Bankstown apartment for decades and was a long-time member of the strata committee:

I have a bee in my bonnet about doing that [creating the infrastructure for residents to socialise in the small green area]. It's all the financial restraints. There's never the money to put into that cosmetic and that social need when you've got a low capital flow coming in and you're just keeping the basic infrastructure functioning. (*Female, Bankstown, Owner, Low Amenities*)

Unlike Roger, Anna made a personal effort to greet and talk to residents in her capacity as neighbour rather than strata committee member:

Well, I'm doing it for the reason that I want to break the ice and I want to break their isolation, right? So that's a conscious effort on my part, particularly now that I'm retired and I'm seeing them more because I'm flying up and down the lift. (*Female, Bankstown, Owner, Low Amenities*)

Still, for both Roger and Anna, it was their fellow committee members who they were closest to, and they doubted the capacity of the strata committee to foster socialising on top of their other responsibilities.

The difference in desire of interviewees for interactions is reflective of the literature, which suggests that some residents like the ideal of interaction, but not the practicality (Thompson, 2019) whilst other residents were indifferent and had little interest in interacting with neighbours (Bretherton and Pleace, 2008). Not everyone that was interviewed was interested in interacting more with their neighbours. Some had little desire to, preferring to maintain their privacy and dedicate their free time to existing relationships:

I don't really know if I would be up to kind of – like I just really want to have my own space and be left alone and I really hate small talk so just even seeing neighbours in the corridor saying hi and talking about my day kind of makes me cringe. (*Female, Chatswood, Renter, High Amenities*)

I mean, like, yeah, not really. I have my social network of friends and family and stuff so it's not, like, I wouldn't – I'm not closed minded to it but I'm not particularly looking for it either. (*Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, Low Amenities*)

I do like talking to my neighbours, if they are up for a chat, but if they are – if they like to be more quiet, it's also okay for me, because back in Hong Kong, I never talked to my neighbours, or just hi and bye, that's our relationship, so both are okay for me, really. (*Female, Epping, Renter, Low Amenities*)

As the above quotes illustrate, not all residents desire interactions with their neighbours. Some are ambivalent about such interactions and others ‘cringe’. Such findings reflect understandings of social ties as being more than immediate and local, with some residents relying less on their immediate neighbours for social connection due to their ability to leave the apartment block or suburb to socialise with friends (Arthurson, 2010; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). While some participants preferred to keep to themselves, others, especially newcomers to Australia, longed for social connection with neighbours. Unfortunately, the ‘social infrastructure’ that was missing was a central person or committee dedicated to facilitating the social life of the complex. Those active on strata committees tended towards a more narrowly defined view of their role, concerned with maintenance, by-laws, and bookkeeping, rather than community development.

This is clearly an area that needs attention. In Singapore, for example, resident committees in public housing are actively involved in organising and facilitating community activities within high-rise housing estates. In large private condominium complexes the concierge takes on this role, often with the support of a dedicated onsite manager supported by resident advisory groups.

5.1.2 LIVING IN SOCIALLY MIXED BUILDINGS OR COMPLEXES

FBOs have increasingly become responsible for developing and managing social housing. As such, FBOs play a growing role in designing and developing housing incorporating multiple tenures and homes to diverse cultures and age profiles. This section explores resident perceptions and experiences of mixed tenure, cultural and language diversity, and age mix in residential high-rise apartment living.

5.1.2.1 MIXED TENURE

This project did not specifically target participants currently living in mixed-tenure developments; however, participants were asked how appealing the prospect was to gauge their awareness of and attitude to living alongside people from different socioeconomic backgrounds. As shown in Figure 5.8, just under half (48%) of questionnaire respondents indicated living in an apartment block with a mix of private and public/social housing would be unappealing, while a quarter of respondents said it would appeal to them. The stigma associated with social housing remains a key challenge in promoting successful mixed-tenure developments (Arthurson, 2010, 2013). Fewer (19%) found the idea of having some affordable private rental apartments unappealing, with 45% finding the prospect appealing.

Figure 5.8 How Appealing Would It Be to Live in Mix-Tenure Apartments

How appealing would it be to live in an apartment block with...?	Very unappealing + 2	4 + Very appealing
A mix of private and public/social housing	48%	25%
Some affordable private rental apartments	19%	45%

Interview participants were asked the same question, with more mixed results. People were more likely to say they were open to mixed tenure with qualifications, raising concerns about the profile and behaviour of social housing tenants, but also pointing to potential benefits of living with a mix of people:

I’m not sure, to tell the truth, okay, I have to live there, I mean, of course, there’s a lot of – what do you call it? I mean, I have to say a sort of doubt in my head it could be biased, or I’m biased, I don’t know. I am just wondering people who live in social housing, you know, are they people who are working still, or are they people who are just on welfare, you know what I mean, there is a difference. If people are working, they can afford to buy the housing and I think that’s fine for me, and they are good citizens, but they are working, you know. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

That would be good, I think, having a mixture of owners, tenants, and people from public housing. It will be open up your eye to different opportunities and possibilities. I feel like that. Mostly, I feel if I have to give away stuff, I have to post an ad in Facebook and I find people from other areas or other streets coming up and picking my stuff. But if there is a mixture of owners, tenants and public housing, I can distribute it to my neighbours. They won't get offended. *(Female, Parramatta, Renter, High Amenities)*

Okay, yeah, look I mean, personally I don't think that there's any harm in doing that. As long as you know, collectively, everyone is concentrated on each other's comfort. Meaning like, there's a lot of I would say – I guess sometimes many have talked about short-term residents and the care that they provide to the apartment might not be, you know, as good as the long-term resident. Because, you know, they're only there for short term. But, yeah, if there's a collective sense – if there is a sense of responsibility and, you know, I personally wouldn't mind having any mix like that. *(Male, Parramatta, Renter, Low Amenities)*

Yeah, that's a good question. I guess the, you know, the socially approved answer would be, yeah, of course, you know. But I think the reality is that nobody – I don't think anyone really wants to live in a high-density environment with a lot of social housing. I just don't think you would. But having said that, I think it's important that that does take place because otherwise what you end up with is what we've had previously in other parts of Sydney where you get these clusters of high-density social housing and then – and then all kinds of problems occur. *(Male, Macquarie Park, renter, Low Amenities)*

Reflecting existing research, perceptions of mixed-tenure dwellings varied and were more nuanced than they might first appear. The questionnaire results suggest residents who had lived in their apartment for a longer period were most likely to find the idea of living in an apartment block with a mix of private and public/social housing appealing. Further, half of residents who owned their home outright indicated that this would be appealing, making them the most likely to support the prospect among all tenures. This finding goes somewhat against the established literature, which suggests that owners are the most likely to oppose mixed-tenure developments. Caution is needed here, given the small number of outright owners who completed the questionnaire (e.g. 6 of 12 owners agreed). The interviews revealed an alternative perspective. For example, Annie, an owner in Macquarie Park, stated: 'If I've paid for my apartment, I would probably say not very appealing'.

In the interviews, most residents spoke more concretely about the forms of mix that characterised their current living situation. Several residents observed the difference between owners and private renters when it came to involvement in the communal life of the building. As a renter, Namrita could recognise owners' emotional and financial investment:

So, the lady I was talking about, the one who's not so nice, she's one of the owners, she owns her place I reckon, and then there are these beautiful ladies who own their place as well. So, I think the people who own their own place in the building are much more concerned and conscious and are much more involved in the smooth running of the building. *(Female, Epping, Renter, High Amenities)*

She had experienced that investment being expressed as possessive policing of the use of common areas by one older owner, but she also appreciated the homeliness another group of older women brought to the building:

I see all these lovely ladies having lunches and Sunday brunches and just catching up over coffee in the cafés downstairs. It's beautiful to watch them. [...] and they do decorate the common area with Christmas trees and Santas, Christmas decorations and Easter decorations and things like that. That's the best part, we really look forward to it. We can join in decorating things or help them out with that *(Female, Epping, Renter, High Amenities)*

This example also points to how not only tenure but age and stage in life course can influence the amount of time available to invest in the communal life of the building. Nonetheless, owners raised tenure as a barrier to interaction more than renters:

I thought it would be nice to share some cakes when I meet them. But the regular renters won't stay there for long, so I thought, 'What's the point?' (*Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities*)

There are very few owner-occupier units, unfortunately, so people are renting and are not as responsible as people who own the building, you know. That's me, I could be wrong but that's what I feel. (*Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities*)

They inevitably move in and move out. They are mostly tenants. So, there's no chance to getting to know them any better beyond the hello and some of them are tenants or the ones that live on my floor, I tend to not interact with those that are my immediate neighbours. (*Male, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities*)

It is a common perception of owners that private renters care less about the property and their neighbours (Arthurson, 2013; Bretherton and Pleace, 2008; de Souza, 2019). Contrary to this expectation, 65% of private renters who completed the questionnaire indicated they would like to interact more with their neighbours. Likewise, many of the renters interviewed were keen to build connections in their building. There might be a potential role for FBOs to facilitate interactions between people of mixed tenures in housing developments through strategic community development activities.

5.1.2.2 CULTURAL AND LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

Sydney is a culturally diverse city and migrants are over-represented as a proportion of apartment residents (Liu et al., 2018). Thus, cultural and language diversity emerges as a key variable which shapes resident experiences of community connection and belonging in apartment blocks. To explore this issue, questionnaire participants were asked how frequently they interacted with neighbours from other language and cultural backgrounds. Figure 5.9 illustrates their responses.

Figure 5.9 Interactions with Residents from Different Cultural and Language Backgrounds

How often do you...?	daily	weekly	monthly	yearly	never
Interact with neighbours from a different cultural or language background to you	9%	16%	31%	11%	32%

Just under a third (32%) of participants indicated that they never interacted with neighbours from different cultural or language backgrounds, while just over half (56%) indicate they did so at least monthly. Resident experiences of living in diverse complexes and engaging with neighbours from different cultural and language backgrounds was explored in more detail in the interviews. Most interviewees spoke positively about living with people from different language and cultural backgrounds, particularly when asked directly:

I think it's good, actually, because nowadays I think it's really... everywhere it is mixed. So, you would get to share your knowledge, your culture; and on the other way, you are happy to receive their knowledge and culture. You know, there are a lot of things that you can exchange and learn. So, I think there is no harm. (*Female, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities*)

More concrete examples of both positive and challenging aspects of living in multicultural buildings or complexes emerged indirectly in discussions about existing interactions with neighbours. For example, several residents mentioned language as a barrier to communicating with neighbours:

They don't say hi. If I say hi maybe they will answer but they are kind of annoyed also sometimes. I think some people don't even speak English very well. There are mainly

Indians and Chinese people living here. (*Female, Parramatta, Renter, Low Amenities*)

Yeah, probably some language barriers with some new arrival Australians as well in terms of just communicating and understanding the way that, you know, various things are done. Like, for – this is a silly example – but things like they didn't, you know, I came across people who didn't understand how the recycling works, so you get, like, nappies and stuff in the recycling bins and trying to have conversations around, you know, why you don't put nappies in the recycling bin, you know, stuff like that was a bit of a challenge sometimes. (*Male, Macquarie Park, Renter, Low Amenities*)

Many felt it was still possible to foster recognition and friendliness despite language barriers limiting conversation, although sometimes this required extra effort:

I make sure every time I get in the lift I say hello to whoever is there or I talk to the children and try to engage them, because the mother might speak little English or might be self-conscious. (*Female, Bankstown, Owner, Low Amenities*)

So, our block is quite diverse and, I think, right next door to us, we have one lovely Korean couple who don't speak any English and another, I think they're Chinese couple, who keep to themselves a bit. And so, I think there's quite a lot of people that are not competent in English. And so are less chatty. People will always smile though, and you have a bit of small talk in the lift. (*Female, Epping, Renter, Low Amenities*)

Trish and her neighbour would walk the trails around Macquarie Park together, finding they could get by with limited shared Mandarin and the help of her neighbour's son for more demanding translations:

Actually, this is the best part of the relationship, okay, she's Chinese right and she doesn't know English, very little. I know a little Mandarin okay so we communicate very, quite inadequate but enough to say we will meet on a certain day and what time and where and go for a walk. As we walk, we talk, you know, and we pick out words from each other and the unified thing is her son knows English, so I speak to her son, her son conveys a message to her, so that's our relationship. (*Female, Epping, Renter, Low Amenities*)

This example demonstrates how individuals could play a key role in facilitating meaningful interaction across language divides (Noble, 2009; Wise, 2009). Some interviewees noted how some individuals play an important role in translating official correspondence. For example, Sally would help translate notices from the building manager or strata committee for her elderly Chinese neighbours:

Because I'm Chinese, some elderly Chinese can't speak with English, and the notices are mainly in English. If there's a new notice, they will ask. Some of them. With English, they will ask me to translate it for them. (*Female, Epping, Owner, Low Amenities, 2-bedroom unit for 18 years, one child*)

As a long-term member of a resource-strapped strata committee, Anna was also conscious of official messages reaching residents who spoke languages other than English:

You can't overload posters with too much reading. People won't read and they don't understand. So, I managed to get their names and get that project finished, but it was only because I intentionally door knocked, explained in simple English, fire, check, everything. (*Female, Bankstown, Owner, Low Amenities*)

The questionnaire showed that more than half (55%) of respondents lived in buildings where official signs and rules for the building were in languages other than English, including 23% indicating 'some but not all'. However, for the sizeable minority who lived in apartments where official signs and rules were communicated only in English, the role of individuals in facilitating understanding is likely to be more significant.

5.1.2.3 AGE MIX

As noted earlier, age can play an important role in shaping experiences of, desires for and comfortableness in living in particular dwellings. Designing apartments with older people in mind is particularly important in a context of insensitivity to the needs of older people in Australian high-rise housing design (Easthope and Judd, 2010, p. 34). As discussed in Section 5.1.1.1, diverse views exist on the suitability of high-rise apartments for growing old, with residents noting accessibility issues associated with fire escapes and stairs and benefits associated with the low maintenance nature of apartments. In order to explore this issue in more detail, interviewees were asked to provide insight into their experiences. When asked if a diversity of people lived in their building or complex, many interviewees described a considerable age mix:

We have got, as I mentioned, 50% of our population are a young population with young kids going to the school, primary and secondary. We have got another 20–30% of our population in the complex they are elderly people like us. I'm 69. *(Male, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

There are a lot of old people. [...] There's definitely a lot of young people, you know, ourselves included, right, and that student population tends to over-index. But that said, there are a lot of young working couples by the looks of things, 'cause again you see them on the bus. *(Female, Owner, Macquarie Park, High Amenities)*

Others observed the dominance of certain age groups:

I see people from all walks of life, but not people who are very old. I don't think I've seen a lot of elders in my apartment, but around the age group of 40 to 20 years. That age group is being dominant in my apartment. *(Female, Paramatta, renter, High Amenities)*

I think it's more geared towards the young professionals. I don't think many elderly people here. Or if they are, I haven't seen them because they might just spend time inside than outside, yeah. *(Male, Paramatta, Renter, Low Amenities)*

But in apartment building, I feel that there are more elderlies here. Yeah, because elderlies like to move into apartment when they are old. *(Female, Epping, Owner, Low Amenities)*

Residents were conscious of how age impacted the possibility for interaction between neighbours, particularly given the busy schedules of working aged residents:

Yeah, because, like, if, like, I feel like everybody's, you know, they seem to have a 9 to 5 job, they're sort of busy, they have a family, they have a kid to attend to. That's probably why there is no communication. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Renter, High Amenities)*

[The level of interaction] depends on who. Some people we know that... Say, for example, we know that they're working, we ask about their job; and some people with children, probably in the same school with lots of other children; and some older people, they may ask us to help them. It's very casual talking. *(Female, Epping, Owner, Low Amenities)*

Once you get home, you just do your own business. I think it's more... depends on people's age. If they are more retired and more likely to spend time at home, they want to have a good chat. *(Male, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Age mix impacts on opportunities for and orientations to interacting with neighbours (Arthurson, 2010, p. 59). Among the residents interviewed, older age was positively associated with the time and inclination to chat and socialise. However, older residents who are housebound may have limited opportunity to interact with neighbours despite living near them, an issue that would be exacerbated by inaccessible design (Easthope and Judd, 2010, p. 34).

5.1.3 THE ROLE OF FBOs IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

As noted above, there are diverse models and ways FBOs operate in urban environments, ranging from provisioning social services, such as emergency food, homelessness, housing and aged care, to mediating urban redevelopment activities. As such, a core objective of this project was to understand if residents thought FBOs should be involved in community development activities. Residents were asked to reflect on their feelings about FBOs and how comfortable they were in attending activities run by FBOs.

5.1.3.1 FEELINGS ABOUT FBOs

Almost a half (44%) of questionnaire participants indicated that they would be comfortable attending an activity organised by a church group, while 25% indicated that they would feel uncomfortable. Interviewees generally saw a role for FBOs in connecting community members, although most had mixed feelings about whether they would attend FBO-led activities themselves. For example, Trish, who rented an apartment in Epping, considered churches well equipped to provide facilities for gathering and connecting new migrants in particular:

I think churches can actually play a very important role, because they have the facilities – they usually have a hall – so they can organise various activities in their premises. Especially for migrant communities, they don't really know a lot of people in the local area, so they tend to attend church activities, so it's really a great way of creating bonds within the community, and a sense of belonging. *(Female, Epping, Renter, Low Amenities)*

However, when it came to attending herself, she was more comfortable with the idea of open access to facilities than attending organised events:

I think for me, I'm scared if I participate they will ask me to join the group, which is fair because, you know, they want to share their religion because it helped them and they want to help people. So, in that sense, it's good. But I have my own belief and if I don't join any organisation, it doesn't mean that I – yeah, I'm just scared of that, 'What if...? What if...?' If it's an open space, I think – was it in Dunmore Lang? I think within the Dunmore Lang complex, there's a small exercise equipment area. I don't know if it's for the Dunmore Lang complex or for the apartment that's right next to it, but there is that part. If it's an open area like that, I wouldn't mind. But when it comes to events that they're organising, I wouldn't want to join them because I wouldn't feel comfortable. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Many residents were wary of the potential 'ulterior motives' of FBOs, reflecting tensions also expressed by the expert participants (see below) and existing literature, which highlights differences between faith by dogma and faith by praxis (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012). Charit, a renter in Parramatta, articulated this view:

Yeah, I guess as long as it's not dogmatic you know. As long as it's not, you know, preach-based, I mean, if they're doing it for the good of society, then yeah, sure. Yeah, I mean that's what I think. *(Male, Parramatta, Renter, Low Amenities)*

Several residents raised the potential exclusion of culturally and religiously diverse residents. As a self-described 'church-goer' in Epping put it:

Keeping in mind, like, making sure that everybody feels welcome to that. And it's not a faith-specific thing because, you know, you might have, like, a Christmas themed thing, for example. But not everyone may want to engage in that. So, yeah. I think it's just a very diverse area and they would need to be conscious of that when they're doing sort of faith-labelled activities. *(Female, Epping, Renter, Low Amenities)*

Activities that are specifically labelled as 'faith-based' may not be appropriate for groups that are multi-faith or targeted at people from secular or non-religious backgrounds. Incorporating prayers or other 'dogma' into activities that are targeted at more-than-churchgoers may make participants

uncomfortable and feel pressured due to past experiences.

