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Clearing stock of the invisible

Effects of cosmopolitan power on the supply of affordable housing

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Introduction

The geopolitical landscape of the Sydney Global City Region is caught in an entanglement of competing interests framed within the conflict of state and local governments, council borders and changing leadership affecting how these edges are drawn, quartered and sold. Sydney's transformation is typical of the shift to a post-industrial city with flight of heavy industries to the suburban fringe and concentration of service and information industries in the central business district (CBD) and surrounding area.[1] The effects of these structural changes have homogenised the diversity of its residents and their requirement for amenities, furthering the transformation to a post-industrial landscape. Through a case-study analysis of the Barangaroo precinct development, this chapter examines how issues of policy provision affect the development of city regions and their impacts on the development and supply of affordable housing. This chapter concludes with a comparison to both local and global projects identifying guidance for changing the way affordable housing might be delivered within the larger scope of iconic developments and the 'right to the city'.

It is not just the tourist gaze but also the gaze of its residents that allow cosmopolitan developments to proceed as planned. The drive for 'Sydney Global City' leaves the more quotidian requirements of

affordable and social housing supply to claim the little attention left in our schizophrenic lives. Urban densification and intensification in the context of Sydney's housing bubble places considerable stress on inner-city brownfield development,[2] where quantitative measures such as economics and yield dominate the agenda and passively implicate further social inequality through spatially determined outcomes.[3]

Issues of housing supply and affordability are not a new phenomenon, with plans and policy provisions existing since the post-war era. Leonie Sandercock provides an account of planning in Australia for the period from its Federation in 1901 to 1975,[4] but more intensively in the post-war period from 1945 to 1975, beginning by rather nihilistically stating that 'this is a book about failure'. In nearby Pyrmont, during the 1980s and 1990s, we witnessed the impacts of cosmopolitan development on existing residential neighbourhoods at the city's edge.[5] An increasingly transitory and foot-loose citizenship is also affecting the quality of communities, with temporary tenure and empty residences that have contributed to a lack of cohesion in the quality of social relationships. One could argue that a tourist and commercial precinct like Darling Harbour might not require the same level of cohesion as a more residential suburb at the edge of the Sydney Global City Region. But for want of progress and development, Millers Point has gradually seen a loss of its historically working-class residents, forced out as the agglomeration of the image of Sydney Global City expands its spatial catchment further, claiming more casualties in the efforts of consolidation.

The state government has recently released a public paper providing a 10-year plan for housing reform and addressing a backlog of over 60,000 residents waiting for placement.[6] As we consider the contents of this document and the trend for divestment onto the community and private sector we truly see this shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism that David Harvey identified in the late 1980s and which has grown increasingly visible in the urban cityscapes as they take shape.[7]

Sydney's context

City development since the 1970s has been unashamedly outward looking. The internationalisation of Sydney's identity and urban form has been the subject of myriad conflicts and controversies, striking a dividing line between citizen and business interests. Foreshore development within the City of Sydney's (CoS) Local Government Area (LGA) has been a particularly tenuous affair. Developments do not only need to navigate the needs of economic development, social cohesion and

technological innovation, but because most larger developments fall under the category of 'major projects'[8] and designated State Significant Developments (SSDs) there is tension between the agendas and remit of both local and state governments that determines the outcomes of these projects. Following Madanipour,[9] the importance of urban planning and design is such that it must consider the tensions between 'producers, regulators and users' and, in the case of Sydney and many other cities, the developer, the state, and a mix of residents and visitors.[10]

The working-class heritage of Sydney's foreshore – grounded in shipping, goods handling and associated industries – is kept by such monikers as 'The Hungry Mile' lining East Darling Harbour and in the public housing tenancies within the adjacent suburb of Millers Point. These ties are tested with both historical anchors pushed to the edge, and even sold to remove their physical and memorial connection. These strategies align to the ideology of perceived efficiencies and blanket urban renewal, transforming Sydney into a homogenised spatial agglomeration for the transnational citizen (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1   Barangaroo and the adjacent suburbs of Millers Point and The Rocks holding significant stock of affordable housing in the Sydney CBD.

