Social Mix at Nightingale Village

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Acknowledgement of Country

We at RMIT University acknowledge the people of the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung language groups of the eastern Kulin Nation on whose unceded lands we conduct our research, teaching and service. We respectfully acknowledge Ancestors and Elders past, present and emerging who have always been caring for Country. We pay our respects to Country, the lifeworld that sustains us all.

Our research, education and service are already in a relationship with Country and the people of Country, here and in all the places we undertake our business. As mostly non-Indigenous people, we acknowledge our obligation in this relationship: to uphold the ngarn-ga [understanding] of Bundjil and practice respect for community and culture. Though there is much we still need to learn, especially about ourselves, we affirm our dhumbali [commitment] to that work. We hold as central to our business, dhumbali to a shared future with Indigenous peoples everywhere and especially Kulin Country and peoples.

Executive Summary

Social mix, by including social housing tenures in private developments, is a widely used mechanism for improving access to social housing. Yet there is little evidence about its benefits despite growing interest in mechanisms such as inclusionary zoning. This report delivers a baseline of practitioner and resident perspectives about social mix at Nightingale Village, the first private housing development to voluntarily employ a social mix methodology. The project documents and examines the management and delivery of the social mix approach at Nightingale Village, evaluating likely outcomes, and documenting the perspectives of prospective residents.

Interviews with project developers and housing providers have gathered data about the delivery model, and with prospective residents about their perceptions. The findings provide points of consideration to industry and policy makers about the application of social mix principles and the extent social mix contributes to more diverse and equitable housing outcomes, especially important in light of recent Victorian Government social housing investments such as the Big Housing Build.

The importance of facilitating inclusionary practices of housing development in places with severe housing affordability crises cannot be understated. Melbourne needs 1.6 million homes over 35 years to meet demand, with a good proportion of these non-market, or low-income, to address growing inequality. Most policy makers agree that building more affordable housing is the best way to alleviate disadvantage caused by inadequate and unaffordable housing. Given the lack of mandated practices, the most common application of such inclusive housing development has been led by the public sector via urban renewal programs that increase residential densities and reduce concentrations of poverty through the introduction of private housing.

Introducing higher-income residents is intended to facilitate social mix and therefore improve the livelihoods of lower-income households. In the last two decades, post-welfare countries have made public housing renewal contingent upon introducing social mix. The problem is that social-mix-led renewal usually reduces the overall capacity of housing stock to accommodate populations in greatest housing need. In addition, building private housing on public housing estates surrounded by private housing brings those estates into demographic alignment with the rest of the neighbourhood but reduces diversity at the neighbourhood scale. In order to facilitate the diversification of social demographics in already gentrified areas, and in order to provide more affordable housing, social mix should occur in the context of infill private development.

One major problem in the housing literature is a lack of consensus on how social mix should be evaluated. Existing evaluations commonly measure the mix of tenures, excluding social characteristics and lived experience. Further, there is an absence of longitudinal studies where meaningful outcomes that take 10-20 years to manifest are accounted for. This research project establishes a qualitative baseline for such research insights to be derived in the future.

Key insights

The inclusion of social housing tenures at Nightingale Village is likely to be evaluated as a success given the following factors:

- The Village is in one of the most well-resourced municipalities, with very good access to public services, transport infrastructures (train, tram and bicycle) and proximity to encounter zones such as the Sydney Road retail district
- Private residents of the Village are fully engaged and committed to the triple bottom line approach, of which social sustainability is a core tenet and active community building central to the everyday function of the common space
- Social tenants will be allocated via a very selective process, will have the means to pay rent at a higher rate than average for social housing, and are much less likely to be regarded as in 'greatest housing need'
- Social tenants are much less likely to require intensive support in order to sustain their tenancy
- The inclusion of social housing did not cost the developer financially, nor did it appear to drive demand for private housing down

The inclusion of social housing tenures at Nightingale Village would likely be regarded as failed social mix if the social housing cohort were selected from populations in severe housing need or distress, or with a history of struggling to sustain housing security. This is primarily because public resources in Victoria and Australia are chronically insufficient to address housing precarity. Tenants on statutory incomes, such as unemployment assistance or disability pension, would likely be unable to afford the 75% share of market rent at the Village. Additionally, if the development were not located in the inner urban suburbs, it is likely that rules prohibiting cars would negatively affect the livelihood of social tenants.

When housing developments are quality built with sustainable and robust materials, have a community ethos infused into the spatial and commercial design, are well-located to infrastructure and efficient to occupy, then there is a large pool of potential purchasers willing to pay market or above market rate who are also enthusiastic to materialise and maintain inclusive communities. The Nightingale Village development had a surplus of demand for private dwellings. The market value of dwellings was not diminished by the inclusion of social housing in the development and may have in fact contributed to the production of demand and willingness to pay above cost price. The maintenance of market value was considered by the project team and therefore influenced the inclusion of tenure blind design principles (albeit partially), a highly selective allocation process for community housing and a limited mix ratio of 1:4.

Nightingale Housing has a proven concept with strong brand recognition. It is likely that this had a significant impact in producing high demand for a mixed-tenure development.

Research Findings

This research interviewed two participant groups, including 1) stakeholders involved in the design and development of the Village, as well as community housing organisations who will allocate and manage social tenancies; 2) private residents who will be owner occupiers in any of the six buildings in the Village.

Overall findings:

- Any application of social mix in private-led intentional housing developments is going to be highly contextualised and particular. There is no 'one model' that can serve as a standardised template
- If the inclusion of social tenures in private-led development is going to become a common feature of social housing supply, then each development must be understood in its specific context and the needs of the cohort should be understood to a far greater degree
- Nightingale Village will not accommodate social tenants on the priority allocation list of the Victoria Housing Register, therefore this development may not be the best example of inclusionary development when considering the broader housing crisis
- Nightingale Village provides a good example of private-led development inclusive of affordable housing tenants eligible for the Victorian Housing Register, although the market cost of units is not affordable
- Social tenants will constitute a grafted-on community with no social ties to the private community that formed during design and construction phases

Development project team findings:

- Building and site designed with interaction in mind, encounter zones around the village and common

facilities within buildings

- No knowledge, or very limited knowledge, of social mix applications in other developments, national and international, and no knowledge of research or evaluation of social mix implementation or outcomes
- Created residents' forum that did not include community housing staff or prospective social tenants
- Very little engagement and collaboration between the development team and community housing staff

Community housing findings:

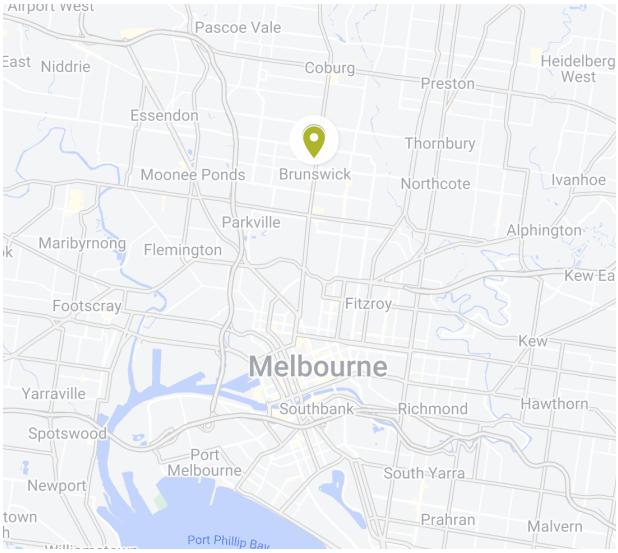
- Limited staff knowledge about the development and Nightingale model
- No allocation procedure in place, although selection will likely be highly scrutinised
- Units purchased based on cost, therefore tenure blind approach is compromised
- No tailored application of place or tenant management, with a reliance upon the Residential Tenancies Act to mediate relations between tenant and landlord
- A lot of experience with mixed-tenure development, but poor understanding of ideal mix scenarios
- Tenants not considered to be most in need, and will likely be in affordable categories of housing portfolio paying 75% of market rent

Private resident findings:

- Mixed awareness of inclusion of social housing tenants in the village. About 50% of interviewed residents were conscious of the inclusion of social housing, with some residents believing that they were the social housing tenant
- Communities already formed, at both building level and village level
- General tolerance/embrace toward social diversity, some apprehension about living with lower-income tenants
- Each private resident will be a member of the body corporate although social tenants will not

Given these findings, there are some key considerations that should be made as the development matures, and in future mixed-tenure developments led by the private or public sector:

- Totally tenure blind practices are not possible if the cost of units determines the availability of stock that may be purchased. However, tenure blind is only required if the private resident cohort, or any other entity with an interest in the development, is hostile or discriminatory to social housing residents
- There is no place management plan in place to ensure that social housing residents do not feel like second class residents. Building-level conflict resolution procedures that exist, as well as community rules or codes of conduct, should be made in consultation with social housing residents
- Turnover rates may be different between tenures, given reliance on the Residential Tenancies Act that does not offer robust safeguards against eviction and a lack of defined selection procedure. If the churn rate for social housing residents is higher than private residents, this may lead to lack of investment in community by social tenants
- There is likely to be significant difference in social experiences, economic status and political sensibilities between tenure types — there may be potential for conflict if these are not considered in the selection of social tenants
- Given the utopian intent of the Village, private residents may not tolerate behaviour associated with mental health challenges, experiences of poverty and substance abuse
- Social housing providers should be consulted and included in development project teams to a higher degree