Two interviewees mentioned the limited capacity of FBOs to accommodate language diversity, both in terms of including non-English speaking and English-speaking residents:

Playgroups are different. I mean, I know that they are different, but even in playgroups, they know only in English, so we as mums, or we as others' mums, we would support and translate it to other mums, 'Okay, you have to do this. This is what they're trying to say.' If I know the language, I would try to translate in their language the other mum knows and say, 'Okay, this form, they're asking only for these details because they need it for others,' like that. I feel that's lacking a lot in faith-based organisation. *(Female, Parramatta, Renter, High Amenities)*

Which they do a bit now isn't it, but people went there to the senior coffee and they sit down and they chit chat and all that, you know, yeah, I can see a lot happening amongst them, you know. Again, you know, I have to say the area, this area right the majority of them to me, the demographic right, a lot of them are Asian, I have to say. So, they speak among themselves, you know, and that's how I see the Baptist Church when I went there, that's how I see it. [...] There's very few English speaking, non-English speaking, I'm Asian, okay, but I can speak English, right, but my memory is not that good, right. So, people who speak English it's very minority, the rest are all, like, only speak Mandarin, so I went there and I stopped because I just don't feel that I can join in, you know what I mean? There's not enough interaction with people who can speak, who I can interact with and speak. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

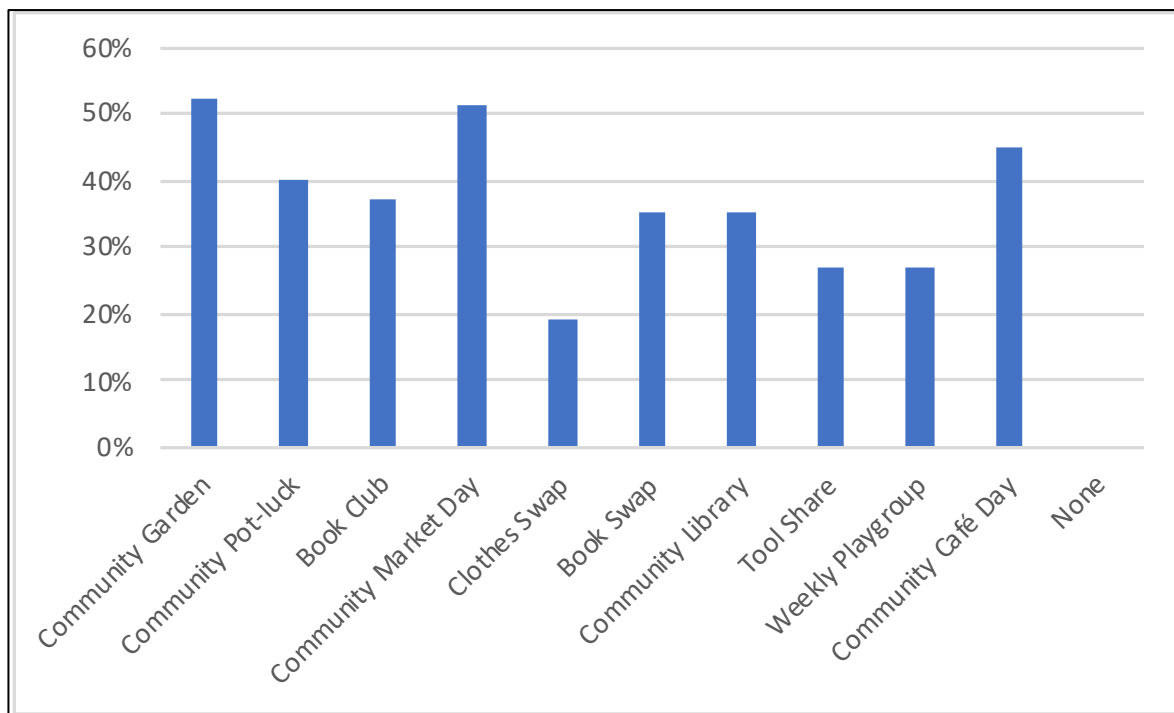
These comments highlight the role of language in enabling people to feel included and welcome in social settings that are seeking to support resident connections. The first instance involved a feeling of exclusion from a predominantly English-speaking group, while the second instance involved a non-Mandarin speaker finding it difficult to connect to a predominantly Mandarin speaking group.

Advertising and hosting activities in diverse languages can help facilitate these connections. Having English-speaking activities or activities that are dominated by English-speaking people may act as a barrier for residents from diverse language backgrounds feeling comfortable to engage. For those new to English, having a group where the parenting journey can be shared in their own language can be important for wellbeing. At the same time, many people who were new to speaking English were also looking to build friendships and social networks beyond their own language community. There is a special role here for FBOs to facilitate both kinds of groups as they serve different purposes. With mixed groups where English is the main language used, special attention needs to be paid to identifying and capacity building what Wise (2009) calls 'transversal enablers'. These are outgoing, open and sociable 'everyday' individuals who are skilled at socialising and building community connections across linguistic and cultural differences. Other strategies for linguistically mixed groups include placing a focus on 'doing' activities – such as craft, cooking, 'bringing a dish', or facilitated children's games. These kinds of 'doing' activities can take the pressure off group members feeling they need to converse at length when there are real linguistic barriers. These are 'bridging activities' (Wise, 2009). Careful facilitation is also needed to ease awkward moments surrounding language barriers and to spot and address early any instances where a new group member appears to be feeling excluded, or where dominant culture group members are 'closing out' those from other language backgrounds. With mixed groups, it is important to positively and non-confrontationally 'set the tone' and flag these issues among group members at the outset, as often people are simply unaware of the subtle forms of exclusion that can occur in such settings.

5.1.3.2 DESIRED ACTIVITIES

When questionnaire respondents were asked what types of activities they would like to participate in that were run by FBOs, the most popular activities were a community garden (52%), a community market day (51%) and a community café day (45%) (Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10 Type of Activities Residents would be Interested in Attending



Interviewees were most interested in attending interest-based activities and raised the following possibilities: dancing, painting, walking group, running club, movie night, yoga class, lessons in local Aboriginal culture or history, and a jazz band. Mia, a young woman who was sceptical about the motives of faith-based groups and had little interest in getting to know her immediate neighbours better, thought she would be most likely to participate in exercise-focused activities:

Or if there was, like, a running club or there was, like, you know, everyone let's go workout now that it's summer in the calisthenics station, like an outdoor group workout, I think that would be something that I wouldn't say no to. I'd be like, okay, that's something like, I like to exercise, so if it was like Pilates or something like that. Even a proper gym where you could pay and then do classes, that would help build a community, because gyms in themselves create communities. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

Katherine, who was retired and lived alone in Macquarie Park, considered exercise and outdoor-oriented activities important for high-rise residents:

So, I think more activities and information to have out there, for example, trails for walking and setting up walking groups for people who live in the area to be able to go, you know. So, interest groups and getting out into the greenery I think that's very important, high rise, high people living in high-rise apartments. *(Female, Macquarie Park, Owner, High Amenities)*

A couple of women mentioned the appeal of activities catered to women:

Last year they [the Salvation Army] had a women's workshop. They were teaching the women how to repair small furniture, how to change a light bulb. There was a... I would say it's a workshop, and even with child-minding service. So, that was good. There was a knitting group also. I was not a part of knitting group or anything, but I think that was good. *(Female, Parramatta, Renter, High Amenities)*

The benefits of diverse, opt-in activities to encourage community engagement are acknowledged in literature on the social and communal life of high-rise apartment complexes (Easthope and Judd, 2010; Foth and Sanders, 2005).

5.1.4 THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON EXISTING RESIDENTS

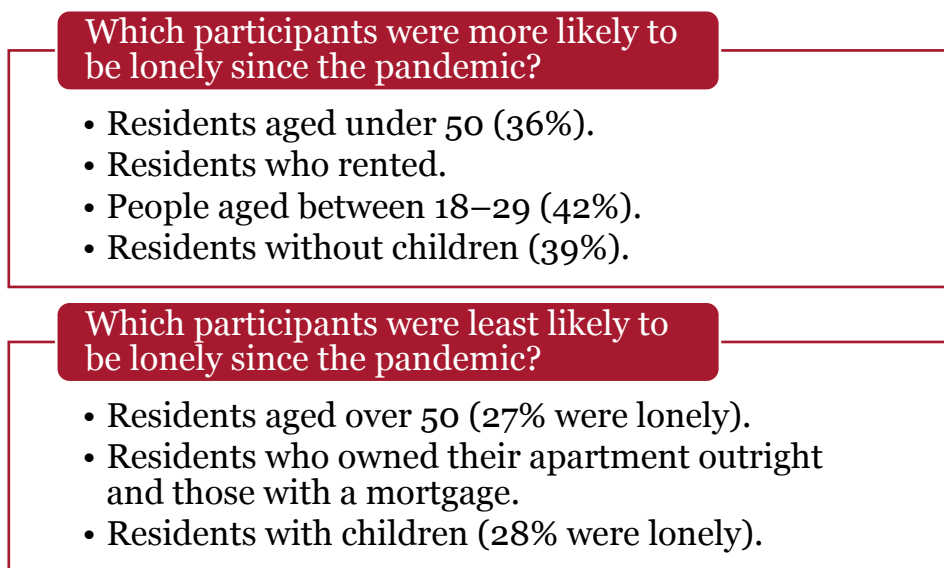
Resident experiences of living in high-rise apartments during the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdowns varied. Figure 5.11 provides insight into the experiences of apartment residents during COVID-19, focusing on experiences of social distancing, working and studying from home, and feelings of loneliness.

Figure 5.11 Resident Experiences of Living in High-Rise Apartments During the COVID-19 Pandemic

Agree with following statements:	Disagree	Agree
I am able to stay socially distanced from my neighbours	7%	89%
The pandemic makes living in an apartment harder	37%	37%
My apartment is suitable for working or studying from home	16%	77%
I am more lonely since the pandemic	38%	35%

Questionnaire respondents overwhelmingly agreed that they were able to stay socially distanced from their neighbours (89%) during the pandemic and that their apartment was suitable for working or studying from home (77%). However, over a third (37%) of respondents also agreed that the pandemic made living in an apartment harder, the same number as those who disagreed with that statement. Over one third (35%) agreed that they were more lonely since the pandemic, compared to 38% who disagreed. Figure 5.12 provides more detail of who was more likely to be lonely since the COVID-19 pandemic began.

Figure 5.12 Who was More Likely to be Lonely Since the COVID-19 Pandemic



In addition, participants were asked to reflect on the effects the COVID-19 outbreak had upon their desire to get involved with neighbours in the future. Almost half (48%) indicated that the coronavirus outbreak would change their involvement with their neighbours in future, with 27% saying they would be less involved and 22% saying they would be more involved (Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13 Perceived Effect of Coronavirus on Future Desire to be Socially Involved with Neighbours

How do you think the coronavirus outbreak will affect your involvement with your neighbours in the future?			
I don't want to get involved	I will be less involved	I will want to get more involved	I will continue the same as ever
7%	27%	22%	45%

Interviewees were also asked to reflect on how COVID-19 had impacted interactions in their apartment building or complex. Most interviewees felt like interaction with neighbours decreased during the pandemic. The limited number of people allowed in lifts and the compulsory wearing of masks were identified as barriers to casual interaction:

Yeah, because that person is wearing a mask and why do you want to disturb them? But if I see another person with a child, any child, like a high school child or any child, I don't hesitate to ask them any questions. Probably it's like, 'Okay, they are going through the same situation,' or something. But when I see a single person with their mask, either be a guy or a lady, I would be like, 'Okay, let's be quiet.' (*Female, Parramatta, Renter, High Amenities*)

A handful of people described their social interaction as the same as pre-pandemic, usually because there was little interaction previously with one resident noting, "Well no, it's exactly the same because there's hardly any meaningful interactions" (*Male, Parramatta, Renter, Low Amenities*). Alternatively, several participants suggested that there was more contact and care between neighbours because people were home more and more likely to check in on each other:

Yeah. I think that it is – because of the COVID, I am working from home every day and it gives me more opportunity to meet my neighbours because when I was in – so last year, I was working in the office, so I have to go every day to the office so in the morning, I come very late. I hardly meet anyone, to the neighbours or things like that. But now, I think that because of the COVID-19 and when people meet in the corridors or meet standing in the lift, we sometimes think, oh, today is how many cases, so sort of like a casual talking for the COVID topic. Otherwise, yeah, if there is no COVID, people do not know what to talk about. So, just say hello. (*Female, Bankstown, Owner, Low Amenities*)

As I said, in my previous apartment, it's more Australian locals and, during COVID, they were really willing to help each other, so they post if anyone needs someone to buy groceries, just contact me, some kind of notices like this, that make you feel that they are really friendly and helpful, whereas in here, it's not much. I guess people are not unfriendly, it's just that they are just used to being quiet and more shy. (*Female, Epping, Renter, Low Amenities*)

These insights offer a glimpse of some of the experiences of residents in residential high-rise apartments during the COVID-19 pandemic.



(Photo by [Manny Moreno](#) on [Unsplash](#))

5.2 EXPERT INSIGHTS

In this section, insights from a range of expert practitioners of urban design, placemaking, community development, architecture and community engagement are gathered together. The first section provides an overview of reflections upon urban design processes. The second section discusses particular design features expert interviewee participants indicated would assist in developing social ties. The third provides insight into how social mix might be designed for. In the fourth section, community development is discussed before the report addresses the role of FBOs as actors in urban redevelopment. The section ends with some brief reflections upon the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on community development and design processes presently and into the future.

5.2.1 URBAN DESIGN

5.2.1.1 DESIGN PROCESSES

Expert urban designers, architects and strategic placemakers identified that the early stages of a community project can have a very significant impact on the overall outcomes. This included the importance of thorough research, genuine consultation and co-design processes with the community, and the alignment of goals and vision that underpin and project from inception.

The importance of a holistic and thorough design process was emphasised. Rather than starting a project with the final product already in mind, experts suggest asking the questions: ‘Why? What are values and desires of underpinning this project?’ First, research and consultation should be

undertaken to define the desires of a community (interview with Kylie Legge). Urban designers should not jump to conclusions about what it is that communities want. Research and community consultation can involve a significant amount of desktop research, spending time in the space/onsite, and consulting with the community. This needs to occur before any strategic plan is formulated or design work undertaken:

Research [is how we] understand what is actually happening onsite, what's happening in surrounds, what do we need to be considering in terms of future proofing. So, a lot of our time is spent in research. Then, who is the audience? Like who's there now, how are they going to change naturally, are they people that you want, do you need to attract different people, what – who are they, what do they want? And then once you have [collected this information], then you determine your strategy, which is fundamentally your [design] brief. (Interview with Kylie Legge)

[We use a] measure, analyse, findings, recommendations model. For the first part of all the work that we try and do is measurement and we try to persuade people to let us do that because it's so important to find out where they are. [...] We're kind of pretty adamant about not doing any design work until we know more about the bathwater. (Interview with Phillip Ward)

Several expert placemakers and urban designers emphasised the importance of community consultation or co-design processes in the early stages of a residential development, or of placemaking and community development programs. Interviews with Kylie Legge, Phillip Ward and Gerard Reinmuth all emphasised that the community are the experts and that professional designers and planners should be garnering the knowledge of the present and future community. Phillip Ward explained how:

So, we really try hard to find out what the voices are and what the influences are in communities to see if we can understand what makes up the kinds of conversations that are already taking place within communities, so that we can at least tap into them. In the first instance we say that the experts are the people who live there, not us, we have expertise but they're the experts. So, we want to find out what their experiences are, and we know that the lived experiences are now being talked about more, which is fantastic, so people are used to that kind of language as well. So, we can tap into that and you can often do that during community consultation sessions with council often, though, as well, although they usually know the squeaky wheel more than anything else.

As Phillip Ward notes, there is a need for genuine community consultation that recognises the expertise of the people already living in a neighbourhood.

Consultation is a key aspect of design processes. Engaging with a diversity of groups can be difficult, with some groups of people – typically older, Anglo-Saxon and English-speaking residents – often over-represented in consultation processes. This makes it difficult to reflect a diversity of views and values. Noting such concerns led experts to reflect on the need to engage with residents in a variety of ways and in multiple locations. Suggestions for engagement activities include both online engagement and survey options, which often attract younger people, and pop-up consultation sessions in shopping centres, health services, train stations, and public events, which may reach people without internet access (interview with Phillip Ward). Providing engagement materials in a range of languages and reaching out to people at migrant resource centres, neighbourhood centres, or other locations frequented by newly arrived migrants may also assist practitioners reach a more diverse audience.

Developments typically attract community opposition, meaning that professionals engaged in community engagement processes play a significant role in mediating conflict and negotiating. For example, Eli Giannini spoke of the opposition faced by developments that involve a significant proportion of affordable housing. To mitigate such opposition, practitioners regularly engage with local residents at the same time as seeking to design buildings that are integrated into the urban fabric in a sensitive manner:

It's important part of the street, part of the neighbourhood. It's also well mannered, because of developments are misunderstood. We get a lot of objection to planning, when you have development applications up there – we call them planning permits down here. So, it's not uncommon to have 400 objections to a development like that [...] So – so, when you've got 300 or 400 objections then it becomes a town hall meeting, then it becomes a big showdown of people thinking that... the neighbourhood's going to just go downhill... (Interview with Eli Giannini)

There are manifold benefits to getting a broad spectrum of the community involved early in a redevelopment, placemaking or community project. Experts stated that early community involvement can facilitate fit-for-purpose project outcomes, reflect real (rather than perceived) community needs, consider the opinions of marginalised communities, and bring people together through the process of negotiation. Another outcome of this process can be to build agency, community buy-in, and raises up champions for the ongoing maintenance, care and activation of shared resources when the consultant's involvement has ended:

[When] investment in community is very obviously tokenistic, [it] doesn't work. I think what we see often is that community engagement is put in the too-hard basket and so there are a lot of decisions made early in development processes where it is assumed that community couldn't be involved in that and I know I would love to see those assumptions turned on their heads because I think you'd find a stronger business case ultimately for involving residents in decision making earlier because again, you'll get that greater attachment to place and word of mouth is a strong way of selling homes as well and can contribute to reputation if that's something that a developer is really concerned about.

