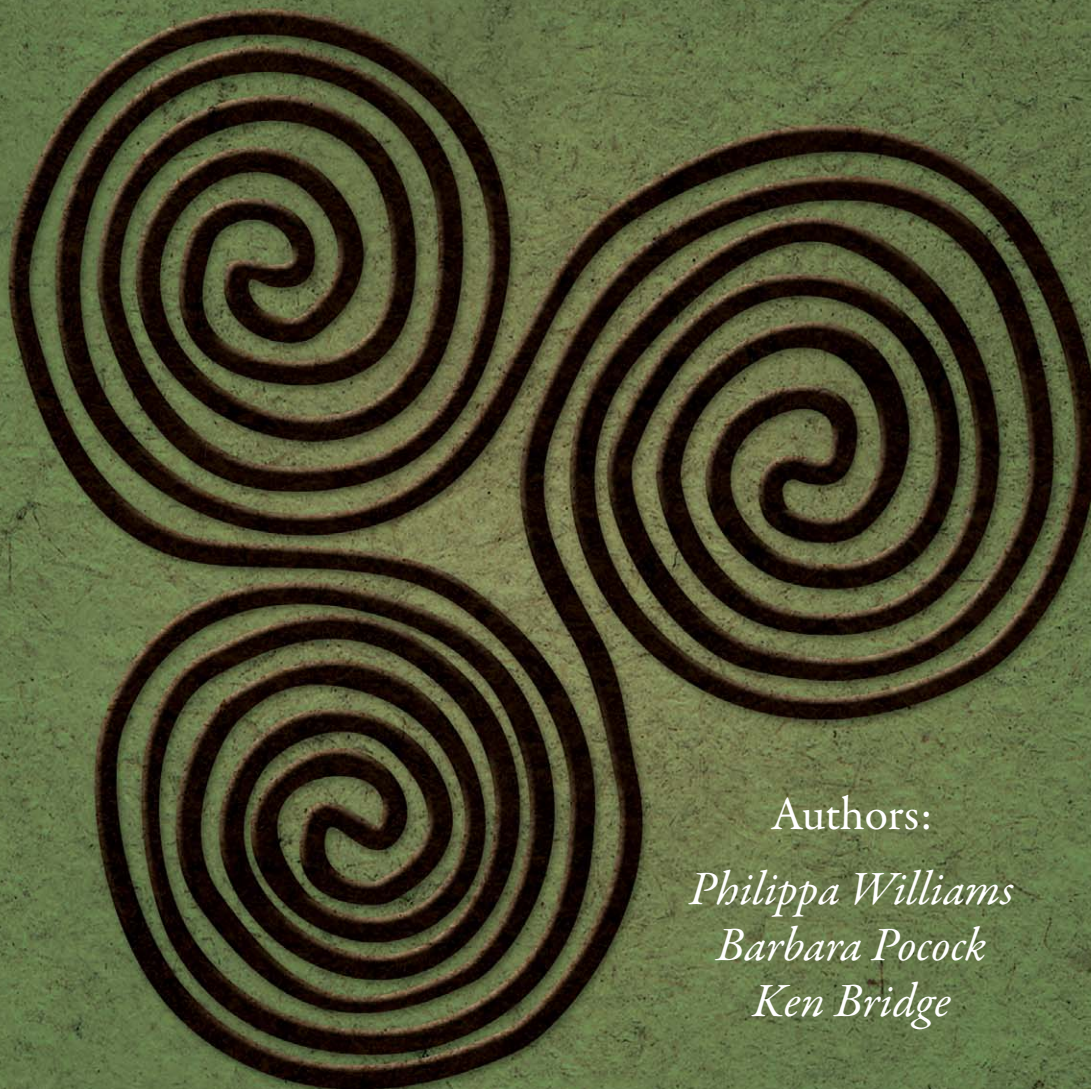


The Work, Home and Community Project 2006-2009

Linked Up Lives: Putting Together Work, Home and Community in Ten Australian Suburbs



Overview Report



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Overview Report

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This Report

This report gives an overview of findings from the Work, Home and Community research project conducted by the Centre for Work + Life, University of South Australia, between 2006 and 2009.

The project undertook research in ten Australian suburbs, examining how workers and residents put together their work, home and communities in four master planned communities, four 'traditional' suburbs adjacent to these planned communities and two inner urban, harbour-side master planned communities.

This overview report draws together the views of residents (both adults and teenagers) as well as workers, business owners and community service providers and provides specific stakeholder recommendations to government, planners, developers, businesses, schools and individuals. It relies on data collected by survey, interview and focus groups amongst nearly 1000 men, women and children, working, studying, living or providing services in these ten communities.

The reports arising from this project include:

1. *Linked Up Lives: Putting Together Work, Home and Community in Ten Australian Suburbs: Overview Report*: (Williams, Pocock and Bridge, 2009)
2. *Sustainable Lives in Sustainable Communities? Living and Working in Ten Australian Suburbs* (Williams, Bridge, Edwards, Vujinovic and Pocock, 2009)
 - a. *Supplementary report: Sustainable Lives in Sustainable Communities: Qualitative Findings from Ten Australian Suburbs* (Bridge and Williams, 2009)
3. *Work, Home and Community: Findings from the Household Survey*. (Skinner, Ichii & Williams, 2009)
4. *Mobility, Mothers and Malls: How Home, Community, School, and Work Affect Opportunity for Teenagers in Suburban Australia* (Williams, Bridge and Pocock, 2009)
5. *Fitting it all together: Work, Home and Community in two Australian Master Planned Communities* (Williams and Pocock, 2009)

Reports are available on the Centre for Work + Life website

<http://www.unisa.edu.au/hawkeinstitute/default.asp> (with the exception of Reports 2a. and 5 which may be available on request)

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Philippa Williams managed the project and undertook much of the field work, analysis and conceptual work. Ken Bridge also undertook field work and analysis, as did Jane Edwards. Natalie Skinner and Reina Ichii undertook survey analysis. Natalija Vujinovic undertook some qualitative analysis. Barbara Pocock developed the project initially and undertook some field work and analysis.

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Chief investigators on the original project submission were Barbara Pocock (University of South Australia), Susan Oakley (University of Adelaide) and Kelvin Trimper (Lend Lease Communities).

Responsibility for the final text rests with the authors.

Introduction

Most Australians live in cities: sixty-four per cent of Australians live in our big cities (ABS, cat no 2070.0, 2006). Eighty-five percent of Australians live within 50 kilometres of the coast, and some of the fastest areas of growth are places like the Gold Coast and outer urban settlements (ABS, cat no 4102.0, 2009). The pressures on Australian cities to expand outwards and upwards are well known. Environmental change is complicating the management of our cities and giving new meaning to the notion of living sustainably (Australian Parliament, 2005).

At the same time, working patterns of Australians and the nature of the households in which we live are changing significantly. The rate of participation in paid work is continuing a long-term rise, underpinned by the increasing participation of women. Mothers now usually work, and most women can expect to work alongside men for much of their adult lives. While many women work part-time, jobs are now an important element of their identity, and women have rapidly increased their participation in higher education so that they are highly skilled and want to make use of their skills. At the same time, many teenagers also hold down jobs, and many retirees continue to be attached to the labour market well into their sixties and seventies. Working hours have changed rapidly in Australia. The 'standard' working week of nine to five, Monday to Friday – the dominant working week of the 1970s – has given way to working patterns that are now very diverse. At the time of the 2006 Census, 34.2 per cent of employed Australians worked part-time (less than 35 hours a week) and almost as many worked long hours (29.6 per cent worked more than 40 hours a week and 17.1 per cent more than 49 hours a week). Only 36.2 per cent worked 35-40 hours a week.

In terms of employment type, the service sector has expanded at a rapid rate, while manufacturing and agriculture have declined, and professional and managerial jobs make up a growing share of employment in Australia.

The growth in participation in paid work is – by definition - accompanied by growth in commuting. Patterns of travel, concern about 'time wasted' in commuting, the cost, quality and accessibility of public transport, not surprisingly, emerge as important concerns in all suburbs in this research. Those who are disadvantaged in society, by low income, poor skills or education, are often the most disadvantaged in terms of their easy mobility. Poor transport options have the most potent effects on the most disadvantaged.

Households have also been changing. In many suburbs, the 'breadwinner' household (with a male earner and female carer at home looking after children) is rare. Sole-parent households are growing in number, dual earner households are common, and single person households and retirees make up a significant and growing proportion of households (ABS cat no 2068.0).

Australians are very mobile: between the 2001 and 2006 Census, more than a third of Australians changed their address (ABS, cat no 4102.0, 2009). Many did so locally, within their city or region. However, almost two million moved to a new city or region, and many more changed their communities when they changed address.

So Australians are living amidst much change in their work patterns, their households and where and how they make their lives.

How is this change affecting men, women and children across the socio-economic spectrum? How are new forms of housing and community plans, for example master-planned communities, shaping how people put together their jobs, homes and communities – and how does this compare with older, traditional suburbs? What are the relationships between these newer forms of suburban design and older neighbouring suburbs where incomes are often lower? How is work affecting household and community life – and vice versa? What particular factors affect outcomes, and how do outcomes vary for men and women over the life course – from when they are teenagers, through the various stages of adulthood into retirement and old age?

This report addresses these questions based on deep empirical research arising from a four year study conducted in four Australian cities.