Recommendations

Government and developers

- Introduce mandatory inclusionary zoning in Victoria
- Establish pathways and supported models for non-profit resident-led housing developments
- Consider the use of cost as the determinant for purchase of social housing units to ensure material parity in quality of finish and fittings
- Apply geographically and development-specific insights to all mixed-tenure development strategies — no one-size-fits-all
- Acknowledge that tenure blind aspirations are mostly unattainable and may contribute to exceptionalising rather than normalising the existence of social difference
- Social mix applications must be cognizant of the integral nature of scale, composition and concentration considerations, and how these will need to shape implementation plans

Community housing

- Establish place and tenure management framework for the social tenancies to ameliorate the negative effect that a potential high turnover in social tenancies may create
- Establish early protocols and procedures for tenant selection
- Operational-level staff should be included in development team activities
- Consider opportunities for engaging with the extensive and critical evidence base about social mix and inclusionary zoning

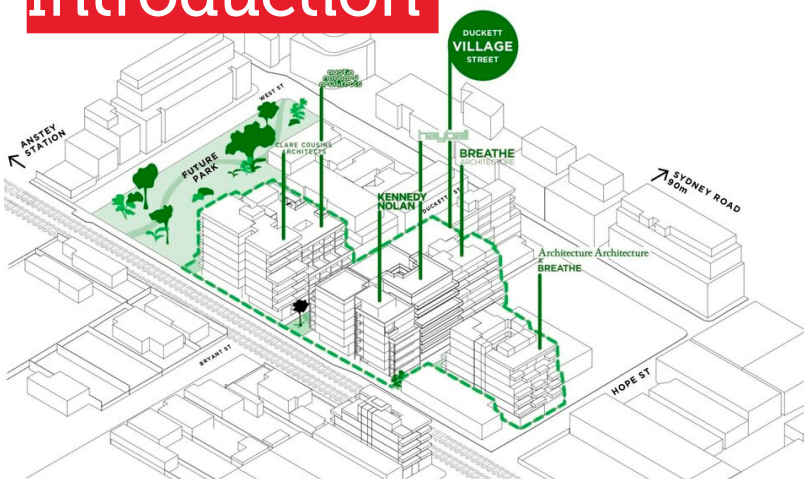
Nightingale housing

- Develop an intentional strategy to include social tenants in community forums that pays ongoing attention to inclusivity and awareness
- Allocate positions on the Body Corporate to social housing tenants or their proxies
- Seek clarity on defining social housing and affordable housing
- Include community housing stakeholders at project inception in future developments, and in resident forums

Research

- Conduct post-occupancy evaluation research at years 2, 5 and 10

Introduction



Melbourne needs 1.6 million homes to be built over 35 years to meet housing demand, with a good proportion of these affordable or social to address growing urban inequality (DELWP, 2017). In Victoria there is a protracted and deepening housing affordability crisis. With few case examples of effective social housing policy solutions, the waiting list for social housing continues to expand with at least 110,000 people currently registered on the Victorian Housing Register. Most policy makers agree that building more and better affordable housing is the best way to alleviate disadvantage, caused by inadequate housing. Given the lack of mandated mechanisms in the planning system, such as inclusionary zoning, this is usually achieved through the introduction of private housing tenures to public housing estates (Bridge et al., 2011). This approach is currently being applied in Victoria through the Public Housing Renewal Program and Big Housing Build where renewal aims to increase residential density and reduce concentrations of poverty.

The introduction of higher-income residents to former public housing estates is intended to facilitate social mix and improve the lives of lower-income households (Ruming, 2018). Yet social mix-led renewal has been found to have strong gentrification and displacement effects (Lees, 2008), and can reduce the overall capacity of the affordable housing stock and even reduce diversity at the neighbourhood scale (Capp et al., 2021; Kelly & Porter, 2019). Many post-welfare countries have made renewal of public housing estates contingent on the introduction of social mix over the last two decades (August, 2019). At the same time, there is little agreement on how social mix should be defined, evaluated or with what methodology (Morris et al., 2012). Existing evaluations commonly measure the mix of tenures and exclude attention to social characteristics, lived experience and the relations between tenure types. Further, there is an absence of longitudinal studies that establish useful baselines for understanding how the intentions of project teams and tenancy managers are met. Meaningful outcomes take 10-20 years to manifest (Popkin et al., 2009), meaning advances in education, health and employment, and indicators of social belonging will need to be measured with solid baselines of foundational conditions documented and understood.

In Victoria, social housing in Victoria is an umbrella term that includes both public housing and community housing. Public housing is both owned and managed by the state and provides housing at significantly reduced cost, capped at 25% of household income. Community housing is owned or managed by non-for-profit community housing providers. There are approximately 83,600 social housing dwellings in Victoria. Of these, 64,600 are public housing (around 2.5% of overall housing stock), with the remaining 19,000 (or 0.6%) being community housing (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Social housing is the umbrella term used to cover both public, community and sometimes other forms of non-market tenure.

Social housing tenants are considered 'the most vulnerable group in Australia' and experience higher than average levels of unemployment, mental health issues, low educational outcomes, crime and antisocial behaviour (Arthurson, 2010). Whilst public housing supply has been in decline for decades, community housing has been growing as a tenure typology year-on-year, and is becoming the social tenure of choice for State and Commonwealth governments.

This report presents findings from interviews with stakeholders involved in Australia's first mixed-tenure residential led by the private sector without government

involvement. The Nightingale Village, located in Brunswick, Melbourne, is Nightingale's largest residential development to date and will be first carbon neutral residential precinct in Australia. Nightingale Housing is a not-for-profit housing developer and company that facilitates resident-led housing outcomes. Nightingale Village is the first private residential precinct in Australia to include social housing tenancies within the residential mix, when the government has not been a partner. It therefore affords a unique opportunity to understand the application of social mix principles in a new deliberative development. The research was undertaken by the Centre for Urban Research at RMIT University, funded by the Lord Mayor's Charitable Foundation.

Our aim was to better understand what works in the application of social mix in private housing projects. The findings help establish a qualitative baseline for examining the potential benefits and challenges in maximising the provision of social housing in deliberative private housing developments.

Social mix

Social mix is an 'an intrinsically vague, slippery term' (Galster, 2013, p. 308). Its use as a policy and planning term today can connote different meanings in different contexts. Galster and Friedrichs (2015, p. 176) define the term as 'a combination of diverse shares of social groups in a neighbourhood', and Arthurson (2010, p. 50) as 'the level of socioeconomic variance of residents, housing tenure... age range or ethnic mix'. For Morris et al. (2012, p. 1), social mix is 'a specific understanding of what constitutes a functional and sustainable community, namely one that is heterogeneous' in factors such as income, ethnicity and class.

Despite the vagaries around the term, social mix has become popular in Australian planning and housing policy over the past 20 years. Yet as Arthurson (2012, p. 15) states, 'social mix is by no means new', despite history of the concept being not well documented or defined, its origins can be traced back to mid-19th century Britain. Although there is a wide-ranging debate within urban and housing studies around the idea, there are few accounts of its longevity as a practice and policy in urban planning.

Tunstall and Fenton (2006) and Kleinhans (2004) illuminate three key areas where understandings of social mix are confused — composition, concentration and scale. Composition concerns the population groups to whom

social mix refers. It implicitly refers to class or socioeconomic status through the specific metrics of income and tenure. Tenure mix has become the central method for achieving social mix in urban and neighbourhood renewal, most often implemented by locating wealthier residents in low-income areas. The mix of tenures is presumed to deliver a range of social goods including mixed, inclusive and sustainable communities (see Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016; Morris et al., 2012; Ziersch et al., 2017).

This is despite research that finds ambiguity in the results of social mix and a complete absence of correlation between tenure mix and social outcomes in multiple public housing redevelopments in the UK and Europe more generally (Arbaci, 2007; Graham et al., 2009). A prominent example is the HOPE VI program, which launched in the US in 1992 and sought to replace 'severely distressed' public housing projects with mixed-income developments (Lees, 2012; Popkin, 2004). The HOPE VI program signalled a new era in social mix practice in the US, yet critiques emerged that found a lack of social mobility through the plantation of middle-class populations alone, arguing that structural economic and social change was needed for any benefit to be realised by low-income people.

Concentration refers to the ratios of social mix that are implemented. It is explicitly concerned with deconcentrating poverty and notably never concerned with deconcentrating affluence. Morris et al. (2012) note that there is no one consensus as to the 'ideal' proportions of socioeconomic diversity for social mix. Research from the US by Galster (2013) finds that social mix is found to have the best outcomes in neighbourhoods where disadvantaged households comprise less than 20 percent of the population; a UK study by Kearns and Mason (2007) came to a similar conclusion. By locating different socioeconomic classes in closer proximity, proponents of social mix argue that this creates the conditions for meaningful social

interaction between classes — also known as social mixing. Shaw et al. (2013, p. 79) frame social mixing as 'encounters that are more meaningful than simply passing in corridors'. This kind of interaction is the mechanism by which employment opportunities and social capital can be purportedly enhanced (Groenhart, 2013).