And so, the more you can make a resident feel like a citizen and less like a customer the better. And so, for example, we've worked with some partners who have been more reluctant to open up design of public spaces to residents just because it is easier to just kind of do it in-house and not invest in that process but, again, that could be – I think that assumption could be challenged. (Interview with Alison Whitten)

Some communities can be difficult to connect with during an engagement or co-design process. A suggested alternative was finding proxy groups, relevant NGOs and social enterprises to either make the introduction or to be involved in the design process as an advocate in order to gain the perspective of residents from similar contexts.

An example of a development that sought to engage with future residents in the design process early is the 'Nightingale' project in Melbourne. Nightingale took a mix-tenure approach by prioritising key workers and ensuring that 10–15% of the dwellings of the development were to be social housing. Andy Fergus was to be a future resident of the 'Evergreen' development which was part of the Nightingale project and is an urban designer. He observed that it can be difficult to get social housing tenants involved in the community prior to completion:

our Evergreen community have known each other for a year and a half and have working groups and a lively WhatsApp and we haven't even moved in. We're really sad that we won't know the social units until settlement, which creates an 'us and them', which we're a little bit worried about. So, yes, we would love to actually know who the social renters are now so that we can start that process of community formation now. So, I think that's an interesting lesson. (Interview with Andy Fergus)

Practitioners spoke about the end goal of co-design as 'social sustainability' (interview with Phillip Ward) or 'resilient communities' (interview with Alison Whitten). An individual project is part of an ecosystem of different initiatives happening in a local area. Being aware of how one project can fit into this system and identifying the need or gap that is filled by the project is a key aim of community engagement and co-design processes.

5.2.1.2 DESIGN FEATURES

Architects and urban designers try to encourage incidental encounters through the configuration and features within the built form and the public realm. Such design features interact with planning regulations and design guides that both enable and constrain innovative urban design practice. Figure 5.14 provides an overview of examples of design features that participants reflected upon as having the potential to foster community connection in high-rise residential apartment buildings.

Figure 5.14 Design Features for Neighbour Connection: Some Examples



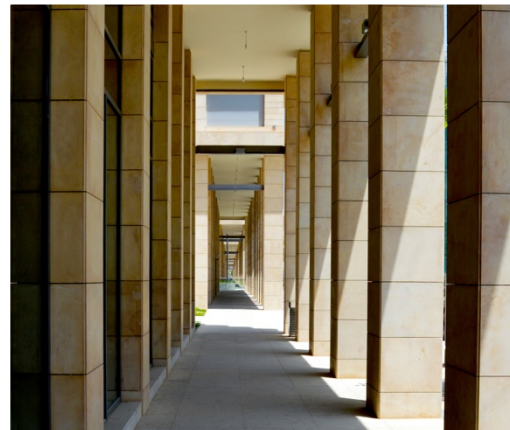
FOYERS can be a place to sit and encounter other residents. Seats can be places in foyers near lifts so that people can meet and greet at the lift. Generous foyer spaces can be beneficial sites for neighbour connections.



CIRCULATION SPACES such as the lobby, mailboxes and corridors can be places where residents meet. Seats can be used to encourage people to linger. Noticeboards can also be placed to encourage encounter between people.



COMMUNAL/SHARED SPACES such as common rooms, decks, libraries, bike workshops, and tool share rooms are possible. Programming and maintaining such spaces is essential to ensure they are well-used, vibrant and meet the needs of residents.



SHARED CORRIDORS AND BREEZEWAYS can assist residents to get a better sense of who lives in their building when they can see the coming and going of their neighbours.

(Photo Source: Foyer Photo by [John Salvino](#) on [Unsplash](#), Letterbox Photo by [Bernard Hermant](#) on [Unsplash](#), Common Room Photo by [Nastuh Abootalebi](#) on [Unsplash](#), Corridor Photo by [Rashid Khreiss](#) on [Unsplash](#))

Expert interview participants spoke of a variety of examples that showcase innovative design features with community connection in mind at the same time as reflecting on policy impediments. For example, Gerard Reinmuth is a director at the architectural firm Terroir, which works in Sydney, Tasmania, and across Denmark. He is also an academic in architectural practice at the University of Technology, Sydney. He spoke of a student housing project designed by Terroir in Denmark where there were multiple opportunities for students to come together in the spaces provided through the student housing development:

So, there's an understanding of this pyramid, you might say, from the one apartment, one bedroom, one student – then the corridor connectivity area, which I will talk about and show photos in a second, where of course more people can talk... And then, of course, there's a potential for some larger gathering on or around the building. And so this idea of sort of a multi-scale community formation led to the plans and you can see in the plans a central walkway, you can see one of those terraces which I'll talk to in a second... So, in terms of having neighbours, it goes from having the neighbours on your floor, which might be seven per floor, to having neighbours across the whole building, all 50 to some extent. Always in a sort of version of it or of proximity. (Interview with Gerard Reinmuth)

In addition, Reinmuth shared sketches of floor plans of a leading example of co-housing from Switzerland during his interview. The co-housing development was an example of communal living for families in high-density developments. There were self-contained family-size units that had a bathroom, small kitchenette and living space within their private area. Private areas then opened out onto a larger communal living space and kitchen that was shared between multiple families. Reinmuth noted that NSW State Environmental Planning Policy No. 65 (SEPP 65) and the subsequent NSW Apartment Design Guide (ADG) would not have permitted such co-housing designs, revealing the impediments faced by innovative approaches to communal living in the present policy context.

In NSW, SEPP 65 and the ADG have clear-cut parameters that are driving the design quality and amenity of apartment buildings. The parameters have improved the overall standard of apartments across Sydney at the same time as also limiting the capacity for experimentation, innovative housing configurations, and breaking away from the typical urban forms that result from them. Gerard Reinmuth further noted:

Plans that have communal kitchens, communal living rooms, the bedrooms are tucked away. So, [your family] could be living up there, [my partner] and I could be down here, literally, but we all share a floor plate and a kitchen. And there's a sort of gradation of privacy. You might have a kitchenette in your room just so that you can make a morning coffee without having to sort of socialise with everybody, but then there's big dining tables and kitchens and so on [...] this famous co-housing apartments are illegal in New South Wales. [...] So, SEPP 65 makes all those things illegal, right? So, what you realise is the biggest barrier we have to housing diversity – and there's two big barriers we have to housing diversity. One is SEPP 65 [...] The second reform is, of course, government's stake in the market, right?

At the same time as noting concerns with the requirements in NSW, other expert interviewees further emphasised some positives such as the NSW apartment design guide.

Most expert urban designers and architects suggested that there was a tipping point in the number of apartments that facilitated interaction and a sense of community. In large apartment blocks, rather than acting like a small village, neighbours become increasingly anonymous:

I think also it's easier to create community in something that has between 20 and 30 apartments. Once you start getting bigger than a village, I think it gets much harder. (Interview with James Legge)

One approach to creating communities within a building is limiting the number of dwellings per floor. This is mandated in many jurisdictions and has had a positive impact on amenity in NSW and in the UK:

[One thing] I'm currently obsessed with, too, and I'm measuring across lots of projects is number of apartments per [lift] core and per floor. Obviously, the global research says less is better and says that eight and an absolute maximum of 12 [dwellings per floor] is preferred. Every Australian jurisdiction that regulates it has eight, nine or 12. Every UK jurisdiction mandates eight. Victoria mandates nothing. (Interview with Andy Fergus)

Andy Fergus provided an example of how a larger development in Melbourne overcome the tipping point towards anonymity by successfully creating smaller shared atriums over three levels with a limited number of apartments that opened out onto them. He described how people leaned out over their balustrades into the atria to greet one another. The atria operated similar to a lobby and became a smaller communal space where community dinners took place:

[The architects] Nettleton Tribe absolutely smashed it with 'Triptych' because, to deal with an incredibly tough site geometry, they developed a ventilated atria where in quite a tall building – 80 to 100 metre high building – they were able to stack communities of three levels and so each fob access gives you access to a triple height stack. That triple height stack is an atria that's internal but connected to the façade on two sides and those spaces everyone has to walk through them to get to their front door, so 15 apartments per stack share an atria... I have photos of dinner parties that have taken place in those atria because of the community that formed, and I know someone who used to live there and is still on the WhatsApp group and has lifelong friends as a result of that building. (Interview with Andy Fergus).

A less successful example provided by Andy Fergus was building called 'Habitat', which had attempted to create large, shared balconies for five dwellings. The development did not have the same success, with the terraces being underutilised and unable to be personalised by the residents that shared the space. Such examples connect to the importance of facilitating well-programmed,⁴ communal spaces within developments, while maintaining a level of private space.

5.2.1.3 COMMUNAL/SHARED SPACES: DESIGN FOR CONNECTION

When designed well, communal/shared spaces have the potential to facilitate community connections through casual and more enduring social contact. Offering a communal space within a large development is increasingly common. A frequent criticism of these spaces is that they are rarely used or programmed. Creating a sense of ownership for residents of a communal or shared space can be difficult. These spaces might be well designed but underutilised due to a lack of resident energy to facilitate a series of regular activities or events. Alternatively, the spaces might be poorly designed and lack the amenity needed to enable resident comfort, safety and use. Expert interview participants reflected upon their experience of such dilemmas:

I do think it's the combination of communal spaces which are... where community is facilitated, but not dominated. We have conversations about this regularly with different parties, and they say, 'Oh, you know, those communal spaces never get used, or they can be redundant.' I do think that's an essential part, but they have to be designed in concert with the units themselves. (Interview with Participant 1)

So, again, hey, having that third space, having those social infrastructure there is definitely – you need it and you want it there, but then it actually also takes someone to care for it and to activate and to catalyse it and bring it to life... [A development in Macquarie Park] was developed [with] all the social infrastructure and the café and the little park and the community centre. They never employed anyone to activate it, or no-one really was appointed to activate it. And so, they often just sit there just gathering dust... some of our neighbours and friends lived in [Macquarie Park] and they had like a dedicated community room. And I said, 'Does anyone use this community room?' It gets used like once in a quarter. You know, I mean, yeah, it's

⁴ Programme in this context refers to having a series of activities or regular events taking place in a particular space or site.

there, it's great, but it's basically – it may as well be dead, you know what I mean?
(Interview with Nathan Moulds).

Programming of communal spaces can come through designating a particular use or adding facilities that activate the space. This could be a bike workshop, for example, or a little library. Adjoining uses could also play a role, with overflow onto a communal open space or a relationship with the lobby or mail room:

Some of these rooms are quite small but they have a room which is a little library, it's quite small but it's a lending library. They have a tool share room and they obviously have the bicycle store and bicycle workshop. On the roof deck they've got a kitchen that you can use and then a flow-out onto the roof deck. They've got a community room. They've got rooms that you can rent out potentially to others in the community.
(Interview with James Legge)

More specific activities where the community come together require a particular individual or body corporate who is willing to organise events and sharing opportunities.

Well-designed communal spaces can become integral to the social life of the community. Maggie McKeand, from Assemble, described how the space in the Roseneath Street development took on a life of its own; people wanted to use it for a range of activities beyond the internal life of the building. Pot-luck dinners (also see Section 5.1.3.2) were an example of how the community could come together on a regular basis without the burden of organisation falling on one individual:

I've heard of a lot of utilisation, particularly of the communal space, so pot-luck dinners seem to be a regular occurrence. For example, the architect who lives there, she is utilising the communal space for her wedding before dinner and breakfast recovery event the next day, which I think is a really beautiful indication of how valued the space is and how important it is. Also, the pot-luck dinners sort of seem like a really good example of really hands off, no-one needs to coordinate it, no-one needs to cook for other people. It doesn't necessarily require an enthusiastic individual, it's just like Thursday is a pot-luck dinner night or whatever it is. (Interview with Maggie McKeand)

Third spaces are more than just communal rooms; they need to be places where everyone can feel welcome and no-one is excluded based on their ability to pay. This largely comes down to the ways in which such spaces are maintained by a community of users who negotiate how they are accessed, used, maintained and governed along with the physical design of these spaces.

5.2.1.4 DESIGNING FOR FLEXIBILITY AND PRIVACY

Communal life often comes at the cost of the resident relinquishing a level of privacy. This is not suited to everyone and needs to be balanced with opportunities to retreat and feel safe. It is challenging to make a case for a one-size-fits-all approach when every site is unique in its parameters and the future residents will have different needs. Generally, there are some design elements that create great community environments, but the design needs to be responsive to the community. Architect James Legge noted the importance of developments being shaped by the people who live in them. Giving people opportunities to manage their interaction with the community is one way of providing a balance between privacy and desire for social interaction. James Legge provided the example of operable blinds onto the street or communal area, which allow a resident to choose what level of transparency they are comfortable with at any given time:

Not saying everyone has to be completely private, therefore, you've got to have a six-foot fence and opaque windows. No, no, no, let people manage their privacy and let people manage how they interact with the street or how they interact with their neighbours and don't be quite so caught up with things having to be completely private. There's actually much more interest in that zone in-between what's private and what's public. That's where you create community and human interaction... You might have a window that opens straight onto a public walkway, but it's only two or

three of your neighbours going past, so you're probably okay having a blind up, but if you're not, because you feel private, you can put a blind down. But that's okay, doesn't mean the window has to be frosted. (Interview with James Legge)

The urban design for components that encourage community life are generalisations that may not meet the needs of specific cohorts of future residents. Design, therefore, needs to be able to respond to multiple contexts, needs, desires, and tailor approaches to suit.

Eli Giannini provided an example from her own work where she designed housing for women escaping family and domestic violence. A sense of safety was one of the most important outcomes of the project, so integrating control points and creating a barrier to the outside world was important. Nevertheless, social spaces within the development were important:

Some may have a focus, like, for example, on single mothers and babies, you know, and so they're housing specifically women, single mothers, children, what not. Then, you know, obviously a social space within their building is very important.

But taking that example for, just as an idea, because we're under construction on one development that's looking specifically to house that population. They don't actually prefer a connection between their development and the outside world because [...] a lot of the tenants come from family violence backgrounds, so they actually prefer to have several gates [...] several control points between them [...] and what's happening outside. But at the same time because, of course, that can become a very isolating experience living in a place that has all those barriers to the outside world, they do want and need social spaces available to them within the development itself so that they can have social gatherings; they can have play space [...] they don't necessarily want to live [...] solely within their apartment. So, it's very much cohort specific. (Interview with Eli Giannini)

In other situations, it is about matching the right tenant to the development. Eli Giannini recognised the knowledge that housing providers have of their tenants is vital. Interviewees noted that specificity can only be achieved in a design to an extent, but that there needs to be space for flexibility. 'I think you have to create flexibility, because you're not quite sure how the community's going to work' (Interview with James Legge).

5.2.1.5 DESIGNING PUBLIC SPACES AND PUBLIC REALM FOR COMMUNITY CONNECTION

The public realm (streets and public open spaces) plays a key role in community life. Making sure that these spaces are vibrant and safe for the community is important. There are multiple inputs that make a public realm thrive: passive surveillance, lighting, activities and attractors, walkability, proximity to amenities, tree-canopy, equal access and more. Experts touched on many of these considerations and reiterated the role that the public realm plays in community life.

Public open spaces play a particularly important role in high-density communities. Arden is an urban renewal precinct in the inner west of Melbourne that will be high density and centred around a new Metro Station. Residents are more likely to remain in the local area for recreation activities, rather than going elsewhere, and will consequently get to know their neighbours when there is adequate open space and amenities:

What we would want to see in a place like our Arden, which is especially slated for high-rise, high-density residential development, we'd like to see a mix of open spaces in terms of their size and usage and connectivity and all of that. Where that can be compromised, if you have limited space for that, it just means that you can't create the same kind of relaxed environment for people to interact casually and in different ways and, I suppose, in the same way that you'd see in greenfield settings, where you can't have all your needs met locally, you end up with residents needing to go elsewhere to meet some of those needs. (Interview with Alison Whitten)

Figure 5. 15 illustrates the key features of designing streets and the public realm with the community in mind, as discussed by expert interview respondents. These features included: thinking creatively

about placemaking in the public realm; ensuring open access to parks and playgrounds (irrespective of tenure); provisioning access to local amenities in high-density environments; provisioning sustainable retail; and creating spaces with diversity in mind.

Figure 5.15 Ideas for Designing Streets and Public Realm with Community in Mind



CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

Activate the public realm in social housing estates. What resources exist? How might they be used to encourage positive social interaction? (e.g. improved lighting, community chessboards).



TRULY 'PUBLIC' PARKS

Ensure equal access to parks and playgrounds by people no matter their tenure type in developments. Ensure public and social housing tenants aren't segregated.



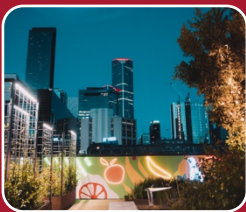
CONNECTIVITY AND ACCESS

Access to local amenities is key for high-density developments. Residents are less likely to drive when they are close to public transport, the grocery store, or other local facilities. Walking and consistently getting out into the neighbourhood benefits individuals' physical and emotional wellbeing, as well as the social life of a community.



ACTIVATING THE 'HIGH' STREET

In areas that have undergone significant urban renewal it can be challenging to make the retail spaces function. Ensure developers consider how the design can help the retail on the ground floor be sustainable. Local environment plans (LEPs) should be revised to set out fine-grain integration of public realm for new developments.



INTIMACY AND SCALE

Scale is important to the success of a public space. A small urban plaza with a well-considered design and configuration can bring the community together. Smaller interstitial spaces can play a role in bringing together subcultures and smaller communities can flourish. The challenge is that these spaces can be coopted by a single group. Finding ways of attracting intergenerational groups is important.

(Photo Sources: Chess Photo by [Alex Perri](#) on [Unsplash](#), Park Photo by [Fabian Centeno](#) on [Unsplash](#), Grocery Store Photo by [Somi Jaiswal](#) on [Unsplash](#), Café Photo by [Mihai Moisa](#) on [Unsplash](#), Scale Photo by [Pat Whelen](#) on [Unsplash](#))

5.2.1.6 DESIGNING FOR SOCIAL MIX AND HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

Designing for multicultural, socioeconomically diverse and intergenerational communities presents unique challenges and brings about a higher chance of conflict. Bringing diverse communities ‘together’ can be achieved through many of the design considerations outlined in the previous section. Enabling a harmonious integration of diversity is another question that involves built form consideration and facilitation (and sometimes mediation) by community leaders and, potentially, tenancy managers/housing providers.