Social housing and urban renewal

The development of social housing in Sydney has had a history of addressing challenging conditions of high-value sites, whereby innovative pragmatism advanced the building of social housing in the inner-city suburbs of Redfern and Surry Hills in the 1950s.[11] At the time, these areas were laden with slums and urban upgrades, seen as a way to alleviate these sites of poverty. This advancement progressed until the early 1980s, when neoliberal governance strategies saw a shift in the development and replenishment of housing stock accentuating the government's push to inspire a society of homeowners.[12] This ideological shift contributed to a rapidly expanding Sydney that embraced globalisation and the attraction of open markets, shifting the developmental focus back into the city.

Contemporary renewal and the development of Sydney's industrial heritage along its foreshore dates from the 1960s and 1970s, coinciding with the shift of Sydney's major shipping needs to Botany Bay.[13] As the shipping requirements in Sydney began rolling back, the docklands in Darling Harbour became available for redevelopment, and urgent action to meet the Bicentennial celebration deadline in 1988 led to a mixed-use tourist precinct conceived in tenuous terms, which is currently undergoing a new stage of redevelopment in the face of regional competition.[14] The conditions surrounding the Bangaroo Precinct development, an area in proximal adjacency to Darling Harbour, have been equally tenuous and conflicted since its inception and during the competition phase, with light cast on the politics, design and process of development.[15] Notwithstanding this, Lend Lease, the developers of Barangaroo South, are also redeveloping the southern flank of Darling Harbour, raising concerns about ownership of what is considered public space.[16] As this development takes shape with expansive massing and floorplates, the adjacent suburb of Millers Point continues with the sale and therefore depletion of public housing because it stands in the way of densification and capital gain.[17]

Figure 7.1 locates the Barangaroo precinct development, and the surrounding public and community housing developments. These concentrated sites identify with the historical development of Sydney's foreshore and maritime heritage, maintaining a connection to that variegated history with both diverse building typologies and socially heterogeneous communities. This ecology of variegated residential

tenancies, however, is under threat as the value of their sites is emphasised and amplified through the renewal process, both to extract that potential value and to contribute to the state strategy of becoming a more global city.

What ties these developments together is the drive to deliver iconic buildings and 'world-class' facilities as a magnet to attract global capital, serving double duty as post-modern capitalist monuments.[18] This ocular bias leads to a 'contrived depthlessness' that reinforces the existing condition of social exclusion,[19] and also raises questions of how we can balance economic growth with the need to provide for social sustainability that results in inclusionary interfaces between public and private spaces. The complex assemblage of the city as a nexus between global competition and local (and social) sustainability requires a shift in the locus of observation of this dialectical struggle. Instead, forming a relational analysis of the historically and contextually specific development of the city that mediates between preservation and progression chances the opportunity given to cities of the past to generate instead of prescribe their culture and identity. The importance of Sydney as an economic centre is problematised as its jurisdictional remit is held between state and local governance strategies. More attention should be paid to the outcomes of their shared role in the construction and promotion of Sydney Global City.

Previous scholars have identified the importance and direction of policy towards home ownership in the New South Wales (NSW) government's divestment of public housing stock and shifting its focus from housing supply towards subsidies like the Commonwealth Rental Assistance (CRA).[20] The generational call for and promotion of home ownership may attempt to remedy the issue of housing supply and affordability, but recent research by Jacobs identifies that subsidies to homeowners total AU$45 billion annually while the CRA to low-income renters totals just AU$3.6 billion per year.[21] This incongruence of support is evidently disproportionate to those in need of assistance, and these regressive policies that have been put in place only exacerbate the conditions of inequality. In the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism there is a need to consider the not immediately read social capital and value of the ecology of heterogeneous communities, and also to have a wider consideration of the political economy of housing as a complex asset and instrument of basic human need.[22]

