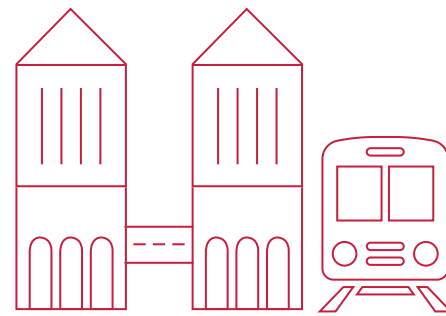




# ~~WHAT WE THOUGHT WOULD KILL US~~

LEARNINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



GRAHAM FARMER  
FREEWAY AND  
NORTHBRIDGE TUNNEL

OLD SWAN  
BREWERY

PERTH  
PASSENGER  
RAIL

# WHAT WE THOUGHT WOULD KILL US

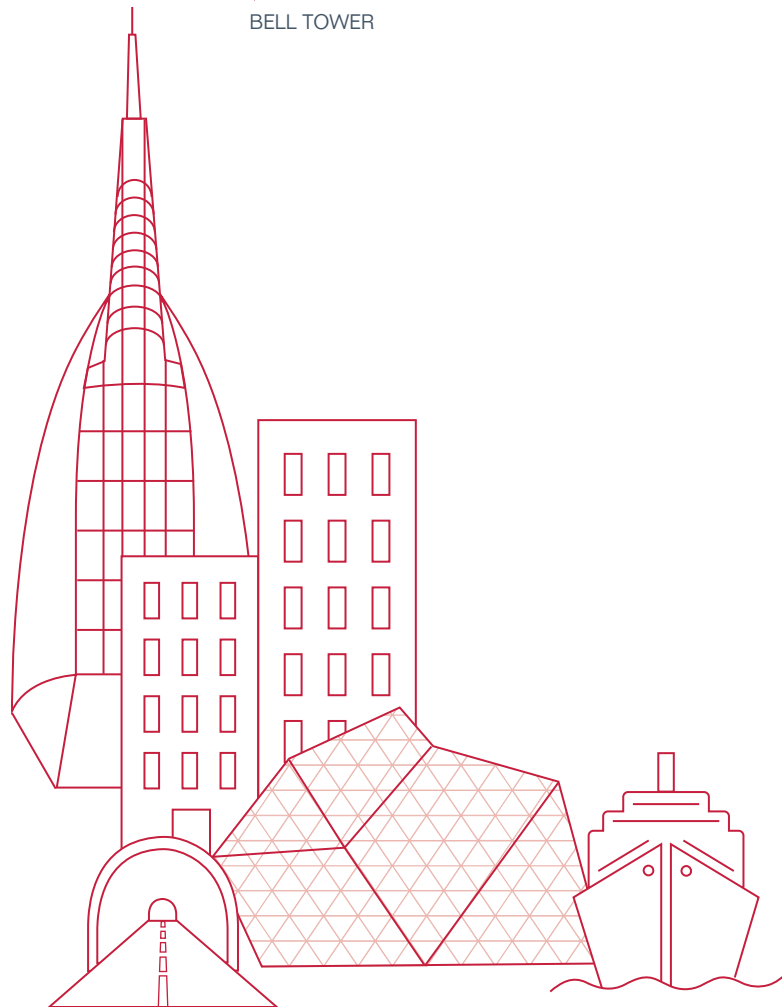
LEARNINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

HILLARYS BOAT  
HARBOUR

PERTH ARENA

RAFFLES  
WATERFRONT  
DEVELOPMENT

BELL TOWER



## About the Committee for Perth

The Committee for Perth is a member funded think-tank and advocacy organisation focused on maintaining and improving the liveability of the Perth metropolitan region. Our vision is to enhance its vibrancy, economic prosperity, cultural diversity and sustainability as it grows to a region of 3.5 million people.

The Committee has more than 100 members representing a broad cross-sector of the business community, civic institutions and local government. We rely solely on our members' financial and intellectual contributions to enable us to undertake the work, research and other activities that we carry out. A full list of current members is available on our website.

The Committee for Perth advocates on issues that will help us realise our vision for Perth and we have developed a unique model of advocacy to help us achieve that. Regardless of whether a project is our initiative or one implemented by government or others, we remain informed advocates for projects that will benefit Perth, whatever stage they are at, whether it's concept or development.

More information about the Committee for Perth and our work can be found at [www.committeeforperth.com.au](http://www.committeeforperth.com.au).

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# Foreword



**Learnings and Recommendations from  
the *What We Thought Would Kill Us* Case Studies**

The *What We Thought Would Kill Us* series has been produced by the Committee for Perth to examine some of Perth’s most controversial projects. Each of the seven case studies detail moments over the past two decades or so, when Perth residents thought that the sky would fall in because of proposed change.

Starting with a case study on Hillarys Boat Harbour to examine the controversy of developing a small part of Perth’s expansive coast line, through to repurposing the heritage buildings at the Old Swan Brewery, the series has become popular for the insight and hindsight they provide.

As our extensive research base has documented, Perth is at a point in time where a business as usual approach will not serve it well. More of the same will not set the region up for a bright future, rather it will set us on the wrong track. Yet almost any change to the skyline or on-the-ground seems to be a hard-fought contest between proponents and objectors. In those very heated debates between interest groups, it is hard to hear the voice of the silent majority.

For Perth to grow to accommodate 3.5 million people in a sustainable way, a better approach needs to be found to secure community support for a changing and adapting environment.

This report examines the seven case studies to date in the *What We Thought Would Kill Us* series and details the macro learnings. It looks beyond Perth to some of the more recent controversial projects in other Australian capitals to get a broader perspective and importantly makes recommendations for more effective community engagement.

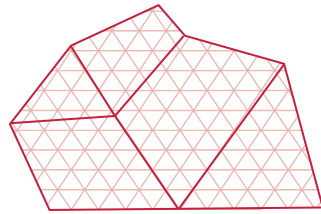
As a positive voice for Perth’s future, the Committee for Perth undertakes research to create an evidence base from which informed debate can occur and public policy be amended. I trust that this report becomes a key reference tool for those who act with intergenerational outcomes in mind.

Marion Fulker  
CEO, Project Manager  
Adjunct Senior Research Fellow, UWA



**Research Report:  
Learnings and Recommendations from the *What We Thought Would Kill Us*  
Case Studies**

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## Executive Summary

Seven case studies have examined the development of Perth's Bell Tower; the Evolution of Perth's Passenger Rail; Hillarys Boat Harbour; Perth Arena; the Raffles Waterfront Development; the Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel; and the Old Swan Brewery.

This report summarises, consolidates and analyses the findings of the Committee for Perth's *What We Thought Would Kill Us* (WWTWKU) case studies released to date. WWTWKU is a series of research reports which investigate controversial, landmark projects in Perth's recent history.

Seven case studies have been completed in the series so far. They have examined the development of Perth's Bell Tower; the Evolution of Perth's Passenger Rail; Hillarys Boat Harbour; Perth Arena; the Raffles Waterfront Development; the Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel; and the Old Swan Brewery. The case studies outline the history of the projects; development processes; summarise the controversy and project outcomes; and consider what metropolitan Perth can collectively learn from these projects moving forward.

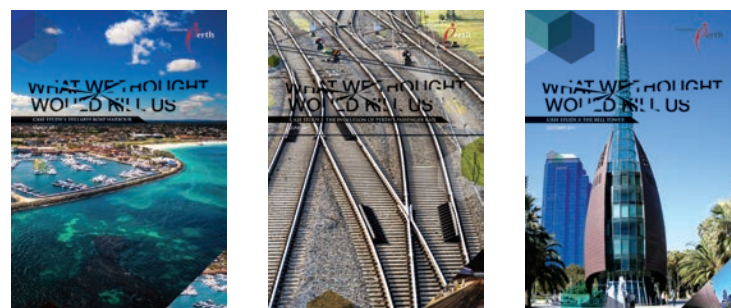
The case studies provide a snapshot of metropolitan Perth and Peel as regions coming of age over the latter twentieth and early twenty first century, and illustrate the challenges and conflicts associated with change within an expanding urban environment.

To gain insight into whether this is just Perth's way of responding to change, three additional Australian case studies have also been examined: Melbourne's Federation Square, Sydney's Barangaroo Development and Brisbane's West Village Development.

Together, the case studies illustrate that while land use change within urban environments can generate conflict and short-term pain for the community, government and industry, controversial projects are ultimately often successful and deliver significant benefits. Literature also illustrates that public opposition to development can be viewed through a positive lens as a form of political engagement within democratic and educated societies.

Yet controversy does not always deliver a happy ending. Conflict and community opposition to land use change and development causes time delays, cost over-runs, compromised outcomes and can derail projects altogether. It can also damage relationships between groups within the community, influence State and local government election outcomes and, at its extreme, trigger violence. Reducing the potential for conflict and controversy associated with development and land use change, while not always achievable, is therefore a worthwhile goal.

This research has identified, based on the case studies analysed, the common factors associated with land use and ensuing development, conflict and controversy and the key ingredients that may assist in reducing controversy. It is noted, however that characteristics associated with controversial development projects are often also those that contribute to a project's ultimate success. Therefore, in some cases, conflict may be minimised but not avoided altogether. The report makes 10 recommendations, which aim to provide a best practice guide to the planning and delivery of future major and potentially controversial land use change, development and infrastructure projects.