Co-housing a diverse set of residents, who can have very distinct and often conflicting lifestyles, can be challenging. For instance, an elderly resident may prefer a quiet home and would rather not to live with the disruption of sharing a building with children or disruptive young adults. When discussing the notion of designing apartments for diverse tenures, Andy Fergus suggested that the public realm is the space where community integration might occur, where people can come together with differing subsections of the community at their own discretion. A high-quality public realm can support a range of users and bring them together in a space where they are willing to forfeit certain comforts, while their home is a safe space alongside individuals with similar needs:

It's actually not about tenure because my view would be that if you stack elderly people together in a spatially appropriate building with an active ground plane, that brings everyone together in public realm that actually whether they're social or private doesn't matter because it's more about, say, life stage expectation sensitivities. Likewise for families. But I think it's more about similar living requirements, really. (Interview with Andy Fergus)

Stand-alone social and affordable housing developments continue to segregate public tenants from private renters or homeowners. This is either through separating the buildings within an estate or creating a so called ‘poor door’ (a separate entry to the building used by social housing tenants). This inevitably leads to stigma within the community, particularly when there is also a clear divide in building quality:

I think it is actually quite hard to answer because one of the things that came up in a lot of our research was the doors promise called the Poor Door where you have a housing development and there's some affordable housing within it and if they don't get spread through the whole development, they get clustered together and often people say, oh, it is great. They're all clustered together. It all looks the same as the rest. It is just behind the brick façade – Paul Karakusevic has talked about this. You know, the British housing guy. It all looks great from the outside, but inside the walls, you know, much closer together because you've got the cheap, smaller, affordable housing.

The problem is you still get the Poor Door. Everyone knows that door of that lobby is where the poor people go, right? So, there are organisational problems in the building, is point one. So, I'm probably only going to point out problems rather than solutions. The problem of creating communal spaces to try and bridge that? The answer would seem to be that avoiding Poor Doors is basically a key thing because, of course, you want to try and engineer to some extent some diversity. (Interview with Gerard Reinmuth)

Hawke and King is a development in Melbourne, completed by the West Melbourne Baptist Church in 2019 and designed by Six Degrees Architects. It integrates a mix of social, affordable, private rental, and owner-occupier housing within the development. The architects took a completely ‘salt and pepper’ approach of mixing tenancy types throughout the building so that people are unable to identify the difference between the tenure of residents and the standard of apartments is consistent across the complex. Rent is also subsidised for some tenants who are community facilitators.

In many Scandinavian countries social housing is accessible to a broader spectrum of the community. This means that there is less stigma associated with public housing and estates are not filled with residents that have compounding vulnerabilities (as is the case in Australia and the UK). Social housing is also integrated with high-end apartments, which enables a true social cross-section

to occur in the one development (interview with Andy Fergus). In a truly ‘salt and pepper’ development, Geoff Pound provided an example of how the community at Hawke and King rallied to provide furniture for a new social housing resident when they moved in without any furniture of their own.

Building connections and community takes time. When people are looking for new houses in which to raise a family or to down-size at retirement age, it is important that there is the right house for their needs within their local community. Providing a range of dwelling sizes and typologies within the same suburb is important, as it allows people to move into the home that suits their needs and maintain the local connections that they have built. This phenomenon is called ageing in place:

Because social connection – and, in fact, some agencies are very strong down here about housing people in the location where they’ve always lived, because they’ve made friends, they’ve got family, whatever. So, it’s really important to bring people back to where they know; where they’ve lived their childhood. (Interview with Eli Giannini)

5.2.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WITH/IN DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

FBO-led community development occurs in many different forms and at multiple scales. FBOs in Australia are engaged in provisioning social services, with many being vital in providing food relief, social housing, aged care, childcare, and other services. As previously mentioned, FBOs in Australia comprise large-scale social service provisioning arms and charitable organisations, along with local faith groups and church congregations. More recently, FBOs have increasingly been contributing to the development and redevelopment of social and affordable housing.

Because of the diverse roles of FBOs and scales at which they work in Australia, this report provides insight into activities that were spoken of by our expert interview participants. Participants spoke of models of community-led development that have much in common with community-led placemaking activities discussed earlier. This section firstly focuses on asset-based community development (ABCD) as a model of participatory community work seeking to cultivate community wellbeing. Secondly, an analysis of reflections offered by experts on community development with diverse communities is provided. Thirdly, community development work, termed ‘professional neighbouring’ or ‘live-in’ community building, is explored. Fourthly, reflections made by participants upon the importance of a post-secular posture in motivating faith by praxis is provided.

5.2.2.1 ASSET-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Expert interviews referred to ABCD as a model for engaging with groups in their neighbourhoods. Jono Ingram, from We Love Aintree, talks about the asset-based approach of their organisation to community development in the Western Suburbs of Melbourne. We Love Aintree is a local community development not-for-profit that works in a place-based and responsive way to their neighbourhood. Developed from a faith-based background and under the auspice of Baptist Union of Victoria, We Love Aintree does not engage in traditional faith-based activities, rather, it is engaged in community development work in neighbourhoods undergoing greenfield development.

The goal of We Love Aintree is to enhance community belonging and connection in the neighbourhoods in which they work (We Love Aintree, 2021c). They recognised the growing levels of loneliness and isolation and sought to address this through creating places of connections. We Love Aintree runs a community garden, neighbourhood pizza nights, Newlands-East Coburg Neighbourhood House, Aintree Community Sports Association, and the Aintree Playgroup (We Love Aintree, 2021c). In addition, they have two social enterprises. The first is the ‘Aintree Café and Garden’, a social enterprise café ‘seeking to cultivate places of connection and belonging’ (We Love Aintree, 2021a). The surplus generated by the café enterprise supports broader community development activities and other groups working in their local area (We Love Aintree, 2021a). They also run the ‘Eat Grow Garden’ initiative, which is

seeking to cultivate food growing communities in Melton & Bacchus Marsh. We employ, train, and mentor young people who work alongside us as we mow lawns,

maintain gardens, and create food gardens in homes, schools, and community centres (We Love Aintree, 2021b).

Jono Ingram, who is one of the founders of We Love Aintree, reflected on the diversity of people who come along to their activities, which include at least 25 different cultural and language groups. They approached this diversity as a strength that could act to connect people:

I guess our focus, because we're looking at this obviously from a strengths/asset/resilience-based community development idea, was to discover what people were interested in, were passionate about, were good at, and empower and equip and, I guess, give platform to those people while encouraging them to make, whatever their thing is, to make it about social connection for all people. So, some of the successes around that are some events and things or programs that we've run ourselves, like our monthly pizza nights in the community garden, and we'd get anywhere between 60 and 100 people from 10 to 20 different nationalities. Everyone would be cooking and making pizzas, bringing stuff from their nationality to put on the pizza. So, we'd have Turkish pizzas and we'd have Maltese pizzas and we'd have Indian pizzas and all sort of things. (Interview with Jono Ingram)

In addition, We Love Aintree helped coordinate tennis, cricket, Aussie Rules football, and soccer matches. By acting as a connector between council, developer and community, We Love Aintree have been able to facilitate community activities that people wanted to see happen but did not have the capacity to run themselves.

5.2.2.2 WORKING RESPECTFULLY WITH DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

'If you have got a vision of a diverse community, in terms of age, in terms of culture, gender, sexuality, orientation, and also in terms of socioeconomics, you've got a tremendous wealth of resources. You've got so much capability. So, it makes for a really rich and diverse community.' – Interview with Geoff Pound

An openness and respect for diversity of culture, language and religion makes community engagement in a multicultural and multi-faith landscape possible. Geoff Pound, as quoted above, reflected on the potential richness that comes from having diverse communities in urban neighbourhoods. Many experts reflected on how they work with such communities. Rev Amelia Koh-Butler, a Uniting Church Chaplain at Western Sydney University who is an expert in multicultural ministry, missiology and community development, reflected how 'authentic religion is not just anything goes, it's speaking into a diverse community with a nature of respect'. In addition, both Nathan Moulds, a community development worker, and Amelia Koh-Butler reflected on how it was possible to have conversations with people from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds due to their openness to the 'religious' or 'spiritual', which was reflective of a post-secular posture, rather than a closed secular posture that is 'anti-religion' (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012).

Amelia Koh-Butler spoke of running regular soup kitchens at Western Sydney University's Parramatta campus, which used to attract up to 150 people each week. During the COVID-19 lockdown, she continued to run these soup kitchens online to teach international students who were newly unemployed how to cook meals on a budget. During the online soup kitchen she was asked by a Hindu student to explain the story of Easter, which led to many of the students who would usually attend the soup kitchen staying on to experience her online church service for the first time. Amelia Koh-Butler recounted her experience and how she attempted to relate the Christian meal of 'communion' with the meals celebrated in other religious traditions.

Food was a common theme in interviews as something that could be used in a community development work. Food was seen as a way to connect people from diverse backgrounds. As noted above, We Love Aintree held regular pizza nights where different culture groups could prepare pizzas with their own toppings. Jono Ingram also noted that people can 'miss the mark to bridge gaps' with food due to cultural insensitivity or the inability to cater for diverse needs, leading to 'distrust' of some organisations. Julia Suh, a community engagement specialist and placemaker, spoke about how food may also divide residents, particularly in apartments blocks, when residents are not

accepting of particular smells or cuisines due to the diversity of cultural expectations and requirements.

ABCD approaches that begin with the interests of a group of people have the potential to signify and celebrate cultural diversity and acceptance. Julia Suh reflected on how important it was for festivals, languages and flags to be incorporated into activities of community organisations. Nathan Moulds, a community development expert from Sydney who lived in a high-rise apartment in Macquarie Park, spoke about how he started up a community garden in his complex:

I think about a group, particularly an older Chinese group of neighbours mainly from Hong Kong and mainland China. So many Mandarin and Cantonese speaking. And some with very limited English. And the way that I was able to connect with them was because I noticed one of them was pottering in their garden and I took an interest in that. Because I also enjoy gardening. And just through that, [I] just started talking and they kind of expressed – I think one of the questions we always like to ask people is you know what are your dreams, what are your hopes, what would you love to see?

...we went on a little journey of kind of creating the dream of a community garden that a bunch of the older residents – mainly in this community it was mainly, yeah, again mainland Chinese and then Hong Kong Chinese neighbours could garden together.

This example reveals the importance of individuals in creating welcoming spaces and initiating community activities. Julia Suh reflected on how people may not be very confident in participating in community events or activities. Her organisation enables community members to participate through establishing well-moderated online communities and providing safe places for community members to connect online, free from abuse. These online communities lead to physical meet-ups and events. Other models also exist that enable community connection in high-rise developments that were reflected on by interview participants.

One participant reflected on the need for church buildings to feel more public, safe, welcoming and more like community places. This could be achieved through the design of the buildings and by having activities taking place there that welcome people into the building. An example of such a ‘welcoming’ activity is Bill’s Place, a café run inside the Hamilton Wesley Uniting Church. Bill’s Community Meeting Place and Café operates from 10:00am to 2:30pm, five days a week. Simple café tables are set up at the back of the church with different groups using the area each day. In the foyer of the church a fair-trade shop also sells second-hand books and clothes, raising money to go to charity. Their website indicates that Bill’s Place is ‘here to serve our community in such a way that people who come to this space can experience a positive environment of generous hospitality; an opportunity for conversation and friendships’ (Hamilton Wesley Uniting Church, 2020).

5.2.2.3 PROFESSIONAL NEIGHBOURING: INTENTIONAL ‘LIVE-IN’ COMMUNITY BUILDING

‘Community just doesn’t happen automatically. There’s no button. The community needs to be built.’ – Interview with Geoff Pound

Experts and resident interviewees were asked about community development in high-rise apartments that involves a resident (or group of residents) being tasked (or employed) by an organisation to connect neighbours. This model, which has been termed ‘professional neighbouring’ or ‘live-in models’ of community building, was used by several community development workers from FBOs.

For example, Nathan Moulds, a community development worker, reflected upon his experience of community building in the Ivanhoe estate as a ‘professional neighbour’ working for the Salvation Army. Nathan reflected on the importance of building trust and caring relationships with residents and the potential of professional neighbouring in high-rise villages:

I feel like that as a prototype or a model or as a – I think, a model because – but just an inspiration or a case study for the kinds of activities that a faith-based organisation

or church community may consider if they're really serious about reaching into and building relationships and adding value to the lives of those who are living in high density. (Interview with Nathan Moulds)

Another example was provided by Geoff Pound, the minister of West Melbourne Baptist Church. West Melbourne Baptist Church went through a redevelopment over several years, resulting in the Hawke and King development, designed by Six Degrees Architects. Hawke and King provides an example of how a community building might be supported within mid-rise developments. In this example, the need to invest in community building was recognised. As previously mentioned, Hawke and King is a mixed-tenure development. Nine of the apartments in the development were purchased by the church, some to house vulnerable people on the affordable housing list, some to support 'community builders' and one to be the 'manse' for the minster. Community building residents were appointed by the church and received a reduced rent at the level of '75% of the market rate. In return for that, they do two or three hours a week of what's called community building' (Interview with Geoff Pound). The community building team were members of the community development committee and they engaged in a range of intentional activities, including:

- Welcoming new residents;
- Asking residents if they needed help;
- Providing material goods, such as furniture and household goods;
- Running weekly drinks; and
- Running the community garden.

Geoff Pound was also a resident and explained how the church incorporated community development into the day-to-day activities and purpose of the complex:

So, the vision was, really, as I mentioned before, about having community spaces, where people could connect and develop friendships. When my wife and I came in, I sent a note to people saying, 'Look, we've got a beautiful community space; how about we have drinks on a Friday night? Bring along a bottle of wine, or whatever you want to drink.' So, people came, and we did all of that for the first few months, until the owner's corp developed a system of committees. We have about six committees. One of them is for waste management, another one is for community development. There are some spaces which are still unfinished, and they are working on that. We've got a garden. On the fourth floor, we have a community garden, and the whole idea is, why do on your own what you can do together?

The vertical community building activities were part of a series of activities the church coordinated to grow community connections in the local area. Having a group of people living in the complex meant there were several committed people interested in building community connections and wellbeing. In addition, Geoff spoke about an informal buddy system set up to ensure that residents were cared for, particularly throughout the prolonged COVID-19 lockdown period that was experienced in Melbourne:

I think if you ask what is the main religious thing that's done in Hawke and King, it's the words of Jesus about being a neighbour, and so isn't it a great thing to be able to be in a neighbourhood, in a community, where you know who you're living among, you know the people around about you; that people come to your place and say, 'I'm in the midst of cooking, can I have a cup of sugar?'; where you can go and ask people to look after your dog while you go away for the weekend, if they're going away on a holiday, you look after the pot plants; where people are welcomed, and where people are valued. You know, some of us have developed a... We don't call it a community welfare thing; it's like a community development thing. We don't talk much about it, but we've got together because we realised that DHHS [Department of Health and Human Services] puts some people into their apartments without any curtains or blinds, without any furniture whatsoever. We became aware that there was one guy living in an apartment with no dining room table or chairs, no couch or chairs, and

no bed. So, we've identified a few people, and we've just gone round very quietly and said, 'Look, a lot of the people have got stuff in storage. Do you need a microwave, or do you need a fridge? Or do you need a...?' Now, this isn't a church group, and it's not just our community builders; it's really something that's now a part of Hawke and King, where we've been intentional about seeing whether there is a need that people have for furniture; but also, we have a buddy system, whereby we try to be in touch with people... it's basically about looking out for people, and being there for others.

I think there is an opportunity to really be a catalyst, and to encourage, and I think that we've tried to right from the start, from its inauguration; but, with community builders, we try to be a group that's on about community. Because I think the coronavirus lockdown in Melbourne has shown us we need each other, otherwise we're going to go bonkers. You know, mental illness... the figures on people who are lining up to go and see psychologists and counsellors is really going through the roof. I mean, it might sound really simplistic, but if you've got connection with people that you might get in a community, I think that is a fantastic thing. (Interview with Geoff Pound)

This research also provides insight into the experience and expertise of community development practitioners who live in greenfield developments. For Jono Ingram, the live-in community model ensures integrity because the community development work must make decisions with and as a part of the community:

So, yes, I think that, I guess, living here ensures integrity. It doesn't mean you can't have it if you don't live here but it's like an insurance, I guess. If you want to have integrity within the community, you've got to act and live with integrity because your neighbour will see you tomorrow.

Jono Ingram reflected on how living in a community can also be challenging if you make a bad decision. Jono explained that, for him, the positives of living in the community outweighs any negatives. However, in speaking with other expert interview participants, a diversity of opinions and experiences existed with people reflecting upon the need for training and support for people who work and live in a neighbourhood, particularly in areas with those who would be perceived to be 'vulnerable':

I guess, from my perspective, I'd want to ensure that they have sufficient training, especially if there's high needs individuals that they are sort of living with and supporting... It's about finding the individuals who would be the right fit for that sort of thing and how you would hold them to account to ensure that they're meeting the needs of the residents. (Interview with Maggie McKeand)

Nathan Moulds also reflected on such needs, pointing out that there is a need for safeguards, such as Working with Children's Checks. Such safeguards, oversight and accountability are particularly important as, while community builders or community development workers that may have 'good intentions', they may not be aware of the complexities of working within and living in diverse communities. Ensuring appropriate resourcing, training, accountability and oversight of such activities is vital for FBOs wishing to implement such a model.

5.2.3 FBO-LED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: POST-SECULAR POSTURE?

As the literature review explored, FBOs are motivated by a diversity of theologies and values. From those FBOs practitioners interviewed as part of this research, there seemed to be a common theology that is reflective of a post-secular posture. Jono Ingram from We Love Aintree reflected on how such a posture, or theology of 'shalom' (meaning peace, harmony, welfare and wellbeing), can provide room for authentic acts of social service:

But in terms of a theology of shalom as wholeness and wellbeing and the common good and seeking the welfare of the city and the inclusion of the outsiders and the giving voice to the marginalised. The helping people to learn how to live together and love your neighbour and be good neighbours, despite differences in all manner of things, not least belief and behaviour. If that's your theology, that's where it's different, that's where it can be challenging, I guess. But if that is your theology then I think that puts faith-based organisations in a very good place to work well. Because, unlike what can potentially exist for people who wouldn't come from a faith perspective, I guess there's potentially – and I only mean potential – there's potentially more room without that kind of theology to, I guess, do things which benefit you I guess or benefit you personally or something. Whereas coming from that other theological space, there should be some humility and some care for the other regardless of, I guess, self-giving sacrifice, that kind of thing should exist and you're not looking to get your own gain out of that.

Such conversations reflect the work of Cloke and Beaumont (2012) and their reflection on differences between dogma and praxis and the importance of moving beyond fundamentalism to embrace an openness to diversity. They argue that such approaches are important for FBOs seeking to work with people of other religions, no religion, or those that may disagree within the same religion.

Jono Ingram reflected on the ways different theological perspectives may shape how people engage in community development. He pointed out that 'conservative evangelical faith perspectives' may not 'meld well with a developer or with a council', or with 'a community that doesn't hold to that same' perspective. This can be reflective of the tensions mentioned in the literature, between those FBOs that are motivated by a desire to 'convert others' or to engage in 'social action', which is more reflective of a post-secular posture. Here the participant is reflecting on the type of environment that people are working within and the importance of this environment for shaping practice. For example, the language used, the motivations behind the work being done, and the expectations of participants might be different when working in a 'Christian' context, as compared to working in the 'neighbourhood'. Prayers, dogma or other Christian-centred language may be appropriate in a church activity but not in an open neighbourhood community development activity without invitation.