Scale refers to the spatial boundaries for measurement of social mix. It is perhaps the most slippery in conceptualising social mix, in part due to the ambiguity around sites and methods of evaluating where mix is achieved. Arthurson (2010, p. 51) found that 'the understanding of spatial scale as a context for social interaction has not often been clearly specified or fully explored'. Given the basis of contemporary social mix policy in the neighbourhood effects thesis suggests that it is best measured at the neighbourhood scale. Indeed, the definition of social mix advanced by Galster and Friedrichs (2015) is 'a combination of diverse shares of social groups in a neighbourhood' and as 'a meso-level condition of urban space' (Galster and Friedrichs, 2015, p. 176). The neighbourhood scale is an appropriate level of analysis for social mix, given that it is the scale that most often represents people's sense of place or belonging, and is the scale at which many local services are provided and organised (Manley et al., 2013; Pawson et al., 2015; K. J. Ruming et al., 2004). When social mixing does occur — at least in terms of interactions between tenure types — this predominantly occurs at the neighbourhood level, not at smaller estate or building scales.

Given that social mix is a fuzzy term, few accurate historical international examples exist, but the Garden City Movement stands as a popular case example. This movement of planned communities surrounded by green belts emerged in the UK from 1898 and influenced generations of urban planners, commonly taught in university curricula. The movement advocated a limited social mix, with mixed communities at the neighbourhood (suburb) level and clusters of similar social groups at smaller city block scales — it was utopian with mixed tangible results.

Public housing projects built in the US during the 1950s and 1960s were equally utopian, such as the Pruitt-Igoe public housing complex in St Louis, Missouri. But these deteriorated spectacularly due to lack of government investment, economic recession and restructuring, and racialised discrimination. As a policy response to deconcentrating such perceived disadvantage, the HOPE VI program was developed in the US during the 1990s, amidst a wave of what is termed New Urbanism. The program dispersed public housing estate communities, demolished the buildings, and promoted home ownership at redeveloped estates. Policymakers around the world adopted this version of social mix, and it has become the template model from which most social mix-led developments advance.

The popular and official discourses underpinning social mix-led renewal is that geographical concentrations of poverty and disadvantage are social problems. As a result of rhetorical negative associations which hold that proximity to disadvantage compounds disadvantage, social mix policies purport to produce socioeconomic diversity within a particular area. This is known as the 'neighbourhood effects' thesis, where the phenomena of living in a poorer area compounds the effects of poverty and disadvantage (Galster 2013).

Internationally, the neighbourhood effects thesis has been repeatedly challenged (Manley et al., 2011; Tyler & Slater, 2018; Watt & Smets, 2017). Implicit to these critiques is concern at the moralising agenda of 'role modelling via propinquity … as a means of changing the behaviour of social housing residents' (Doney et al., 2013, p. 404) through a normalising process whereby attitudes, actions, values and beliefs of middle-class people transfer via proximity.

Despite this international evidence about the harms of social mix, the idea that social mix can be a policy fix for concentrations of disadvantage is widely adopted. Generally, social mix policy and practice in Australia resonates with international examples and can be placed within broader global trends of urban policy. Central to this approach is the appropriation and implementation of a range of practices that follow similar inherited understandings of neighbourhood effects. In the 2009 National Affordable Housing Agreement, an agreed aspiration was to create 'mixed communities that promote social and economic opportunities by reducing concentrations of disadvantage that exist in some social housing estates' (COAG 2007, p. 7; cited in Pawson & Pinnegar, 2018, p. 315). State level policy understandings follow in this directive.

Critically, the scale of 'neighbourhood' is seldom defined as a geographical space. Despite some policy claims that social mix will lead to vibrant, connected, mixed-tenure neighbourhoods, the lack of a defined space for analysis means that there is a current inability to definitively measure where outcomes are achieved. There is both a lack of spatial definition around the notion of neighbourhood and a lack of evidence that describes whom the neighbourhood envelops, and therefore how 'mix' is measured. An AHURI Policy Brief notes that the spatial scale for any consideration of social mix is the neighbourhood (4,000 – 8,000 people), not small-scale public housing developments or individual

apartment blocks (AHURI, 2020). Assuming that an objective of social mix is to bring about a positive neighbourhood effect whereby residents form new connections and relations across social groups, this must be understood in its effect on local sites and people (Capp et al. 2021).

That social housing residents and disadvantaged populations might benefit from social mix-led redevelopment programs has been the source of sustained critique because of the inevitable loss of community (Samara et al., 2013) and sense of place (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Connections that often sustain residents' wellbeing in place pre-development, are in turn displaced by attempts to accommodate higher concentrations of middle-income residents. Upon the reintegration of diverse populations, contemporary Australian research has shown that in the case of the Carlton Estate in Melbourne, principles of social mix — such as tenure blind design — were disposed of when commercial interests were considered (Arthurson et al., 2015). In the case of the Kensington redevelopment, the reduction in family sized units meant that there were fewer children on site after redevelopment, which resulted in decreased social encounters, given that children are often the catalyst for interaction (Shaw et al., 2013).

As it stands, research into social mix is vast, but is yet to produce any compelling evidence that would support its policy popularity. AHURI (2020) acknowledge this, stating:

> Despite a vast literature compiled over many years—much of it from the US, UK and Europe—findings are inconclusive on a number of important dimensions relating to improving outcomes for disadvantaged households through social mix.

Many of the mechanisms through which social mix is hypothesised to create benefits for disadvantaged populations are either unsupported by rigorous research or their causality remains ambiguous. This is in large part due to a lack of longitudinal evidence that focusses on the lived experience of social tenants, and evidence of developer understandings of social mix implementation, theory and practice.

There is also no evidence supporting an optimal social mix ratio of housing tenures. Yet a policy consensus has formed around the ratio of 70% private to 30% social housing. Reasons given for this ratio are largely undefined in policy documentation, however Kelly and Porter (2019) suggest that this is a commercially derived ratio. There is growing evidence this ratio is the amount of social housing deemed acceptable to a private developer. The redevelopment of Melbourne's Kensington estate implemented a ratio of 71% private housing to 29% public housing. An evaluation study found that ratio "maximises the profit to private sector" rather than being based on any social metrics. It was recommended "the approach [commercially derived ratio] should not be taken again" (Shaw et al., 2013).

Deliberative developments

Self-organised housing developments have a range of material forms, tenure relationships, financial structures and legalities (Crabtree, 2018). They are frequently applied internationally but have less prevalence in the Australian setting. This type of housing is predominantly designed, built and governed by residents, and come under various names such as group-build (Hamiduddin & Gallent, 2016), community-led housing (Jarvis, 2015) self-build (Bossuyt et al., 2018) and community self-organised housing (Brouwer & Bektas, 2014). In informal settings of the global South were government support or sanction is absent, resident-driven housing has been termed self-managed housing and self-help housing (Bredenoord & van Lindert, 2010). In the global North, such housing arrangements that are inherently political or based in social movements have been terms squats (Karaliotas & Kapsali, 2021) autonomous housing (Vasudevan, 2015) or community managed housing (Ward, 1996). Generally speaking, these various forms of housing do not have a profit motive. They are built with community in mind and are utilitarian in their intent to house rather than speculate.

In Australia, these collaborative housing models are commonly referred to as co-housing, at its base level, a community-focussed living arrangement that includes private domiciles and shared communal spaces. Co-housing has been implemented at different scales, with multi-unit developments being the most common. These mostly incorporate a sensitivity to economic, social and environmental equity and are traditionally non-profit. Notable examples include Christie Walk, a small community of homes and gardens on 2,000 sqm located in Adelaide. The development combines many ecologically sustainable and community enhancing features and was initiated by Urban Ecology Australia in 1999 as a demonstration project, to promote nature and people friendly urban development. The project consists of 27 dwellings which include four three-storey townhouses, a three-storey block of six apartments, four individual cottages, and a five-storey apartment block. Around 40 people live at Christie Walk, with an age of very young to people in the 80s. The development was financed by a combination of debt and personal capital.

According to Cohousing Australia there four underlying elements to cohousing communities:

1. Communities are co-designed and led by grassroots community groups or collectives of individuals that are likely to be the end users of the final product. Community groups are commonly involved in the design, build and social order of the development.

2. Communities are balanced in terms of the communal and personal property, spaces and provisions. Smaller private dwellings with a number of shared common spaces for cooking, laundry and recreation.

3. Collective resident control in legal, financial and decision-making processes is embedded into the design. Maintenance of common buildings, spaces and community spirit is governed by non-hierarchal structures based upon a consensus politics.

4. Communities have open memberships and support neighbourhood and wider community activities and programs.

Cohousing Australia recommend that the optimal community size for the ongoing maintenance of social resilience and governance is in the range of 25-35 households. In cohousing developments, affordability is increased due to the sharing or resources, collective buying power and smaller energy efficient homes that cost less to run. Communities are also likely to be more sustainable and ecologically friendly because of communal laundries, shared vehicles and tools, passively designed homes with better water efficiency and promotion of public transport and walking.

Due to the design of communities, shared spaces and close living quarters promote social interaction and cooperation. Eating, organising, working and socialising are more likely to be done together and shared gardens/spaces have the potential to invite neighbours into the space which promotes neighbourhood cohesion.