Long-term Strategic Planning and Project Selection

- 1
- Long-term planning informed by the community
- 2
- Rigorous project assessment, planning and selection processes

Long-term, bipartisan strategic plans for land use and infrastructure assist in establishing a vision, goals and objectives for the future growth and investment in a region. This research indicates that developing robust, long-term plans and providing opportunities for meaningful community involvement in the strategic planning process can improve transparency and build public and political support for future land use change and development. Case studies also highlight the importance of ensuring proposals are consistent with long-term plans, strategies and regional objectives.

Projects or proposals that have been selected and commence without rigorous assessment processes are more likely to face public scrutiny, opposition and risk disruption. Projects should be: consistent with strategic goals and objectives for the region; be identified through a broad assessment of opportunities, challenges and options; and assessed using comprehensive, evidence-based criteria including social, cultural and environmental costs and benefits. Providing opportunities for meaningful community engagement at this phase could assist in identifying and addressing community issues and concerns early in the process.

Project Planning

- 3
- Identify/consider potential for high public interest or opposition to the proposal
- 4
- Assess conditions for community engagement

Some projects and proposals are more likely to be controversial than others. This research has identified the following factors that are common to controversial projects:

- Sensitive sites of high social, cultural or environmental value, such as coastal/foreshore locations.
- Sites with heritage values, either Indigenous and/or European.
- Large-scale projects within an established residential or commercial area, such as a major infrastructure, urban renewal or development project.
- Limited/no opportunity for public involvement prior to the release of preferred option or design.
- Projects that substantially increase development density/intensity within an established location.
- Existing controversy or concern regarding government decision-making in the area.
- Bold design.
- Lack of bipartisan political support.

Community engagement has advantages and disadvantages, and the potential for successful community engagement can be dependent on project characteristics. Investing in meaningful community engagement has the highest potential for benefit when:

- Community interest in the issue is high.
- The project is likely to be/is controversial.
- The project is located on land of high cultural significance.
- A mandate is needed.
- Respected community members are willing to be involved.
- There is existing distrust in government decision-making.
- Decision-making does not require substantial technical knowledge.

Project Planning

- 5
- Identify an appropriate level of community engagement
- 6
- Provide opportunities for community engagement and establish a mandate

There is a recognised ‘spectrum’ or ‘continuum’ of community engagement which ranges from providing information and updates, to collaborating and empowering the community to make decisions. This research indicates that there is a need to provide community members with opportunities for meaningful involvement in controversial projects where the community engagement process has an influence on project outcomes. This goes beyond current statutory requirements. There is also evidence that establishing a community mandate can assist project delivery and this can be achieved by undertaking broad community polls or surveys, in conjunction with other engagement initiatives.

Enabling community members to provide meaningful input into a project early in the project process, preferably prior to the design phase or as part of the strategic planning and option assessment process, may assist in increasing community awareness and acceptance of a project or proposal and avoid costly delays or changes later in the project process. Early input should also aim to develop a mandate or establish majority agreement regarding core project elements.

Project Design and Assessment

- 7
- Incorporate good design principles; maximise potential benefits; and deliver benefits for a broad spectrum of the community
- 8
- Anticipate, identify and respond to community concerns
- 9
- Rigorously assess and carefully manage environmental impacts

Communities respond negatively to projects that they perceive to be elite or that impose negative externalities on the community for the benefit of private entities. Projects that incorporate good design principles and deliver benefits for a broad spectrum of community members are more likely to be supported and deliver successful outcomes.

The WWTWKU case studies indicate that ongoing conflict and potential for political backlash increases when governments fail to listen to, respond or address concerns expressed by the community, especially in cases where the concerns are widespread. There is also evidence that there are common issues that concern community members in regard to land use change and development and these can be anticipated and addressed early in the project design process.

The impact of projects on the environment is a common concern of the community associated with controversial projects. Implementing rigorous assessments and careful management of environmental impacts assists project delivery and reduces potential for opposition.

Implementation/ Development

- 10
- Successful project management and best practice project procurement and funding

Poor project management or procurement processes or public and media perceptions of poor processes associated with time delays and budget overruns can generate controversy and criticism. Implementing best practice project management, procurement and funding models is therefore essential both to avoid controversy and conflict and ensure efficient and effective implementation and outcomes.



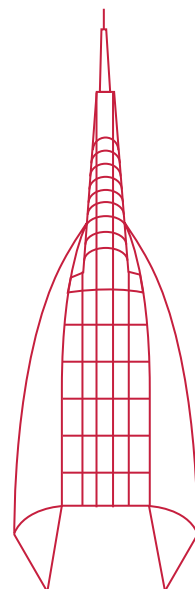
# 1 Introduction

A central finding of the research is that providing opportunities for meaningful public input into strategic regional planning and development projects early in the planning and development process may assist in reducing, but will not eliminate, the potential for public opposition to projects. It's acknowledged that participatory planning has advantages and disadvantages. Yet the case studies examined indicate that engaging with the community is central to establishing public trust, as well as founding a public mandate for land use change, infrastructure and development projects.

It's also apparent that public opposition to land use change, infrastructure and development projects is part of living in a democratic society and strong and effective leadership is needed to ensure that projects with a community mandate, that are of high public benefit are delivered and their potential maximised, even in the face of public and media criticism.

Striking the balance between obtaining community acceptance, managing criticism and delivering bold development and infrastructure projects can be exceptionally difficult for governments. Yet it is worthwhile, because history demonstrates that often highly controversial projects are ultimately the most celebrated.

***What We Thought Would Kill Us*** is a series of case studies developed by the Committee for Perth to investigate controversial, landmark projects in Perth's recent history.



This report has been prepared by the Committee for Perth and summarises and consolidates the findings of the *What We Thought Would Kill Us* case studies series, completed to date.

WWTWKU is a series of case studies developed by the Committee for Perth to investigate controversial, landmark projects in Perth's recent history.

Seven case studies have been completed. They examine the development of Perth's Bell Tower; the Evolution of Perth's Passenger Rail; Hillarys Boat Harbour; Perth Arena; the Raffles Waterfront Development; the Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel; and the Old Swan Brewery. The case studies outline the history of the projects; development processes; summarise the controversy and project outcomes; and consider what metropolitan Perth can collectively learn from these projects.

This report incorporates seven sections:

- **Section 2: Summary of *What We Thought Would Kill Us* Case Studies and Findings/ Recommendations.**
- **Section 3: Land Use and Development Controversy Beyond Perth and Peel** – An examination of three controversial development projects in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane.
- **Section 4: Opposition to Development and Infrastructure Projects within Existing Urban Locations** – An overview of case studies and literature review findings regarding opposition to developments and change within existing urban areas.
- **Section 5: Impact of Controversy on Project Outcomes** – Analysis of the impact of controversy on project processes and outcomes.
- **Section 6: Public Participation** – A literature review examining the purpose, costs and benefits of participatory planning.
- **Section 7: Conclusion and Summary** – The findings and recommendations of the research are outlined in the conclusion of the report. The project recommendations aim to provide a best practice guide for the delivery of major and potentially controversial projects.

It is noted that the full case study reports are available on the Committee for Perth website: [www.committeeforperth.com.au](http://www.committeeforperth.com.au).





## 2 *What We Thought Would Kill Us* – Summary of Case Studies

**Striking the balance between obtaining community acceptance, managing criticism and delivering bold development and infrastructure projects can be exceptionally difficult for governments. Yet it is worthwhile, because history demonstrates that often highly controversial projects are ultimately the most celebrated.**

Conflict and controversy over land use proposals and projects occur whenever stakeholders have incompatible interests and values. In cities and regions which are subject to a continual state of flux, conflict over social and physical change can never be completely circumvented.



Governments and developers in Australia and in cities around the world grapple with public opposition to land use planning and development projects. Some of the world's most iconic and celebrated structures are also among the most controversial. From the Eiffel Tower to the Sydney Opera House, the development of global landmarks has been plagued by public opposition, design criticism, budget blow-outs and time overruns.



Yet the WWTWKU case studies illustrate that controversy is not limited to global icons. Most often, governments and developers grapple with opposition to projects of local and regional significance.

This section provides a summary of the seven WWTWKU case studies. It includes a summary of each project; the controversy surrounding the project; project outcomes and the WWTWKU case study recommendations.