We know from Australian studies, that work affects workers beyond their workplace (see for example Pocock, Skinner and Williams 2007, Skinner and Pocock 2008 and Pocock, Skinner and Ichii 2009 for the results of large surveys about work, home and community interaction in Australia). However, studies that show how – in circumstances of great social change – people are putting together their jobs with their larger lives are uncommon. Those that exist are mostly located in the UK and are relatively small scale (see for example McDowell et al, 2006, Jarvis 2005, Green and White 2007). However, they show how important it is to analyse changes in work, home and community life in the context of both time and space, taking care to unpick differences over the life-cycle, and paying attention to both gender and socio-economic differences.

This study ‘goes beneath’ large Australian surveys to explore the lived experience of work, home and community life for many Australians. It analyses outcomes across the life-cycle for different age groups, confirming that time, space and place matter, and that they matter differently for different age groups and genders, in line with international studies.

We find that work and its conditions cast a long shadow over the households and communities in which workers live. Many aspects of ‘work’ shape outcomes: characteristics of the job, the larger workplace and its cultures and norms, the industry within which people work, and the conditions and regulation of the larger labour market. The long shadow of work is far from all negative. Wages are vital to workers and their households, and many take pleasure, identity and skill from their jobs – whether teenagers or pre-retirees. However, the technologies of work, the reach of work and its technologies into the home, the hours of work, the intensity of work, the ways in which work and its hours fit with the rest of life, affect what workers ‘take home’ from work, and the nature and depth of the communities in which they live. These issues are of vital concern to the future of Australia, the nature of housing, workplaces and the communities that we make, and their outcomes for the economy and the well-being and health of men, women and children.

This study

This study examines how these changes are unfolding in our suburbs and how they affect the quality and nature of life for men, women and children. By analysing the experiences and views of people living and working in ten Australian suburbs we can make recommendations about how governments, developers, employers, service providers and citizens can act to improve outcomes for individuals, families and communities.

The project asks a key question - ‘how should we work and live now?’ – from the viewpoint of residents, workers, resident-workers, householders and teenagers. It examines the intersections of work, households, services and community from a range of social-economic perspectives, and investigates how people are living now, how they are creating their homes and communities, and how changes at work are shaping new demands and configurations.

Cities in Australia and around the world are struggling to cope with increasing populations. As a result, cities are expanding and major new master planned developments are being undertaken to meet the demand for housing. At the same time, a growing population of Australians are in paid work or seeking it, often combining caring responsibilities with their jobs, education and community activities. The degree to which urban and suburban development accommodates the needs of residents, workers and local business is the focus of much debate in Australia. The demands and resources associated with living or working in new housing developments or older traditional suburbs affect how successfully people configure their home, work and community lives. If demands are high and resources inadequate, the well-being of individuals and communities is put at risk. Risk is also constructed by socio-economic and life stage factors, as well as gender.

The aim of this study is to investigate how residents, workers and business owners/managers experience work, home and community in ten diverse Australian communities. These communities include:

- four traditional suburbs located on the outskirts of capital cities and characterised by lower than average income and education;
- four adjacent master planned communities characterised by higher income and education levels;
- two inner urban master planned communities characterised by higher income and education levels and lower proportions of households with children.

In this report we refer to master planned communities simply as ‘planned communities’, though we acknowledge that all communities are planned to a greater or lesser degree. Not all master planned communities are the same: some have very open boundaries while others are much more closed or ‘gated’; some have diverse employment and educational facilities, including amongst those in our study. These differences highlight the need for deep study of different communities and care in the nature of generalisation about different types of communities and their consequences for those who live within them.

The planned communities in this study are defined as geographically bounded, large scale, private housing developments that incorporate varying levels of social and physical infrastructure, including retail and recreation areas, schools and other social services.

We analyse the key issues affecting men’s and women’s ability to achieve socially and personally sustaining and sustainable lives in these ten Australian communities. We consider the demands and resources within the ‘ecological system’ (Bronfenbrenner 1979, Voydanoff 2007) of work, home and community and examine how they interact to affect people with different jobs and care obligations, in various relationships with the labour market and at different stages of life.

Key Questions

The study set out to investigate six research questions:

- What do workers, and those they live with, seek from their work, homes and communities?
- What kind of relationships do they seek between their workplace, homes and communities?
- How do they build their communities – at work, home and elsewhere? How does this vary according to life cycle stage, socio-economic status and geography?
- Are these relationships and communities sustainable?
- What can be learned from experiences elsewhere?
- What are the policy implications of the analysis?

The International Contribution of this Project: Gaps in Existing Research

While there is considerable research around working patterns in Australia and internationally, and especially around the question of ‘work and family’, there has been much less attention to the issues of ‘work, home and community’ and to the spatial and temporal organisation of work in relation to the rest of life – especially as it unfolds in different suburban forms (Pocock, Williams and Skinner 2009).

Close academic research about life in new master planned communities and how lives in these settings compare with more traditional suburban settings is sparse.

There is considerable international research about ‘work and family’ and how they fit together. Most of this, however, focuses upon professional and managerial workers, especially those living in dual income households with children. The situations of low income workers and their households and communities, are much less studied, as are the situations of sole-parents/workers and those living in non-couple households or dealing with the burgeoning issue of care for the aged.

There is little research on how work, home *and community* intersect. On the other hand, specific research about ‘community’ often fails to make the link to the nature and effects of work (e.g. Putnam 2000). There are some exceptions, for example, some UK studies that are class conscious and spatially sophisticated (Perrons et al. 2005, Jarvis 2005, McDowell 2004). However, such studies are not common, and are mostly British and small scale.

Finally, a ‘whole of life-cycle’ perspective is unusual in this research. Our study helps here in its inclusion of teenagers, adults at all stages of their lives, and older citizens.

To summarise, this study analyses all three domains of work, home and community and their interaction, in relation to all forms of households, diverse occupations, socio-economic status, gender, different suburban forms and all life-cycle stages (except for children under 11).

We draw together results of our analysis to outline a model of the main factors that shape work, home and community outcomes, and include a table of factors that comprise the demands and resources in each sector, based on our findings.

Theoretical underpinnings: Defining work, home and community

Analysis of work, home and community brings together the three vital domains where both economic production and social reproduction occur in a tight embrace. How should we define these three domains? We can do so either spatially (the *places* of workplace, the household, the street) or *relationally*: for example, family is made not only within the place of home but through relationships that transcend places. In this light we use the following definitions:

1. **Work:** In this analysis work refers to work undertaken in an employment relationship, some of which may be unpaid and some of which may be undertaken remotely from a workplace (i.e. in a car, while in transit, or from home) but most of which will be done in a workplace. Unpaid domestic work and work done in a voluntary capacity is differentiated from employment in this study.
2. **Home:** We define home as the place where people contribute money and time to sustain their private, everyday life. (Of course, for many, home and family is much more than this.) In the case of a sole person living alone without other adult family or close friends/house mates, this will be a single person household. Most homes in Australia will be single person or dual earner households, with and without children.
3. **Community:** recognising that a large literature exists on this front (Putnam 2000), we define ‘community’ as relationships of support and/or interaction between people that might be based on place, shared interest or identity. These relations are often geographically based and may be of different strengths and they are not always positive. They are, however, part of the demands and resources experienced by workers and households. We are particularly interested in the development of relational community in geographically defined areas, however we do not limit our analysis to place.

Bringing work, home and community together

We employ Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) and Voydanoff’s (2007) ecological systems theory to frame the linkages between work, family and community. Bronfenbrenner’s original model sets out four ecological levels, each nested within the next, which together make up the ‘ecology’ within which children develop. Voydanoff (2007) adapted this theory to analyse work, family and community (see figure 1). She adds to this picture by utilising the notion of the demands and resources that are created in each sphere. For example in the sphere of the workplace, employee access to leave is a resource, while long hours are a demand; in the household, sick children are a demand, while extended family is a resource; in the community, good neighbours who help out are a resource, while poor local schools can create demands.

This ecological approach, overlaid with consideration of the demands and resources in each sector, has some important strengths. It takes us away from the individualistic notion of 'balance'. It locates the three interlocking domains of work, home and community in a larger 'macrosystem' of social norms and institutions. It encourages study of the 'microsystem' in each domain, as well as the 'mesosystem' of interaction between the three core domains of work, home and community, and implies that each domain creates demands and resources.

This ecosystem affects outcomes for individuals, families, communities and workplaces and we use it to try to make sense of work, home and community interaction in Australia (Williams and Pocock 2009). Towards the end of this summary, we amend this model drawing on the results of our analysis.