In the development of cohousing projects, existing barriers within the planning framework include existing zoning regimes that reinforce mono-culture land use and development density that are prohibitive of cohousing typologies. Sites within already-existing residential areas typically too small and insufficiently consolidated to support cohousing development. Orthodox residential lot sizes are appropriate for 4-6 unit developments that can be accessed by shared driveway, this style of redevelopment and densification is normative. Often, urban infill projects that depend upon the rezoning of land for residential or mixed use are consolidated, thereby attracting developers that seek to over-develop with 50+ units in order to maximise commercial return. Primary planning concerns that limit the capacity and expansion of cohousing developments include rigid planning scheme requirements that mandate minimum carpark provision that exceed optimal levels. In projects where sustainability and ecological sympathy is a central focus, the opportunities for car sharing and a preference for active transport are significantly reduced by the current planning scheme.

Social housing and inclusionary zoning

Since the late 1990s, Australian housing policy has shifted away from the government provision of low-income social housing infrastructure and sought instead to develop the capacity of private sector to deliver and manage social housing. From this policy shift came the emergence of mixed-tenure residential developments, that included both social and private dwellings. The primary objective has been to establish commercial frameworks that would enable the cross-subsidisation of low-income housing supply and the concurrent renewal of public housing stock.

It is in recent years that mixed-tenure projects have begun to emerge without government involvement in the ownership or management of social dwellings in private residential developments. Despite mixed-tenure development being a part of the housing policy ecology for some decades, private-led projects have not seen the same level of uptake, in large part due to a perception of commercial unviability and social stigma of social tenures. With few mixed-tenure developments having been completed and many still in planning or construction stages, there are few citable case studies to derive empirical insights from.

Inclusionary zoning offers is one remedy to the lack of private sector provision of affordable housing and increased supply of social housing. In a submission to the Inquiry into homelessness in Australian, the Constellation Project define inclusionary zoning occurs as:

> *when a specified affordable housing contribution is required from a private developer as a condition for development consent on a market, housing (or other) project… In delivering on MIZ obligations, a developer may include affordable housing units within their project or elsewhere. Otherwise, an equivalent levy may be paid*

towards such housing, with the funds being passed as grant aid to an affordable housing provider (probably a not-for-profit Community Housing Provider).

In Australia, there is a cross-sector consensus among housing, homelessness, social services and academic workers that inclusionary zoning should be mandated by State Governments. According to AHURI (2017) there are examples of inclusionary zoning in South Australia, New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory. In South Australia for example, the Housing Plan 2005 of the Government of South Australia introduced a mandate instructing that 15% of all dwellings in new developments be designated as affordable, 5% of which needed to cater to high-needs groups.

At the local government level, the City of Sydney introduced an inclusionary zoning mandate to provide affordable housing in the borough of Ultimo/Pyrmont, located near the University of Sydney. The mandate dictated the supply of affordable housing or the payment of a development levy that would exclude them from the mandate. In the ACT, the Affordable Housing Action Plan 2007 stipulated a requirement to include 20% affordable dwellings in all new housing estates.

Internationally, inclusionary zoning has been implemented in major global cities with deep and protracted housing crises. London introduced a planned target of 50% affordable housing for all new constructions with 15 or more residential units. In New York, new constructions and renovations that dwellings by more than 50% of existing floor area, and are located within designated Inclusionary Housing areas, are required to allocate a minimum 20% of their residential floor area to affordable housing. This is an incentive approach whereby developers can receive a bonus of 33% increase in floor space beyond the planning limits. In 1992, San Francisco introduced an inclusionary zoning mandate without incentive, producing 4,600 units since 2002.

Inclusionary zoning is a standard part of housing policy internationally. As Shaw (2022) states:

It ordinarily involves property developers in a defined area selling a percentage of new dwellings at cost to the local city or non-profit housing association, or providing cash-in-lieu for social housing construction elsewhere. The per centage usually ranges from 5 to 20, with Copenhagen recently negotiating 25 per cent on a large waterfront development site. In contexts where property prices are rising rapidly, this kind of corporate contribution is unremarkable.

Yet in the local context of Victoria, there is no currently inclusionary zoning framework in place. One recent attempt to introduce a similar if not limited policy, was a development levy also referred to as the social housing or property tax, which would introduce a 1.75% imposed contribution by developers on new multi-dwelling constructions. It was anticipated that the levy would raise over $800m annually and facilitate the supply of 17,000 social homes and phase out council rates for social housing. The development levy was abandoned in 2022 after a public campaign by the Urban Development Institute of Australia, Housing Industry Association and the Property Council to scrap the mandatory contribution.

At the time of writing this report, there remains no clear policy or mandated/incentivised private developer contribution to the social housing stock in Victoria. The provision of social and affordable housing in Victoria is therefore limited to state-led or financed (in only partly) supply, with no significant and meaningful supply initiative led by the private sector. Nightingale Housing developments offer the first attempt to include social housing in private sector housing developments, although this is still in part funded by public subsidy in the purchase of those social dwellings.

Nightingale housing model

Nightingale Housing is a not-for-profit housing developer and company that facilitates resident-led housing outcomes. The company includes a consortium led by Breathe Architecture that builds market apartment dwellings at well-located inner-city infill sites as they transition from light industrial use.

The design of buildings and complexes is based upon a triple-bottom line approach, centring on economic, environmental and social sustainability principles. There is no retention of the developer margin, as these are repatriated to buyers and to cross-subsidise the provision of lower-priced apartments within developments.

The design of Nightingale projects are low-cost, free of fossil fuel use and have a minimum 7.5 star NatHERS thermal rating. Due to high consumer demand, a balloting process is utilised to sell apartments, with each development completely pre-selling all units prior to construction. About 20% of all developments include a priority ballot that allows key and essential workers, demographic groups at risk of homelessness (such as single women over 55), people with disability and their carers, and First Nations people to secure units outside of the general ballot.

Purchasers are included in regular resident forums whilst the project is in the design and construction phases, essentially forming communities prior to the move in date. In the housing literature, Nightingale is regarded as a 'niche development' that is unsupported by government, meaning that developments are not insulated from open markets (Doyon & Moore, 2019)), or operating in a system that accommodates its survival in order to bring about paradigmatic change. Its growth and development as a model is indicative of a broad market demand for environmental and socially sustainable housing communities that are well designed and located.

Nightingale Village

The Nightingale Village, located at Duckett Street in Brunswick, is Nightingale's largest residential development to date and will be first carbon neutral residential precinct in Australia. It includes six residential apartment buildings (see Table 1), each designed by a separate architect using the same social, environmental and financial sustainability principles of the Nightingale model.

One building, Urban Coup, is only available to members of the Urban Coup community, a housing co-operative group with multiple developments in Melbourne's metropolitan region.

At the time of balloting, the five open-ballot buildings in the precinct were planned to accommodate approximately 60% market dwellings, 20% priority applicants and 20% social housing tenants. In each Nightingale project, up to 20% of homes are allocated to a priority ballot system for Key Community Contributors. The priority ballot is open to all persons over the age of 18 who meet the priority criteria, however units are not subsidised.

This is the first private residential precinct in Australia to include social housing tenancies within the residential mix, when the government has not been a partner. The configuration of the tenure mix resembles what an inclusionary zoning development might look and operate like. The tenure mix ratio for the Nightingale Village precinct is approximately 15:85 [14.7%], with 30 social housing

Table 1. Nightingale Village building configuration and stakeholders

Building / Project	Site Address	Dwellings (n=203)	Architect	Builder	Project Manager
Urban Coup	24-26 Hope Street, Brunswick	30	Architecture Architecture and Breathe Architecture	Hacer Group	Fontic
Nightingale Evergreen	12 Duckett Street, Brunswick	27	Clare Cousins Architects	Hacer Group	Fontic
Nightingale Leftfield	9 Duckett Street, Brunswick	28	Kennedy Nolan	Hacer Group	Fontic
Nightingale ParkLife	8-10 Duckett Street, Brunswick	37	Austin May-nard Architects	Hacer Group	Fontic
Nightingale CRT+YRD	5-7 Duckett Street, Brunswick	39	Hayball	Hacer Group	Fontic
Nightingale Skye House	1-3 Duckett Street, Brunswick	42	Breathe Architecture	Hacer Group	Fontic

dwellings among 203 total dwellings. Excluding the Urban Coup building that was not open to ballot or market purchase, the tenure mix was 17:83 [17.3%]. It is unknown how many units were purchased via the priority ballot system.

Social housing units are owned and managed by two community housing providers, Housing Choices Australia (HCA) and Womens Property Initiative (WPI). HCA will manage 21 properties and WPI will own and manage nine (9) properties in total. Matrix Guild helped to finance four (4) properties managed by WPI, and therefore have nomination rights (right to allocate their own members) to those dwellings.

Pepper-potted and tenure blind approaches have been implemented in the design and purchase of social housing dwellings in the precinct.

Research project

Social mix, by including social or low-income housing tenures in market developments, is a widely used mechanism for improving housing affordability and access to social housing. Yet there is little evidence about its benefits despite growing interest in policy interventions such as inclusionary zoning. This research project delivers baseline qualitative evidence of a social mix intervention, utilising practitioner and resident perspectives about what works in mixed tenure housing developments, using Nightingale Village as a case study. The project documents and examines the management and delivery of the social mix approach at Nightingale Village, evaluating the likely population diversity outcomes, and documents the perspectives of prospective residents.