Table 1: WWTWKU Case Study Summary

(Davis 2011; Davis 2011a; Davis 2011b; Davis and Harford-Mills, 2014; Davis and Harford-Mills, 2015; Davis and Harford-Mills, 2016; Harford-Mills, 2017)

Case Study	Project Summary	Key Findings and Recommendations
<b>Hillarys Boat Harbour</b>  (Development/Infrastructure Project)  	<p>Coastal marina, commercial, tourism and leisure facility.</p> <p>Community concerns included ecological and environmental impacts on the land and water; loss of natural beach; inadequate environmental assessment; loss of amenity and lifestyle values in the local area; increases in traffic and noise; quality of architecture/urban design; elitist and unnecessary project; development in the wrong location; inadequate community consultation.</p> <p><b>Outcome:</b> The project is widely considered a success, is recognised as a premier recreation destination and is the second most popular tourism attraction in the region.</p>	<p>Improved consultation/public participation early in project process.</p> <p>Delivering universal access and benefits.</p> <p>Project opponents, while knowledgeable and having valid concerns, do not always express majority views.</p> <p>Need for regional cost benefit analysis of regionally significant projects.</p> <p>Conflict between demand for coastal recreation opportunities and environmental, social and cultural value and sensitivity of coastal and foreshore environments.</p>
<b>Bell Tower</b>  (Development Project)  	<p>Project to construct a bell tower on the Swan River foreshore in central Perth to house the historic bells of St Martin-in-the-Fields.</p> <p>Aimed to deliver a landmark building which would make an iconic statement for Western Australia, and which reflected the sophistication of design, engineering and construction at the time. Originally planned as part of a broad waterfront development, the Bell Tower was completed as a smaller, stand-alone project.</p> <p>Controversy surrounded the cost of the project; the project design; the purpose of the project; a perception that the Bell Tower was too grand and extravagant; ongoing cost of management/ capacity for financial sustainability; perception that the tower was a ‘monument to the then Premier’.</p> <p><b>Outcome:</b> The outcome of the project was positive, however the development was generally considered to have failed to meet its potential.</p>	<p>Potential for improved consultation/ public participation and communication.</p> <p>Ensuring projects achieve broad objectives/universal access and benefits, particularly objectives supported by the community.</p> <p>Need for strong leadership to deliver projects in the face of controversy.</p> <p>Lack of community value placed on cultural/arts projects.</p> <p>Modest ambition for Perth’s waterfront.</p>

Case Study	Project Summary	Key Findings and Recommendations
<b>Perth Passenger Rail</b>  (Infrastructure Project)  	<p>The electrification of the Perth to Fremantle Rail line; the development and operation of the Northern Suburbs Rapid Transit system; and the development of Perth’s new metro rail – the South West Rail line.</p> <p>The Perth Passenger Rail project was initiated in response to wide-spread public opposition to the closure of the Perth to Fremantle passenger rail line and replacement with bus services.</p> <p>Key issues of conflict and controversy included: increasing traffic congestion; loss of amenity and transport choice; the public view that removal of rail was short-sighted; expert view that rail was not a cost-effective transport solution for the Perth region; that the region’s urban form does not support passenger rapid transit; buses are a more flexible and cost-effective public transport solution in a low-density environment; Perth’s public are car users and do not support public transport.</p> <p><b>Outcomes:</b> The outcomes of the Perth Passenger Rail project were assessed as highly positive, with the initial project to retain and invest in the Perth to Fremantle passenger rail line leading to a resurgence of rail investment and rail commuting in the Perth and Peel region.</p>	<p>Community mobilisation/opposition can deliver positive outcomes - Perth’s community was instrumental in driving the retention and extension of Perth’s passenger rail system.</p> <p>Benefits to up-front consultation/ public participation in developing infrastructure strategies and avoiding controversy and public backlash.</p> <p>Investment in new rail takes political courage – particularly given planning and delivery timeframes are much longer than four-year election cycles – yet there is no evidence that any State Government has been damaged at the polls for rail investment.</p> <p>There has been a history of underestimating the potential for urban rail passenger growth.</p> <p>Strong leadership is required for investment in projects that carry political risk.</p>
<b>Raffles Waterfront Development</b>  (Development Project)  	<p>A high-density residential and commercial development approximately 8 kilometres from the Perth CBD, within a low-density environment and incorporating a heritage listed building. Opposition to the project resulted in a complex and substantially delayed development approval process.</p> <p>Primary concerns expressed by the community included: building height; impacts on the heritage listed Raffles Hotel; and potential effects on local character, traffic congestion and the environment being expressed by the proposal’s opponents.</p> <p><b>Outcome:</b> Today the Raffles Waterfront Development is a local landmark and is generally regarded as a positive addition to the region.</p>	<p>High-density development, particularly in traditional low-density suburban locations, is likely to generate community concern and opposition.</p> <p>There is some evidence that attitudes towards high-density development in the Perth region are changing, however acceptance of density is associated with the location, height and intensity of the project in comparison to existing land uses.</p> <p>Enabling community members to have meaningful input into decisions regarding the location of high-intensity infill development in the region may assist in circumventing conflict associated with individual development projects.</p>

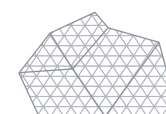


Case Study	Project Summary	Key Findings and Recommendations
<b>Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel</b>  (Infrastructure and Development Project)	<p>Construction of a 6.4 kilometre freeway in Perth to provide an east-west bypass of the CBD. The 1.6 kilometre Northbridge Tunnel is a key element of the freeway. The project aimed to reduce congestion in the Perth CBD and inner suburbs; provide for a balanced transport future; and enable redevelopment and urban renewal in Northbridge.</p> <p>Consultation and opinion polls on the project undertaken in the late 1990s indicated that a majority of people in the Perth region were in support of the development.</p> <p>Opponents expressed concern that the proposal was based on outdated, unsustainable car-based planning and would result in increased congestion and pollution; that financial costs were too high; that the environmental costs had been inadequately assessed; there would be impacts on Northbridge's heritage character; change of urban character; gentrification and displacement.</p> <p><b>Outcome:</b> The report finds that the Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel project did deliver most of its stated benefits. However, from its opening, the volume of traffic using the freeway and tunnel has been higher than anticipated, and as a result, it has been less successful at alleviating long-term congestion than was originally expected.</p>	<p>Increased opportunities for community input and communication early in project processes.</p> <p>Delivering projects as part of a broad strategic plan/objectives for the region.</p> <p>There is need for comprehensive and transparent assessment of environmental impacts.</p> <p>Quality project management/ensuring proper procedures are followed during the construction process.</p> <p>Undertaking regional consultation and/or opinion polls can assist in establishing a mandate for a project.</p>



In cities and regions, which are subject to a continual state of flux, conflict over social and physical change can never be completely circumvented.

Case Study	Project Summary	Key Findings and Recommendations
<b>Perth Arena</b>  (Infrastructure Project)	<p>The development of a multi-purpose indoor entertainment facility for the Perth region capable of attracting and hosting international, high-profile sporting and concert/entertainment events. The arena has a capacity of 15,500 people for concert events.</p> <p>Controversy and criticism primarily surrounded time delays and cost over-runs, which were found to be associated with inadequate project planning, costing, analysis, as well as contractual problems and insufficient project management and governance arrangements.</p> <p><b>Outcome:</b> Perth Arena is a celebrated success. It has attracted internationally acclaimed artists and tours to Perth and has been widely praised - it received a national public architecture award and was named one of the top 25 venues in the world by a music magazine. It has also acted as an important catalyst for the regeneration of the surrounding area as a vibrant and mixed-use entertainment and retail destination as part of the Perth City Link project.</p>	<p>The need for rigorous project assessment, approval and governance processes for major capital projects.</p> <p>The need for rigorous and transparent analysis of the costs and benefits of infrastructure projects.</p> <p>Projects marred by controversy during construction can be widely supported and deliver substantial benefits post-development.</p>
<b>Old Swan Brewery</b>  (Development Project)	<p>A mixed-use redevelopment which included residential apartments; commercial floor space for restaurants and offices; and a car park linked to the complex via a pedestrian bridge. The development incorporated heritage listed buildings and was located on a site that is sacred to the Traditional Owners of the southwest of Western Australia, the Noongar people.</p> <p>The conflict between Indigenous and European heritage was the primary source of controversy associated with the redevelopment and resulted in protestors camping on the site for more than three years. Other concerns included the safety impacts associated with serving alcohol in a location close to Mounts Bay Road and the potential environmental impacts of the redevelopment, including damage to the nearby Kings Park and Swan River.</p> <p><b>Outcome:</b> The Old Swan Brewery redevelopment did achieve some of the desired outcomes such as retaining a landmark site and associated buildings, improving road safety, and provision of an activated mixed-use precinct. However, the project was not considered to have met its economic, social or cultural potential. It also heralded a step backwards in relations between non-Indigenous Australians, Indigenous Australians and their supporters.</p>	<p>Need for Indigenous culture and heritage to be respected and for Traditional Owners to be meaningfully involved in the long-term planning and management of sacred sites.</p> <p>Opportunity for development and land use change to advance reconciliation by respecting and celebrating Indigenous culture.</p>



2.1 Common Features of the WWTWKU Case Study Projects

A combined analysis of the WWTWKU case study projects has identified some common features which contributed to their controversial status. These include:

- Projects located in areas of high value to the community as regional landmarks and/or for social, heritage, cultural or environmental reasons.
- Projects sited within established residential or commercial areas, such as major infrastructure, urban renewal or redevelopment projects.
- Project processes which did not provide opportunities for meaningful community input or feedback beyond statutory requirements.
- Processes which did not provide opportunities for community feedback until after a draft design or concept for the project had been prepared.
- Proposals that incorporate bold design elements.
- Projects perceived to be poorly selected, that lack a detailed assessment of and/or managed time or budget. In this regard, it is noted that there is limited evidence available to indicate that case study projects were subject to rigorous assessment against national/regional priorities; option development; and business case assessment, including an analysis of social, cultural and environmental costs and benefits prior to selection for delivery.
- Proposals that did not have bipartisan political support.