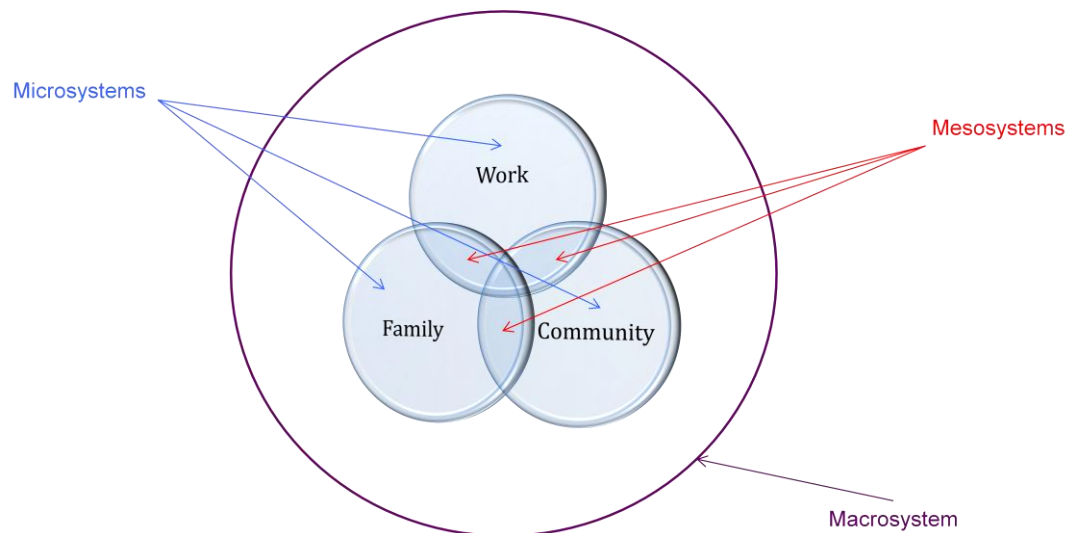


Figure 1: An ecological systems model of work, family and community

Note: Each domain and each intersection creates demands and resources

Source: This model draws on Voydanoff's 2007 adaption of Bronfenbrenner's 1979 ecological systems model

Our data

The research reported here relies on a large number of interviews of residents, workers, business people, service providers and teenagers. In total, 961 individuals participated in the study: 647 responded to a survey sent to their homes, of whom 131 were also interviewed about their experience as a resident of their community. The remainder are made up of 98 workers and residents, 23 business owners/managers, 19 community service providers, and 174 teenagers who took part in interviews and focus groups which examined how characteristics of work, home and local community affected various aspects of their lives, or the lives of others in the case of community service providers.

Participants were recruited from four traditional suburbs, four adjacent master planned communities and two inner urban harbour-side master planned communities. The planned communities and traditional communities are located on the outer rim of Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane while the two inner urban harbour-side master planned communities are in Melbourne and Sydney.

Table 1 shows the pseudonyms for the suburbs and some key socio-economic data about each.

Table 1: Socio-economic characteristics of the ten studied suburbs

Suburb pseudonym	Median mortgage (\$ per month)	Median rent (\$ per week)	Median individual come (\$ per week)	Median family income (\$ per week)	% of two parent families with children	% of residents who are managers/ professionals
TradNSW	\$1,400	\$180	\$403	\$1,001	39.3	16.3
PlannedNSW	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
UrbanplannedNSW*	\$2,167	\$400	\$905	\$2,100	21.5	55.5
TradVic	\$1,083	\$175	\$357	\$943	47.8	15.0
PlannedVic	\$1,550	\$231	\$642	\$1,372	59.9	29.6
UrbanplannedVic*	\$2,184	\$370	\$891	\$2,167	14.2	58.4
TradQld	\$1,426	\$265	\$472	\$1,114	28.3	32.6
PlannedQld	\$1,517	\$310	\$456	\$1,067	39.5	26.3
TradSA	\$910	\$165	\$381	\$948	41.1	21.2
PlannedSA	\$1,560	\$260	\$680	\$1,543	49.8	39.7
Australia	\$1,300	\$190	\$466	\$1,171	45.3	33.0

Note: n/a= not available due to recent development of suburb

* includes larger statistical area where development is located.

Source: ABS 2006 Census QuickStats

<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/ABSNavigation/prenav/LocationSearch?producttype=QuickStats&subaction=-1&action=104&collection=Census&textversion=false&breadcrumb=PL&period=2006&javascript=true&navmapdisplayed=true&>

Key messages

1. Work and Home: a reciprocal relationship

There is a close, reciprocal relationship between working and household life: work affects household life, and household life affects engagement in work.

The spatial organisation of the household and jobs is very important. O'Connor and Healy concluded in 2002 that 'housing policy cannot be expressed independently of an adequate understanding of the spatiality of jobs and the nature of job-housing links' (2002, vii). Our study confirms this. The increasing reach of work into household life, across the life-cycle, makes understanding and responding to the tighter linkages between where and how we live, and where and how we work, of growing personal, social and economic significance. Transport is thus a critical issue.

The spatial fit between jobs and homes matters across the life-cycle. Teenagers need access to jobs while still at school, young Australians seek access to study and employment opportunities, middle-aged Australians are putting together jobs and families and looking for good spatial and temporal linkages between work and family, and older Australians increasingly want and expect to have some access to employment as they gradually step into retirement. Both time and space overshadow how jobs and homes come together – or fail to fit well.

'Not working' does not mean that you are not linked to the labour market. Firstly, people currently not in paid work – for example, new mothers, full-time students or retired grandparents – are in close relationship to people who are in work: their partners, friends and adult children. They want to live near them, in many cases. Secondly, people move into and out of work over their life-cycle: they do not necessarily want to move house when they change their labour market status. Work affects life through more than just 'having a job'. For good work, home and community outcomes, people need access to a labour market that has depth: that is, offers a variety of job choices, and preferably some occupational depth and breadth.

This means that understanding how work and households change and fit together is essential to good urban policy and planning. Urban and housing environments (including aspirations, opportunities, locations, composition, infrastructure and structure) impact on work behaviours, most clearly in terms of physical proximity, time usage, and the contours of social relationships. Essentially, these intersecting domains comprise the resource pool that shapes the amount of choice and control people have over their social lives and the kinds of communities they can create.

But effects also run the other way: the location, availability and terms of work also affect how well households function and the capacity for community relationships. These effects are different in different socio-economic circumstances but a kind of ideal is discernible in our results.

2. Work and Home: what is ideal?

Based on our results, an ideal work and home arrangement supports work participation and choice, supports educational participation and choice, allows the timely combination of both home and work, and facilitates the development of sustaining community relationships. Communities that enable ideal work and home arrangements are characterised by:

1. **Labour market depth and breadth:** such communities offer diverse job opportunities: jobs that accommodate young, middle-aged and older workers; jobs that allow for promotion over the life-cycle; and jobs that accommodate low, middle and higher skilled workers; and jobs that are located in a larger labour market that offers a range of jobs: what we might call 'lattices and ladders' of jobs that are related: that is, jobs and job clusters that facilitate and enable upward, sideways and downwards mobility, where it is sought.

2. **Educational facilities with depth and breadth:** residents and workers look for accessible educational facilities that ideally give some choice: choice of early childcare options, choice between schools (primary and secondary), and choice for post-school education (vocational and higher education). The merits of good educational options are hard to exaggerate, especially in low socio-economic settings. Many accounts collected through this study provide strong arguments for placing the best schools (and other community service facilities) in the poorest suburbs, given the lower level of mobility and household resources available to the children within them. This is of increasing significance in view of changing technologies of education. Alongside this, the importance of placing post-school facilities in local communities are hard to exaggerate: they deepen employment and educational options, create jobs, pull diverse populations (by age, ethnicity) into residential communities, facilitate skill development, create opportunities for retirees to teach and to learn, and reduce education-related commuting and time pressures. Access to diverse and high quality post-school education creates opportunities for young people which are realised as resources for individuals, households and communities. Once again, this is particularly important in lower socio-economic areas where access to post-school education is often restricted by a lack of household and community resources (such as money and transport). Restricted access perpetuates disadvantage in these areas.
3. **Good transport options:** the costs and benefits of transport options matter a great deal: they are pivotal to quality of life, especially for busy parents, but also for many others. A spatial configuration of home and work, which does not unnecessarily rob valuable time, is very highly valued. Many citizens, even those who are retired, are short on time. They want to use their time for things they value: wasting time moving between activities is seen as exactly that: 'wasted'. Congested suburb entry/exit points, long distances from jobs or services, poor public transport (irregular, untimely, dirty), difficulty accessing services because of inadequate parking, or roads where traffic does not flow, difficulty moving between suburbs, seriously affect many workers and residents. Many people in this study moved house to try to claw back time from commuting. Some found solutions. But many households, especially those with two-earners doing two commutes (unless they managed to do these together), find that the spatial configuration of work and the rest of life, 'sucks', as one interviewee put it. Good local public transport was an issue across communities with many people finding it difficult to access work, recreation and social activities in nearby areas.
4. **Affordable housing:** many interviewees in our study have sizeable mortgages. These drive greater participation in paid work, more use of non-familial care, and more time travelling. Affordable housing options are high on most people's list of desirable residential characteristics, and this leads many to outer suburbs in pursuit of value for money.
5. **Sustainable, sustaining, 'sticky' communities:** residents and workers want to live in communities with 'just the right' amount of surrounding social interaction and support. Of course, this varies between individuals and by life-cycle stage: twenty-year olds working long hours are much less likely to seek deep social relationships in their street than parents at home with children, or retirees. But it is fair to say that most people in this study looked for social relationships with some depth: beyond 'hello' when walking the dog. If in need, they wanted to know there was someone nearby who might help. For many, this takes the form of 'sticky' families: blood connections that provide social time and/or care. For others, social connection relies on formal opportunities and support created by active 'community-makers' in their suburbs – active, voluntary social agents – or by developers, or local government and service providers. For many in this study, jobs and workplaces are a source of community.

3. Work and Home: not all master planned communities are the same

Master planned communities are generally defined as geographically (and sometimes socially) bounded, large scale, private housing developments that incorporate varying levels of social and physical infrastructure. They often have a distinctive look and a formal physical entry (Gwyther 2005). A sub-category of these – but far from all – are ‘gated’ communities built around specific ‘lifestyles’ like golf.