The findings will provide an evidence base about the application of social mix principles in a purposeful development, and overtime, measure to what extent social mix contributes to more diverse and equitable housing outcomes. These findings provide lessons to government, industry, and communities to inform future projects.

To date, there are no research studies that exist which specifically examine the voluntary application of social mix approaches in private residential developments. This research, in part, addresses this gap in the research and add critical insights to the development of inclusionary tenure response by government and industry. The motivation for the research is to understand what considerations have been made by the development team in the design and implementation of social mix approaches; and how private tenants anticipate their likely relationships and encounters with social housing tenants. Over time these perspectives will allow for a more in-depth examination of how these considerations and perspectives may have positively or negatively impacted upon the housing outcomes for social housing tenants in the development. Such findings may prove important to the future application of social mix approaches and policies.

Methodology

This research sought interviews with two participant groups, 1) stakeholders involved in the design and development of the Village, as well as community housing organisations who will allocated and manage social tenancies; 2) private residents who will be owner occupiers in any of the six buildings in the Village.

Representatives from the following organisations were invited to participate via email: Fontic, Nightingale, Architecture Architecture, Clare Cousins Architects, Kennedy Nolan, Austin Maynard Architects, Hayball, Breathe Architecture, Moreland City Council, Housing Choices Australia, Women's Property Initiative and Matrix Housing.

Nightingale Housing facilitated the opportunity for Dr Kelly to present the project plan to private residents at a Resident Forum update event in 2021, and distributed the project plan and invitation to participate via email to private residents. No social housing residents were available to participate in this research, as the selection process for prospective tenants had not commenced.

All interviewees were provided with a Participant Information Sheet prior to giving informed consent. RMIT's Human Research Ethics clearance was granted on 27/04/2021, reference: 2021-24247-14196. Interviews were semi-structured and lasted approximately 40 minutes, they were audio recorded, transcribed and a copy returned to all participants. A copy of the interview schedules are attached as an Appendix.

We interviewed three (3) participants from the Nightingale development project team, eight (8) private residents, six (6) Housing Chousince Australia staff, two (2) Women's Property Initiative staff and one (1) Matrix Guild staff member.

Findings

Summary

Overall findings:

- Any application of social mix in private-led intentional housing developments is going to be highly contextualised and particular. There is no 'one model' that can serve as a standardised template.
- If the inclusion of social tenures in private-led development is going to become a common feature of social housing supply, then each development must be understood in its specific context and the needs of the cohort should be understood to a far greater degree
- Nightingale Village will not accommodate social tenants on the priority allocation list of the Victoria Housing Register, therefore this development may not be the best example of inclusionary development when considering the broader housing crisis
- Nightingale Village provides a good example of private-led development inclusive of affordable housing tenants eligible for the Victorian Housing Register, although the market cost of units is not affordable
- Social tenants will constitute a grafted-on community with no social ties to the private community that formed during design and construction phases

Development project team findings:

- Building and site designed with interaction in mind, encounter zones around the village and common facilities within buildings
- No knowledge, or very limited knowledge, of social mix applications in other developments, national and international, and no knowledge of research or evaluation of social mix implementation or outcomes
- Created residents' forum that did not include community housing staff or prospective social tenants
- Very little engagement and collaboration between the development team and community housing staff

Community housing findings:

- Limited staff knowledge about the development and Nightingale model
- No allocation procedure in place, although selection will be likely be highly scrutinised
- Units purchased based on cost, therefore tenure blind approach is compromised
- No tailored application of place or tenant management, with a reliance upon the Residential Tenancies Act to mediate relations between tenant and landlord
- A lot of experience with mixed-tenure development, but poor understanding of ideal mix scenarios
- Tenants not considered to be most in need, and will likely be in affordable categories of housing portfolio paying 75% of market rent

Private resident findings:

- Mixed awareness of inclusion of social housing tenants in the village. About 50% of interviewed residents were conscious of the inclusion of social housing, with some residents believing that they were the social housing tenant
- Communities already formed, at both building level and village level
- General tolerance/embrace toward social diversity, some apprehension about living with lower-income tenants
- Each private resident will be a member of the body corporate although social tenants will not

Given these findings, there are some key considerations that should be made as the development matures, and in future mixed-tenure developments led by the private or public sector:

- Totally tenure blind practices are not possible if the cost of units determines the availability of stock that may be purchased. However, tenure blind is only required if the private resident cohort, or any other entity with an interest in the development, is hostile or discriminatory to social housing residents.
- There is no place management plan in place to ensure that social housing residents do not feel like second class residents. Building level conflict resolution procedures that exist, as well as community rules or codes of conduct, should be made in consultation with social housing residents.

- Turnover rates may be different between tenures, given reliance on the Residential Tenancies Act that does not offer robust safeguards against eviction and a lack of defined selection procedure. If the churn rate for social housing residents is higher than private residents, this may lead to lack of investment in community by social tenants.

- There is likely to be significant difference in social experiences, economic status and political sensibilities between tenure types — there may be potential for conflict if these are not considered in the selection of social tenants.

- Given the utopian intent of the Village, private residents may not tolerate behaviour associated with mental health challenges, experiences of poverty and substance abuse.

- Social housing providers should be consulted and included in development project teams to a higher degree.

Development Project Team

According to project staff at Nightingale and Breathe Architecture, the most attractive aspects of Nightingale Village for future private residents were community, sustainability and build quality. These factors combine to produce scenarios for tenure longevity, where owner occupiers are more likely to be long term given the reduced cost of energy and transport, but also in the creation and curation of communities that share common values in the environmental and social aspects of dwelling.

The model operates on a triple bottom line ethos to promote social interaction, produce modest but positive economic margins, and encourage environmental awareness via access to public transport, exclusion of private cars and provision of well-equipped bicycle infrastructure. Shared facilities such as laundries on the roof level, as well as many open incidental interaction zones on each floor landing, provides for spaces for:

> *community living in a building where you know your neighbours, where you have a built-in support network of neighbours and forming a community, that's probably what people find the most appealing. (Toby)*

The triple bottom line approach extends beyond buildings to the precinct level, where the street that dissects the village has been pedestrianised, and the provision of retail spaces on the ground floor has enabled residents the option to purchase spaces for purpose orientated business to occupy, provided they meet community and sustainability standards.

Whilst sustainability is a central feature of the marketing appeal, the model is not strictly not-for-profit, but rather profit-for-purpose where gains made in more expensive unit options are reallocated to cross-subsidise cheaper affordable (not social) private studios. The redistribution of developer gains is also a critical part of the market appeal (discussed in resident perspectives), and so the project is transparent about the fact that dwellings and retail spaces are sold at market rate, or above market, to residents that value making contributions to the provision of affordable housing, and for greater community control over site configuration and commercial tenants. Combined with environmental sustainability, carbon neutral construction and sensitivity to community-orientated design, the market appeal of nightingale village is such that demand consistently outstrips supply, at a proportion that far exceeds the mainstream apartment/unit owner-occupier market.

Both building and site design are informed by interactionist principles that encourage and enforce encounters with other residents within buildings, other village residents in-between buildings, and with the wider community via open space, transport infrastructure and commercial spaces in and around the site. The sustainability imperative and space saving measures means that there are no laundry facilities within each individual unit, except for some specialist disability apartments. Buildings therefore have common laundry facilities on shared rooftop terrace levels, with north facing balconies for drying and a washing room.

There are also shared dining rooms on the roof level where residents can host events or share a meal with each other, as well as tailored spaces in different buildings, such as a spa bath, music room and a larger ground floor lobby for hosting get-togethers. Connecting the buildings is a site-wide basement level where share cars are parked and a large bicycle lock-up and path that dissects the village. All six buildings face onto a street that has been pedestrianised and there is an enclosed dog park, playground and open green space adjacent to the north side of the site.

The spatial design has been developed with social interactions in mind and relations that are community-centric. Residents of one building, Urban Coup, had more control over the spatial and social design of their building. Their building is more akin to a co-op style co-living arrangement, where residents are part of wider network of Urban Coup communities that are already predetermined prior to the design of the building. The Urban Coup

Table 2. Cheapest available apartments, Nightingale Village

Building	Bedrooms	Orientation	Internal m2	Ballot Price (2019)
Skye House	Studio	South	28.3	$215,000
	1	South	52.51	$440,000
	2	South	65.4	$580,000
CRT+YRD	Studio	South	30.6	$292,500
	1	North	60.6	$512,500
	2	South	68.7	$606,000
Evergreen	Studio	South	35.3	$310,000
	1	South	50.8	$455,000
	2	South	78.6	$655,000
ParkLife	Studio	North	38	$325,500
	1	South West	51	$422,500
	2	South East	80	$ 689,000
Leftfield	Studio	South	34	$308,000
	1	South	55	$466,000
	2	South	65	$559,000

community have near autonomy in designing spatial aspects of their community and full autonomy in selecting/allocating residents. The remaining five buildings do not specifically cater to particular social cohorts or demographic groups, but implicitly attract community-minded ecologically-focussed professionals. Spaces are designed to cater to this broad cohort, but the demographic characteristics of potential residents does not impact upon the spatial configuration of the site. Broad inclusivity, however, is strived for through providing options and spaces that are suitable for families with children, people with disability, single people and low-income households.