Nathan Moulds reflected on his experience working in community development with Ivanhoe and community perceptions of the development work they were engaged in. He explained how:

I think there's a tension in some denominations... even of caution amongst community. Because once they realise you're faith-based, you know, sometimes there's a sense of that, 'Oh, the real reason you're doing everything you're doing, all these good works, all these charitable acts, all these kind things is because you just want to get us into a church building and you want to get us to pray a prayer. Or you want us to, you know, confess – make a confession of faith.' [...]

I think the community are aware of that, too, that there's this tension there. We're working a lot with community who are Muslim, who come from Iran and Afghanistan, mainly Persian people. And also, some Arabic-speaking Lebanese Muslim migrants. And we have incredibly loving, respectful relationships with them and, whenever they would...eat and they'd be fasting I would often check in with them and see how they're going and encourage them and, I was really open in talking about their faith and their practice of religion.

Nathan Moulds drew upon a theological perspective that is accepting of diverse faith groups and emphasises the importance of spiritual wellbeing alongside other forms of wellbeing. Such a perspective is open to conversations about faith rather than being reflective of fundamentalist secularism, or fundamentalist religion in that it is open to diverse beliefs. Nathan Moulds also mentioned the caution people have towards faith groups, particularly people who have had a negative or abusive experience. He went on to reflect on the importance of being 'very transparent and be very, you know, up front with people. I think people respect that and people actually respond better

when you're just honest about your motivations' rather than hiding them. Rev Dr Amelia Koh-Butler provided similar reflections on working in a way that is 'genuinely open invitational' rather than 'offending or proselytising others or coercing people'. Amelia felt such an approach was more conducive to working in a multicultural and multi-faith context.

5.2.4 FBOS AS ACTORS IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

The literature review pointed to the many assets churches currently possess, including property assets. Increasingly, FBOs are engaged in redeveloping properties to meet their goals and needs. Some land has been redeveloped to meet growing and changing congregations. Other land has been redeveloped for use as aged care, community and social housing, or other social service provision activities. FBOs are, therefore, playing a central role in shaping urban environments.

Many expert participants had experiences working with or within FBOs in redeveloping land into high-rise apartment complexes. Such redevelopments offered several opportunities and challenges that are unique to FBOs operating in the area of urban redevelopment. This section offers a discussion of these opportunities and challenges. Firstly, it provides a reflection upon the values and motivations shaping the redevelopment of properties by FBOs, which offer unique experiences for the development of land with community wellbeing in mind. Secondly, this section explores the unique position of FBOs as large landholders, which offers the potential for strategic redevelopment. Thirdly, this chapter reflects upon the challenges mentioned by participants for FBOs wishing to redevelop property.

5.2.4.1: VALUES-LED DEVELOPMENT

'Creating good communities is not a market project. That's what I've become convinced by.' – Interview with Gerard Reinmuth

A key factor differentiating developments carried out by FBOs is their ability to be underpinned by more-than-market values. Redevelopments may be motivated by desires to improve community wellbeing, to provide affordable housing, and to 'serve' a community of people. Such points were made by Hankins and Walter (2012), who explored the interventions of FBOs in Atlanta in providing affordable housing within gentrifying neighbourhoods. Similarly, Geoff Pound reflected upon the values underpinning the redevelopment of the church formerly known as the Eighth Day Baptist church into the Hawke and King complex. Geoff Pound explained how the church recognised the need for more housing in the local area:

But it was basically to use this large block of land for housing, because people were coming into the inner city of Melbourne, and also especially affordable housing. There are so many people who are homeless in Melbourne, and there are so many people on the list for public housing; and so that was why, I think, we as a church got the green light to go ahead, to put up... it's not a high-rise apartment complex, it's a mid-rise apartment.

Furthermore, Geoff Pound explained that, rather than maximising the floor space offering, the church chose to redevelop the property into what they termed a 'mid-rise'. This decision responded to the concerns the local community had about how a high-rise development would alter the neighbourhood character at the time:

But when the church decided that they would develop an apartment complex with 75 apartments, the idea was that it was theologically motivated, with the idea that God is a God of community. God calls people into community. So, instead of saying, 'I think we could get on this place 100 apartments, we'd make a lot more money', they went for a lesser number, and we have got community rooms where there are kitchens, and there are smaller community rooms and there are courtyards where you can have barbecues. So, it's really designed with community in mind. While I don't

have an official badge which says, ‘chaplain’, I probably wouldn’t say that to the residents, but I feel that that’s my role, with this new vertical community that has been created here in the inner city, with 75 apartments. You’ve got between 150 to 200 people, all who have come to West Melbourne since July 2018, when the place was opened. And you know, this is really happening.

As Geoff Pound explained, the design of the development was reflective of the church’s understanding of the needs of the community to access communal spaces and a theological motivation to ensure the development reflected ‘a god of community’. Such insights reveal how more-than-market values might shape particular design choices.

For example, developments led by FBOs might include spaces which facilitate ‘extended dwell time’ (interview with Participant 1): places where people can spend time and socialise rather than having to buy something. Instead of maximising the value of floor space through the sale of more apartments, other developments might include larger room sizes or additional shared spaces.

The different values motivating FBOs to engage in redevelopment projects might also be attractive to governments who see the benefits of approving developments that include the provision of community facilities and social services. Participant 1 reflected upon the desire and willingness of councils and ‘market players’ to engage with FBOs, in part, due to their position within communities as facilitating community engagement:

There’s an understanding that, again, if it’s managed professionally, there’s many, many benefits. As an example, this is not for vertical villages, but horizontal villages, where the big land releases, those sorts of developers are actually coming to faith-based organisations and offering them land, and encouraging them to participate because they see the value of these community engagement spaces within their development, that they’re not just a sea of houses. And they’re doing it for their own reasons; they’re not doing it because they think the particular mission of that faith-based organisation is of benefit. (Interview with Participant 1)

Such requirements can make redevelopments by FBOs more attractive to governments as they can set them apart from market actors who perhaps do not have the incentive to dedicate floor space to encourage community activities.

5.2.4.2 FBOS AS LARGE LANDHOLDERS IN CITIES WHO CAN THINK STRATEGICALLY ABOUT THEIR PROPERTIES

‘I also have a very strong view that no church ever should sell land.’ – Interview with Andy Fergus

Several experts commented on the significance of churches’ land holdings. Churches often sell valuable land that could be used to further address social needs if retained. While the financial return is put to positive uses, such as funding the redress scheme for survivors of institutional abuse, it can also be used for sustaining a ministry that is already slowly dying anyway:

[FBOs] are an asset holder like any other organisation but have a different remit. But [...] it’s very appealing and very seductive to go to open market and to kind of – well, with various intentions, whether or that is to release those funds to do good somewhere else, or it’s to provide a longer operating management cost, etcetera, etcetera, for those community with higher needs. (Interview with Kylie Legge)

Several expert participants who were not from a faith background were supportive of FBOs as developers. They saw FBOs as landowners that are less likely to be motivated by profit. They hoped that churches and FBOs kept *caritas* (Christian love) and justice at the centre of their mandate by offering genuine community benefit, such as affordable housing:

I think that if they stay with their mission — which is most often seen to be about supporting those communities that perhaps have more need than others — then that's something that market isn't great at supplying for. (Interview with Kylie Legge)

[The church leaders are] incredibly beautiful people to work with because their outcomes that they're interested in is the creation of 'bridging' social capital and community wellbeing, and they don't need to see a return from that. So, our vision for the development is to embody the physical form of their outreach purpose, so I think there's an extraordinary role for them. (Interview with Andy Fergus)

Many participants noted that church-owned land was often underutilised by individual congregations that were dwindling in numbers or lacking financial assets to appropriately resource redevelopment or church activities. FBOs also operate in different ways depending on the denomination. In the case of the Uniting Church, all land is held in trust by the NSW-ACT Synod, which has its own legislation governing their land (NSW Legislation, 2008). Such landholdings make it possible to think about property at an urban scale, responding to what the needs of a city might be at the same time as developing relationships at a local scale.

Participant 1 reflected on the historical role churches have played as community hubs in local communities and how this has changed over time, with many now becoming 'dormant site[s] in a neighbourhood, that's just not active'. He noted that often this land was well positioned and located in neighbourhoods with the potential to 'play their role in the urban fabric' and that this could be catered for through design that responds to multipurpose needs:

Where I think is quite a unique intersection is there are drivers from faith-based organisations to demonstrate their values, which is generosity, inclusion, support; and those aren't typically the drivers of your commercial developers. Things like community plazas, kids' play areas, those sorts of things, are built into what they want to deliver, for two reasons. One, because it helps them engage with communities; but also, just the nature of their Sunday activities. They need play areas, they need overflow space. That's sort of a microcosm just for their own needs, of what the broader community needs. They have drivers to deliver those spaces anyway, and if you can do it in a way that is designed in parallel with the community, so much the better.

Churches are also being redeveloped as multi-use spaces on the ground floor of new high-rise complexes. The Hawke and King development is an example of a church building that has been redeveloped to become a multipurpose space:

When I talk about a church building, we had people in there this morning, coming to look at the possibility of hiring meetings. It doesn't actually look like a church. We do have the lectern that comes from when the church was established in 1870, and there is a baptistery, even though with a lid on it, it looks like a stage. It doesn't really look very religious at all, and that's all intentional because it's a very multipurpose place. In addition to the church that was there for 130 years or more, now we have a community centre which is open seven days a week. After the development process, there was some amount of money, through all of the sale of the apartments, there was some money that came, and that is invested, and so it has enabled the church to have me as a full-time pastor; Pauline, who is a community centre manager, for three days a week; and Marcus, who is an office manager doing a lot of the administration, for two days a week. So, there was the issue of sustainability, as well as creating a new vertical community. (Interview with Geoff Pound)

Such redevelopments potentially open the space to a mix of community uses and are a growing style of church redevelopment.

Challenges exist at the various scales at which FBOs operate. For example, it may be difficult for the social service arm of a denomination, such as BaptistCare, Anglicare or Uniting, to partner with local congregations because local churches might not have the expertise or resources to know how to

redevelop a property. In part, this is due to a lack of knowledge and resourcing within local congregations:

If you take just a piece of land that you've bought from the market, it's yours and you control it. When there's this other entity connected to it, how is that going to influence decision making, timing in terms of being able to put DAs [development approvals] in, and building? What are the operational issues in terms of operational continuity, and how does it affect the commercial side? There are real issues, where either because you've got a bunch of volunteers, ot... there's an imbalance between knowledge and industry delivery methodologies... So, it's the biggest constraint, and that's why the precedents are important, because if you get precedents up, you then can start pointing to best practice. (Interview with Participant 1)

Participant 1 spoke about the importance of having previous examples of work to demonstrate the potential of redevelopments on local church land. He also talked about the challenge of time, and how churches often operate on a seven-day timeline revolving around worship on a Sunday and are often reliant upon volunteers, whereas the business community operates five days a week. The time lag can make progress on projects slow and building relationships integral to the success of a project. This is where providing groups with examples of previous developments becomes important, as doing so can assist church groups to see how designs are realised in practice.

One example for church redevelopment of an innovative mid-rise multipurpose space is the Hawke and King development. Geoff Pound reflected on how a lot of churches have land assets in the city but have declining membership and financial resources. He reflected on how the Hawke and King development has acted as a 'flagship' for churches seeking to address needs in their community and redevelop their property to meet these needs:

I've been living here since July 2018, and I've had visits from people in Western Australia who have been wondering about how to develop their churches. They have come from New South Wales, from Queensland, from different parts of Victoria, from Auckland and Wellington. They've probably seen other developments. But I think that they are keen to see, 'How can we make a better use of our buildings, which in the past have been wholly and solely used for religious purposes like worship, and prayer meetings, and bible study meetings?' I'm not trying to diminish the importance of that, but a lot of churches have been looking at what's called community ministries or community activities. What can we do in the community, not to get more bums on seats in our church, but basically it's the love with no strings attached. How can we do that in a way that's really enriching. So, I've said to people, 'Look, you're not going to be doing exactly what have. What you need to do is to really study your community, to find out what the community wants, and then maybe then you might have some shocks, or you might do this, that, and the other.'

Occasionally, churches who choose to redevelop their properties into high-rise developments may experience some community opposition. The redevelopment of the Hawke and King was one such development. In response, the church had to place limits on the number of people who could use the community centre (a maximum of 80 people) and a curfew at night (after 10pm) to 'keep peace' in the local neighbourhood. Geoff Pound, who came into his role as minister after the development finished, spoke about how important it is to have somebody 'who can work with you on your vision and architects, over a number of years' to see the development through.

5.3 COVID-19 IMPACTS: SOME BRIEF REFLECTIONS



(Photo by [Michael Amadeus](#) on [Unsplash](#))

The impacts of COVID-19 have been diversely felt across locations and communities throughout the world. Such impacts differed depending upon context even in Australia, with Sydney impacted differently than Melbourne by the effects and subsequent lockdowns put in place during the COVID-19 pandemic. Expert interviewees were asked to comment on how COVID-19 might have altered how people use and design spaces within cities. Reflections centred around impacts to the built environment and impacts affecting community development activities.

5.3.1 COVID-19 IMPACTS: BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Eli Giannini reflected that the pandemic could alter the design of apartments, allowing for more ventilation including ‘more outdoor, opening of windows, less air-conditioning, more flow through air [...] quite a number of apartments we’re doing things were the foyers are already – where the foyers are not enclosed, for example’. In addition, tenure may affect the amount of time residents spend in apartments and, therefore, the need for facilities within developments. Previously it was thought that those renting social housing were more likely to spend time in their neighbourhood than home owners.

During COVID-19 lockdowns there were changes to how people used spaces, with more people working from home and occupying spaces within their local neighbourhoods. This may encourage longer term changes with more people working from home (interview with Julia Suh). Alison Whitten is an urban designer who focuses on the composition of resilient cities. The value of the ‘20-minute city,’ which she has been advocating, was reinforced throughout the pandemic. The suburbs in Melbourne that were localised communities with high-quality amenities and parks fared much better during the lockdown when residents had to remain within a 5km radius of their home:

A lot of what I've [already] said around physical environment, I think, is really important [during COVID-19 lockdowns in Melbourne]. We've done some work in collaboration with state government on principles of 20-minute neighbourhoods, which is all about being able to access your daily needs in an easy walk or cycle and that's been really obvious when people have been stuck within their five kilometre radius in Melbourne. [...] Just having amenities nearby is really important and I think then that amenity being able to facilitate social connection is really critical... It has really reinforced a lot of the things that we had been talking about for some time and it has made it – when we talk about community resilience and the importance of connection – it has made it really obvious as to what that means in practice. It has just kind of amplified a lot of our messaging. (Interview with Alison Whitten).

Eli Giannini reiterated the renewed focus and attention to a localised way of living and hoped that it would lead to residents valuing their neighbourhood more and investing in it:

I think that was a huge turning point where people realised, 'Oh, if I don't commute to my work for an hour one way every day, then I can save a lot of time and I can actually do something in the neighbourhood and go to a long lunch...' That love for the neighbourhood will continue to exist and [...] my hope is that people will start to invest more emotionally and, I guess, more money as well financially into creating a local environment that they care about.

As Melbourne began to open up post-lockdown, innovative placemaking projects were led by Phillip Ward and his team at Public Realm Lab in high-density urban contexts. In collaboration with council, Public Realm Lab worked with local retailers in Yarraville to close off on a main street to vehicles and open it up for outdoor dining and additional open space. There was a lot of hesitance; however, with a thorough co-design process, the community got on board to create a dynamic new public open space. COVID-19 served as a catalyst for innovation and change in the local neighbourhood; when people were not allowed to dine indoors, the community was open to change (interview with Phillip Ward).

Eli Giannini also highlighted importance of communal outdoor space in apartments: 'when we were in lockdown here in Melbourne we weren't even allowed to sit in a park. So, you've got to have amenity within your development, otherwise you'll go crazy.' Kylie Legge highlighted that the treatment of social housing residents in Melbourne during a week-long 'hard' lockdown was categorically unethical and that the amenities available to the community were abysmal. Kylie Legge and Eli Giannini were sceptical that there was a sufficient response or that it would lead to significant policy changes in the built environment. Particular concern was expressed for high-rise aged care facilities and the capacity for containment if another pandemic were ever to occur (interview with Kylie Legge).

5.3.2 COVID-19 IMPACTS: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Many of the experts in the community development sector had to suspend their regular programs that ran face to face. It was difficult for small social enterprises, like Jono Ingram's café in Aintree, to sustain itself and community building efforts in new developments ceased (interviews with Geoff Pound, Jono Ingram and Amelia Koh-Butler). This was not easily overcome; technology was not a substitute because it was not available to many people on the margins, such as the elderly (interview Geoff Pound).

Rev Dr Amelia Koh-Butler, Chaplain at Western Sydney University, employed innovative approaches to involve her students in community throughout the lockdown in Sydney. Many of the people that she cared for pastorally were international students who endured significant levels of additional stress. They were either learning remotely from their home country or living in Australia, cut off from family and potentially facing financial stressors. Amelia used a range of online tools and rearranged her typical ministries to work remotely. For instance, the soup kitchen she regularly ran turned into an online cooking lesson for low-cost healthy meals, which would break out into smaller groups for chat while eating together.



(Photo by [Toa Heftiba](#) on [Unsplash](#))

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

Faith Based Organisations face unique opportunities and challenges when it comes to community development and urban regeneration in increasingly dense and diverse cities. This study has drawn on multiple sources of data to understand these opportunities and challenges. This chapter presents a summary of key findings from a questionnaire and interviews with residents living in high-rise apartments across Sydney, and interviews with experts across Australia. It presents recommendations drawn together from this first-hand research and a review of the wider literature. These findings and recommendations are oriented towards FBOs wishing to engage with and build diverse communities. However, the findings and recommendations are relevant to other non-government organisations and community groups interested in community development and redevelopment in multicultural, high-density environments. Lessons from this study have also been published as a practical and accessible toolkit to guide community groups and organisations (see toolkit).

6.1. COMMUNITY BUILDING IN SOCIALLY MIXED APARTMENT COMPLEXES AND NEIGHBOURHOODS

The results in the resident questionnaire and interviews revealed a diversity of experiences of and desires for interaction with neighbours. Many interviewees described minimal interaction with other residents. A third (37%) of questionnaire participants knew no-one in the building well enough to have a conversation and over half (57%) had no-one they would ask a favour of or invite to their

apartment. Despite minimal and mostly fleeting encounters with neighbours, the majority of residents felt accepted by people in their building and that residents got along. Some interviewees suggested that they had not had cause to feel excluded or question their belonging, rather than feeling actively welcomed per se. Overall, residents expressed considerable interest in getting to know their neighbours better. 64% of questionnaire respondents desired to interact more with their neighbours.