Master planned communities are in fact very diverse in terms of their level of ‘porosity’ in relation to surrounding suburbs and population, and the level of planning and services that they provide. It is fair to say that the developer of the six ‘planned communities’ included in this study, plans large scale developments that are very attentive to the employment, education and community elements of suburbs. Their developments are generally recognised as investing more than many others in facilities that include diverse housing, educational and employment options, as well as community events and infrastructure. However, our analysis shows considerable diversity of outcomes even amongst the master planned communities planned by a single, ‘good practice’ developer. And even the ‘best’ communities in this study had gaps in service provision, for example in relation to teenagers or single retirees.

The planned communities in this study varied according to their distance from the CBD, the level of job options within or easily accessible from them, the housing diversity and cost within them, the level of movement into and out of them (by residents, neighbours, workers – over the short and longer term), and the educational and other services accessible in or near them. Good planned communities had good job options, diverse housing options, good educational and service provision, and planning that facilitated the development of social connections. They were more open – to residents from neighbouring suburbs, students, new residents, workers – than closed. Good planned communities need to ‘have it all’, not just one of the above: the absence of any of these factors can make the difference between a healthy, strong community or not.

Badly planned communities had poor transport, crowded roads, few jobs, inadequate educational options, shallow service provision and were not very porous; there were few reasons for people to come into these communities and it was difficult for some residents (such as teenagers, frail elderly and those without a car) to move easily beyond the boundaries of the community or even within the community.

The two inner urban harbour-side communities in this study had many content residents. However, they did not accommodate families with young children, unlike many similar developments in other cities internationally where families are accommodated in such settings. This suggests that further research about the ‘missing ingredients’ for families in such developments are worth pursuing; they may include affordability, appropriate services or access to safe green-space.

4. Evaluating planned communities: a rating system

These findings support Dowling and McGuik’s (2005) call for greater sophistication in categorising and analysing master planned communities. As they suggest, there are various types of MPCs, differentiated by the level and nature of services and amenities they offer, the mix of housing they embrace, the nature of their governance, the level of porosity they exhibit in relation to surrounding suburbs and services, the nature of transport to and from and within the suburb and to neighbouring suburbs, the nature, depth and breadth of employment they offer, their educational facilities and their ‘life-cycle’ ambit (i.e. whether they meet the needs of young families, single householders, retirees, infants, men, women, children and teenagers).

In light of what this study reveals about the diversity of planned communities, and what leads to better or worse community outcomes, we recommend that a rating system of planned communities be developed.

It is vital that such a rating system offers depth in its evaluation: ‘ticking the box’ on the provision of a library, for example, will not capture the necessary detail about how it enables a good community or not.

The adequacy of such infrastructure is shaped by deeper considerations: what hours is it open, how will it be staffed, will it have adequate spaces for a diversity of users (including teenagers), what computing facilities will it offer, how does it link in with other important services, will it be accessible to nearby suburbs, how does it link to schools and to out-of-school-hours care programs?

Deep indicators about employment and education are also important. Around employment, for example, an adequate rating system should reflect the number of employment opportunities, their industry/occupational and skill depth and breadth, and the accessibility of employment options around the suburb. Subsidiary questions like these arise in relation to many forms of critical resources and community services and should be picked up in a meaningful rating system. Such a rating system would assist community planners and developers to design appropriately, as well as assist consumers to make critical decisions that affect the quality of their work, household and community lives.

5. Early planning: collaboration, education, employment, scale and timing considerations

Early conversations and planning amongst developers, transport providers, local councils, state and federal governments, community service providers, retailers and employers and educational providers – prior to development – are critical to good outcomes. Constructive early collaboration of all parties is associated with better outcomes and more likely to result in timely provision of appropriate services.

Such planning should include consideration of the employment and educational opportunities that are likely to be sought or needed for residents. Communities with depth of employment and educational opportunities (including pre-school, school and post-school life phases) are likely to be relevant in many settings. The creation of job opportunities as part of new sizeable developments is very beneficial.

The provision of jobs, educational opportunities, transport and community services across the life-cycle is much easier in larger new communities, where larger numbers of households make service provision and job creation more economically feasible compared with small scale developments. This is an argument for larger scale development and early planning where possible. Local and state government should be particularly mindful of the affects of developing relatively small parcels of land in a piecemeal fashion. Such ‘creeping’ development focuses solely on housing and disregards the physical and social infrastructure needed to create sustaining and sustainable communities for new and established residents of a local government area.

There is also a strong argument for early planning and provision, given how hard it is to change established patterns around work, home and community once established, and how hard it is to remedy poor infrastructure. Families form patterns of education, employment and service utilisation soon after entering new suburbs. This means that early provision of services like transport, retail facilities, employment and education early in the life of new suburbs is important. For example, once householders have purchased new cars to undertake travel to work, they are unlikely to convert to public transport when it is later provided. Once children are participating in particular care or school arrangements, they are unlikely to shift even if good local services become available. Patterns of use are set up early and hard to change, making the early provision of key services very important to rates of utilisation. Comprehensive early planning of housing, jobs, care, education, recreation and services requires strong leadership by central coordinating agencies.

6. Work and Home: comparing traditional and planned communities

What people get from their work-home configuration varies depending on whether they live in a planned community or a long-established suburb. It must be understood, however, that there is great diversity between traditional suburbs as well as between planned communities.

In many ways, the key elements of good outcomes in traditional communities are not very different from those of good planned communities. They included good transport (safe, reliable, regular, clean),

accessible community services that provided choice and appropriate availability (in terms of hours and range of services), educational options and accessible employment options with some depth in local labour market opportunities.

Having well-planned, newer, higher socio-economic suburbs nearby can assist adjoining lower income older suburbs. Locating valued services in both the newer and older suburbs can assist. For example, good parks or sporting facilities in lower income, older suburbs can draw nearby residents and their children into the suburb, strengthening cross-suburb 'bridging' social capital (and vice versa when highly valued facilities exist in newer suburbs). Critical to this cross-suburb interaction are accessible transport and walking corridors between suburbs. Where movement of people is complicated by highways, poor cross-suburb transport, or other physical, time or cost barriers, then such interaction is frustrated and socio-economic 'gating' is promoted.

It is also obvious from our research that the best community and recreational facilities, like community libraries, 'belong' in low income suburbs: teenagers in low income households, for example, have much less access to books, internet resources and computers than teenagers in higher income suburbs; public services mean a great deal in this context. To place the best facilities in the neediest locations is thus a wise investment.

Further, as in planned communities, it is vital to provide services that reach across the life-cycle to meet the needs of citizens at all stages of the life-cycle.

7. The porosity of neighbourhoods, social inclusion and inequality

This notion of 'porosity' is very important in considering the nature of planned communities and their integration into larger surrounding communities. Planned communities often have very good local parks and some superior amenities, including higher education facilities and schools, for example. Where these attract local neighbouring residents (both children and adults) into the planned communities, these benefits are shared and suburb-based socio-economic segmentation is reduced. Where transport, highway or other spatial barriers segregate neighbouring suburbs (richer from poorer, newer from older) and porosity is reduced, wider socio-economic gaps arise. In such cases, good libraries or parks, for example, are not so well used by children or adults from poorer neighbouring suburbs, and gaps in social capital are wider.

Where there is ease of movement between suburbs, some levelling out of social capital and greater social inclusion is enabled. 'Walls' around suburbs created by spatial or transport barriers, effectively hoard social and material wealth and promote social exclusion and wider inequality. In this light, the porosity of suburbs should be a deliberate planning strategy in new neighbourhoods. In addition, the placement of high quality social infrastructure in both older traditional and new planned communities is also important so that two-way movement between higher and lower socio-economic suburbs is facilitated.

We also witnessed examples of how placing higher education facilities, for example, in local suburbs helped break down racially-based stereotypes and facilitated ethnic integration, with positive outcomes for safety for minority groups.

8. The depth of community: bridging and bonding social capital through work and home

All four traditional suburbs in our study were relatively long-existing, low socio-economic suburbs. However, several had pockets of new housing within them, making them mixed housing areas, with diverse populations. It is fair to say – not surprisingly – that their social sediment was deeper than in the planned communities, reflecting their longer lives. Except where high turnover renting was common, people knew each other for longer and at a deeper level in traditional suburbs compared to most planned communities. They valued this for the most part. They felt this contributed to their safety and to their social connections – although safety was more of an issue in general in these traditional communities (see below). Longer-lived suburbs often meant that extended family lived nearby, and this emerges

throughout this study as a very important source of support and a vital component of community. Many residents of traditional communities also held jobs in adjacent suburbs: they had worked their way towards this over time, and it mattered to the quality of their lives.

Their jobs were an important source of community. Indeed, this study suggests that many contemporary ‘durable networks’ (Bourdieu 1983) are rooted in workplace relationships. Educational participation also emerges in our results as a vital source of social capital (Putnam 2000) as people meet parents of their children’s friends, and students in post compulsory education extend their social networks. Analysis of social capital needs to better recognise these vital domains, where both ‘bonding’ networks (ties between people in similar situations) and ‘bridging’ networks (links to more distant or external bodies) are made and sustained.