The built form of the village has been carefully considered to foster the greatest amount of positive social interaction, informed by first-hand experiences and understandings in previous Nightingale developments. As such, the spatial aspects of the village are elevated above deeper understandings about the lived experiences of future tenants. There is less attention given to the unique social characteristics and circumstances of social housing residents in particular.

Generic understandings of social mix were evident in the project team narratives about the village and its future occupants. Overall, social mix was considered to be 'about diversity' of tenants, particularly in terms of gender, race and economic circumstances. The only stringent eligibility factor determining the characteristics of private residents, is the ability to meet the ballot price for a particular apartment (see Table 2).

Project team members acknowledged that 'economically, [units] have not been diverse and that social mix is provided through offering the 20% social housing mix'. The social mix of the private resident profile is considered after the purchase of apartments, as another project team member stated:

> *we try and gather as much information as we can about people when they come into our building so that we can have a good knowledge of what the social mix is, because we don't design it, we don't pick people.*

The balloting procedure for the Nightingale model is somewhat unique for private developments in Australia. Once eligibility (primarily finance approval) criteria is met, potential buyers are pooled and a random balloting process selects buyers. Up to 10% of units are automatically put aside for project team members to purchase. Then an initial priority ballot is conducted whereby people or households identified as being at risk of homelessness are selected for up to 20% of units in the development. This includes buyers that satisfy the criteria of a means test and that can be identified as key workers, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, people with disability and/or carers, single women aged 55 and over, and existing Nightingale residents who live in other developments and wish to relocate. Including a 20% social housing component, this means that up to 50% of the units in the development are not fully available to the open housing market for potential owner-occupiers.

Despite an evident social mix at the Nightingale Village site,

no specific exemplar or negative case studies of social mix-led developments were cited by the project team, except for a general positive reference to Scandinavian co-housing models. There were strong negative perceptions of homogenous communities, particularly communities 'relying on subsidies or assistance' or communities that were assembled without any specific consideration of the demographic or housing need. Sentiments about concentrations of low-income households were negative and echoed a strong public and political discourse against public housing communities.

These sentiments were accompanied by a preference for 'salt and pepper' communities that integrated low-income or social tenures withing private developments via a tenure blind approach. Tenure blind is the design philosophy that other residents, neighbours and visitors to a housing context are unable to ascertain the tenure arrangement of any singular dwelling by the visual aspect of individual units. A tenure blind approach was discussed in specific reference to private developments inclusive of social housing tenures, rather than precincts entirely composed of social housing tenures. The supremacy of tenure blind is not supported by critical housing literature, and indeed, tenure blind approaches are rarely achievable. In the case of Nightingale Village, the cheapest dwellings were selected by social housing providers, and as a consequence of the geographical aspect and the value people place on those aspects, all of these dwellings are located on the southern aspect of buildings. This means that whilst social housing units are distributed across 5 of the 6 buildings, and across multiple floors in the buildings, they are all concentrated on one aspect and therefore not strictly tenure blind.

The configuration of the development in terms of tenure mix and priority balloting for key demographics is comparative to tenure inclusive and mix housing contexts that result from inclusionary zoning policies, ordinances and planning requirements. In the Australia context, inclusionary zoning is understood as a planning instrument that mandates or incentivises private developers to include affordable and/or government-supported housing tenures within new developments. There has been a protracted housing and homelessness sector advocacy around the implementation of a mandatory inclusionary zoning policy in order to provide more affordable housing, however there has been no specific policy development undertaken.

Despite there being no mandated mechanism to compel private developers to include non-market housing tenures, Nightingale Village is one example of how inclusionary zoning might result in mixed developments. For the project team, inclusionary zoning represents a 'good social mix' approach and there is strong support for government policy to incentivise inclusive developments. One major difference in the model examined here is the not-for-profit nature of the development, as one project team member explains:

> *we are not-for-profit, we're driven by different things. Our mission is not about making a ton of money. So, we have the ability to include social housing, we have different goal posts, so yes, we can work our best to try and prove to the industry that inclusionary zoning is something that should come from the top down. I think the future is not carving off people and putting them at the fringes of the cities or putting them in towers and just saying 'good luck'. It's about evenly distributing people throughout all of our communities.*

In large part, the ability to produce an inclusive development is aided by a building scale cross-subsidisation process, whereby more expensive units that are available to wealthier cohorts have a commercial markup so that units available to lower-income households are marginally subsidised at or below cost.

The choice of social housing apartments for purchase by Housing Choices Australia and Women's Property Initiative was limited by financial constraints. Apartments differ in price according to access to natural sunlight, number of bedrooms, and size of living areas. Units that were closer to the ground floor and on the southern aspect of the site were generally cheaper than units with similar bedroom configuration and square meterage.

A distributed mix of apartments was sought by HCA and WPI, so that social housing units were not concentrated on any particular floor or in any one building. The amount of units purchased for social housing was also determined by

cost, with a total of nine (9) units purchase by WPI and 21 HCA properties.

The eventual split is 80% private residential and 20% social housing. This mix was referred to as a 'good mix'. The conditions that determined that mix were financial, with project partners seeking to maximise the number social housing dwellings without charging too much premium for the more expensive dwellings:

> *if that cross subsidisation from the remaining 50% of the building gets too extreme, that all of a sudden it's a very, very different thing. It's now catering to the wealthy people who can afford whatever to come in and cross subsidized an entire building that is social and affordable housing. So I think there's a good balance between 80:20 for us at the moment.*

Community Housing Providers

Community housing providers have a total of 30 dwellings at Nightingale Village. Housing Choices Australia (HCA) will own and manage 21 properties, and Women's Property Initiative (WPI) will own and manage nine (9) properties in total. A total of nine (9) employees of HCA and WPI (including one employee of Matrix Housing Guild) were interviewed. All interviewees will have direct involvement in coordinating HCA and WPI interests at Nightingale Village, including the financing, allocation and management of tenancies and properties, as well as community development.

All interviews were conducted from September 2021 to March 2022, whilst Nightingale Village was still under construction, and before any tenants had been shortlisted or selected for residency. Fourteen (14) primary questions were asked during the interviews. These questions structure the summary analysis reported in this document. An Interview Guide is attached to this document as an Appendix.

Interviews found that there was very limited staff knowledge about the Nightingale Village development and the Nightingale model in general. All interviewees indicated that they had limited or no involvement with the Nightingale Village project to date but were aware that a number of assets had been purchased and were planning to allocate and manage tenancies in the near future. It was frequently stated that both CHPs were waiting for the project to be delivered, and until the properties were ready, there was no working relationship between the Nightingale Village project team and CHP employees that would be responsible for allocating and managing tenancies. Further, no tenants had been selected at the time of interview.

Overall, there was an apparent lack of knowledge about the Nightingale Village development, the purchase of dwellings within the development, and the demographic profile of the private tenants. Staff responsible for allocation and tenancy management had no input into the selection of dwellings for purchase, with cost being the determining factor. Of HCA's 21 properties, 16 were reserved for General Tenancies run by Housing Services Victoria and the remaining five (5) are to be managed as disability housing by the Specialist Housing Group. WPI acquired nine (9) properties in total, four (4) of which have been reserved for Matrix Guild (MG) consumers, who are generally older (55+) lesbian women. WPI had a total of five (5) one-bedroom units and four (4) two-bedroom units, with a minimum floor space of 50sqm and 65sqm respectively. HCA will also have a mix one- and two-bedroom units, although the configuration of the stock was unknown the HCA team members interviewed.

All community housing tenants will be eligible for and registered on the Victorian Housing Register at the time of allocation. The selection of consumers in the WPI tenant cohort is admittedly very selective:

> *the principles of the Nightingale Village means that we are able to be a bit more selective on the clientele we're putting in there, and the fact that we've partnered with Matrix Guild for five of them now… they're also being super selective with who they put forward to us as well.*

Matrix Guild have their own internal process for selecting tenants where they draw on their own internal register of interest, and aim to select tenants who live in high cost private rental, but are on the Priority Access portion of the Victorian Housing Register — homeless and receiving support, escaping or have escaped family violence, living with disability or significant support needs, and/or with special housing needs. It was indicated that it is likely that three (3) of the four (4) selected tenants will be classified as priority access. Other factors determining selection criteria include having existing supports in the Brunswick area, background in volunteer/community work, and experiencing housing need.

There is no tailored selection criteria for social tenants in terms of their alignment with environmental or social sustainability, key tenants of the Nightingale model. The main selection criteria for tenants was their ability to pay rent. Factors in considering suitability of tenants to be matched with dwellings are their ability to register on the VHR, to meet 75% of market rent; disability, family composition and culture in fitting with the typology of apartment; low

mental health challenge; no car; and non-smoker. Rent may be higher than in other HCA and WPI properties, and very likely to be higher than similarly configured public housing dwellings in the region. Given this, it is unlikely that there would be a significant number of tenants who would qualify for the priority access list of the Victorian Housing Register i.e. those in greatest housing need. Having a majority cohort of tenants on statutory income (e.g. Newstart or Disability Support Pension) was viewed as antithetical to social mix principles, as one HCA staff member stated:

> *We will have elderly people, singles, couples and people that are working. I think it's really a mix. It's not saying, right, we're gonna put in all over 55s or we're gonna put in all workers. It's really important to get a mix of people in. You're not gonna want everybody that's on statutory payments and in a priority category. You want people that you know are working and maybe some studying or volunteering. They're the buildings that succeed when we've got a real mix of people in there.*

Although not directly involved in unit selection, HCA and WPI had a preference for a 'salt and pepper' approach to unit selection, a directive to the development team that would theoretically result in a spread of community housing dwellings across the Village, with 30 dwellings spread among five (5) of the six (6) buildings available. Although units were indeed spread across buildings and floors within buildings, due to cost limitations, all units were located on the southern aspect of the buildings, thus constituting a vertical concentration of community housing on south aspects of each building.