Age was an important factor in existing levels and experiences of interaction. Young people knew fewer people in their building that they could have a conversation with and were less likely to feel accepted by people living in their building. Interviewees described how age mix impacted on opportunities for and orientations to interacting with neighbours. For example, older age was positively associated with the time and inclination to chat and socialise.

Several interviewees raised the transience of private renters as a potential barrier to connection, with owners in particular expressing reluctance to invest time and energy in getting to know potentially transient neighbours. While language was also raised as a potential barrier to communication, residents also offered examples of their efforts to overcome language barriers through non-verbal communication, such as smiling, nodding, and offering gifts as gestures of friendliness. More than half (56%) of the questionnaire respondents indicated they interacted with other residents from different cultural and language backgrounds at least monthly.

Among interviewees, residents who were recent arrivals in Australia were particularly interested in creating connections in their apartment building or complex. They were also among the most vocal about wanting to see the building managers or strata do more to facilitate interaction among residents. The review of placemaking toolkits revealed that there is a need for additional placemaking toolkits to be developed that specifically cater to placemaking with, for and by culturally and linguistically diverse communities.

While the questionnaire results indicated that almost half of participants were against the idea of living in an apartment block with a mix of private and public/social housing, interviews revealed a more nuanced result, revealing a cautious openness to the prospect. The more mixed response of interviewees suggests there might be a space for FBOs to play a role in managing the expectations of private residents and managing the tenancies of social tenants.

Expert interviewees acknowledged the importance of openness and respect for diversity of culture, language and religion as necessary to build community engagement in a multicultural and multi-faith landscape. They tended to approach diversity as an asset while also acknowledging the challenges that could arise. For example, food can provide an entry point or bridge to intercultural engagement while also being a source of tension in apartment blocks if some residents are not accepting of certain smells or cuisines. Expert interviewees acknowledged that building connections and community takes time. They spoke of the need for appropriate resourcing, training, accountability and oversight, particularly for practitioners that sought to work from a position embedded in specific developments or neighbourhoods.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Invest in people as ‘social infrastructure’:** Seek out and support existing resident ‘connectors’ to grow and lead their community development activities. Establish and resource a central person or committee dedicated to facilitating the social life of the complex, for example, dedicated place managers (Easthope et al., 2020, p. 102), community concierges (Easthope et al., 2019, p. 85), community builders, or ‘professional neighbours’. Ensure these individuals are inclusive, sociable, and skilled at building bridges across cultural and linguistic differences.
- **Facilitate ground-up and resident-driven activities:** Act as a connector between councils, developers, and community to launch and sustain activities that residents want but may not have the confidence or capacity to initiate or run themselves.
- **Make it easy and inviting:** Set up diverse, voluntary, and low-stakes activities to attract those who want more connection. Interest-based activities can offer a collective atmosphere without

feeling like contrived mingling. Physical activities, such as walking groups or sports, or hands-on activities, like cooking or gardening, can provide a shared purpose while minimising the need for fluent conversation.

- **Signal openness:** Incorporate diverse festivals, languages, and flags. Furnish church buildings to feel public and inviting. Be sensitive and welcoming to non-Christian religious traditions.
- **Allow for language diversity:** Disseminate information in languages other than English. Pictorial signage can help overcome low (English) literacy. Hire multilingual individuals to act as mediators (Easthope et al., 2019). Acknowledge and build capacity with residents who act as informal translators. Host groups that meet multiple purposes and pay attention to identifying outgoing, inclusive people who are skilled at socialising and building community connections across linguistic and cultural differences.
- **Focus on holding 'doing' activities for mixed language groups:** 'Doing' activities, such as craft, cooking, 'bringing a dish', or facilitated children's games, can take the pressure off group members feeling they need to converse at length when there are real linguistic barriers. Ensure careful facilitation and watch for subtle forms of exclusion.
- **Address structural inequalities through resource allocation:** Ensure cost is not a barrier to participation in activities or places, such as playgrounds and parks, which should be equitably accessible (Easthope et al., 2020; Rishbeth et al., 2018).

6.2 DESIGNING FOR RESIDENT CONNECTION AND WELLBEING

Expert interviewees highlighted the importance of developments being shaped by the people who live in them. They also noted that, while specificity in design is achievable to a certain extent, flexibility of design allows for adaptation and diverse use. However, the present policy landscape, such as NSW SEPP65, can impede innovative approaches to communal living.

All experts emphasised that the community are the experts who need to be consulted and included in the design process. They noted that research and community consultation can involve a significant amount of desktop research, spending time in the space and onsite, and consulting with the community. They also reflected on the need to engage with residents in a variety of ways and in multiple locations. Identifying the need/gap that is filled by the project is a key aim of community engagement and co-design processes. The benefits of early community involvement are the potential to facilitate fit-for-purpose project outcomes, reflect real (rather than perceived) community needs, consider the opinions of marginalised communities, and bring people together through the process of negotiation. Many expert interviewees advocated finding and reaching out to proxy groups, relevant NGOs, and social enterprises to either make the introduction or to be involved in the design process as an advocate in order to gain the perspective of residents from similar contexts.

Residents are more likely to remain in the local area for recreation activities and get to know their neighbours when there is adequate open space and amenities provided. The provision of third and public green spaces is particularly important for neighbourhoods with a high proportion of high-rise buildings due to the popularity and regular use of such facilities by families with children. The resident questionnaire showed that participants over 50 and residents with children were more likely to make use of common facilities. Interviewees with no or low amenities most desired a communal green space. The availability of amenities does not guarantee of their use. 55% of survey respondents made use of shared facilities whilst 30% of residents indicated they did not. The convenience and accessibility of the shared facilities seem to be the most common reasons why participants chose not to use the shared facilities available.

Interviews with residents showed that young adults and families, in particular, planned for the current accommodation to be transitional before moving into (and ideally owning) a townhouse or house with a backyard. Some preferred apartment living and could envisage themselves living in high-rise buildings in the long term, at the same time as aspiring to upgrade to an apartment with

more bedrooms or more communal amenities. Apartment living needs to be seen as a long-term option for residents who prefer high-density living, rather than a transitional form of housing, with design guides in particular needing to incorporate the needs of children growing up in apartments (Krysiak, 2019).

RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Form smaller communities within a development:** Break down very large developments into smaller sections to form communities of less than 30 people, creating a gradation in community scales and enabling a village feel.
- **Value circulation spaces:** Residents are more likely to stop and chat to their neighbours if circulation spaces are well designed and if they are spaces where residents want to linger when they bump into each other. Consideration should be given to the design of corridors, lobbies and communal facilities. These spaces can be retrofitted in existing developments to improve their amenity.
- **Design for flexibility and agency:** To a reasonable degree, allow for personalisation of shared spaces and enable people to have agency in the building by providing clarity around use of shared spaces and encouraging initiative. Involve the local community in the management of shared resources.
- **Consider the street:** The design of the ground floor is important. Local businesses have a better chance of survival when they interface well with the street. In turn, local businesses create a space for the community to gather and providing passive surveillance on local streets. If retail is unlikely to flourish, consider direct entry into dwellings on the ground floor with a landscaped setback of 2–5m (Gehl, 2001; Speck, 2012).
- **Proximity to amenities:** Community interaction and individual wellbeing is improved in high-density/high-rise apartments when they are within walking distance (800m) of local amenities, such as parks, schools, public transport, public infrastructure, and shops (Speck, 2012). A child-centred perspective means that, ideally, parks and schools should be within easy walking distance without crossing busy roads.
- **Value green open spaces:** Access to quality public and private green spaces is particularly important in high-density areas as it encourages residents to spend more time outdoors (Wood, Hooper, et al., 2017). Green spaces should be designed to allow activities from a range of ages and interests, rather than simply empty sports playing fields with little other amenity.
- **Activate ‘third places’ and ground floor community rooms:** The activation of ‘third spaces’ can be facilitated by FBOs, community workers and teams of local residents. It is important that such spaces are inviting from a design perspective and that there are no prohibitive fees for use (Semenza and March, 2009; Thompson, 2019).
- **Include communal open space:** Outdoor terraces were highlighted as particularly crucial for the community during the COVID-19 lockdown. Communal open space is well used in a development if it is well designed with smaller areas for different groups of people to gather. James Legge likened it to the process of designing intimate spaces in restaurants and bars.
- **Value community builders:** Children and pets (such as dogs) enable interaction with neighbours. Families are more likely to live in a high-rise complex when the apartments are a suitable size and the buildings are close to local amenities (such as schools and parks). Incorporating play spaces into buildings brings families together. Pet friendly strata rules/lease agreements and access to a dog park in the local area will encourage pet ownership (Graham and Glover, 2014; Krysiak, 2019; Power, 2017; Wood et al., 2011; Wood, Karen, et al., 2017).
- **Child-centred design:** Parks and schools should be within easy walking distance without crossing busy roads. The provision of safe paths and communal play spaces suitable for older children to ride and play unsupervised is an important way of ‘replacing’ the traditional backyard. Ideally, such spaces would be overlooked by the windows or balconies of the larger apartments designed for families. Parents can communally keep an eye on children, while allowing autonomous, age appropriate, independent play, which is known to be beneficial for healthy child development. In addition, consider provisioning for a range of ages (from 0 to 16), rather than

just offering play equipment suitable only for pre-schoolers. Tweens and teens are age groups often overlooked in child-centred design practice.

- **Connect with technology:** Many new builds now often have specialised apps for connecting residents. This is used to form connection and organise community events and may continue to be moderated by the developer. Facebook pages or WhatsApp groups are alternative ways to connect people. Consideration should be given to who will set up, manage, moderate and promote social media groups to provide access for renters who may otherwise be excluded from building-related correspondence.
- **Include and maintain shared facilities:** People are more likely to meet one another in a development if there are communal spaces that are activated by a particular use, such as a gym, a community garden, bike workshop, laundry, or well-designed terrace with a barbecue or shared kitchen. These spaces need to be transparent and safe to access.

6.3 WORKING AS FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND REDEVELOPMENT

Residents tended to be wary of but open to the role of FBOs in building community. Almost a half (44%) of questionnaire participants indicated that they would be comfortable attending an activity organised by a church group. Interviewees described concerns about the motives of FBOs and their capacity to accommodate diverse languages and religious affiliations. Resident reactions suggest activities that are specifically labelled as ‘faith-related’ may not be appropriate for groups that are multi-faith or targeted at more-than-churchgoing Christians. Incorporating prayers or other ‘dogma’ into activities that are targeted at more-than-churchgoers may make potential participants uncomfortable and feel pressured due to their past experiences. Interest-based activities were more appealing to residents, with interest in community gardens, community cafés, and market days indicated in questionnaire responses.

Expert interviewees were conscious of the potential hesitations of residents, noting that prayers, dogma, or other Christian-centred language may be appropriate in a church activity but not in an open neighbourhood community development activity. Practitioners from FBO backgrounds spoke of working with openness and authenticity by engaging in acts of community building with respect for difference and openness to spiritual discussions when and if they arose. Asset-based community development approaches were commonly referred to as a way to harness the passions, interests, networks and strengths of a community. Community building occurred in many different ways.

For churches considering redevelopment of their properties, providing examples of previous developments is important for assisting church groups to see how designs are realised in practice and overcoming risk aversion. FBOs have the potential to think strategically with their properties to ensure a range of community wellbeing needs are met in the design and functioning of buildings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Branch out from traditional faith-based activities:** Some people still see faith-based activities in the wider community as charity or missionary work, and therefore find it hard to imagine themselves getting involved in FBO-led activities. Change this image by establishing desirable, interest-based, low-pressure community development activities. Be transparent about whether activities involve faith-based content to allow residents to opt in or opt out.
- **Ensure appropriate training, supervision and resourcing:** There are many opportunities for community development activities. Ensure activities are resourced for longevity by compensating community builders to avoid ‘burn out’ or an unequal burden being placed on women leading community work. In addition, ensure adequate supervision and training.
- **Programming ‘communal spaces’:** In existing properties or redevelopments work towards dynamic and flexible programming of communal spaces to maximise the potential of community engagement and use of shared spaces such as common rooms.

- **Consider the legacy of church-owned land:** The potential to shape the city for the benefit of the community is quite significant. Selling off property to fund unsustainable church ministries seems short sighted when the impact of new community facilities and affordable housing could be very positive. It also creates subsequent pastoral opportunities and can sustain community development activities.
- **Understand the opportunities and challenges of redevelopment:** Undergoing a redevelopment of church land is a particularly fraught process and there are reoccurring issues that churches should be aware of before commencing the process. This can be partly mitigated by:
 - **Establishing an advisory body** of relevant industry professionals and key representatives for churches undergoing development;
 - **Providing education for churches** considering development so that they are informed about the process and developers do not take advantage of them;
 - **Drawing on precedents** to inspire and show how developments have occurred previously;
 - **Building a church's appreciation** for the potential of their future buildings to provide social benefit;
 - **Identifying key aims and values** early in the development process to ensure commitment to mission/values over financial profit; and
 - **Providing access to an appropriate planner, lawyer, architect and developer** who can work well with FBOs and understand their specific values and challenges (Mian, 2008).
- **Pursue a holistic design process:** The design process establishes community buy-in and ensures that the future development reflects community needs. The early work of establishing the brief, research and community engagement is critical to the value and impact of the future development. Ensuring that this part of the process has sufficient (not tokenistic) time, resources and legitimacy will support the following stages of development and the quality of the final design.

7. Reference List

- Altman, I., & Zube, E. (1989). *Public Places and Spaces*. New York: Springer.
- Anderson, E. (2004). The cosmopolitan canopy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 595(1), 14-31.
- Andrews, F. J., & Warner, E. (2020). 'Living outside the house': how families raising young children in new, private high-rise developments experience their local environment. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 13(3), 263-285.
doi:10.1080/17549175.2019.1696387
- Appold, S. (2011). Community Development in Tall Residential Buildings. In Yuen B., Yeh A. (eds) *High-Rise Living in Asian Cities* (pp. 149-177). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Aquino, K., Wise, A., Velayutham, S., Parry, K. D., & Neal, S. (2020). The right to the city: outdoor informal sport and urban belonging in multicultural spaces. *Annals of Leisure Research*.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2020.1859391>
- Arthurson, K. (2010). Operationalising Social Mix: Spatial Scale, Lifestyle and Stigma as Mediating Points in Resident Interaction. *Urban Policy and Research*, 28(1), 49-63. doi:10.1080/08111140903552696
- Arthurson, K. (2012). Social Mix, Reputation and Stigma: Exploring Residents' Perspectives of Neighbourhood Effects. In M. van Ham, D. Manley, N. Bailey, L. Simpson, & D. Maclennan (Eds.), *Neighbourhood Effects Research: New Perspectives* (pp. 101-119). Netherlands: Springer.
- Arthurson, K. (2013). Mixed tenure communities and the effects on neighbourhood reputation and stigma: Residents' experiences from within. *Cities*, 35, 432-438.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2013.03.007>
- Arthurson, K., Levin, I., & Ziersch, A. (2015). Social mix, '[A] very, very good idea in a vacuum but you have to do it properly!' Exploring social mix in a right to the city framework. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 15(4), 418-435. doi:10.1080/14616718.2015.1093748
- Atkinson, R. (2008). Housing policies, social mix and community outcomes. *AHURI Final Report No. 122*.
- Australia Bureau of Statistics. (2016a). 2016 Census QuickStats Bankstown. Retrieved from https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC10180?opendocument
- Australia Bureau of Statistics. (2016b). 2016 Census QuickStats Chatswood. Retrieved from https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC10892?opendocument
- Australia Bureau of Statistics. (2016c). 2016 Census QuickStats Epping. Retrieved from https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC11428?opendocument
- Australia Bureau of Statistics. (2016d). 2016 Census QuickStats Macquarie Park. Retrieved from https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC12437?opendocument
- Australia Bureau of Statistics. (2016e). 2016 Census QuickStats Parramatta. Retrieved from https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC13156?opendocument
- Australia Bureau of Statistics. (2016f). Table Builder Pro, Analysis of Census data by Author. Retrieved from https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC10180?opendocument
- Bijen, G., & Piracha, A. (2017). Future directions for social housing in NSW: new opportunities for 'place' and 'community' in public housing renewal. *Australian Planner*, 54(2), 153-162.
doi:10.1080/07293682.2017.1361456
- Blokland, T. (2017). *Community as Urban Practice*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Blokland, T., & Nast, J. (2014). From Public Familiarity to Comfort Zone: The Relevance of Absent Ties for Belonging in Berlin's Mixed Neighbourhoods. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), 1142-1159. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12126
- Bretherton, J., & Pleace, N. (2008). *Residents' views of new forms of high density affordable living*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Bretherton, J., & Pleace, N. (2011). A Difficult Mix: Issues in Achieving Socioeconomic Diversity in Deprived UK Neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*, 48(16), 3433-3447. doi:10.1177/0042098010396233
- Butcher, M. (2019). Becoming "ghosts": recalling the impact of urban change on the lived experience of multicultural. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(3), 387-394. doi:10.1080/01419870.2019.1536273
- Cardinaal, B., Karssenber, H., Laven, J., Roos, N., & Santos, M. R. (2020). Creating Vibrant communities and human scaled areas by using place led development. Retrieved from <https://placemaking-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/listing-uploads/file/2020/04/Place-Led-Development-Brochure.pdf>

- Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L. G., & Stone, A. M. (1992). *Public Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chaskin, R., & Joseph, M. (2011). Social interaction in mixed-income developments: Relational expectations and emerging reality. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 33(2), 209-237. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9906.2010.00537.x
- Cho, S. H., & Lee, T. K. (2011). A study on building sustainable communities in high-rise and high-density apartments - Focused on living program. *Building and Environment*, 46, 1428-1435.
- Cloke, P., & Beaumont, J. (2012). Geographies of postsecular rapprochement in the city. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37, 27-51. doi:10.1177/0309132512440208
- Cloke, P., Thomas, S., & Williams, A. (2013). Faith in Action: Faith-based Organizations, welfare and politics in the Contemporary City. In *Working Faith. Faith-Based Organizations and Urban Social Justice* (pp. 1-24). Crownhill, Milton Keynes: Paternoster.
- CoDesign Studio. (2019a). Locally-Led Neighbourhoods. A community-led placemaking manual. Retrieved from <https://www.codesignstudio.com.au/guides-and-resources-listing/free-guides>
- CoDesign Studio. (2019b). Neighbourhoods made by Neighbours. Guide to Community-led placemaking. Retrieved from <https://www.codesignstudio.com.au/guides-and-resources-listing/free-guides>
- Cohen, M., Gajendran, T., Lloyd, J., Maund, K., Smith, C., Bhim, S., & Vaughan, J. (2018). *Valuing creative placemaking: development of a toolkit for public and private stakeholders*. Retrieved from NSW Government, Landcom: Sydney, Australia: <https://www.landcom.com.au/public/assets/Uploads/603194da92/creative-place-making.pdf>
- Connon, I. L. C., Prior, J., H, Kent, J. L., Thomas, L., Thompson, S. M., McIntyre, E., . . . Westcott, H. (2018). *Healthy Higher Density Living: A Review of the Literature*. Retrieved from Sydney: <https://www.uts.edu.au/sites/default/files/2019-03/Healthy%20Higher%20Density%20Living-%20A%20Review%20of%20the%20Literature.pdf>
- Create Streets, & Architects, J. (2018). Healthy Streets for London. Retrieved from https://issuu.com/jtp_placemaking/docs/healthy_streets_for_london_co-desig
- De Beer, S. (2018). Faith-based action and urban regeneration. *HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies*, 74, 1-11.
- de Souza, M. (2019). Urban regeneration and tenure mix: exploring the dynamics of neighbour interactions. *Housing Studies*, 34(9), 1521-1542. doi:10.1080/02673037.2019.1585520
- Dinham, A., & Lowndes, V. (2008). Religion, Resources, and Representation: Three Narratives of Faith Engagement in British Urban Governance. *Urban Affairs Review*, 43, 817-845.
- Easthope, H., Crommelin, L., & Troy, L. (2020). *Improving outcomes for apartment residents and neighbourhoods* (329). Retrieved from Melbourne: <http://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/329>
- Easthope, H., & Judd, S. (2010). *Living Well in Greater Density*. Sydney: Shelter NSW.
- Easthope, H., Liu, E., Ho, C., & Buckle, C. (2019). Diversity in Density. In *The Routledge Handbook of People and Place in the 21st-Century City*: Routledge.
- Ewing, R., & Handy, S. (2009). Measuring the Unmeasurable: Urban Design Qualities Related to Walkability. *Journal of Urban Design*, 14(1), 65-84. doi:10.1080/13574800802451155
- Fincher, R., Pardy, & Shaw, K. (2016). Place-making or placemasking? The everyday political economy of "making place". *Planning Theory & Practice*, 17(4), 516-536. doi:DOI: 10.1080/14649357.2016.1217344
- Foth, M. (2004). *Designing networks for sustainable neighbourhoods: A case study of a student apartment complex*. Paper presented at the Community Informatics Research Network 2004 Colloquium and Conference Proceedings, Brisbane.
- Foth, M., & Sanders, P. (2005). Social Networks in Inner-City Apartment Complexes and the Implications for the Residential Architecture of Public Space. *2nd International Conference on Communities and Technologies, Milan, Italy*.
- Fox, J. E., & Jones, D. (2013). Migration, everyday life and the ethnicity bias. *Ethnicities*, 13(4), 385-400.
- French, S., Wood, L., Foster, S., Giles-Corti, B., Frank, L., & Learnihan, V. (2014). Sense of Community and Its Association With the Neighborhood Built Environment. *Environment and Behavior*, 46, 677-697. doi:10.1177/0013916512469098
- Friedmann, J. (2012). Place and Place-Making in Cities: A Global Perspective. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 11(2), 149-165. doi:10.1080/14649351003759573
- Furbey, R., & Macey, M. (2005). Religion and urban regeneration: a place for faith? *Policy and Politics*, 33, 95-116.
- Gehl, J. (2001). *Life between buildings: Using public space* (5th Edition ed.). Copenhagen: The Danish Architectural Press.
- Gehl, J. (2010). *Cities for people*. Washington, Covelo, London: Island Press.
- Graham, T., & Glover, T. (2014). On the Fence: Dog Parks in the (Un)Leashing of Community and Social Capital. *Leisure Sciences*, 36, 217-234. doi:10.1080/01490400.2014.888020

- Greater Sydney Commission. (2018). OUR GREATER SYDNEY 2056 North District Plan – connecting communities. Retrieved from <https://gsc-public-1.s3-ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/north-district-plan-0318.pdf?nrOOzSVjcFlejo7kmxXCdIRyGD9gUmMc>
- Gregory, D. (Ed.) (2009) *The Dictionary of Human Geography* Hoboken: Wiley.
- Gwyther, G. (2009). The Doctrine of Social Mix in the Mobile Society: A Theoretical Perspective. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 26(2), 143-156. doi:10.1080/14036090701880262
- Gwyther, G. (2011). New Mobilities and the Formation and Maintenance of the Personal Communities of Social Housing Residents. *Urban Policy and Research*, 29(1), 73-89. doi:10.1080/08111146.2010.527285
- Hamilton Wesley Uniting Church. (2020). Bills Place. Retrieved from <https://hamiltonunitingchurch.com/bills-place/>
- Hankins, K., & Walter, A. (2012). 'Gentrification with Justice': An Urban Ministry Collective and the Practice of Place-making in Atlanta's Inner-city Neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*, 49, 1507–1526. doi:10.1177/0042098011415434
- Hartley, L., Charley, E., Choudhury, S., & McKindlay, H. (2020). The Neighbourhood Project. In C. Courage, T. Borrup, M. R. Jackson, K. Legge, A. McKeown, L. Platt, & J. Schupbach (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Placemaking* (pp. 428-438). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hepworth, C., & Stitt, S. (2007). Social Capital & Faith-Based Organisations. *The Heythrop Journal*, 48, 895–910. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2265.2007.00348.x
- Ho, C., Vincent, E., & Butler, R. (2015). Everyday and cosmo-multiculturalisms: Doing diversity in gentrifying school communities. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 36(6), 658-675.
- Howitt, R., McLachlan, K., Tofa, M., Barkat, I., Misra, G., Moulds, N., . . . Yates, J. (2020). Witnessing, saving, serving? A relational approach to community development in the suburbs of a global city. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 39, 90-110. doi:10.1080/15426432.2019.1700870
- International Downtown Association, & Springboard for the Arts. (2016). Guide for Business Districts to Work with Local Artists. A 2016 Creative Placemaking Toolkit Retrieved from <https://springboardexchange.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Guide-for-Business-Districts-to-Work-with-Artists-PDF.pdf>
- Jackson Hole Public Art. (2020). Places of Possibility: Public ART & Placemaking Toolkit for Rural Communities. *Places of Possibility toolkit for rural communities in the Intermountain West*. Retrieved from <http://2vu7r51wf6it1bb04v1tratk-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/Places-of-possibility-public-art-toolkit.pdf>
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities* (Vintage Books ed.). New York: Random House.
- Kleit, R. G., & Carnegie, N. B. (2011). Integrated or isolated? The impact of public housing redevelopment on social network homophily. *Social Networks*, 33(2), 152-165. doi:10.1016/j.socnet.2011.01.001
- Klinenberg, E. (2018). *Palaces for the people: How to build a more equal and united society*. London: Random House.
- Kretzmann, J. P., & McKnight, J. L. (1993). *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets*. Evanston: Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University.
- Krysiak, N. (2019). *Designing Child-Friendly High Density Neighbourhoods: Transforming our cities for the health, wellbeing and happiness of children: Cities for Play*.
- Kuo, F. E., Sullivan, W. C., Coley, R. L., & Brunson, L. (1998). Fertile ground for community: Inner-city neighbourhood common spaces. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 26, 823-851.
- Lake, M. (2011). Provincialising God: Anglicanism, Place, and the Colonisation of Australian Land. *Journal of Religious History*, 35, 72-90. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9809.2010.00972.x
- Latham, A., & Layton, J. (2019). Social infrastructure and the public life of cities: Studying urban sociality and public spaces. *Geography Compass*, 13(7), 1-15.
- Lees, L. (2008). Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2449-2470. doi:10.1177/0042098008097099
- Lette, J. (2011). *Investigating Community in Apartment Living*. Sydney: I.B. Fell Housing Research Centre, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Planning, University of Sydney.
- Lew, A. A. (2017). Tourism planning and place making: place-making or placemaking? *Tourism Geographies*, 19(3), 448-466. doi:10.1080/14616688.2017.1282007
- Liu, E., Easthope, H., Ho, C., & Buckle, C. (2018). Diversity and participation in private apartment buildings: a review of the literature. *Geographical Research*, 56(4), 401-409. doi:10.1111/1745-5871.12282
- Mackay, H. (2019). *Australia Reimagined: Towards a More Compassionate, Less Anxious Society*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia.
- Mian, N. (2008). "Prophets-for-Profits": Redevelopment and the Altering Urban Religious Landscape. *Urban Studies*, 45, 2143–2161. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098008094877>

- Morris, A., Jamieson, M., & Patulny, R. (2012). Is social mixing of tenures a solution for public housing estates? *Evidence Base*, 1(1), 1-21. doi:10.21307/eb-2012-001
- National Association of Realtors. (2017). Placemaking for REALTOR® Associations. Retrieved from <https://realtorparty.realtor/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Programs-Grants-Community-Outreach-Placemaking-Toolkit.pdf>
- Neal, S., Bennett, K., Cochrane, A., & Mohan, G. (2017). *Lived experiences of multicultural: The new social and spatial relations of diversity*. London: Routledge.
- Neal, S., Bennett, K., Jones, H., Cochrane, A., & Mohan, G. (2015). Multiculture and Public Parks: Researching Super-diversity and Attachment in Public Green Space. *Population, Space and Place*, 21(5), 463-475. doi:10.1002/psp.1910
- Nethercote, M., & Horne, R. (2016). Ordinary vertical urbanisms: City apartments and the everyday geographies of high-rise families. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 48(8), 1581-1598. doi:10.1177/0308518X16645104
- Newcastle City Council. (2012). The City of Newcastle Place Makers Toolkit. Retrieved from <https://www.newcastle.nsw.gov.au/Newcastle/media/Documents/Community/Place-Making-Toolkit.pdf>
- Noble, G. (2009). Everyday cosmopolitanism and the labour of intercultural community. In A. Wise & S. Velayutham (Eds.), *Everyday Multiculturalism* (pp. 45-65). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- NSW Department of Planning and Environment. (2015). Apartment Design Guide. Tools for improving the design of residential apartment development. Retrieved from <https://www.planning.nsw.gov.au/-/media/Files/DPE/Guidelines/apartment-design-guide-2015-07.pdf?la=en>
- NSW Government Architect. (2017). Better Placed. An Integrated Design policy for the built environment of New South Wales. Retrieved from <https://www.planning.nsw.gov.au/-/media/Files/DPE/Plans-and-policies/better-placed-a-strategic-design-policy-for-the-built-environment-of-new-south-wales-2017-07032018.pdf>
- Uniting Church in Australia Act 1977 No 47, (2008).
- Oke, N., Sonn, C. C., & McConville, C. (2018). Making a place in Footscray: everyday multiculturalism, ethnic hubs and segmented geography. *Identities*, 25(3), 320-338. doi:10.1080/1070289X.2016.1233880
- Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The Great Good Place*. New York: Paragon House: Da Capo Press.
- Onyx, J., Ho, C., Edwards, M., Burridge, N., & Yerbury, H. (2011). Scaling Up Connections: Everyday Cosmopolitanism, Complexity Theory & Social Capital. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 3, 47-67. doi:10.5130/ccs.v3i3.2180
- Parkes, A., Kearns, A., & Atkinson, R. (2002). What Makes People Dissatisfied with Their Neighborhoods? *Urban Studies*, 39(13), 2413-2438. doi:10.1080/0042098022000027031
- Patulny, R. V., & Morris, A. (2012). Questioning the Need for Social Mix: The Implications of Friendship Diversity amongst Australian Social Housing Tenants. *Urban Studies*, 49(15), 3365-3384. doi:10.1177/0042098012442414
- Pemberton, S., & Phillimore, J. (2018). Migrant place-making in super-diverse neighbourhood: Moving beyond ethno-national approaches. *Urban Studies*, 55(4), 733-750.
- Planning Out. (2019). LGBT+ Placemaking Toolkit. Retrieved from https://becg.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/LGBT-Placemaking-Toolkit.pdf?v=3&utm_source=Website&utm_medium=ToolkitImage&utm_campaign=PlanningOut_Toolkit
- Porter, L. (2018). From an urban country to urban Country: confronting the cult of denial in Australian cities. *Australian Geographer*, 49(2), 239-246.
- Porter, L., Jackson, S., & Johnson, L. (2019). Remaking imperial power in the city: the case of the William Barak building, Melbourne. *Society and Space*, 37, 1119-1137.
- Power, E. R. (2017). Renting with pets: a pathway to housing insecurity? *Housing Studies*, 32(3), 336-360. doi:10.1080/02673037.2016.1210095
- Project for Public Spaces. (2018). Placemaking. What if we built our cities around places? Retrieved from https://uploads-ssl.webflow.com/5810e16fbe876cec6bcbdb86e/5b71f88ec6f4726edfe3857d_2018%20placemaking%20booklet.pdf
- Project for Public Spaces. (2020). The Power of 10+. Retrieved from <https://www.pps.org/article/the-power-of-10>
- Project for Public Spaces. (2021). What is Placemaking? Retrieved from <https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking>
- Project for Public Spaces, & Metropolitan Planning Council. (2008). A Guide to Neighborhood Placemaking in Chicago. Retrieved from <http://www.placemakingchicago.com/>
- Randolph, B. (2006). *Creating a socially sustainable higher density Sydney*, University of New South Wales.

- Reid, S. (2015). Exploring social interactions and sense of community in multi-owned properties. *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis*, 8(4), 436-450. doi:10.1108/IJHMA-02-2015-0006
- Rishbeth, C., Ganji, F., & Vodicka, G. (2018). Ethnographic understandings of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods to inform urban design practice. *Local Environment*, 23(1), 36-53. doi:10.1080/13549839.2017.1385000
- Rishbeth, C., & Rogaly, B. (2017). Sitting outside: Conviviality, self-care and the design of benches in urban public space. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 43(2), 284-298. doi:10.1111/tran.12212
- Ruming, K. (2014). Social Mix Discourse and Local Resistance to Social Housing: The Case of the Nation Building Economic Stimulus Plan, Australia. *Urban Policy and Research*, 32(2), 163-183. doi:10.1080/08111146.2013.844121
- Ruming, K., Mee, K., & McGuirk, P. (2004). Questioning the Rhetoric of Social Mix: Courteous Community or Hidden Hostility. *Australian Geographical Studies*, 42(2), 234-248.
- Semenza, J., & March, T. (2009). An Urban Community-Based Intervention to Advance Social Interactions. *Environment and Behaviour*, 41(1), 22-42. doi:10.1177/0013916507311136
- Sider, R. J., & Unruh, H. R. (2004). Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33(1), 109-134. doi:10.1177/0899764003257494
- Smith, N. (2020). Planning governance – lessons for the integration of placemaking In C. Courage, T. Borrup, M. R. Jackson, K. Legge, A. McKeown, L. Platt, & J. Schupbach (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Placemaking Routledge*.
- Speck, J. (2012). *Walkable city: how downtown can save America, one step at a time* (1st ed.). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Sweeney, J., Mee, K., McGuirk, P., & Ruming, K. (2018). Assembling placemaking: making and remaking place in a regenerating city. *Cultural Geographies*, 25(4), 571-587.
- Thompson, S. (2018). Exploring the Nature of Third Places and Local Social Ties in High-Density Areas: The Case of a Large Mixed-Use Complex. *Urban Policy and Research*, 36(3), 304-318. doi:10.1080/08111146.2018.1502660
- Thompson, S. (2019). *Supporting encounters and casual social ties in large apartment complexes and their surroundings: The role of people, planning, design and management*. (Doctor of Philosophy), University of New South Wales, Sydney.
- Thompson, S., & McCue, P. (2015). URMO Toolkit for creating supportive place-making in the denser city Retrieved from <https://blogs.unsw.edu.au/cityfutures/blog/2015/10/urmo-principles-for-public-space-making-to-support-human-health/>
- Troy, L., Randolph, B., Pinnegar, S., Crommelin, L., & Easthope, H. (2020). Vertical Sprawl in the Australian City: Sydney's High-rise Residential Development Boom. *Urban Policy and Research*, 38(1), 18-36. doi:10.1080/08111146.2019.1709168
- Valentine, G. (2008). Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(3), 323-337.
- van Beckhoven, E., & van Kempen, R. (2003). Social effects of urban restructuring: A case study in Amsterdam and Utrecht, the Netherlands. *Housing Studies*, 18(6), 853-875.
- van den Nouwelant, R., & Randolph, B. (2016). *Mixed-tenure development: Literature review on the impact of differing degrees of integration*. Retrieved from Online at <https://cityfutures.be.unsw.edu.au/documents/463/Mixed-communities-for-FPA-Final.pdf>:
- Vanclay, F. (2008). Place matters. In F. Vanclay, M. Higgins, & A. Blackshaw (Eds.), *Making sense of place : exploring concepts and expressions of place through different senses and lenses* (pp. 3-11). Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press.
- Watson, S. (2009). The Magic of the Marketplace: Sociality in a Neglected Public Space. *Urban Studies*, 46(8), 1577-1591.
- We Love Aintree. (2021a). Aintree Cafe and Garden. Retrieved from <https://www.weloveaintree.org/our-cafe>
- We Love Aintree. (2021b). Eat. Grow. Garden. Retrieved from <https://www.weloveaintree.org/eat-grow-garden>
- We Love Aintree. (2021c). We love Aintree. Retrieved from <https://www.weloveaintree.org/>
- Wessendorf, S. (2013). Commonplace diversity and the 'ethos of mixing': perceptions of difference in a London neighbourhood. *Identities*, 20(4), 407-422. doi:10.1080/1070289X.2013.822374
- Williams, A., Cloke, P., & Thomas, S. (2012). Co-constituting neoliberalism: faith-based organisations, co-option, and resistance in the UK. *Environment and Planning*, 44, 1479-1501. doi:10.1068/a44507
- Wise, A. (2005). Hope and Belonging in a Multicultural Suburb. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 26(1-2), 171-186. doi:10.1080/07256860500074383