It is also evident that most of the WWTWKU case studies were ultimately successful.

Table 2: Common Features of WWTWKU Case Study Projects

Project	Site of high social, cultural, heritage or environmental value	Early consultation/polling	Urban renewal/redevelopment	Consultation primarily limited to statutory requirements	Design concept prepared prior to consultation	Project selection & management (time or budget overrun)	Increase in land use intensity	Bold design
Hillarys Boat Harbour	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	
Bell Tower	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓
Perth Passenger Rail				✓	✓			
Raffles Waterfront Development	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Perth Arena			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Old Swan Brewery	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

2.2 WWTWKU Issues of Community Concern

The case studies also reveal issues of common concern to the Perth community:

- Elitism - projects that are not perceived to benefit a broad cross-section of people.
- Environmental impacts.
- Perceived inadequate assessment of environmental impacts.
- Changes to local character or amenity.
- Traffic, congestion, parking and inadequate provision of alternative transport options.
- Preservation of European and/or Indigenous heritage.
- Provision for meaningful public input into the project process.
- Poor project management and/or wasteful public spending.
- Aversion to bold architecture or design elements.

Table 3: Common Elements of Community Concern from WWTWKU Projects

Project	Inadequate opportunity for public input	Elitist	Inconsistent with best practice or regional policy goals	Impact on heritage	Lack of rigour in planning & environmental process	Poor management/misuse of funds	Impacts on local amenity or character	Transport/traffic impacts	Environmental impacts	Do not support design
Hillarys Boat Harbour	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	
Bell Tower		✓				✓				✓
Perth Passenger Rail	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	
Raffles Waterfront Development				✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Perth Arena					✓					✓
Old Swan Brewery	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	

As well as common views and concerns, the WWTWKU series highlights the sometimes conflicting views and desires of the public in regard to land use, development and infrastructure. This includes: community aspirations to live and recreate in coastal and foreshore locations, combined with a desire to protect these locations from development or change; demand for new cultural offerings, fused with a regional history of modest development ambition, particularly in regard to cultural offerings; and strong support for passenger rail and concern about traffic congestion mixed with continued car use and car-oriented development. Yet these dichotomies also provide some explanation as to why projects that were strongly opposed during their development ultimately gained strong support post-completion.

Continued opposition to high-density development, combined with increased acceptance of the need for higher-density development in the Perth and Peel region, is a further example of conflict between general public acceptance of broad regional policy goals and concern about the impacts of implementation at a local level that is illustrated in the WWTWKU case studies. An examination of controversial projects recently delivered in other Australian capitals indicates that controversy and conflict resulting from development and infrastructure projects is not a problem unique to Perth and Peel.

3 Land Use and Development Controversy Beyond Perth and Peel

Recent Australian history has seen controversy rage over major, yet varied regional projects. Examples include Brisbane’s West Village Development, Sydney’s Barangaroo Development, and Melbourne’s Federation Square. The history and controversy surrounding these projects has been examined as part of this report to provide examples of land use and development controversy outside the Perth and Peel region. A detailed outline of each project is provided at Appendix 1.

Key findings of the project examinations include:

- Inherent community desires for public and major projects to deliver broad societal benefits.
- Perceived privatisation of public land as a source of community versus development conflict.
- Need for rigorous and transparent planning and assessment processes to obtain and retain public trust in decision-making.
- Potential for meaningful community input into major projects early in the process to assist in building public trust and developing a shared vision and mandate for a project.
- Recognition that bold design elements are likely to generate controversy.
- Acknowledgement that good design is a central tenant of development success and that design elements do not need to be universally appreciated to be successful.

Gentrification and inadequate consideration of the needs of existing residents is a key issue of concern in urban regeneration and renewal. Processes and controversy associated with these projects reinforce and expand the findings of the WWTWKU series. A summary of the key findings of the three case studies is provided in Table 4.

Gentrification and inadequate consideration of the needs of existing residents is a key issue of concern in urban regeneration and renewal.

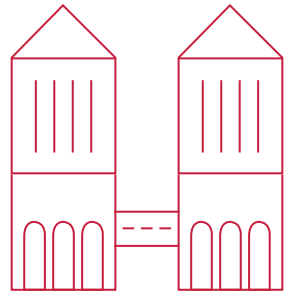
Table 4: Common Features of National Case Study Projects

Project	Site of high social, cultural, heritage or environmental value	Early consultation/polling undertaken	Urban renewal	Consultation primarily limited to statutory requirements	Design concept prepared prior to consultation	Project selection & management (time or budget overrun)	Increase in land use intensity	Bold design
West Village Brisbane	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Barangaroo Sydney	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Federation Square Melbourne	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓

Table 5: Common Elements of Community Concern National Case Study Projects

Project	Inadequate opportunity for public input	Inconsistent with best practice or regional policy goals Elitist	Impact on heritage	Lack of rigour in planning & environmental process	Poor management/misuse of funds	Impacts on local amenity or character	Transport/traffic impacts	Environmental impacts	Do not support design
West Village Brisbane	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓
Barangaroo Sydney	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Federation Square Melbourne			✓		✓	✓			✓





**Public interest in land use change, infrastructure and development projects therefore presents an opportunity to engage communities that are otherwise disengaged from local decision-making.**



## 4 Opposition to Development and Infrastructure in Existing Urban Locations

The WWTWKU and national case study examples underscore the potential for controversy and opposition to infrastructure and development projects within existing urban, non-greenfield locations in Australian capital cities.

This issue is not distinctive to Australia. In the United States, local opposition to controversial or high intensity projects has been reported to be, “so widespread as to be a built-in expectation” (Canon, 2014, pp. 801). Preserving the local environment and protecting localities from externalities such as increased traffic, pollution, reduced open space, as well as conserving existing character and real estate values are the most commonly cited motivations for opposition to development projects (Canon, 2014; Ticher, 2018).

This opposition is often characterised as not-in-my-backyard “NIMBY”; Build-absolutely-nothing-anywhere-near-anything “BANANA”; or not-over-there-either “NOTE” discourse – which suggests an illegitimate and selfish form of localised protest. Yet when considered in the context of the cultural value of home ownership and the importance of property as a vehicle for wealth creation in Australian society, the mobilisation of residents to oppose projects that they perceive to be a threat to local amenity is neither surprising nor unfounded (Ruming, 2014; Canon, 2014).

In this context, public opposition is also recognised in literature as a valuable part of the democratic process and a form of community participation that is unmatched in other political arenas (Canon, 2014). In the United States, for example, researchers estimate that as many as one in five Americans have opposed a development by attending hearings, writing or calling elected officials or gathering petition signatures (Canon, 2014).

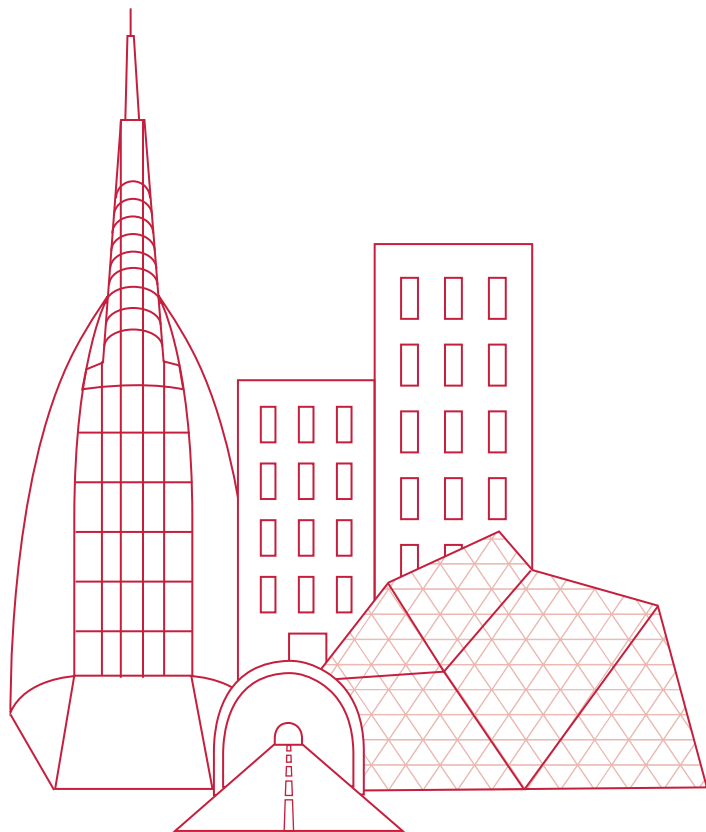
Public interest in land use change, infrastructure and development projects therefore presents an opportunity to engage communities that are otherwise disengaged from local decision-making. Jonathan Nettler of Planetizen has observed that, “*it is from the empowering experiences gained in the participatory processes of urban design that individuals can learn to become active citizens*” (Nettler, 2013).

The WWTWKU case studies recognise this and the case study recommendations emphasise the importance of involving and seeking feedback from a representative cross-section of community members early in the community engagement processes, so that governments can establish support for proposals and identify depths of community support and opposition. The *Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel* and the *Hillarys Boat Harbour* case studies, for example, illustrated the benefits of gaining some understanding of broad community support for a project, through community meetings or polling. This enables opposition to projects to be considered and understood in the context of broader public opinion (Davis 2011; Davis and Harford-Mills, 2016).