For housing industry workers, ensuring that tenures are visually indistinguishable is central to social mix approaches. Weaving tenancies among other private tenures whilst maintaining identical dwelling frontage (front doors) is viewed as a successful tenure blind design methodology:

> *It's a way to address this stigmatization of being in social or community housing. Having it identifiable as you live there, then people can judge you for that, and perhaps layering assumptions about who you are as a person from where you live. Some of those stereotypes, they're not valid, but they exist. So being able to step away from that for social housing tenants. But then it also has benefits for the other side, because people seem to understand each other more when they can see and know people. They might be a private resident or a social housing resident, and they get to know each other and they're like, 'Oh yeah, you know, we're really good friends. We get along, we're good neighbours.' It's about making it more personal and then being able to understand and have empathy for people who might be of that same background. Or in this case tenure type, but I think it's. It has the ability to create better linked communities without creating silos.*

According to interviewees, having blind tenures facilitates opportunities to get to know neighbours before it is understood what type of tenure arrangement a social housing resident might have. Overcoming a perceived stigma related to social housing is said to be achieved by having no explicit external indicators, however given that there is a concentration present here, tenure blind can only be partially achieved.

The Social Housing Growth Fund provided capital for a majority share of the WPI and HCA purchased dwellings. MG contributed some funding to purchasing four (4) dwellings, however were not involved in the selection of dwellings:

> *We had no choice. I would have chosen north facing. WPI purchased them and we contributed some money because the government won't fund the full cost of social housing. The government funded about 70-80% of it and then housing providers found the difference. Matrix provided the additional money from bequests.*

There was limited understanding of the communal building facilities (such as laundries, gardens etc.), which were regarded as a strength that have helped to foster civic community-minded communities in other mixed-tenure developments. CHP staff had significant experience working with social housing tenants in mixed-tenure developments. Although there was limited involved with Nightingale Village, there is substantial professional experience working with community housing residents in mixed-tenure developments and apartment complexes:

> *We already have a number of buildings that have tenure mix, which might have two or three apartments, or even one apartment in a private building or complex. We're actually quite experienced with that model, so it's not particularly daunting. In fact it works well, especially if the other owners or tenants are not aware that it's social housing. It can actually be really positive for our tenants to be an environment that's not just social housing, and it makes them feel normal.*

CHP workers shared many understanding about social mix. Tenure blind design principles were seen as integral to social mix implementation, as well as the inclusion of social tenants who were not reliant on statutory incomes, were of diverse age and family composition, and in close proximity

to private tenants who role modelled particular behaviours held by sector workers as admirable:

> *There's people out there who are just incredibly judgmental. If there's a whole building with a concentration of people from social socially deprived backgrounds, of course there's more likely to be some issues in relation to that. We house women with children and those children aren't faced with lot of disadvantages around them. That's what you get if you have a building of [concentrated disadvantage], no matter how hard you know some of those people will be trying, they're still surrounded by disadvantage. If they're in a social mix, whether that be in an apartment building or housing estate, they can see other opportunities and how that person down the street has very good job, and it's hope.*

Good social mix approaches were viewed as being those where disadvantage social housing tenants could aspire to attain parity with their privately housed neighbours. Bad social mix approaches often invoked reference to the recent post-COVID homelessness policy, From Homelessness to a Home (H2H), which aimed to provide 750 homeless households with 18-month tenancies and case support. It was recently revealed in the State Government budget, that the H2H program will not be funded to the initial committed amount, resulting in less households being admitted to the program, case support cut short and exit points into more stable accommodation extinguished. Some in the community housing sector believe that the program has not worked well:

> *The state government has funded the H2H program and put a lot of people in high-end apartment buildings in the city, and it's not working very well. I think it's not working very well because the support isn't necessarily there that people need to make it work.*

Social mix works well when support meets need. Social tenants at Nightingale Village will be supported by traditional light touch approaches used by CHPs and are unlikely to be high needs clients. Given that the support infrastructure for alcohol and other drug issues, chronic poverty, and other issues common to complex households are minimal in the Victorian context, there is a preference for tenants that require less support. Tenants are more likely to be higher income and less dependent on social support than a public housing tenants, or a tenant in the H2H program. For this reason, the social mix at Nightingale Village will include higher income social housing tenants and higher income private residents. It is unlikely that conflict between tenure groups will arise as a result of tenure typology, given that the social housing cohort is generally more advantaged compared to other social housing cohorts.

The community housing sector has immense experience in delivering and managing social housing tenancies in mixed-tenure developments. Yet, there is a poor understanding of ideal mix scenarios and a reliance on policy-driven insights unsupported by the academic literature. One universal insight informed by professional experience highlighted that social mix scenarios are dependent upon the support needs of clients being met. Clients who have less need for support and access to social services are more likely to adapt well in social mix settings. For this reason, there is also no tailored application of place or tenant management, and a reliance on Residential Tenancies Act to mediate any potential conflict or social incompatibility.

Although private residents have been in contact with each other and meeting regularly for the life of the project, CHP workers were unaware of a Nightingale-organised residents forum, various resident social media groups and social meet-ups. Private residents were encouraged to familiarise themselves with each other and actively organised their community during the design and construction phases. Social housing tenants will only be introduced to the Nightingale Village community upon project completion and there is therefore a risk that they will be a distinguishable cohort grafted onto a private housing community.

Private residents

Private residents had a similar motivation for purchasing units in the Nightingale Village development. All residents exhibited a strong commitment to environmental sustainability and community enabling design. Most residents had a history of living in dense apartment style

contexts, and lamented the inability to connect with neighbours with shared values. One resident stated for example:

> *One thing I hated about living in an apartment in Brunswick was the lack of community, people looked at you like you had two heads if you asked a question. We [currently] speak to our neighbours all the time over the fence, and so I really did not want to move to somewhere that didn't have community as a big aspect. But it was also environmental sustainability. Like I love the idea that you're nice and close to work, so I can ride to work, and you don't need aircon or anything like that. I guess it's the triple bottom line, the lesser priority for me was the cost of the place. That's a nice bonus that it's not going into developer's hands.*

Urban Coup residents had more experience with co-housing models given that all residents have either lived in or been on waitlists for Urban Coup communities. Residents were therefore fully aware of what the model offers and demands in terms of community conviviality and contribution to intangible aspects such as the feel or vibe of living contexts. Residents had more involvement in the design and complete allocation rights for their building, as one resident and project team member explained in terms of the appeal of the Nightingale model:

> *Most of us at Urban Coup want to be part of an inner urban village with a village like atmosphere where we are there for each other and we support each other. With cohousing, we've got a dining room that's big enough for 60 people to sit down, which is going to be our about our total residency. We've got a big kitchen, we've got a lot of shared space music room workshop, rooftop garden, meeting rooms and guest rooms. So, we've got the basis on which to create that village atmosphere. We were attracted to Nightingale because of the commitment to sustainability, the intention to have 7.5+ star NatHERS thermal rating, no air conditioning, passive design etc. It became a means for us to get there — we already had our purchases signed up before the project even started, all paid in money to help with the purchase of the land.*

Beyond the triple bottom line appeal of the development, future residents were attracted by proximity to greenspace via the adjacent park, access to public transport, no car policy and the ability to determine and influence the tenancy of commercial spaces at the foot of buildings. The provision of incidental meeting spaces was seen as a major driver, as well as the architectural individualism of each building, the opportunity for passive exercise due to no car policy and the knowledge that the development was built at cost by a developer that considered community over profit.

There was evidence of a well-rounded understanding of the development design aspects, the future private housing community and the environmental sustainability principles. Buyers had a strong understanding of the covenant prohibiting speculation and a partial understanding of the financial model that cross-subsidises units so that there is a slight premium on bigger better-located apartments in order to keep the price of entry-level apartments down:

> *I know that there is a covenant on it. That means you can't sell on and make a huge profit, you can only get the amount that it's gone up in the area. So, it's kind of based on the Real Estate Institute of Victoria's average house increase over the same time. Which I think is great. Some of the three-bedroom units are like a million dollars. I don't know if that's reasonable or not, but it sounds like a lot to me. Obviously, they've got a huge square meterage compared to what we've got… the idea of that was to help people get into the market in the first place [via cross-subsidisation]. We'll probably be in there for less than five years, because we're going to have kids, and we'll then sell and hopefully get a bigger one within the same developmental model of the village. And in theory, it can't go up more than whatever that's gone up around there. So, it should be like those cost savings that we've benefited from will help next person.*

Overall, there was emphatic agreement that Melbourne is in the midst of a protracted and severe housing affordability crisis, but also an acknowledgement that the Nightingale model does not provide significant access to affordable housing for the private resident cohort. However affordability is not the primary intention of the development. For private residents who choose to sell, the price of units is capped at a smoothed market rate averaged by geographical area.