Barangaroo

Located on Sydney's foreshore, the Barangaroo precinct development is a landmark megaproject and urban regeneration proposal that was initiated through an open international design competition in 2005. Lofty rhetoric promoted by its organisers, the NSW government, claimed a once-in-a-century opportunity and attracted 137 entries from both local and international firms.[23] In 2006, an Australian team formed by Hill Thalis Architecture + Urban Projects, Paul Berkemeier Architects and Jane Irwin Landscape Architecture (HTBI) were unanimously selected as the winners with a scheme that exceeded the target gross floor area (GFA) while also satisfying the brief by providing a complying scheme and a stretch scheme, a scenario that is common among contemporary developments. Although HTBI were selected as the winners, the competition jury suggested a series of recommendations that were mostly isolated from the Richard Rogers team competition scheme. The structure of the competition brief gave no guarantee of the winning team's entry to be used as the final design, but hedged through the guise of an 'ideas competition'; indeterminacy, politics and secretive processes have plagued this mixed-use development on public land, and have revived the conflicts inherent in the process surrounding the Darling Harbour precinct development in the 1980s. The first concept plan was approved in 2007 under the now-repealed Part 3A of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, which allowed the state government (rather than local government) power to grant approvals.[24]

Global city competition and economic-driven development continue to drive urban renewal projects. These principles overwhelm and overpower the potential fine-grain development within these megaprojects as they are divided and sculptured through high-level spatial planning principles that align with the strategic positioning of the global city discourse. The maintenance and retention of any semblance of socially planned development was always going to be under strain as it attempted to balance the needs of a growing Sydney Global City.[25] The now defunct Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority (SHFA)[26] had commissioned a report by a well-known Sydney-based academic[27] considering the social sustainability of the precinct and had provided a case for the retention of the existing affordable housing properties by considering the site in relation to the neighbouring suburb of Millers Point, and by international benchmarking against comparable cities

of London and New York on the feasibility and necessity of planning a socially diverse community in this new suburb on East Darling Harbour. However, the economic developmental potential preceded any detailed planning or attempt to consider the social sustainability of the site and any confirmed documentation of the allocation of affordable housing, which didn't appear until 2011 with the approval of Modification 4 (MOD4).[28] Although there is some indication that connection to the social and historical grounding of the site and its surrounds will be retained, the competition brief makes no mention of affordable housing or its provision.

In 2008, the CoS introduced a new vision for 2030, the subtitle of which reads 'Green, Global, Connected'.[29] Among the mandate to plan for a sustainable future, equity in the housing market was also challenged retrospectively because the proportion of social and affordable housing had declined from 15 per cent in 1996 to 7 per cent in 2006.[30] In response to these declining figures, the CoS target for 2030 indicates an aim for 7.5 per cent social housing and 7.5 per cent affordable housing. Fast forward to 2011 and the first public commitment for affordable housing within the Barangaroo precinct development fills a meagre 2.3 per cent of its residential GFA. An analysis of the modifications of the masterplans, supporting documentation and their reviews, the inclusion of affordable housing appears to have been predicated against the existing supply of public housing within Millers Point as part of a greater assemblage within the spatial boundary of East Darling Harbour.[31] This predication belies the NSW government offering a rolling sell-off of these public housing properties with the intention of using the proceeds to fund additional public housing stock elsewhere in the state.

The result of these co-isolated developments is that far greater emphasis is placed on housing as a commodity over the social and historical capital that is and has been generated by their tenants, many of which have multi-generational ties to the area through the working harbour and its associated employment catchment. These state-led strategies ignore the spatial live–work assemblage that housing offers and the condition of their tenants, who lack the ability to choose other alternative forms of shelter. The selective dissemination strategy employed by the NSW government refers to housing as 'assets' or 'stock', and by these terms highlights the reference to housing as a product of exchange rather than use, constructing the argument for offloading these properties to the highest bidder.[32]

Because of the public reaction to the veiled secrecy that continued through the development, and the repeal of the Part 3A laws under which the development had been approved, the legitimacy of the project was increasingly put under scrutiny. A significant change to the way information was disseminated and to oversight of the modification process was signalled with the commissioning of the Sussex–Penn Review in 2011. Meredith Sussex and Shelley Penn conducted the first major, and only, review of the Barangaroo precinct development to date, with a mandate to provide a review of the development thus far. The Sussex–Penn Review expressed that, however high the potential worth of development, the current provision of 2.3 per cent community housing was very low by global standards and suggested finding opportunities to double this amount. There was a reciprocal lack of information regarding the provision of affordable housing, which is mirrored in the report.