- Wise, A. (2009). Everyday Multiculturalism: Transversal Crossings and Working Class Cosmopolitans. In A. Wise & S. Velayutham (Eds.), *Everyday Multiculturalism* (pp. 21-45). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Wise, A. (2010). Sensuous multiculturalism: emotional landscapes of inter-ethnic living in Australian suburbia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(6), 917-937.
- Wise, A. (2016a). Becoming cosmopolitan: encountering difference in a city of mobile labour. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(14), 2289-2308.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1205807>
- Wise, A. (2016b). Convivial labour and the 'joking relationship': Humour and everyday multiculturalism at work. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(5), 481-500.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1211628>
- Wise, A., & Noble, G. (2016). Convivialities: An Orientation. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(5), 423-431.
doi:10.1080/07256868.2016.1213786
- Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2009). Introduction: Multiculturalism and Everyday Life. In A. Wise & S. Velayutham (Eds.), *Everyday Multiculturalism* (pp. 1-17). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2014). Conviviality in everyday multiculturalism: Some brief comparisons between Singapore and Sydney. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17(4), 406-430.
- Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2020). Humour at work: conviviality through language play in Singapore's multicultural workplaces. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43, 911-929.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1588341>
- Wood, L., Giles-Corti, B., Zubrick, S. R., & Bulsara, M. K. (2011). "Through the Kids . . . We Connected With Our Community": Children as Catalysts of Social Capital. *Environment and Behavior*, 45(3), 344-368.
doi:10.1177/0013916511429329
- Wood, L., Hooper, P., Foster, S., & Bull, F. (2017). Public green spaces and positive mental health – investigating the relationship between access, quantity and types of parks and mental wellbeing. *Health and Place*, 48, 63-71.
- Wood, L., Karen, M., Christiana, H., Houghtonb, S., Kawachic, I., Vallesia, S., & McCune, S. (2017). Social capital and pet ownership – A tale of four cities. *SSM - Population Health*, 3, 442-447.
- Ye, J. (2019). Re-orienting geographies of urban diversity and coexistence: Analyzing inclusion and difference in public space. *Progress in Human Geography*, 43(3), 478-495.
doi:10.1177/0309132518768405
- Zhang, W., & Lawson, G. (2009). Meeting and greeting: Activities in public outdoor spaces outside high-density urban residential communities. *Urban Design International*, 14, 207-214.
doi:10.1057/udi.2009.19

8. Appendix

8.1 APPENDIX 1: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MACQUARIE PARK

NAME	Websites	Developer and Architect	Address	Types of Common Facilities
NBH Lachlan's Line	http://www.greenlandaustralia.com.au/en/ http://nbhsydney.com/	Aspect Studios Landscape Architects Greenland Australia Developers	7 Halifax St Macquarie Park	Day care, Playground, Retail, Supermarket, Townsquare, Park
Macquarie Park Village	https://mpviving.com.au/	Stamford Land Corporation Allen Jack + Cottier Architecture	Cnr Herring and Epping Roads	Pool, Gym, Barbeque area, Function room, Playground
Macquarie Prime	https://primemacquarie.com.au/	JQZ Developer PTW Architect	101–107 Waterloo Road Macquarie Park	Pool, Gym, Barbeque area, Podium gardens, Green spaces, Communal courtyard, Retail on ground floor, 'Uplifting sky gardens'
Park One Sydney	http://www.parkonesydney.com/ (also have a map with amenity: http://www.parkonesydney.com/location/local-map)	Golden Age Longship Time and Place Turner Architects	80 Waterloo Road Macquarie Park	Rooftop 'sky terrace', Barbeque area, Private dining facilities, Café and retail spaces, Garden setting, Private park, 'Zen forest, green lawn and other park areas'
Natura Macquarie Park	https://www.naturaliving.com.au/	Romeciti- developer Architectus Architect Aspect Studio landscape architect	82 Waterloo Road Macquarie Park	Pool, Gym, Sauna, Yoga and meditation room, Library, Outdoor lounge Barbeque area, Rooftop garden – edibles and ornamental, 'expansive lobby', 'business lounge', Concierge services
One Twenty Macquarie	http://www.onetwentymacquarie.com.au/	TOGA Turner Architects Turd Design Studio landscape architecture	120 Herring Road Macquarie Park	Gymnasium, Media room, Lobby, Retail café, Landscaped gardens, Barbeque area
NEUE Macquarie Park	https://neuebycolli.com.au/#landscape/2	Coli Australia (Development arm of CSCEC, world's largest property and construction group), SJB Lead architects	137–143 Herring Road Macquarie Park	Trees
Platinum on Peach Tree	http://www.platinumonpeachtree.com.au/	Sundale Developments Nordon and Jago architects Turner interior design	9 Peach Tree Road	Outdoor pool and lounge, Rooftop entertainment areas/garden, Gym and wellness centre, Children's play equipment
Macquarie Central	https://www.toga.com.au/project/macquarie-central/	TOGA		Barbeque area, Pool, Entertainment spaces, Communal landscaped gardens, Gymnasium, Gazebo
Macquarie Residences	https://www.meriton.com.au/apartments/macquarie-residence/	Meriton	7 Alma Road Macquarie Park	Landscaped gardens, Barbeque facilities, Pool and spa, Gym and sauna, Alma park

8.2 APPENDIX 2: DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES

Figure 8.2.1 Languages at SA2

Most common languages spoken at home	Parramatta - Rosehill	Epping - North Epping	Macquarie Park - Marsfield	Chatswood	Bankstown
1st	English	Mandarin	English	English	Arabic
2nd	Mandarin	English	Mandarin	Mandarin	English
3rd	Hindi	Korean	Cantonese	Cantonese	Vietnamese
4th	Tamil	Cantonese	Hindi	Korean	Urdu
Proportion speaking each language at home					
1st	15%	34%	25%	27%	21%
2nd	13%	16%	22%	21%	16%
3rd	12%	14%	6%	11%	9%
4th	6%	11%	5%	8%	8%
Total	46%	75%	58%	67%	54%
Proportion speaking one of the top four languages					
no. people	1660	1026	856	4594	1099
	1453	489	749	3696	802
	1341	422	215	1896	481
	695	327	189	1303	387

Figure 8.2.2 Household Type at SA2

Household Type	Parramatta - Rosehill	Epping - North Epping	Macquarie Park - Marsfield	Chatswood	Bankstown
Couple family with no children	24%	24%	34%	24%	14%
Couple family with children	42%	44%	29%	39%	55%
One parent family	6%	9%	6%	10%	14%
Other inc. multifamily households	7%	4%	4%	5%	5%
Lone person household	9%	8%	15%	13%	7%
Group household	12%	11%	12%	8%	4%

Vertical Villages Resident Questionnaire

What is this research about?

This research is to find out about the experiences of residents living in high-rise apartments and the best ways to build connection and belonging in high-density urban environments. The purpose of the study is to understand how faith-based organisations can contribute to place-making and community development in multicultural, mixed-tenure high-rise residential precincts. The research will widen understandings of how the growing density of Australian cities occurs on the ground and will inform urban planning and community development projects being rolled out across New South Wales. You can visit the project website here (<https://tinyurl.com/MQverticalvillages>).

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee.

Who is conducting this research?

This project is being conducted by Dr Miriam Williams, Dr Emma Mitchell, Prof Amanda Wise, and A/Prof Kristian Ruming, Kate Cavanough and Isaac Harrison at Macquarie University, in partnership with Churches Housing and Baptist Care. The project is jointly funded by Macquarie University, Churches Housing, and Baptist Care.

Inclusion/exclusion criteria

Before you decide to participate in this research study, we need to ensure that it is okay for you to take part. In order to participate you need to 1) reside in an apartment in a building with four or more storeys and 2) be 18 years or older.

Do I have to take part in this research study?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide to participate, the questionnaire should take around 10 minutes to complete. It may take people whose first language is not English longer to complete the questionnaire. You can change your mind at any time and stop completing the questionnaire without consequences. If you are a student, staff member or have another connection to Macquarie University, your choice to participate or not will not affect your association with Macquarie University in any way.

What will happen to information about me?

Access to the online questionnaire is via a link. Submission of the online questionnaire is an indication of your consent to the research team collecting and using personal information about you for the research project. Your information will only be used for the purpose of this research project. All information will be treated as confidential. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only members of the research team will have access to the original data generated through this research. Churches Housing or Baptist Care will not have access to your questionnaire responses. A summary of the results will be made available on the project website at the end of the project.

What if I have concerns or a complaint?

If you have any concerns about the research that you think the researchers can help you with, please feel free to contact Dr Miriam Williams at miriam.williams@mq.edu.au. If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected to the research, you may contact the Director of Research Ethics & Integrity on (02) 9850 7854 or at ethics@mq.edu.au and quote the project ID: 6041.

Possible prize for participation

If you complete the questionnaire and voluntarily enter the draw (we will need an email address or mobile number), you will go into the draw for a \$100 prize. We have 10 x \$100 prizes to give away. If you would like to enter the draw please click on the link at the end of the questionnaire and submit your contact details.

There are 47 questions in this survey.

PICF

Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question:

Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?

*

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes

No

Your living situation

What suburb do you live in?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Bankstown

Chatswood

Epping

Macquarie Park

Parramatta

How long have you lived in this suburb?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Less than 1 year
- 1-2 years
- 3-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- Over 16 years

Is your dwelling:

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Owned outright
- Owned with a mortgage
- Purchased under a shared equity scheme
- Rented from private landlord/real estate agent
- Rented from a community housing or public landlord
- Occupied rent-free
- Other (please specify):
- Prefer not to say

Other (please specify):

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Other (please specify): ' at question '4 [DWELL]' (Is your dwelling:) *and* Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question:Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please write your answer here:

How long have you lived in your current apartment?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question:Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Less than 1 year
- 1-2 years
- 3-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- over 16 years

How many bedrooms are in your apartment?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- 0 (Studio Apartment)
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 or more

Who lives in your apartment with you?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Live with immediate family (e.g. Spouse/partner, children)
- Live with extended family (e.g. Older parents, grandparents, cousin, aunt/uncle, nephew)
- Share house with non-family members
- Live alone
- Other (please specify):

How many people live in your apartment, including you?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15

Your apartment building

To what extent is the design of your apartment suitable for...?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Not at all	2	3	4	Very much
Raising children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Growing old	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hosting visitors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

What level of security does your apartment building/complex have?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

! Check all that apply

Please choose **all** that apply:

- Intercom/ pin pad/ swipe card access to building
- Intercom/ pin pad/ swipe card access to enter complex grounds
- No security features

What shared spaces are available in your apartment building or complex and which of them do you use? Please select those you have access to AND those that you use (select all that apply).

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

	I have access to	I use
Outdoor seats/benches	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Barbecue/outdoor cooking facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Playground	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Community garden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Private garden or green space	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pool/spa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Communal kitchen space	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Communal lounge space	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Noticeboard for the building	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gym room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Communal laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Car parking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Communal clothes Lines	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Function Room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Library	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lobby	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Concierge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other shared facility	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The shared spaces in my apartment building or complex are...

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Not at all	2	3	4	Very much
inviting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
large enough for people to gather in	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
safe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
well designed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
well maintained	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
used regularly by residents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Official signs and rules for my building are communicated in languages other than English

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Yes
- No
- Some but not all

Do you live in a mixed-use building?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes

No

A mixed-use building is a building with more than one purpose. It may include retail and other services on the ground floor and residential apartments above.

Which of the following amenities and services are co-located within your apartment building or complex?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)
and Answer was 'Yes' at question '15 [MIXED]' (Do you live in a mixed-use building?)

! Check all that apply

Please choose **all** that apply:

Childcare centre

Community centre

Other community 'service' or organisation

Cafe/Restaurant

Shops

School

Other businesses (accountants, health services, tuition colleges, business offices etc).

Other (please specify):

Which of the following amenities and services are located **within walking distance** of your apartment building? (please select all that apply):

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

📌 Check all that apply

Please choose **all** that apply:

- Childcare centre
- Community centre
- Other community 'service' or organisation
- Cafe/Restaurant
- Shops
- School
- Other businesses (accountants, health services, tuition colleges, business offices etc).
- Other (please specify)::

Your contact with your neighbours

How many people in your apartment building do you know well enough to have a conversation with?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

📌 Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- 0
- 1
- 2-4
- 5-10
- More than 10

How many people in your building do you know well enough that you would ask a favour or invite them into your apartment?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- 0
- 1
- 2-4
- 5-10
- More than 10

Before Covid-19, did people in your apartment building or complex host or organise events or activities for residents?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

If yes, please describe:

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '20 [EVENT]' (Before Covid-19, did people in your apartment building or complex host or organise events or activities for residents?) *and* Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question:Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please write your answer here:

Where are you likely to talk to other people who live in your apartment building? (please select all that apply)

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question:Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

📌 Check all that apply

Please choose **all** that apply:

- in the hall, elevators or stairs or my building
- on the shared grounds of my apartment complex
- in my apartment or a neighbours' apartment
- on social media such as Facebook or Whatsapp
- in communal facilities of my building such as BBQ or pool
- at the local shops
- at my child's school
- at sporting facilities
- at the local park or playground
- at the community garden
- at a church or religious gathering

Other (please specify):

How often do you...?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	daily	weekly	monthly	yearly	never
talk to neighbours in your building	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
interact with neighbours from a different cultural or language background to you	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
communicate with members of the strata management committee or body corporate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
use the communal facilities in you building or complex	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please answer how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't Know
I would like to interact more with my neighbours	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I needed help, I know a person in my apartment building who I could ask for help	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Your sense of connection and belonging

How much you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
I feel accepted by other people living in my building	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There are other people 'like me' living in my building	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The people in my building accept others who are different from them	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People in my building get along	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How would you rate the following groups as neighbours?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Less easy to live with	2	3	4	More easy to live with	Don't know
People who rent their apartment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People who own their apartment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People on a low income	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Retired people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
University students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People who speak a different language than me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People with children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How appealing would it be to live in an apartment block with...?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Very unappealing	2	3	4	Very appealing
a mix of private and public/social housing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
some affordable private rental apartments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please answer how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
My strata or building managers connect people in our apartment building	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My strata or building managers help people feel welcome	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Do your strata or building managers organise events for residents to interact?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

Would you be interested in attending any of the following activities? Please select all that would interest you.

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Check all that apply

Please choose **all** that apply:

- Community garden
- Community pot-luck (shared dinner where everyone brings a plate of food to share)
- A regular book club
- A community market day
- A clothes swap
- A book swap
- Community library
- Tool Share
- Weekly playgroup
- Community cafe day
- Other (please specify): :

Would you be comfortable if the above activities were organised by a faith-based organisation such as a church group or service organisation?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Extremely comfortable
- Somewhat comfortable
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- Somewhat uncomfortable
- Extremely uncomfortable

What types of social media do you use to connect with people in your apartment building AND which would you like to use? (please select all that apply)

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

	Currently use	Would like to use
Private Facebook Group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public Facebook Group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
What's App Group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Facebook Messenger Group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Resident e-mail list	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nextdoor app	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WeChat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify):	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other (please specify):

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

----- Scenario 1 -----

Answer was '1' at question '32 [SOCMED]' (What types of social media do you use to connect with people in your apartment building AND which would you like to use? (please select all that apply)) *and* Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

----- or Scenario 2 -----

Answer was '1' at question '32 [SOCMED]' (What types of social media do you use to connect with people in your apartment building AND which would you like to use? (please select all that apply)) *and* Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please write your answer here:

The impact of COVID-19

Please answer how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
I am able to stay socially distanced from my neighbours	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The pandemic makes living in an apartment harder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My apartment is suitable for working or studying from home	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am more lonely since the pandemic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How do you think the coronavirus outbreak will affect your involvement with your neighbours in the future?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

! Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- I don't want to get involved
- I will be less involved
- I will want to get more involved
- I will continue the same as ever

Finally, we have some questions to ask about you

What is your age range?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

📌 Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- 18-29 years
- 30- 39 years
- 40-49 years
- 50-59 years
- 60-69 years
- 70 years or over
- Prefer not to say

Which gender do you identify with?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

📌 Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Female
- Male
- Other
- Prefer not to say

What is your households annual income before tax?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Under \$50,000
- \$50,001 to \$75,000
- \$75,0001 to \$100,000
- \$100,001 to \$125,000
- \$125,001 to \$150,000
- \$150,001 to \$175,000
- \$175,001 to \$200,000
- Over \$200,000
- Prefer not to say

What is your marital/family status?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Single without child/children
- Single with child/children
- Partnered/Married without Child(ren)
- Partnered/Married with Child(ren)
- Prefer not to say

What is your religion?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- No religion
- Christian
- Hindu
- Islam
- Buddhism
- Prefer not to say
- Other (please specify):

In which country were you born?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Australia
- Bangladesh
- Greece
- India
- Indonesia
- Iran
- Italy
- Japan
- Lebanon
- Malaysia
- New Zealan
- Pakistan
- People's Republic of China
- Philipines
- South Korea
- Sri Lanka
- Taiwan
- United Kingdom
- Vietnam
- Other (please specify):

Do you speak a language other than English at home?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes

No

Which language?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '42 [LOTE]' (Do you speak a language other than English at home?)
and Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

i Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Arabic
- Armenian
- Bengali
- Cantonese
- Filipino/Tagalog
- Greek
- Gujarati
- Hindi
- Indonesian
- Italian
- Japanese
- Korean
- Mandarin
- Persian
- Punjabi
- Sinhalese
- Spanish
- Tamil
- Telugu
- Urdu
- Vietnamese

Other (please specify):

Further Research Participation

Would you be interested in talking about your experiences in an interview? Interview participants will each receive a \$50 voucher to thank them for their time.

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes

No

If so, please provide contact details and we will provide you with some further information (please note that your name and contact details will not be used for the purposes of this survey):

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '44 [INTER]' (Would you be interested in talking about your experiences in an interview? Interview participants will each receive a \$50 voucher to thank them for their time.) *and* Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Prize draw

Would you like to go into the prize draw to win one of ten \$100 vouchers.

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

❗ Choose one of the following answers

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes

No

Please provide contact details so we can contact you if you win (please note that your name and contact details will not be used for the purposes of this survey):

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '46 [PRIZE]' (Would you like to go into the prize draw to win one of ten \$100 vouchers.) *and* Answer was 'Yes' at question '1 [PICF]' (Before proceeding please ensure you have answered yes to the following question: Have you read the participant information and consent form and freely agree to participate in this study, with the understanding that you may withdraw at any time?)

Thank you for taking the time to complete our questionnaire. Your contribution makes the research possible.

10.12.2020 – 09:36

Submit your survey.

Thank you for completing this survey.



Macquarie University is a vibrant hub of intellectual thinkers, all working towards a brighter future for our communities and our planet.

A PLACE OF INSPIRATION

Macquarie is uniquely located in the heart of Australia's largest high-tech precinct, a thriving locale which is predicted to double in size in the next 20 years to become the fourth largest CBD in Australia.

Our campus spans 126 hectares, with open green space that gives our community the freedom to think and grow. We are home to fantastic facilities with excellent transport links to the city and suburbs, supported by an on-campus train station.

RENOWNED FOR EXCELLENCE

We are ranked among the top two per cent of universities in the world, and with a 5-star QS rating, we are renowned for producing graduates that are among the most sought after professionals in the world.

A PROUD TRADITION OF DISCOVERY

Our enviable research efforts are brought to life by renowned researchers whose audacious solutions to issues of global significance are benefiting the world we live in.

BUILDING SUCCESSFUL GRADUATES

Our pioneering approach to teaching and learning is built around a connected learning community: our students are considered partners and co-creators in their learning experience.

FIND OUT MORE

Macquarie University NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 7111
mq.edu.au

ABN 90 952 801 237
CRICOS Provider 00002J