Being home, social capital and feeling safe

Parenting households in traditional communities were more likely to have a parent at home and to have more ‘breadwinner’ household structures. Mothers usually took longer periods of leave when their children were little. Lower mortgages made this possible. In some cases, limited employment options restricted women’s employment opportunities suggesting that planners and governments could productively work together to plan to ensure more diverse employment opportunities for those who seek them.

On the other hand, parenting households in higher income, higher mortgaged planned communities were more likely to be affected by demanding jobs: two jobs in the household, or at least one parent working long hours. For these households, accessible jobs, local services, convenient transport – all of which take careful planning – are essential.

Interviewees in planned communities were more likely to say they feel safe in their suburbs: they talked about the openness of the streetscape and their appreciation of careful design which made ‘dark corners’ less likely, and exposed visitors to the scrutiny of the street (though there was general concern that many of the streets were in fact empty during the day due to the high proportion of households with two working adults). Many living in planned communities valued the security of their suburbs. Those in urban harbour-side planned communities felt particularly secure; they were, however, less likely to know their neighbours in their high rise buildings. Residents in traditional communities were more likely to be worried about ‘hoons’, about renters, and to voice concerns about ethnic or racial groups that they felt had negative effects on their neighbourhood.

Table 2 sets out some of the key kinds of variations between planned communities and more traditional suburbs, recognising the diversity that exists between communities. Obviously, the socio-economic composition of these suburbs varies: it ranges from very affluent householders in inner urban harbour-side planned communities, with their preponderance of senior managers and professionals, and affluent retirees, to aspirant dual earner households in outer suburban planned communities, and to diverse households but generally lower income residents in adjacent traditional communities.

Table 2 Characteristics of Planned, Traditional and Urban planned suburbs in this study

Characteristic	Planned	Traditional suburb	Urbanplanned
Age of housing	younger	older	new
Age of community	younger, developing	older, deeper	new
Socio-economic difference	income richer	income poorer	affluent
Time difference	time poorer	time richer	time rich
Extended family	sparser	denser	sparser
Sporting facilities	newer, more diverse	older	excellent
Safety	seen as safer	seen as less safe	safe
Design	better designed	less holistically designed	better designed
Debt	more debt	less debt	less debt, high rent
Employment proximity	jobs can be near, or far	jobs nearer	jobs near
Amenities for children	good for pre-teenagers	vary	poor
Amenities for teenagers	poorer for teenagers	vary	poor
Amenities for retirees	poorer	vary	good
Amenities for frail aged	poor	vary	poor
School facilities	diverse	vary	nearby
Family type	more dual earners with kids	more diverse	no kids
Life-cycle	young family	diverse life-cycle	mid-life, retiree

9. Aspirational communities: on the work-spend treadmill?

It is sometimes suggested that rising levels of greed drive long hours and a work-spend cycle in Australia's aspirational suburbs (Hamilton and Denniss 2005). What signs do we find of high levels of material consumption, driving high levels of debt, with implications for long working hours and the quality of family life? It is clear that in some households in our study, long hours of work for primary earners or for two earners in a couple are associated with mortgage commitments. Especially where children or other dependents are present, life is very, very busy in these households. In some of these households, long hours are worked to meet costs and this is more common in planned than traditional suburbs. Householders in traditional suburbs are more likely to talk of living frugally, avoiding debt, downshifting and avoiding large mortgages: 'I live within my means and I give my life 10 out of 10'.

Many of those we interviewed who work long hours in planned suburbs, do so reluctantly and without direct financial reward for their extra hours. There is an acknowledgement among many that the long hours demanded by their job or their commute, are not sustainable for them or their families. Men and women, with and without children were looking for ways to 'manage' work; many were struggling to reconcile their suburban dream with their exhausted reality. Fathers in particular regret the time spent in traffic that could be spent with children.

At the same time, many women look to their participation in paid work as a source of social links and the pleasurable exercise of skill. The key for both groups is some control and employee-led flexibility. These notions are very distinct from employer-centred flexibility: many examples showed how voice and power at work shaped say over things like total hours worked and the schedule of those hours. This finding suggests that analysis of working conditions that help workers reconcile work with life beyond work, requires an analysis of flexibility that examines what best serves the interests of employees and/or employers. Teenagers' opportunities are clearly shaped by the existence of such employee-centred flexibility and adult availability which is an important resource in their lives.

Urban planned paradise?

Many living in urban planned communities on the edge of harbours employ superlatives to describe their living situations - much more than any others in this study. Many truly love their lives and the fit between their new homes, communities and, in some cases, ongoing jobs. They are also much wealthier than most others in this study.

Most interviewees in these urban high rise dwellings were physically active and fit; there are few frail aged around them. It is unclear how these older urban dwellers will make the transition to frail aged.

They valued flexibility in their jobs and the control that they often exercised over their managerial and professional tasks. Most did not live with children, and where they were planning to start a family, they were likely to move to the suburbs. They enjoyed the fact that their housework was minimal, and that there were plenty of facilities nearby to entertain grandchildren, such as museums and the waterfront. Many enjoyed their pets, and the social links these generated. However, for some, high rise living was lonely and 'unneighbourly', and many appreciated newsletters and contact from other residents.

10. Why live in a planned community?

The large planned communities in this study are generally more comprehensively planned with respect to jobs, educational facilities and community facilities than many other such communities. Bearing this context in mind, the reasons given for living in these kinds of planned community were consistent in each of the four suburban planned communities:

- Proximity to services, jobs and education;
- Amenity (a backyard, parks, waterways, bike tracks, shops, services);
- Affordability (relative to suburbs closer to the city) and especially 'value for money';
- Social connectivity (either through local services or close extended family).

The reasons for living in the harbour-side urban planned communities included all of the above, as well as:

- Access to the city;
- Access to diverse entertainment, sporting and cultural venues;
- Security.

In some cases, residents were seeking a more 'respectable' community: a 'better class of person' as one put it or a better social milieu for their children to grow up in.

The success of this decision, and whether all that was hoped for was realised, varied by:

1. life-cycle stage (whether child, teenager, young single or couple, parenting household or retiree), and
2. the quality of the planned community design and its provision of employment, education, service and especially transport.

A good planned community, by and large, had depth and breadth of jobs and educational opportunities, along with care, retail, recreational and transport services, and timely or geographic proximity to a large urban centre. We stress that it is both the availability of such services and some choice amongst providers that was highly valued: this applied to retail shopping outlets, care, education and employment options. A good planned community also offered real prospects of local connection and community and was aesthetically pleasing and affordable.

11. Comparing community in an planned community versus a traditional community

We observe some differences between low mortgage and high mortgage suburbs and households, with some signs that lower mortgages and lower material aspirations – more prevalent in the traditional communities in this study – have greater access to a vital personal and social resource: time. They are

also associated with a more stable, long-lived community (not surprising given their suburb's greater age), with people in the street perhaps more likely to know each other, to encounter more diverse neighbours in terms of age and stage of life-cycle, and to offer deeper forms of social connection (beyond being friendly, to sharing keys or collecting each other's mail).

However deeper social connection was also evident in some planned communities especially where 'community makers' were resident – that is, people who went out of their way to create community events or exchanges that built relationships. In some cases, the developer or local government allocated resources that fuelled the activities of informal community-makers, or formally funded initiatives that brought people together (for example, new arrivals meetings, mothers' groups, and community events). The addition of these resources created community connections which many residents valued highly.

While it is tempting to generalise, and some systemic differences exist, the picture of community in different kinds of suburbs is uneven: there are streets in relatively new planned communities where residents know each other, share meals on occasion and have deeper exchanges (for example, share keys) as well as more shallow exchanges (like saying hello when walking the dog). At the same time, there are streets in traditional communities where new residents (especially renters) are socially disconnected from their surrounding suburbs and co-residents, and the same is true in urban waterfront planned communities.

In all three kinds of suburbs there are examples of socially isolated individuals, some of whom are working long hours and whose 'dormitory' home life precludes close residential relationships. However, it is fair to say that long hours were more commonly worked by residents in planned communities (in many of these, dual incomes are required to meet mortgage costs), and these long hours were often exacerbated by long commutes to areas of higher paid, professional or managerial employment.

Ensuring a social mix, an age mix, and a life-stage mix

Many interviewees spoke positively about their neighbours, and some found it a real boon to have friends and neighbours who they knew well, and who were of various ages and stages of life. This helped in 'thickening' the sources of support for a family, especially where extended family lived nearby. Residential diversity could also enhance the character and security of a neighbourhood; reducing the likelihood of a community becoming nothing more than a commuter suburb and ensuring there was always someone around during the day.

12. Transport and commuting matters

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of commuting and transport in the lives of interviewees in this study.

These pressures appear to especially affect residents in planned communities, who move to a house but perhaps have a job elsewhere, and whose children are more likely to attend school outside the suburb, and whose extended family connections are beyond the suburb. Because they have not had the time to spatially align their jobs, houses and relationships, they spend more time travelling to put together their lives. This makes commuting a particular issue in planned communities – except in the case of harbour-side urban planned developments which effectively eliminate commuting for many who are still working.