The *Raffles Waterfront Development* case study also underscores the potential for long-term strategic planning, informed through community engagement at a local and/or regional level to assist in identifying locations and parameters for higher-density development and assisting in reducing conflict and controversy at the individual project phase (Davis and Harford-Mills, 2015).

Conversely, the *Old Swan Brewery* case study highlights the potential for conflict and the creation of controversial outcomes when opposition to development is unheard. Failure to recognise Indigenous heritage and traditional ownership of land on the original site was considered a step backwards in relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians and led to physical conflict and violence in some instances (Harford-Mills, 2017).

**Controversy does not preclude project success, however it can cause community anxiety, project delays, uncertainty, cost over-runs and ‘compromised’ outcomes.**



## 5 Impact of Controversy on Project Outcomes

The WWTWKU case studies demonstrate that controversy does not preclude project success, but the case study series, combined with international literature also indicates conflict associated with land use change is not desirable. It can cause community anxiety, project delays, uncertainty, cost over-runs and ‘compromised’ outcomes, which are less than optimal from a community, government and development perspective. Opposition can also set the stage for litigation or election backlash against politicians and political parties and, at the extreme, can escalate into violence (Canon, 2014; Brown et al., 2014). Stakeholder conflict and public cynicism towards a land use project also reduces the potential for constructive community input into a project process.

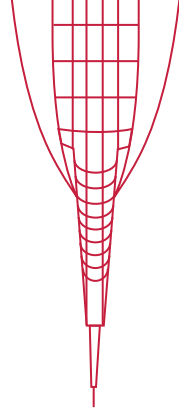
It is therefore mutually beneficial for all stakeholders including community members, government and the private sector if issues of public concern regarding proposed land use change can be addressed through community engagement early in the land use planning or development process. This is commonly referred to as participatory planning.

Yet it is noted that the case studies also confirm that the outcomes of community and stakeholder opposition and activism can be positive. Specifically, substantial public and stakeholder opposition to the closure of the Perth to Fremantle rail passenger rail line influenced the State election outcome. This ultimately resulted in the proposal being scrapped in favour of long-term investment in the passenger rail system, which has delivered long-term benefits. In this case, a decision by the incumbent Liberal Government to listen and respond to community and stakeholder opposition to the railway closure may have circumvented the subsequent election backlash.

That’s why it’s important to recognise that public opposition and activism in land use decision-making is part of living in a democratic society and will never be completely circumvented. The goal should therefore be to harness this energy into positive project engagement.







**The aim of participatory planning processes is to integrate community knowledge, concerns and aspirations into a project or plan from the start of the process through open dialogue and interaction between users, experts and decision-makers.**

## 6 Public Involvement in Decision-Making

A common theme in the WWTWKU case studies is the recommendation that governments adopt a more transparent and participatory process when undertaking major development or infrastructure projects.

The aim of participatory planning processes is to integrate community knowledge, concerns and aspirations into a project or plan from the start of the process through open dialogue and interaction between users, experts and decision-makers. It aims to develop a mutual understanding of issues and develop solutions that better meet both project and community objectives (MUEC, 2015).

There is a widely recognised 'continuum' or 'spectrum' of public consultation and participation in which community input varies from 'information and updates' to 'collaboration and empowerment' (Butteriss Hello, 2012). In most cases, opportunities for public involvement in decision-making in Western Australia fall into the 'consultation and public involvement' category. In this research, 'public involvement in decision-making' refers to both high-quality public consultation and processes for public participation.

There is consensus within modern literature and amongst urban commentators that there are benefits in enabling citizens to 'have a say' in land use decision-making early in the project process, rather than after a draft plan or proposal has been completed (Scarborough, 2013; Omar and Leh, 2007).

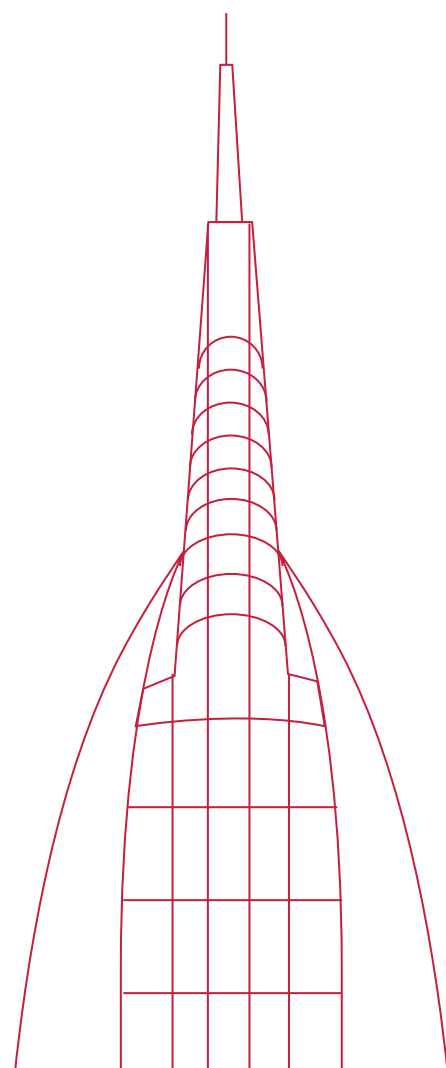
*"By the time residents become aware of a major development project being proposed in their community, both the developer and the government may be trying to sell it to them"* (Canon, 2014, pp. 807). This can lead to cynicism among residents who are then more likely to fight the project.

The US architect and educator Henry Sanoff also asserts that, *"the activity of community design is based on the principle that the environment works better if the people affected by its changes are actively involved in its creation and management instead of being treated as passive consumers"* (Nettler, 2013, pp. 1). This recognises that knowledge about land use in the urban environment stretches beyond the opinion of 'experts'.

Crucially, the potential benefits of enabling community members to provide input early in the planning or project process include establishing public trust and increasing public acceptance of final decisions.

It is noted however that there has been limited robust assessment of the outcomes of public input in planning processes. While recent literature has identified a strong link between participatory processes and the acceptance of final decisions, it also found that this is where 'agencies are responsive, participants are motivated, the quality of deliberation is high, and the participants have at least a moderate degree of control over the process' (Beierle and Cayford, 2002).

Yet benefits to the community of becoming involved in decision-making have been broadly established, as have the potential pitfalls of engagement processes. These are summarised in Table 6.



**Table 6: Benefits and Pitfalls of Community Engagement**

(Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Pandeya and Shrestha, 2016; Beierle, 1999; Robbins, Simonsen and Feldman, 2008; Walzer and Hamm, 2010; Pancer, 2016)

Benefits of Community Engagement	Pitfalls of Community Engagement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Education</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Failure to reach a consensus regarding the project objectives or problem to be tackled</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Building community alliances</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Substantial time, cost and expertise required to implement participatory processes</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Empowerment</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Difficulty engaging an appropriate cross-section of stakeholders</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Skill development</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Complacency</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Improved understanding of government and decision-making processes</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Conflict between stakeholders</li></ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Selfishness</li></ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Raised public expectation</li></ul>

Overall, there appears to be consensus that in most cases the benefits of involving the community in decision-making outweigh the costs where ‘conditions are ideal’ as outlined in Table 7 below.

**Table 7: Conditions for Successful Public Involvement**

(Irvin and Stansbury, 2004, pp.62)

Ideal Conditions for Public Involvement	Non-Ideal Conditions for Public Involvement
Low Cost Indicators	High Cost Indicators
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Citizens readily volunteer their time for projects that benefit the community</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Public is reluctant to get involved in what it perceives to be the job of government</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Stakeholders are not too geographically dispersed and can attend meetings/have access to technology to provide input</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The area is geographically large or there are other obstacles to involvement</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The community is relatively homogenous with a limited number of small interest groups</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• There are many competing factions or small interest groups</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The topic does not require participants to master complex technical information quickly</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Complex technical knowledge is required for effective decision-making</li></ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The public does not recognise the issue as a problem</li></ul>
High Benefit Indicators	Low Benefit Indicators
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The issue is ‘gridlocked’ and a citizen mandate is required to break gridlock</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The public is generally not hostile toward government entities</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Hostility toward government is high and agencies seek community validation to successfully implement policy</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The agency has had prior success implementing policy without citizen participation</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Community representatives with strong influence are willing to serve as representatives</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The population is large, making it hard to reach or influence a wide proportion of the population</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Access to credible and respected facilitators/mediators</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The outcomes of the participatory process are likely to be ignored</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The issue is of high community interest</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The views and recommendations of the public are likely to be the same as those of the government entity</li></ul>

It is clear that the majority of WWTWKU case studies potentially fall into the ‘low cost - high benefit’ category. The WWTWKU case study examples, such as the *Graham Farmer Freeway and Northbridge Tunnel* case study, also indicate that consultation involving a broad cross-section of community members through community polls or surveys can also assist in obtaining views of the silent majority and provide an evidence base and mandate for government.

The case studies also provide examples of the backlash that can occur when opportunities for public input are not perceived to be adequate.