Although the Barangaroo precinct development has had approval to deliver 2.3 per cent of its residential GFA as affordable housing, it has been revealed that even this is at risk.[33] Considering this modest proposal, it has been reported that Lend Lease may be shifting their contribution off site.[34] Once again we see the developmental field of view cast much wider than the pursuit for social cohesion. This inequitable distribution of rights disadvantages those who lack opportunity to afford themselves the choice of alternative private tenure, and who require at least the facilities to furnish themselves a liveable environment. And as these tenants are given a 'choice' elsewhere there is little regard given to the communities they have been living as part of.[35]

Considering the CoS targets of 7.5 per cent social housing and 7.5 per cent affordable housing, in 2014 the stock of social housing in the CoS LGA was at 8.6 per cent (8.1 per cent after the sale of Millers Point) and 1 per cent affordable housing,[36] which will make achieving the City of Sydney 2030 goals inherently difficult.[37] The parallels of isolated development within existing urban assemblages reinforce the existing polarisation of development to manage the increasing inequality amongst the denizens of the city. As a showpiece and exemplar urban regeneration project within the city, on public land no less, the state and local governments and the proponent of the Barangaroo precinct development have a responsibility to become the pivot that shifts the direction of social sustainability within inner-city precincts to better advocate for inclusive communities.

Since the most recent modifications were approved on 28 June 2016, there have been surreptitious changes to the provision of affordable housing on site. There are two points to clarify from the approved

modifications. Firstly, the increased provision should be commended, however minimal the inclusions in Modification 8 (MOD 8). In terms of approval Part B11, there are modifications that allow 2.3 per cent residential GFA on site for key worker housing *and* an additional 0.7 per cent off site (within 5 kilometres of the site or within the City of Sydney LGA). In conflict with these requirements, within Schedule 3, Statement of Commitments, Condition 34 allows Lend Lease (the proponent) to shift all of the community housing off site under the following provisions:[38]

- 2.3 per cent of the total 3 per cent may be located in Barangaroo South, or at another location outside Barangaroo South and within the City of Sydney LGA area. Selection of any location outside Barangaroo South is to be at the discretion of the community housing provider that has been allocated to own and manage the development, with Lend Lease's agreement.
- Should the existing 2.3 per cent key worker housing provision be located outside of Barangaroo South, Lend Lease will transfer a monetary contribution to the community housing provider equivalent to the difference of the independently verified value offered by the provider, and the independently verified cost of providing the required floor space for key worker housing at Barangaroo South, at a time to coincide with practical completion of 75 per cent of Barangaroo South residential floor space.

The strategy to separate these important and interrelated pieces of information continues the poor legibility of this documentation intended to subvert the effects of the successive modifications. This approval now allows the entire Barangaroo precinct to be sanitised of lower-income residents and fulfil its role as the new cosmopolitan and economic centre of Sydney. Also approved in MOD 8 was the Crown Casino Resort occupying prime space, with the foreshore edge as its frontyard and Hickson Park as its backyard.

 The lack of overarching public housing strategy across state and federal policy certainly limits what can be achieved within the Barangaroo development. The development itself has already been viewed as a benchmark development for the cosmetic resolution of the Headland Park. These accolades ignore the more insidious issues of right of access, surveillance and limitations to habitation within the park. Much like the provision of affordable housing, these issues are rarely considered from a regional let alone international perspective.

In addition to the housing stock deficit, the conflictual nature of housing itself must also be recognised. The 'right to the city'[39] has long been advocated, especially with shifting governance structures and transfer of responsibility to quasi-state and community sectors in delivering housing solutions.[40] The problems they inherit stem largely from the fixed assets of housing, the scarcity of resources to develop them, and the changing demographics of both their tenancy and society as a whole. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to develop these issues but perhaps we can consider the relationship between demographic and the built form of public housing in the inner-city suburb of Millers Point.