Workers placed great weight upon the length of their commute, the nature of transport options around them, and the sense of control, safety and amenity they drew from good transport options and short commutes. For many working women, working within a reasonable distance from children's schooling or care locations was a very important concern. Many did not manage it and it was a real source of stress: 'what if I can't get there if I am needed and my child is sick?' Others spoke of distance preventing them from attending school events. Long commutes were also a source of expense. Families valued common time together and commuting was often seen as the enemy of this, partly because it was seen as 'wasted time' – time that could be conserved and better used through better planning or better public transport. The amenity of some planned communities is very significantly undermined by poor transport servicing,

which casts a long shadow over employment, education and opportunities for young people as they develop through adolescence into adulthood. It seems that it is very hard to remedy poor transport planning after a suburb has taken root. Many workers (particularly women) reduce their days at work, cut back their employment or find they must 'downshift' in terms of careers, skills and promotional opportunities when they find the commuting cost of quality jobs is just too high in both time and money. Good entry/exit routes into and out of newly developed suburbs are also highly valued, with long waits to join motorways a real problem for those who regularly experience them.

Safety on public transport, regular and reliable services, and clean facilities were important to many, including teenagers who are frequent users of public transport. Where services were too crowded, unclean, untimely or infrequent, they were unlikely to be used where alternatives – most commonly the car – exist. For many teenagers, frail elderly and poorer adults there was no alternative and their disadvantage was perpetuated in communities with poor public transport. Transport arrangements are thus a vital element of social inclusion.

It seems that planning that avoids short car journeys to the start up of train or bus journeys are especially valuable. Once in the car, many do not want to leave it, and they do not like the time and effort it takes to put together multiple forms of transport that often involve parking a car and retrieving it.

13. Planning to accommodate different life stages

To a large extent, life stage determines one's intrinsic level of need in relation to the available resources. It also determines the nature of demands placed on an individual. For example, the resource needs of working parents with young children are markedly different to those of retired adults with no dependents; most obviously, working parents require services related to childcare and schooling that are not required by retirees. Increasingly, work stretches across the life-course but it is not always easily reconciled with each stage of that course.

Our findings indicate that some stages of life are far better catered for than others in the majority of the communities we studied. Planned communities in particular are marketed to parents of young children - playgrounds and walking paths are prevalent in these communities; however, skate parks and bowling greens are not.

In addition to employment, amenity and mobility needs differ across life stages. Public transport was problematic in many of the communities we studied, particularly in planned communities located some distance from the city. Teenagers, frail elderly, mothers at home looking after children were the most disadvantaged in this respect due either to their inability to drive or a lack of transport resources in the home.

Giving consideration to the employment, service, amenity and mobility needs of residents, workers and businesses across the life course is essential for sustaining and sustainable communities and maximising social inclusion. Proper consideration is only possible however, if spatial and temporal needs are given adequate attention.

14. Space

The location of work, amenities, services and transport routes is fundamentally linked to peoples' ability to negotiate the demands of work, home and community. Community planners know this and all the communities in this study were spatially planned to varying degrees. Centralised access to services, retail outlets, business and education was a particular characteristic of the six planned communities included in the study. The spatial realities of traditional suburbs seem more organic; the majority had a central retail mall, but there were also many shops and services scattered throughout these communities.

The extent to which communities were spatially oriented towards jobs varied, with a number of planned and traditional communities significantly disadvantaged by their location in relation to the city and other areas of concentrated job opportunities. The higher density of service provision in many traditional

communities was a benefit to local residents, workers and businesses and was also utilised by residents, workers and businesses from neighbouring planned communities. Once again, the ease of travel between suburbs was vital to this movement and the sharing of services.

Spatial requirements varied according to a person's life stage, gender; socio-economic, working and parental status.. For example, communities that are designed around the presumption of car use are particularly problematic for those who do not move around by private vehicle, such as children, teenagers, many elderly people and those from poorer households with one or no car. Busy roads, poor public transport and the absence of corner shops makes access to amenity and services difficult for these people.

Residents and workers in all forms of community enjoy green space, good facilities, bike tracks, walking trails, waterways, good libraries, and play space. Some traditional communities, especially those with active local councils and residents' groups, enjoyed these. In other cases, residents of traditional communities made use of those in nearby planned communities if they were easily accessible (and many were not due to busy roads, designs that restricted pedestrian access and a lack of interconnecting public transport). The point here is that good facilities are likely to be well used and valued in any community: the key is providing and maintaining them. However, in relation to teenagers and young people in lower socio-economic households, good community facilities, like an excellent library with good computing facilities and the freedom to make a bit of noise, are especially potent bridges to socio-economic equality and to opportunity. In this light, providing the best facilities for the worst suburbs makes policy sense if the goal is to moderate inequality, facilitate social inclusion and increase the life chances of the most disadvantaged.

15. Time

While spatial design is being given greater consideration in contemporary community planning, temporal design is not. This study has highlighted the significance of time in the lives of residents, workers, and businesses. Once again, perspective is crucial. Time means different things to different people depending on their circumstances. Its value is determined by its availability and so a community designed to facilitate the conservation of time will be more sustaining than a community whose design wastes the time of its inhabitants.

Time is particularly important to those with both work and care responsibilities. Both of these responsibilities create time demands which are either exacerbated or ameliorated by workplace and community characteristics. Communities with few amenities and services, those that are poorly located in relation to jobs or schools, those with inadequate public transport or road infrastructure - particularly around high usage areas such as shops and schools, and those that separate homes from the activities of daily life - are likely to exacerbate the time demands felt by busy people.

Time scheduling is also important. Rigid schedules that do not accommodate the time needs of other activities are likely to increase the time demands experienced by residents and workers. Two examples include workplaces that do not consider the time schedules of schools and so prevent parents from being available to collect their children in the afternoon; and school, social and recreational groups that do not consider the time limitations of workers, thus restricting their involvement in various community activities that build social networks and foster social capital.

Residents and workers across communities sought:

- *Predictable* time;
- A *boundary* around work that gave time really free of work;
- *Common* community or household/family time;
- *Enough* time (this was most common in households with children);
- '*Good quality*' time especially with children
- Not '*wasting time*', for example through slow or long commutes.

In many settings, people made careful calculations of time versus money, taking a lower paid job, for example, in order to get more time.

The double-edged nature of working from home

It is clear from this study that many men are affected by long hours of work. At the same time, women are differently affected by the 'time' in which they live: they often speak of complex organisation and domestic management tasks; of guilt about not being as available to their children as they would like; and of trying to keep things under control by working from home to 'catch up'. They do a great deal of 'emotional' work in their households and within their own psyches: reconciling demanding jobs with demanding households, and managing their own guilt. They also undertake a great deal of 'articulation work' (Strauss 1985), that is the work of coordinating the interface of work, home and community and managing many simultaneous, conflicting or sequential activities that involve themselves, partners, children, extended family, and community members.

Whilst working from home allows better integration of work and home responsibilities, it can be a double-edged sword because the lack of physical separation allows work to intrude into family life in demanding ways.

Some women and men set up their own business to get more control in their lives. However, while many enjoy aspects of this approach, long hours and demanding work often feature in their accounts of work.

16. Power

It was clear from this analysis that some people have more power, more voice and more access to available resources than others. While discussions of power are overt in much existing analysis and literature about work, they are less prominent in the analysis of home and community. Where they do exist, they mostly refer to power differences in relation to gender and class. Our findings reveal significant and persistent power differentials in all domains and across all communities. For example, the poor often lack the means (transport, internet access, education) to engage in their communities and influence planners in a way that would benefit their access to resources. Workers exercise very different levels of power shaped by the nature of their employment contract, their occupation and the balance of demand and supply around their skill set. Teenagers have far less say than adults, resulting in communities that disregard or trivialise the developmental needs of this age group. The power of women is curtailed when care is incompatible with some types of work and their voice is removed from the workplace. Many older men are diminished when retirement strips them of their social or employment scaffold and replaces it with nothing. Many renters are neither informed nor consulted by the leaders of their communities, creating real and imaginary differences in their levels of community power and voice, relative to their home owner neighbours. Some elderly people, refugees and new mothers vanish when their communities become too difficult to navigate.

These findings draw attention to the ways in which power shapes outcomes at the intersection of work, home and community. It shows that differential power resources stem from: gender, age, socio-economic status, occupation and employment conditions and home ownership/renting status.

Workplaces, communities and families need to be aware of these power differentials and work toward more equitable environments that facilitate access to resources and encourage citizenship.

17. The long arm and deep significance of work

Work is a large part of the lives of those we interviewed. Work affects teenagers in many households, as well as retirees and most people in their prime years. Many of those we interviewed see their work colleagues as part of their communities, alongside their other sources of family or suburban life.

Women who are caring for children were often out of the workforce for short periods around the arrival of their children. In traditional communities, with lower mortgages and lower household income, they were more likely to be at home with young children for longer periods. But dual earner households are

not uncommon in both kinds of suburbs. This makes job opportunities and the way that they fit with home and community life very important. Employment opportunities that are near to home are highly prized. Given the importance of work to sustainable lives and communities, there are good arguments for ensuring that job opportunities are a central part of community planning, and perhaps for providing employment 'brokering' services that can assist both new residents and local employers to find appropriate employment or training.

Workers need services available at hours outside working time. While an increasing proportion of Australians work at weekends and at night, many also need services at these times to fit around their working day. A gym, swimming pool, post office or shop that is not open outside 9-5, Monday to Fridays, represents a restrictive service for them.