Emerging evidence also indicates that failure to provide community members with an opportunity to participate in planning and land use decision-making can lead to community opponents who, armed with knowledge, data and information and mass communication tools, have the capacity to disseminate information, gather support, and disrupt development processes quickly and effectively. Movements towards guerrilla urbanism, public placemaking and open data analysis are evidence of the capacity of communities and non-government organisations to independently inform government and initiate change (Badger, 2012). These organisations and individuals are disrupting the traditional planning and development process by undertaking research, providing input and opinion on city and regional futures and undertaking placemaking and urban initiatives on-the-ground, uninvited (Netter, 2013).

Therefore, if government does not invite public involvement in decision-making, the community is likely to mobilise and invite themselves.

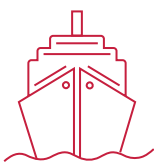
However there are also new, positive models of community activism emerging in Perth, such as ‘town teams’, which provide governments with a model for proactive and constructive community engagement in vision setting, urban planning, development and place making projects.

A town team is a positive and proactive community group that includes businesses, landowners and residents working collaboratively with their local government to improve a place or area, often a town centre or ‘main street’. It aims to provide vision and leadership and deliver actions to improve an area. The town team approach is currently active in Leederville where the City of Vincent is working cooperatively with the Leederville Connect Town Team on ways to enhance the area, through improvements to public spaces, events and activations.

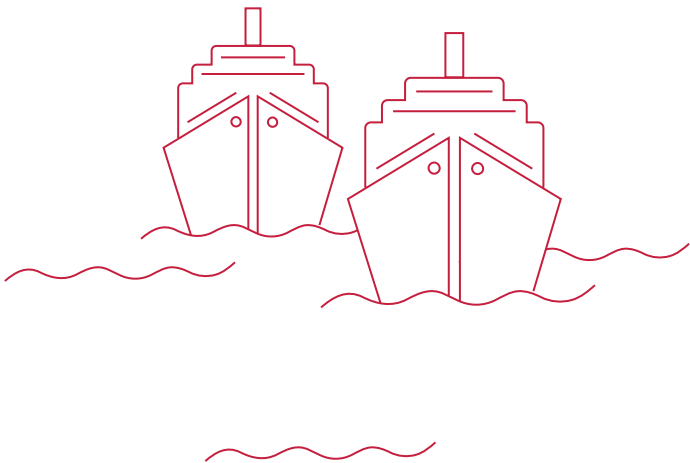
Feedback from local town team representatives indicates that community engagement through the town team approach is most effective where:

- Governments, particularly local governments, promote civic leadership and work proactively with community organisations, such as town teams.
- Top-down strategic planning is undertaken in conjunction with bottom-up place improvement actions.
- The community is engaged more at the visioning and strategic planning stages (i.e. strategic planning and structure planning), and potentially less at the development application stage if the proposal aligns with the vision and strategy for an area.
- There is a focus on improving places through specific actions that people can see, guided by a Place Action Plan.
- Density is seen as a means to an outcome, not the outcome in itself.

In this context it is broadly acknowledged that, while a bottom-up, participatory approach can take more work up-front, proactively engaging with progressive community organisations can build support for change, involve and empower local people and produce better results.



Engaging with the community in a meaningful way is an important component of managing land use conflict and community contributions to decision-making.



# 7 Conclusion and Summary

This report has summarised and examined the findings and recommendations of the WWTWKU case study series as well as analysed recent national examples of controversial development projects and examined literature regarding public involvement in decision-making.

This research has identified, based on the case studies analysed, the common factors associated with land use and development conflict and controversy and the key ingredients that may assist in reducing controversy. It has also identified some factors associated with project success.

It has found that, while not always easy, engaging with the community in a meaningful way is an important component of managing land use conflict and community contributions to decision-making. It can also assist to develop a mandate for land use change and development.

Ten recommendations have been identified as strategies to minimise the potential for major conflict associated with significant land use and development projects and to provide a best practice guide to the delivery of major and potentially controversial development and infrastructure projects. These are outlined in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Recommendations and Summary of Findings

Project Phase	Recommendation	Summary of Research Findings
Long-term Strategic Planning and Project Selection	1. Long-term planning informed by the community	Long-term, bipartisan strategic plans for land use and infrastructure assist in establishing a vision, goals and objectives for the future growth and investment in a region. This research indicates that developing robust, long-term plans and providing opportunities for meaningful community involvement in the strategic planning process can improve transparency and build public and political support for future land use change and development. Case studies also highlight the importance of ensuring proposals are consistent with long-term plans, strategies and regional objectives.
	2. Rigorous project assessment and selection processes	Projects or proposals that have been selected and commence without rigorous assessment processes are more likely to face public scrutiny, opposition and risk disruption. Projects should be: consistent with strategic goals and objectives for the region; be identified through a broad assessment of opportunities, challenges and options; and assessed using broad, evidence-based criteria including social, cultural and environmental costs and benefits. Providing opportunities for meaningful community engagement at this phase could assist in identifying and addressing community issues and concerns early in the process.

Project Phase	Recommendation	Summary of Research Findings
Project Planning	3. Identify/consider potential for high public interest or opposition to the proposal	<p>Some projects and proposals are more likely to be controversial than others. This research has identified the following factors that are common to controversial projects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sensitive sites of high social, cultural or environmental value, such as coastal/foreshore locations.</li> <li>• Sites with heritage values, either Indigenous and/or European.</li> <li>• Large-scale projects within a established residential or commercial area, such as a major infrastructure, urban renewal or development project.</li> <li>• Limited/no opportunity for public involvement prior to the release of preferred option or design.</li> <li>• Projects that substantially increase development density/intensity within an established location.</li> <li>• Existing controversy or concern regarding government decision-making in the area.</li> <li>• Bold design.</li> <li>• Lack of bipartisan political support.</li> </ul>
	4. Assess conditions for community engagement	<p>Community engagement has advantages and disadvantages, and the potential for successful community engagement can be dependent on project characteristics. Investing in meaningful community engagement has the highest potential for benefit when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community interest in the issue is high.</li> <li>• The project is likely to be/is controversial.</li> <li>• The project is located on land of high cultural significance.</li> <li>• A mandate is needed.</li> <li>• Respected community members are willing to be involved.</li> <li>• There is existing distrust in government decision-making.</li> <li>• Decision-making does not require substantial technical knowledge.</li> </ul>
	5. Identify an appropriate level of community engagement	<p>There is a recognised 'spectrum' or 'continuum' of community engagement which ranges from providing information and updates, to collaborating and empowering the community to make decisions. This research indicates that there is a need to provide community members with opportunities for meaningful involvement in controversial projects where the community engagement process has an influence on project outcomes. This goes beyond current statutory requirements. There is also evidence that establishing a community mandate can assist project delivery and this can be achieved by undertaking broad community polls or surveys, in conjunction with other engagement initiatives.</p>

Project Phase	Recommendation	Summary of Research Findings
Project Design and Assessment	6. Provide opportunities for community engagement and establish a mandate	<p>Enabling community members to provide meaningful input into a project early in the project process, preferably prior to the design phase or as part of the strategic planning and option assessment process, may assist in increasing community awareness and acceptance of a project or proposal and avoid costly delays or changes later in the project process. Early input should also aim to develop a mandate or establish majority agreement regarding core project elements.</p>
	7. Incorporate good design principles; maximise potential benefits; and deliver benefits for a broad spectrum of the community	<p>Communities respond negatively to projects that they perceive to be elite or that impose negative externalities on the community for the benefit of private entities. Projects that incorporate good design principles and deliver benefits for a broad spectrum of community members are more likely to be supported and deliver successful outcomes.</p>
	8. Anticipate, identify and respond to community concerns	<p>The WWTWKU case studies indicate that ongoing conflict and potential for political backlash increases when governments fail to listen to, respond or address concerns expressed by the community, especially in cases where the concerns are widespread. There is also evidence that there are common issues that concern community members in regard to land use change and development and these can be anticipated and addressed early in the project design process.</p>
Implementation/ Development	9. Rigorously assess and carefully manage environmental impacts	<p>The impact of projects on the environment is a common concern of the community associated with controversial projects. Implementing rigorous assessments and careful management of environmental impacts assists project delivery and reduces potential for opposition.</p>
	10. Successful project management and best practice project procurement and funding	<p>Poor project management or procurement processes or public and media perceptions of poor processes associated with time delays and budget overruns can generate controversy and criticism. Implementing best practice project management, procurement and funding models is therefore essential both to avoid controversy and conflict and ensure efficient and effective implementation and outcomes.</p>





Public opposition and activism in land use decision-making is part of living in a democratic society and the goal should therefore be to harness this energy into positive project engagement.