Millers Point

The adjacent suburb of Millers Point was historically working class, housing men and families involved in the nearby docks.[41] This rather tight-knit community held together until about the 1950s,[42] when technological innovation and manufacturing efficiencies produced the affordable automobile, which allowed workers an easier commute from the then more desirable suburban lifestyle. This gradual locational dissociation of work and home has today seen the reverse, whereby not only is city and coastal property more valuable and desired, but also changing societal mores desire a lifestyle where we may live and work in close proximity *and* near the city. Recent demographic studies have illustrated how the figures between the City of Sydney LGA and Millers Point differ greatly. Figure 7.2 illustrates the
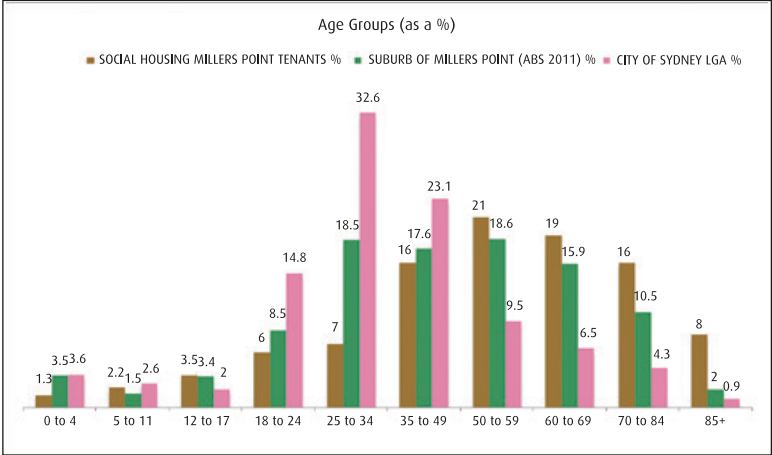

Figure 7.2   Age comparisons: age groups as a percentage of total.

sharp demographic differences between those in social housing in Millers Point, and that of the CoS average, seeing a heavily skewed population imbalance.

There is a far greater proportion of social housing tenants in Millers Point from the older age brackets, with nearly 43 per cent aged 60 or older: 28.4 per cent in all of Millers Point, and 11.7 per cent in the CoS LGA. This heterogeneity in and between resident groups in the CoS LGA identifies a clear dichotomy of identity that exists. To clear these residents out in one fell swoop resembles the colonisation strategies that took place on this land 200 years prior. As the Barangaroo precinct development also lacks the requisite affordable housing provisions, the entire foreshore from Darling Harbour to The Rocks will now be sanitised of subsidised tenancies.

International benchmarks

Together the ageing and less mobile tenants, as well as the ageing housing stock, compound the issues of supply and funding of social and affordable housing as a whole in the CoS with upkeep, repairs and rental subsidies costing significantly more than the state average.[43] In addition, the high value of inner-city land prices leads to convincing cases to pursue consolidation, but not at the expense of shifting the current residents and so completely removing any historical connection to the suburb through the violence of gentrification. Recent European perspectives have seen the benefit and success of hybrid, mixed-tenure developments and alternative development models.[44] Looking at the UK context, London is considered to be one of the most connected global cities, alongside New York.[45] The Peabody Group has successfully delivered numerous social housing projects,[46] and has also incorporated well-designed buildings that successfully cater for mixed-tenure residences on challenging sites.[47] Their development of the Mint Street building in Bethnal Green, East London, successfully delivers a well-designed mixed-tenure apartment block. Peabody manages 67 homes that comprise 27 social rent, 17 shared ownership and 23 market-rent properties, totalling roughly a 34 percent market / 66 per cent affordable split, with common entrances.[48] This project won a number of awards, including a RIBA London Regional Award in 2015. The architects working with Peabody highlighted the 'longer time horizon' of the developer;[49] being around for 150 years has allowed their culture to consider the sustainability of their projects. A second insightful component of their strategy is the funding of affordable housing. Initially planning a 35 per cent

affordable/65 per cent market split, due to improved market conditions they were able to reverse that reaching the 34 per cent market/66 per cent affordable proportion.[50]