A new clock governing work, home and community life

We find many signs of the spatial and temporal reconfiguration of work through this study: there are very significant changes in the hours and days of work organisation, with a 'new clock' governing work, home and community time in many locations. Many workers must undertake complex logistical planning to put their jobs together with the rest of their lives, and in some cases they undertake considerable cognitive work in planning and supporting their households as well as considerable emotional labour dealing with guilt and time-stretched partners and children and extended family members. Simultaneous scheduling in dual earner households, where many children also work, is quite a different operation compared to that of a sole male breadwinner household.

Work is experienced as increasingly intensive. It is also characterised by more worker mobility, less job security, more change in career trajectories over the life-course, and the spatial reorganisation of the workplace with changing technologies of work.

For many workers, particularly professionals, work is no longer time-based but task-based. Where it was once the responsibility of the supervisor to manage working time, this is increasingly the responsibility of the worker. More and more workers are having to manage work tasks in their own time (rather than in work time) Some consider themselves successful at separating work and personal life as long as work doesn't interfere too much with the time they spend with others – but they will sacrifice time for sleep or relaxation to achieve this. Others struggle with the long tentacles of work into their personal time and household. Porous boundaries around the job mean leakage of work into 'my time'. Many describe feeling 'stretched', over-extended, and some were actively developing personal strategies to try to 'contain' work. In this context, 'flexibility' was a double edged sword: 'task-based' employment for some meant long hours and stressed workplaces, with spill over consequences into the household.

Table 3 summarises some of the features that workers sought from their jobs.

Table 3 Putting together work, home and community: What people ideally sought from work

From their workplace and employer	From infrastructure and services
Flexibility	Choice of jobs
Autonomy	Easy access to jobs
Acknowledgement of life stage needs through policy and practice	Proximity to home
Provision for life stage needs in practice	Public transport options
Considerate supervisors & managers: practical, fair, reciprocal flexibility	Retail and services
Expectation of reasonable hours for all	for example:
Good work relationships and team work	Post office
Job security through life stage changes	Retail and food outlets
Enjoyment/satisfaction with work	Gym and recreational facilities
Containment of work spill over into home	Pub
Paid parental leave and other forms of leave	
Healthy workplace (physical & mental)	
Car pooling opportunities	
Considered location	
Concentrated industry	
Near park land	
Near essential retail & services	

In many interviewees' households, work is done alongside care responsibilities. Notwithstanding time pressures, work is a source of pleasure, reward, achievement and social connection for many in the study. There are, however, significant variations by location, gender, age and socio-economic status. For example, a number of older men in traditional communities are very tired after decades of physical work and do not approach working into their sixties with any enthusiasm.

Work benefits individuals, families and communities in a multitude of ways. The development of individual competencies and the achievement of personal goals, the financial support of families and the economic sustainability of communities are all reliant upon employment. At its best, work enables individuals to live and workplaces to engage with communities in ways that foster the development and flow of vital resources and networks. The complexity of these resources and networks and the degree to which they are interwoven determines the strength of community fabric. If they are densely interwoven and broadly inclusive of all members of the community they are more likely to sustain individuals and families and to foster long term sustainability of the whole community. If they are sparse and exclude some sections of the community, they will sustain fewer individuals and families and the community will struggle to achieve long term sustainability. Social exclusion will be more wide-reaching.

The importance of employment opportunities to resilient communities and suburbs

Some of the communities we studied had varied and dense work options that were well integrated with the physical and economic fabric of the community and which benefited from good business networks and business, education and community partnerships. These communities demonstrated an ability to weather volatility in the labour market, providing residents with a variety of employment options even within discrete industries. Good local jobs facilitated sustaining and sustainable lives, reducing time lost to commuting and fostering the development of local networks of social, human and business capital. This benefits women, men and teenagers – a large number of whom are involved in work.

In communities where employment opportunities were restricted, particularly where there was a lack of professional jobs, gender equity was compromised and women in particular were disadvantaged. In these communities, flexible, home-based and low skilled jobs enabled many mothers to engage in the labour market, with benefits for themselves, their families and their communities. However, for many women

these options were in lieu of good local jobs which utilised their skills and experience and provided career scope and long term financial security, as well as family-oriented flexibility.

It is also evident that in some cases, employment opportunities do not align well with locally available skills, so that some residents are locked into employment with a long commute despite skill shortages in surrounding suburbs. In this context, effort to bridge the 'residential skill gap' is vital; local jobs-skills brokers are likely to be useful in this context.

Despite its benefits and its capacity to strengthen individual and collective resources, work has the potential to place pressure on the capacity of individuals and families to sustain themselves. This study provides evidence that the spatial and temporal organisation of work in relation to family and community often undermines sustainable community. This occurs in all kinds of communities, including traditional suburbs and planned communities.

Gender equity and the 'spatial leash'

The location of work in relation to residential areas affects who can engage in what types of work. The separation of residential areas from centres of work perpetuates gender stereotypes that constrain and disadvantage women in particular. Women with children are on a tighter 'spatial leash' than men, when their children are young and they want to be accessible to them in the event of illness or other need. Instead of planning communities on the basis of gender equity (equal opportunity for men and women to pursue both employment and care vocations), some of the communities studied here force a choice between one and the other. The result for families is reinforcement of a traditional division of labour, with many highly educated and skilled women forced to abandon careers in the city and take lower skilled jobs close to home in order to be available to their children. The spatial organisation of work, home and community has in these examples particular gendered consequences.

On the other hand, many family-oriented men are forced to trade time with their children for long commutes and long working hours. This was particularly evident in planned communities that were not integrated with pre-existing industry or educational facilities. The aesthetics of these communities, and their comparative affordability compared to suburbs closer to the city, attracted many professionals. Unfortunately the location of these communities does not always cater to the employment needs of professionals.

Understanding the impact of 'work': not just the nature of the job

Our analysis suggests that understanding how work, home and community interact, requires an understanding of 'work' that unpacks the nature of the job (its hours, its design), the workplace (the nature of flexibility, supervision and social relations at work), the industry (for example, the nature of technologies, career ladders and prospects, the location of supply chains and 'lattices and ladders' of employment opportunities) and the larger labour market (for example, rates of unemployment and labour regulation). All of these levels of work – job, workplace, industry and labour market – affect how work fits together with home and community.

Sustainable work for mothers

Many mothers of young children participated in this study. Some were taking leave from work, but most had a sense of engagement in the workforce over their life-course even if not currently in paid work. They saw many positives in their jobs: 'it's good for me to work'. They valued flexible jobs where they could influence the timing of work, but they found inflexible time schedules (in care services, school or workplaces) hard to navigate. They sought good leave provisions, flexible hours, good care options, family support, decent boundaries around working time and its invasive technologies, and the chance to work from home on occasion. Access to a good job or to a career was facilitated by the co-location of residential communities with areas of diverse employment. When communities were separated from good jobs women with children were forced to choose between their career and being available to their children. Many chose the latter.

18. Employee-centred flexibility at work

Workers in this study found that having some say over the flexibility of their working time of invaluable benefit. Workers in all communities, and at all stages of the life-cycle valued workplaces that accommodated needs for changes in employees' working schedules on an occasional or regular basis. Supervisors and managers who could be flexible and negotiate with employees around their family, household and personal needs were universally highly valued.

Flexibility dominates people's accounts of successfully integrating work and home. For women in particular, flexible working hours and working from home meant they were able to participate in the labour market, and often pursue a career, at the same time as caring for children. Flexibility does not, however, stop many people experiencing their lives as a juggling act. Some forms of 'flexibility' make the integration of work and life *more* difficult because they increase the number of claims that can 'legitimately' be made of workers and business people, especially women. A number of workers in this study spoke of 'quarantining' their work from their home: by turning off computers and refusing to take work home. Others felt they could not do this.

Even with flexible working and business arrangements, the labour of grandparents remains a precondition for the operation of many households. Without this unpaid labour, many households and businesses would suffer and many communities would be diminished.

Key workers

Some employers could not find the employees they needed. In this sense, affordable, accessible housing for workers who are 'key' to maintenance of basic services like teaching, policing and cleaning is important. Large cities in many parts of the world are now taking deliberate steps to ensure that key public sector workers can carry out their critical functions (see for example, the UK Government 'Key worker living program').

What makes a good job - that facilitates putting together work, home and community?

Based on what we have heard through this study, what makes a good job? The following characteristics repetitively emerge as important in helping workers put together jobs with life beyond the workplace:

- A good boss: who listens and responds to request for flexibility;
- Working conditions and policies that make flexibility accessible to workers;
- Good leave arrangements;
- Support for learning and education;
- Work arrangements that fit well with care options;
- Jobs that do not demand long hours, and do not overload workers;
- Partners who do not work long hours;
- Partners who share domestic work and care;
- Being married to a tradesman (who has contained hours) rather than a chef, engineer, manager or IT professional;
- Travelling to work with kids or partner;
- Jobs that do not involve long commutes.

19. Education

Educational resources are a very important aspect of the choices that residents make about where to live. They also affect the labour pool and skill profile available to local businesses and where workers choose to work when they are studying. Being able to easily integrate study into life makes a great difference to time and cost, and reduces commuting time. Learning is a social service that is of significance to almost all community members at some time: it therefore represents a vital source of both bonding and bridging social capital.

Children as 'social joins'

We found good evidence of the ways in which children at school and in pre-school services helped 'join up' their parents to make communities. While children were vital sources of social connection for some new and long established residents, this sometimes meant that *not* having children meant exclusion and 'missing out'. It is clearly harder for retirees to re/make their communities than for some new parents whose children do the joining up for them, creating long-lasting bonds.