# Appendix 1 – National Case Studies

## Federation Square

The Project	<p>Announced in 1996, the State Government of Victoria planned Federation Square to commemorate the 2001 centennial of the Australian Federation. With an initial estimated budget of between \$100 and \$128 million AUD, the Square was intended to become the cultural heart of the city.</p> <p>The Square was developed over an existing commuter railyard and aimed to connect Melbourne’s Central Business District and the Yarra River (Misiak, 2003). Federation Square was proposed to incorporate a public square, performing arts facilities, a gallery, a cine-media centre, a glazed winter garden, and ancillary cafe and retail spaces.</p> <p>A major project goal was to deliver cutting-edge design and architecture to create a space worthy of international attention (Misiak, 2003).</p> <p>An architectural design competition for the Square received 177 entries from around the world. A joint venture formed by London-based LAB Architecture Studio and Melbourne based Bates Smart architects were selected as the architects for the project.</p>
Delivery	<p>Federation Square was completed in 2002 at a cost of \$450 million.</p>
Controversy	<p><b>Design:</b> The design of Federation Square was heavily criticised and opposed by members of the public. Notably, the original design incorporated a western freestanding ‘shard’ structure, which, if developed would have blocked views of St Paul’s Cathedral from Princes Bridge. This was strongly opposed. This opposition resulted in the design being modified to ensure views of the Cathedral were retained.</p> <p>Criticism of the design did not end with the project’s completion. In 2009, Federation Square was named the ‘World’s Fifth Ugliest Building’ by the Virtual Tourist. Yet it has been acknowledged that controversy regarding the design was almost inevitable given the objective to deliver an avant-garde project. Original project director, Damien Bonnice, remarked: “... we went to a competition and we said to the architects: ‘We’re up for a bold interpretation of a new civic and cultural space’. We knew we were going to get something controversial. In fact, I said many times before the competition selection was made, that if we don’t have a controversy with the architecture of this development, we’ve failed”.</p> <p><b>Cost:</b> The final cost of construction was an estimated \$450 million AUD, substantially above the original estimate of \$128 million AUD. According to reports, the initial cost was unrealistic and under estimated due to the unanticipated expense of covering the railyards, changes to the brief, the need to resolve construction methods for the angular design, and long delays.</p> <p><b>Completion:</b> The project was completed in 2002, after the 2001 centennial of the Australian Federation.</p>



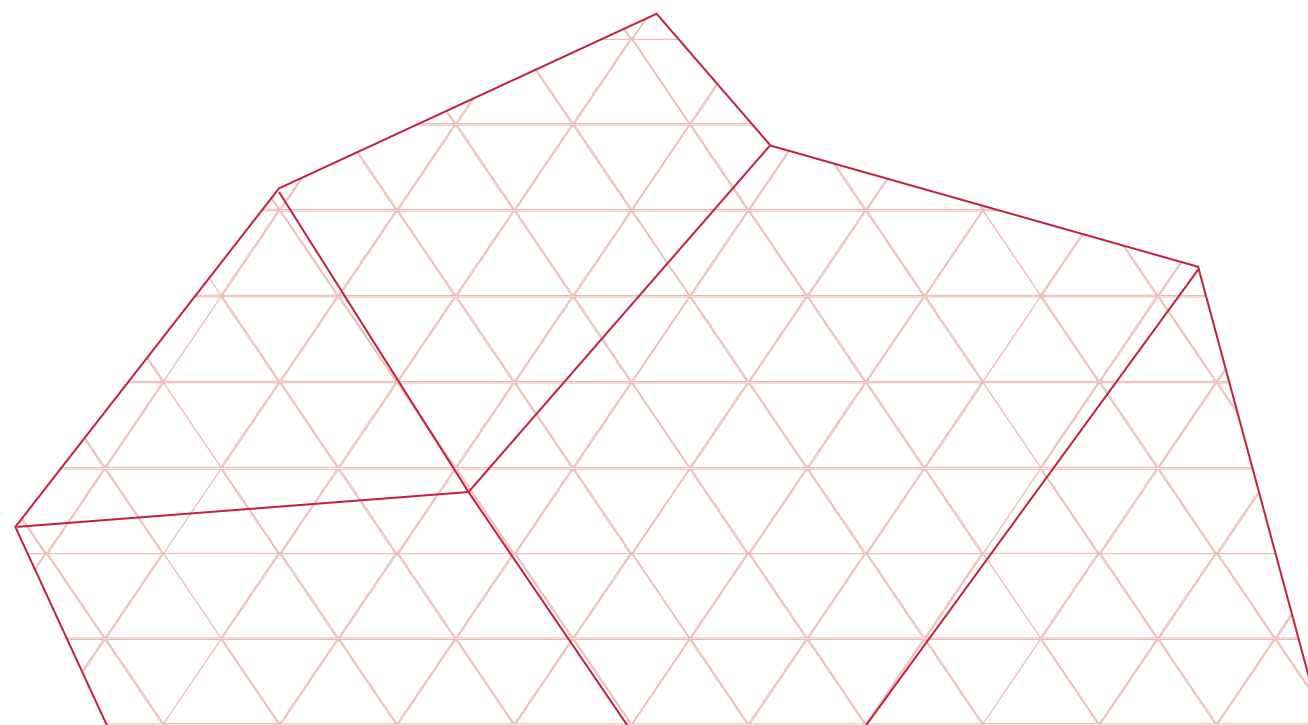
Outcomes	<p>Federation Square is widely recognised as one of the most successful public space projects in the world. In 2014, Landscape Architects Network named Federation Square the sixth best public square in the world. Federation Square attracts more than 10 million visitors per year and hosts approximately 2,000 events annually.</p> <p>Multiple factors have been identified as contributing to the success of Federation Square. These include the concept of the Square as a cultural precinct; the design; the premium, highly accessible location; a latent need for public space in inner Melbourne; and the development of the Square at a time of economic expansion and optimism. The location of multiple attractions within Federation Square, including the Melbourne Visitor Centre, as well as quality placemaking, events and management of the space have also been credited with contributing to the Square's success.</p>
What We Can Learn/ Observations	<p>Projects that seek to make a bold architectural/design statement are likely to spark controversy and therefore require considerable courage.</p> <p>Architecture that is not universally adored, but sparks contemplation and investigation, can add to the interest and attraction of spaces.</p> <p>Additional attention to public input may have been helpful in identifying the needs, desires, and preferences of the potential users of the space. Although the vast majority of funding for the project was public, the people of Melbourne and Victoria had little opportunity to interact with the project before much of the design process had already been completed.</p>
<b>Barangaroo</b>	
The Project	<p>The redevelopment of a 22ha disused container wharf on the western side of the Sydney CBD now known as Barangaroo. The site is prominent on Sydney Harbour and was the last major development site available in close proximity to the CBD. The iconic nature of the site and conflicting views of stakeholders has meant that the redevelopment proposal was subject to close scrutiny. Former industrial use of the site also resulted in contamination of the redevelopment area, meaning that substantial remediation work was required to support development.</p> <p>2005: The NSW State Government announced the redevelopment of the Barangaroo area. The area was proposed to be developed as parkland and commercial space and the then State Government launched a design competition to identify a concept for the site.</p> <p>2006: The winning architectural team was announced. They were a consortium of Hill Thalys Architecture + Urban Projects, Paul Berkemeier Architects and Jane Irwin Landscape Architecture (Sartor, 2011; Jabour, 2015). The Thalys design had a harbourside park along the entire length of the waterfront and 389,511 square metres of floorspace. The tallest building in the plan was proposed to be 92 metres (Jabour, 2015). However, the decision was controversial and not unanimously supported by the competition jury, some of whom described the plan as 'excessively modest' and 'lacking ambition' (Sartor, 2011). A short time later, the winning architectural team was excluded from the project.</p>