As a corollary to this successful mixed-tenure project, there have been well-fought struggles to innovate within the political impasse of federal and state housing policy development in Australia. In 2013, Nightingale was initiated by a group of Melbourne architects who sought to challenge the speculative form of housing development to place a greater emphasis on the lived quality of housing.[51] Their strategy to introduce co-housing within a dominant trend of development, to maximise yield and actively attempt to exploit the value of tightly held land, follows a similar ideal to the London example, to balance the outcomes through innovative strategies delivering high-quality housing that is able to be sold for a significant margin below what is currently market rate. Significant cost reductions were achieved through strategies to remove non-essential amenities such as underground car spaces, air conditioning through passive design, additional bathrooms and individual laundry services, as well as bypassing the need for real estate agents, lowered marketing costs, and developer margins capped at 15 per cent. Currently these projects experience significant conflict at the planning stages, as their building typologies do not meet standards; for example, smaller car-parking provision elicits opposition suggesting there will be a pronounced impact on street parking from new tenants and their visitors. Although these are reasonable concerns, as cities become increasingly dense spatial assemblages, and there is a reduced uptake of driving from a younger generation that also prefers living in capital cities, there is a converse argument to shift back from an automobile-centric city design, reclaiming space for pedestrians to inhabit, as the case of Copenhagen has proven.

Collectively, these two projects demonstrate the possibility of good design and innovative planning strategies to become successful components that allow for the growth of equitable and cohesive communities. The stigma of subsidised tenancies adjoining private freehold properties is dispelled in the Mint Street development, with the ideology of equality presiding over maximising economic gain. The ability to design, from the start, a development that ignores the relative layering of social strata separating different forms of tenure may be related to Peabody's foundations in a philanthropic agenda, which have allowed for this mandate to support the social agenda of diverse communities. Nevertheless, the goal to achieve equity of tenure can be adopted by developers and championed by governments. Similarly, with regard to market-rate housing, the strategy

to adopt the co-housing framework and integrate it to fit the incoming tenants, allows for tangible efficiencies to be translated into cost savings that will enable a variegated tenancy to not be dominated by the market.

Adapting these strategies and frameworks would acknowledge the greater assemblage of social capital within the dominant frame of economic development. The requisition of innovative housing solutions would be most effective embedded in the competition brief as a central tenet that would ground the precinct, recognising the historicism of the site and thereby responding to its spatial context. As the competition was run by the state, a shift in ideology of the state will be required to recognise this complex and essential assemblage that situates housing both *in* and *within* the 'right to the city'.

Iconicity and its effects

The image of subsidised housing in Sydney differs markedly from these two examples. With a lack of affordable housing provision in the last two decades or longer, it remains to be seen if development of affordable housing will become available in Sydney in the face of economically driven development. The Barangaroo Precinct has towers more than 200 metres tall abutting the water's edge, an unprecedented condition that is in breach of planning controls requiring that buildings step down towards the waterfront.[52] As Lend Lease successfully argued their case to reduce and/or negate entirely their contribution to 'key-worker' housing on site, the neoliberal turn has yet to come about face as the desire for iconicity,[53] and cosmopolitan development envelops any socially cohesive outcome with even the heavily curated and managed parkland capped on the north of the precinct,[54] challenging our perception of the success of privately owned public space (POPS) outcomes.[55] The role of architecture as a social good faces serious challenges under capitalism,[56] and brings us to the question of who controls the architectural agenda.[57]

This controlled urban narrative carefully guides the eye from icon and spectacle, back and forth, creating a false ontology of the urban experience. This curation of a depoliticised urban environment mirrors the construction of visual images, following Rancière: 'Politics and art, like forms of knowledge, construct "fictions", that is to say *material* rearrangements of signs and images, relationships between what is seen and what is said, between what is done and what can be done.'[58] This urban semiotic relationship allows the privatisation of public resources projecting this sanitised image of the city to continue breaching the agenda

of homogeneous urban development. But fortunately, within the larger spatial assemblage of Sydney's global city region, the naturally endowed resources balance these constructed visions.

The agglomerative imagery of Sydney incorporates the natural features of its surrounds (Bondi Beach and the Blue Mountains) and the built icons accumulated through means of infrastructure provision (Harbour Bridge), cultural amenities (Opera House), mega sporting events (Olympic stadia) and now through the showpiece of the proposed casino resort. The site is prescribed and, to borrow from Maria Kaika, becomes a form of 'autistic' architecture that does not respond to its environs, neither the built form nor social structures.[59]