There was a mixed understanding about the social housing aspect, and in many cases the interview was the first time that private residents were made aware of the inclusion of social tenures. Strongly formed ideas about the profile of future private housing residents was evident. A Facebook group exists where residents can join and discuss aspects of the project, share advice and experiences, and organise social events. Not all private residents joined the Facebook group, and some members were relatively inactive:

> *It's probably about I would say about 50%, or 6% of people are on there. We have we've had a couple of*

meetups as well. We had one trivia night at the pub, there were about probably about 15 to 20 people there. I actually know one of my neighbours from 10 years ago, we happened to get into the same building.

Some members met for the first time, and others realised that they have shared histories. In regard to how private residents anticipate the value of their new community members, we asked if they anticipated shared values to their own, shared social and economic background, and whether they anticipate to encounter social differences. It was evident that the scope of social difference likely to be encountered was significantly narrowed by virtue of the Nightingale model. It was anticipated that the Nightingale Village community would share in similar social backgrounds and have synergies in their political preferences:

I don't want to stereotype too much, but I think they're quite white, quite wealthy or comfortable. I think they still have a bit of work to do to reach people that are really struggling. I think we share quite a big overlap in terms of environmental impact and in terms of what housing ownership should look like. If you look at the political spectrum, I will say most people are on the left. That's something that a lot of people are quite conscious of. Even though we are really looking forward to being together and communal, having like-minded people in the same building, I think it can also sometimes be a little bit too homogenous.

Among all private residents interviewed, there were clearly formed ideas about the type of private resident that would purchase into a Nightingale development. Although differences do exist, the archetypal Nightingale resident was thought to be white, university educated, left leaning and from socio-economically comfortable backgrounds. Anticipated differences likely to be encountered were more commonly associated the social housing cohort. When asked if residents will likely share social and economic backgrounds, one participant responded:

Possibly. I mean, there will be the people that will be in the housing choices, and the women's property initiative, who won't be, you know. I'm not too sure what they will be like, but I mean, we're just sort of middle income, reasonably well educated. People will probably be better educated than people in my current community, but I'm sure that the younger people that will be moving in with a problem as university qualifications.

The Village was designed specifically with interaction in mind. Common laundries on the roof level of each building were commonly invoked as places where real community building will happen. Incidental encounter zones are located throughout the Village and in close proximity. Residents anticipated meeting others in the adjacent park, in the basement where they park their bicycles, in the pedestrianised street and in the commercial spaces at the foot of the buildings.

Within the buildings there are tailored encounter zones like rooftop gardens, courtyards and other common areas such as landing spaces on each floor. Residents were optimistic about the use of commercial spaces, with many of them owning a share of the space and therefore having the right to choose the type of business or service that would tenant them. There was a desire to tenant commercial spaces with hospitality enterprises with environmental and social missions, as well services that are tailored to the needs of the community like bicycle servicing workshops. Ideas about how to negotiate social difference within these encounter zones was less clear to residents. Many relied upon the body corporate to establish rules and conducts that would be followed:

Some buildings are talking about having a whole stack of different policies for everything, they have a shared kitchen policy, who's responsible for this policy and that sort of stuff. That kind of scared some people. I asked "do we really have to have all these policies about everything", and that's what sort of got me thinking. A lot of the rules that some buildings have are actually already covered by the owners' corporation manual. All you really need is a way to resolve conflicts, i.e. a conflict resolution policy. Just so you've got a mechanism for dealing with conflicts when they sort of arise without people just like losing it. That's all you need, just be polite to people, don't say rude things.

Despite an ethic of politeness and some defined community expectations as set out by the owners' corporation, there was little awareness that some rules and expectations might be source of conflict between tenure types. Whilst not explicitly discussed, there is a no smoking policy at the Village. Smoking rates among social housing tenants is higher than that of private home owners, and could potentially be a source of conflict in community housing providers are unaware of the nuance and detail of the Village rules; or if social tenants themselves are not involved in the setting of such expectations.

This issue speaks to a broader lack of understanding on behalf of private tenants about the profile and experiences of social housing tenants. Articulations of stigma related to social housing was present and were commonly associated

with public housing tenures. Due to the residualisation of public housing as a result of a decade's long underfunding that has resulted in a decline in supply and pervasive dereliction of estates, social housing in Australia has a negative sentiment attached. About half of the residents interviewed were not aware that there would be social housing incorporated into the Village. Others expressed initial concern:

> *When I first heard that it was social housing, I thought they actually meant government social housing. It's like, "oh, I don't know about that". Because it just got me a little bit nervous thinking we couldn't know who your neighbour was going to be. I know, it's a little bit stereotypical, because not everyone's like this. But I do know, instances of people not looking after the property, because it's like old social housing, why would I bother mowing the lawn or something like that. So, there's sort of that lack of control and lack of oversight, I guess, was what had me a little bit worried to begin with. But I was assured that no, it wasn't like that. They've got the women's housing initiative, they were saying that they carefully select the people and make sure that they actually fit the ethos of the building, which I think is really important.*

The notion of 'right fit' was a common refrain when discussing both the inclusion of social housing in the Village and in terms of have a social housing tenant as a next door neighbour. Private residents were afforded the opportunity to discuss the social mix of tenures at one of the online resident forums, where HCA and WPI both answered questions. Given the widespread acknowledgement of a housing affordability crisis and a community-minded focus of the private cohort, generally speaking there was minimal apprehension about the inclusion of social housing, as one resident explains:

> *I know some people that have that NIMBY attitude. No, I'm happy with that. I think it's going to bring more diversity. Otherwise, it will be like white bread, upper class or middle class, you know? I'm going to have kids in the building, and I want people to be able to mix with different people. I just think it's a good thing to have a mixed background within the building.*

Overall, private residents had no knowledge, or very limited knowledge, of social mix applications in other developments. Whilst it would be unique if private residents were aware of such developments, there were no examples that they were made aware of whereby social mix practices had been successfully enacted. Residents were not aware of any other social housing developments in the nearby area, and their ideas about what constituted a social housing community were related to larger inner-city public housing estates. Whilst these issues do not point to any ingrained discriminatory perspectives, popular caricatures of social housing still exist within this cohort. Future research with the Nightingale Village community should assess whether these popular perspectives on social housing communities shift over time.

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Appendix

Interview schedule – Community Housing

1. What are the primary design principles of NV, to your knowledge?
2. How were the purchased units selected?
3. How do you understand social mix or tenure mix in terms of urban development?
4. What case studies do you think exhibit good and bad social mix approaches?
5. What is your knowledge and opinion about inclusionary zoning?
6. Has there been much consideration of social housing units within NV, specifically in regard to location of units, access and common areas?
7. Is there an ideal mix ratio that has been considered at NV?
8. What are the benefits to social housing residents at NV?
9. What benefits will HCA residents derive from living in proximity to private housing tenants, or are there any concerns?
10. What risks have been considered as part of the social mix approach?
11. How will HCA residents be selected?
12. Do you think that HCA tenants will fit in at the village?
13. Is there a place management or community development model in place?
14. How will conflict and stigma be managed?

Interview schedule – Private Residents

1. What aspects of Nightingale Village (NG) do you find most attractive?
2. What do you think you will gain from living at NG that you otherwise would not?
3. What do you understand, or not, about the financial model of the development?
4. In what ways does the development pay benefits forward to others?
5. What is unique about this development when contrasted with other Nightingale developments?
6. Have you met any of your potential neighbours? What is your impression of them?
7. Do you think that your neighbours will share similar values to your own?
8. Will your neighbours likely share your social and economic background?
9. Do you anticipate that any of your neighbours may be quite different to you and in what ways?
10. In what spaces of the building/village/neighbourhood do you think you are likely to interact with others?
11. What differences do you think you are likely to encounter in these different spaces?
12. Do you envision any potential for conflict to happen in common or public spaces?
13. Do you think that there is a need for more affordable housing in Melbourne; does NV address this?
14. What is your opinion on social housing?
15. How would you feel about living in a building with social housing?

Interview schedule – Nightingale Project Team

1. What aspects of Nightingale Village (NG) do you think are most attractive to future residents?
2. What do you think future residents will gain from living at NG that would otherwise not?
3. What are the primary design principles of NV, to your knowledge?
4. What social aspects of the design are strongest?
5. What kinds of spaces have been designed for resident interaction? Are all of these spaces available to all residents?
6. Do each of the buildings in NV have different social compositions or spaces for interaction in mind?
7. How would you define social mix in terms of urban development?
8. What case studies do you think exhibit good and bad social mix approaches? For what reasons?
9. What is your knowledge and opinion about inclusionary zoning?
10. Have elements of social mix and the inclusion of social mix impacted the design of NV? What lessons have been adopted?
11. Has there been much consideration of social housing units within NV, specifically in regard to location of units, access and common areas?
12. Is there an ideal mix ratio that has been considered at NV?
13. Has a tenure-blind or pepper-potting approach been adopted?
14. What are the benefits to social housing residents at NV?
15. What benefits will private resident derive from living in proximity to social housing tenants, or are there any concerns?
16. What risks have been considered as part of the social mix approach?

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