<p>The redevelopment area was also declared a "State significant site" bringing it within Part 3A of the <i>Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979</i> and exempting it from conventional planning processes including requirements for community consultation and local government approval. Prior to this, the redevelopment was subject to the planning requirements of the City of Sydney, "whose planning laws include requirements for rigorous environmental impact studies, tender processes, limits on building heights, trade-offs on design for the public good and affordable housing requirements" (Stickells, 2010, pp. 1).</p> <p>2007: The then Minister for Planning approved a concept plan incorporating 388,300 square metres of floorspace. A little over a year later, a modification was lodged increasing the floorspace to more than 500,000 square metres (Sartor, 2011; Jabour, 2015). The Barangaroo Delivery Authority (BDA) was also created to manage the delivery of the project and then City of Sydney Mayor, Clover Moore was appointed as one of its six board members (Stickells, 2010).</p> <p>2009: The NSW Government announced that Lendlease had been selected as the preferred tenderer to develop and create the \$6 billion Stage 1 development. A Design Excellence panel was also announced for the project.</p> <p>2010: Lendlease lodged a significant amendment to increase the density of the site. In 2010, amendments to the concept plan were approved allowing an increase of 63,000 square metres to 564,000 square metres. The proposed amendments also included the development of a 213-metre-high hotel, located on a pier extending into the harbour (Stickells, 2010).</p> <p>Public opposition to the project soared. Public figures including then Mayor of Sydney, Clover Moore likened the proposal to the "privatisation of the harbour" and declared the proposal "unacceptable" (Stickells, 2010). Mr Moore resigned from the Delivery Authority shortly after saying, "the site was being overdeveloped and the public were being shut out of the process" (Stickells, 2010, pp. 1).</p> <p>Former Chairman of the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, Gerry Gleeson also criticised the development, "I have serious doubts about the proposal in respect to: the height of the buildings, the bulk of the buildings, the pedestrian access," Mr Gleeson said. "It seems to contradict what have been accepted principles for development along the foreshore" (Jabour, 2013, pp. 1).</p> <p>2011: Shortly before the NSW State election, then Planning Minister, The Hon. Tony Kelly changed laws to allow Barangaroo to circumvent contamination laws and approved Lendlease's 43-storey commercial tower and the Barangaroo Delivery Authority's application to build the headland park at the northern end of the site.</p> <p>2011: The Australians for Sustainable Development community group commenced proceedings in the Land and Environment Court, challenging issues in relation to Barangaroo. Labor was defeated at the election and the newly elected Liberal Premier, Mr Barry O'Farrel initiated a review of the Barangaroo project known as the Sussex-Penn Review. The review examined, 'the reasonableness' of the planning process for Barangaroo.</p>
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	<p>As well as examining the planning process, design of the project and transport, the review identified <i>“a raft of small and large mistakes and mishandlings, which taken together, have created an air of crisis around the development”</i> and found that <i>“consultation about the project has been more a selling of a decision than a genuine effort at community engagement to improve the outcome, and that there is a lack of transparency in relation to the project. Perceptions about the adequacy of consultation and transparency are often influenced by the extent to which the commentator likes the outcome, but these comments have been made widely enough for this Review to conclude that the Barangaroo Delivery Authority and Lendlease need to upgrade their approach to consultation, communication and transparency”</i> (Sussex and Penn, 2011, pp. 9). The review also found that the processes which approved the Hotel over the Harbour were, <i>“...not good public policy, and, as a result, it is our recommendation that the decision to locate the hotel over the Harbour should be reviewed by negotiation with Lendlease”</i> (Sussex and Penn, 2011, pp. 5).</p> <p>2012: Media reports identified a proposal by Crown to develop a hotel and casino on the Barangaroo site within an area previously identified as public open space.</p> <p>2013: The NSW Parliament passed legislation that specified the siting of the proposed Crown Sydney Hotel Resort and restricted gaming facility to a site previously identified as public open space on the foreshore of Barangaroo South.</p> <p>2015: Plans for Modification 8 were released. Triggered by a request from the Government to relocate the proposed Crown Hotel Tower from a pier in the harbour onto land, Modification 8 proposed the Crown Sydney Hotel Resort on land previously identified as public open space and increased the total gross floor area of the entire Barangaroo development to more than 681,000 square metres.</p> <p>Barangaroo Reserve is officially opened, and the first residential and commercial buildings are completed.</p> <p>2016: Modification 8 was approved by the NSW Planning Assessment Commission. However, the Commission ‘heard serious concerns from the community’ regarding the proposal and made a number of recommendations primarily focused on improving the public domain (Planning Assessment Commission, 2016).</p> <p>2017: Additional commercial development completed and ferry services to the area commenced.</p>
Delivery	2006 – 2023 (estimated completion date)
Controversy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of a clear and transparent planning process.</li> <li>• Failure to deliver outcomes consistent with the opinions of the community, expressed during consultation.</li> <li>• Inadequate ‘genuine’ consultation.</li> <li>• Emphasis being placed on private profit at the expense of public benefits.</li> <li>• Substantial and ongoing increases in the scale of the proposal.</li> <li>• Lack of public amenity provided at the site.</li> <li>• Adverse impacts on heritage sites/buildings.</li> <li>• Inadequate provision of affordable housing.</li> <li>• Building height and design.</li> <li>• Concerns regarding design of public space and impact of buildings on public space.</li> <li>• Access and transport concerns.</li> </ul>

Outcomes	The Barangaroo project, while partially open, remains incomplete. As such, while a review of the project outcomes is considered premature, media reports since the opening of open space areas and initial commercial developments have been positive.
What We Can Learn/ Observations	<p>Transparent and rigorous planning and assessment processes and genuine community consultation/input are central to obtaining and retaining public trust in major projects.</p> <p>Multiple, substantial modifications to major public projects should be avoided and, if undertaken, transparent approval processes should be followed and opportunities for meaningful community input should be provided.</p> <p>Public amenity and the delivery of universal benefits should be a primary goal of public projects.</p> <p>High-intensity development, particularly high-intensity development within areas identified for public space/public use, are likely to generate controversy.</p> <p>Contracting a single development company to deliver a large-scale public urban redevelopment project may risk perceptions of project privatisation.</p>
<b>West Village Development Brisbane</b>	
The Project	Urban renewal of a 2.6-hectare site in central Brisbane. Formerly housing the Peters Ice Cream factory, the West Village proposal originally aimed to deliver a master planned urban community housing 1,350 apartments, a 4,500 square metre supermarket, 500 square metres of community facilities, a 450-space public car park, and parking for 1,600 bicycles.
Delivery	<p>A development proposal for the site was submitted to Brisbane City Council by developers in April 2015. The project generated immediate opposition from local residents and politicians (Attfield, 2016).</p> <p>2016: The Masterplan for the site was approved by the Brisbane City Council in May 2016.</p> <p>June: The West End Community Association lodged an appeal against the project in the Planning and Environment Court.</p> <p>Community protests and public marches.</p> <p>July: The Deputy Premier issues a call in notice for the development.</p> <p>700 submissions are made in response to the proposed call in.</p> <p>The Deputy Premier calls in the West Village development application on the Absoe site in West End (Trad, 2016).</p> <p>November: The proposal obtains approval with additional conditions which include requirements for public green space to be doubled; the retention of two heritage buildings; reduced site coverage; and a reduction in the total number of apartments to 1,250. There was also a requirement to incorporate a childcare centre, artist-in-residence studios, a knowledge incubator and dedicated community-use studio. The development was also required to achieve a 5-star green rating (Urban Developer, 2017).</p>

Controversy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gentrification of West End.</li> <li>• Lack of open space.</li> <li>• Height of towers.</li> <li>• Scale/intensity of development.</li> <li>• Impact on heritage buildings and heritage values of the site.</li> <li>• Retention of small independent retailers.</li> <li>• Inadequate provision of affordable housing.</li> <li>• Development inconsistent with local character.</li> <li>• Displacement of existing residents including Indigenous residents.</li> <li>• Lack of acknowledgement/respect for Indigenous culture and heritage.</li> <li>• Traffic.</li> <li>• Lack of process for community members to have a say in the development of the site.</li> </ul>
Outcomes	The West Village development has been identified in the media as a success, with media reporting that ‘yesterday it was a controversial project: today it’s hot property’ (Chilton, 2017).
What We Can Learn/ Observations	<p>Proposals for urban renewal are often also associated with displacement of the existing community.</p> <p>There is potential for urban renewal projects to incorporate the community.</p>



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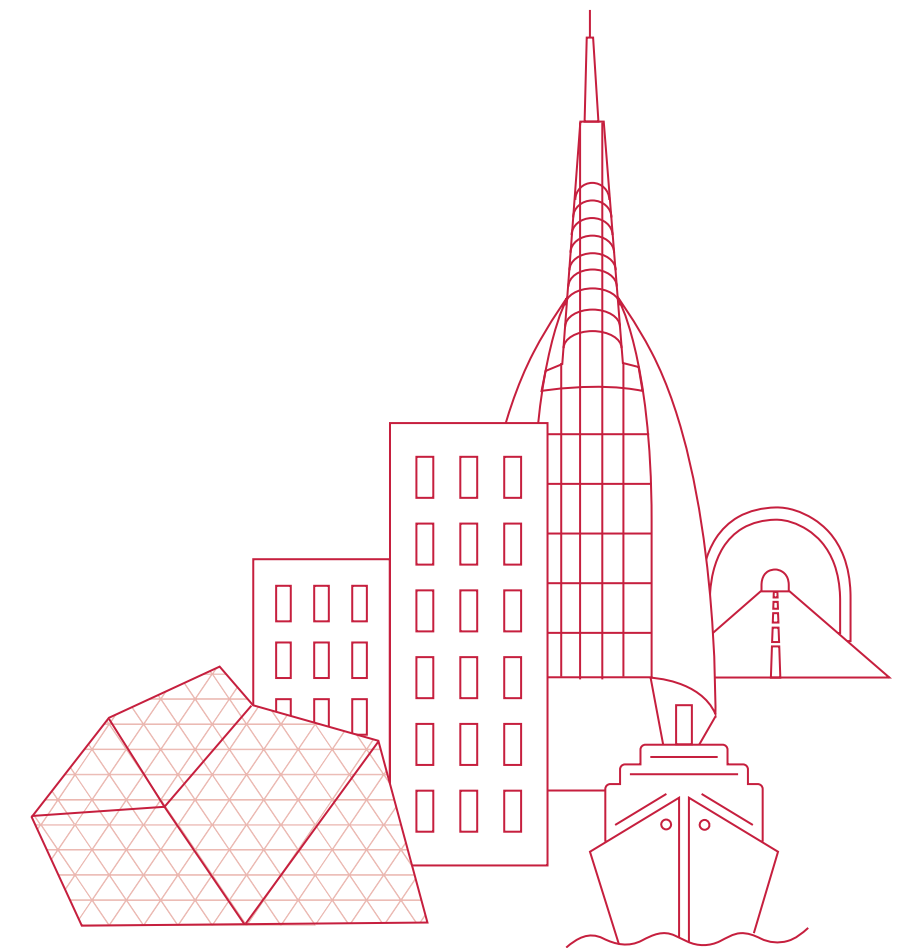
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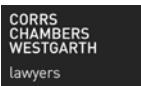
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