Rights to the city

To commit to being part of the global network of cities, this mobility affects the definition of spaces both public and private shifting from a strictly dialectical positivist structure to one that can be politicised and its outcome deliberated in public. The gradual erosion of the democratic political process and the socio-spatial reformation at the water's edge eats away at structuring an equitable sustainable development of the city in what David Harvey terms 'accumulation by dispossession',[60] as the structural framework that urban policy sets on the design and construction of urban form allows insidious modes of encroachment on the liberties of a wider public. These restrictions dictate the determinates of the public but does not allow them to be involved in the construction of the city themselves.[61]

In the fifth of his 'Theses on the City, the Urban and Planning', Lefebvre suggests the

> realization of urban society calls for a planning oriented towards social needs, those of urban society. It necessitates a science of the city (of relations and correlations in urban life). Although necessary, these conditions are not sufficient. A social and political force capable of putting these means into oeuvres is equally indispensable.[62]

This urgent call for a greater emphasis on the social in the urban has attracted responses to the 'right to the city', with Purcell suggesting the idea of the 'right to the city' as a response to neoliberal urbanisation.[63] As governments are shifting towards governance and public–private partnerships are proliferating, there is a genuine fear that these new

institutions and arrangements will monopolise power and control the shape of the city, leaving inhabitants disenfranchised and eventually taking away their 'right to the city'.

The embedded position of government continues to shift the responsibility of providing affordable housing to non-government and community sectors as a marketised commodity, rather than innovating policy that aligns with the rhetoric of housing as a basic good.[64] This realised marketisation focuses its gaze on the well-heeled mobile 'communities' as the agglomerated region of Sydney continues to expand, reimaging all the remaining high-value sites and re-colonialising these sites of conflict to pacified depoliticised spaces.[65] This gesture of 'revitalising' the last significant portion of public land, and indeed as the whole of Darling Harbour is apportioned to a single developer, sings praise of the condition of urban design and governance of iconic development in Sydney.[66]

Seen through the case study of Barangaroo, the provision of social housing is a poor fit with the ideology of cosmopolitan development on such a significant high-value site. The state governance strategies that favour economic development completely overpower the softer, more implicit function of social capital that provides the baseline for nurturing cohesive and inclusive communities. Even at this stage of development there is no clear indication of where the 'key-worker' housing is to be located. Indeed, examining how this development has unfolded in relation to the developments in inner Sydney since the 1980s, one can be pessimistic of the outcome.

Conclusion

In a competitive global environment there are certain prerogatives that cities must attend to maintain relevance in terms of influence, connectivity and attractiveness. Iconic developments are desirable cosmetic attachments to city agglomerations that easily serve to both promote externally and regenerate internally. The unfortunate casualties of this process are those on the edge, on the fringe of maintaining a foothold in, or even a tangible connection to, identifiable citizenship, defined in terms of the quotidian activities taken for granted by the bourgeoisie or even petit bourgeoisie.

As a non-liquid asset, housing, and even more so affordable housing, faces the challenges of a rapidly changing demographic, and the cost consequences of establishing, maintaining and replacing housing

stock clash with the aims of the private sector, as their business model even more strongly opposes the risks that accompany these types of development. The inherent risk associated with provision of affordable housing is a poor fit with development and supply by the private sector without the structural support of policy advancement or leadership from state and federal government. Although these restrictions pose challenges to the supply of affordable housing, there are hybrid forms of tenure through the aforementioned Peabody Group case and emerging innovative typologies of housing in the Nightingale model in Melbourne that tackle affordability and demographic issues by reducing overheads and optimising spatial allocation. These innovations are slowly emerging, although planning instruments and zoning restrictions hinder their implementation.

Aside from the structural issues of provision, there are further geographical restrictions and responsibilities that must be considered. A recent City of Sydney Housing Issues Paper identifies these challenges of housing provision and supply in the context of balanced economic growth and housing affordability.[67] Reinvigoration of interest within the federal government and progressive policy provisions as anticipated by the Greater Sydney Commission could work to guide balanced growth that collates social cohesion into the sustainability framework.

Important landmark developments like the Barangaroo precinct development should consider the gaze of iconic status not just speculatively on the grounds of perceived design quality, but as inherent in the quality of its urban condition, which includes the social equity of its catchment. Introspection towards the long-term demographic changes and needs of its users should assist in the provision of equitable housing models that are adaptive to guide future sustainable development.