In other cases, having children brought new forms of social hazards and particular forms of social isolation, that were dangerous for lonely and unsupported parents and their children. This was particularly the case for mothers from non-English speaking backgrounds and/or with fewer household resources (e.g. no second car).

Deep educational resources are vital

Communities without educational services beyond schooling were much shallower in the social networks they created, while communities with pre-school, diverse schooling options and post-compulsory facilities - communities that celebrated and fostered learning - had many strengths. Disadvantaged communities endured deepened disadvantage where they lacked such facilities.

For many residents with young children, having choices around early childhood education and care, with places available in one or more types of care, was important. Similarly, primary and secondary school options are highly prized. In some cases, the choice of residents to send their children to private schools outside their residential suburb meant long commutes, more expense and weak social connections for both children and parents. This makes good local schooling options, and some choice between them, of considerable importance to residents and strengthens social connections.

However, educational provisions at post-schooling level are also important for at least two reasons. Firstly, many workers engage in education while in employment, so accessible local options are very important. Secondly, post-school facilities create greater depth in terms of local employment opportunities and pull a much more age- and ethnically-diverse population into suburbs. Students look for local employment and accommodation, use local services, stimulate business, and contribute to community in the suburbs where universities and vocational colleges exist.

20. The stickiness of family: providers of support or sources of obligation?

Family figured strongly in discussions of work, home and community for the majority of people in this study. Family support was integral to the ability of some to combine work with care. It was a vital resource. Many women in particular would not have been able to participate in the labour market if they could not rely on the unpaid labour of grandparents to care for children. For other men and women, the successful negotiation of work and care depended on the regular or intermittent support provided by family and close friends. At the other end of the spectrum, family placed demands on individuals that affected the way they interacted with the labour market or their local community. Where people lived and where they worked, had a big impact on their ability to meet these obligations, regardless of whether they lived in a traditional, a planned suburban or planned urban community.

Participants were better able to attend to their familial obligations, and to have their own care needs met, when extended family lived nearby. It was apparent that extended family migration into the same community was one way participants maximised access to family, indicating a clear need for community planners to consider this pattern of migration into their communities, facilitate it and ensure its sustainability. When it comes to social connection, family trumps community in the accounts of interviewees in all suburbs. Blood is certainly thicker than community connection created through neighbourliness or dog walking. In this light, housing and community design that facilitates extended family, especially intergenerational linkages, is likely to be especially valuable.

Fluid families

In many households, marital separation has driven new housing decisions. Many living in planned communities have come there after a marital separation, eager for new communities and activities. Greater workplace mobility, insecurity, intensity and hours, fracture some forms of community and households. Many workers are looking for new forms of support beyond the extended family (e.g. commodified, non-familial care/services) to facilitate these work patterns. Saving time through better configurations of work and home; work and essential services; work, education, community and family connection, are crucial worker concerns.

There are many examples in this study of changing patterns of childrearing, which drive new work and home configurations. Child-friendly work and living is of growing importance, as is the extended family. In many households, grandparents are vital sources of support.

Many parents are eager to live in suburbs where their children are safe, where the surrounding households offer enriching and supportive social environments. Many parents in this study seek choice of care and educational opportunities and they value locations which co-locate a range of services. This explains the decision to live in a planned community for many parents. However, there was some evidence that the expectations of choice were not always realised. Amenity and opportunity for teenagers in particular were in short supply in all of the planned communities included in this study.

The sexual division of labour in the home

Men and women have very different average rates of participation in unpaid work, with women in Australia on average doing around double the proportion of unpaid labour as men. This has significant consequences in many households in this study. Some women resent the level of unpaid work they must do, which often does not take account of their paid working hours.

In other cases, men's long hours mean that they have little time for housework. In rarer cases, retired men felt their domestic labour was unappreciated: they appeared to have fewer retirement interests than some of the women they lived with, and this meant they were more isolated and sometimes resentful.

The vital role of grandparents

Grandparents are the essential ghosts in the working machine of many households in this study. They are vital to functioning work patterns, whether reluctant conscripts to regular care, or happy volunteers (and there are plenty of both in evidence). Many find caring for their grandchildren a rich and satisfying experience. Others are exhausted, or conflicted by the demands of their own ongoing employment. For some, care is a matter of conscription from which they long to 'escape'. For many, homes that are not too distant from their children are very important.

21. Yearning for community

Many interviewees in our study showed a desire for strong social connection and for those who missed out on it there was a clear yearning for community. Retirees living in streets largely populated by full-time workers, new mothers who had stepped back from jobs into streets with few other mothers, new arrivals in suburbs that did not seem welcoming, often looked for more. The prospect of a strong community led many to buy into a planned community.

Community: At your doorstep or just out of reach?

Community was important to the majority of participants in this study. Many had made deliberate decisions to live where they did because of the promise of community; this was particularly the case for residents of planned communities. For many, access to other people and a sense of community was facilitated by appropriate amenities (such as parks, paths, cafes etc) that were easily accessible (by foot or through good public transport, or via roads and available parking). For some, the timing of service

provision was vital: services, recreational facilities or shops that did not fit around working hours effectively excluded some workers.

There were a significant number of participants, (residents, workers, small business owners) for whom community was elusive. Sometimes this was because of a lack of amenity or service in their local area and therefore a lack of opportunities to access other people. At other times it was a spatial or temporal incompatibility between their work or business and the life of the residential community.

While some spoke of not wanting to 'live in each other's pockets', most looked for some form of local social connection.

The study suggests that casual interaction is being designed out of many communities. House and garage design often curtails incidental interaction. Houses without verandahs and automatic garages with internal access to the house reduce opportunities to chat with the neighbours or get to know passers-by. Streets often privilege the car and disadvantage pedestrians and cyclists, thus reducing opportunities to be out in the community. Centralised retail hubs discourage walking and reduce opportunities for the development of neighbourhood social networks often facilitated by the corner shop or local cafe.

Through the 'over design' of communities (where everything has a specific purpose and there is no room for 'hanging out' by various groups in the community) and the elimination of casual places and spaces or 'third places' (i.e. such as the milk bar and corner shop), some residents and workers are living isolated lives. Finding ways to replicate the community-making characteristics of walking to the corner shop is the challenge here. This makes the development of new 'community-creating' opportunities important in some locations, including through, for example, local BBQs, street parties and interest groups (amongst young mothers, or retirees for example). In some locations, 'community makers' were hard at work creating such opportunities, which 'community takers' were delighted to take advantage of and join. Drawing workers who are time poor into such networks is a challenge that remains in some areas. The daily activities of residents need to be scrutinised in order to maximise the social networking capacity of planned amenity and services in residential communities.

Community facilities

Planned communities are more likely to have newer shops and facilities, though in some cases these are shallow (for example, sporting grounds that are too small) or inaccessible (for example, because they are not open for long hours).

However, in many traditional communities the facilities are older and more run down, or simply absent. Residents and workers in planned communities placed considerable value on the resources that developers invested in stimulating connections in suburbs: while not all participated in them, many did, and all saw considerable merit in the enterprise and investment. In some cases, renters felt excluded from such activities and struggled to find a way into communities, whether traditional or planned. This divide was, in some places, exacerbated by ethnic differences. Active measures to ensure that renters are drawn into 'community-making' activities in these contexts are important.

Social bridges

Three particular forms of social bridges are evident through this study: dogs, children and 'third places'. Dogs are discussed by many residents and workers as a source of social connection and conversation. Children function, both in planned and traditional communities, as the first point of contact for many adults to other adults, and where children do not leave the suburb for schooling, they function as key social bridges for both fathers and mothers. Finally, so-called 'third places' (that is, places where people meet beyond home or school or the workplace) bring people together and create social opportunities: these include malls, cafes, pubs, libraries, gyms and park lands. These places are repetitively mentioned as sites of social connection. Where such third places are easily accessible to those who do not live in planned communities, but perhaps live in adjacent traditional communities, then these amenities and their benefits are shared.

The vital importance of porous boundaries around planned communities

Porous boundaries around planned communities are significant to the sharing of their benefits, and moderate the inequality and exclusion that can arise from suburbs with high levels of amenity alongside others with poorer amenities. This porosity is assisted by accessible cross-suburb walking trails, bridges, roads and public transport, as well as libraries and community facilities that span suburbs. In some suburbs casual interaction is being designed out of planned communities, so that neighbours simply do not bump into each other. The nature of the local street and house design are very important to the scope created for casual social interaction and connection.

How to make a community

The findings in this study suggest that particular characteristics can assist in the creation of stronger local communities. These include:

- Time – a proportion of the local residents who have time to interact, whether retirees, young people, or those who are not exhausted by work, or working long hours;
- The passage of time – making a community takes historical sediment. Relationships are built over time, and suburbs themselves have a life-cycle, so they cannot all have the same depth of community given differences in their age;
- Spatial opportunity – this is facilitated by ‘third places’ like libraries, cafes, skate parks and dog parks. Planners need to think creatively about third places for different groups of people such as teenagers and older residents;
- Community-makers – the presence of people who strive to connect with others, including the provision of support to stimulate such types of people to create connections;
- Funding for relationship-making activities like local festivals and celebrations, mothers’ groups;
- Social bridges: for example jobs, dogs and children;
- Educational facilities that bring students into communities (as workers, students and consumers) and create age, socio-economic and ethnic diversity;
- Formal support for particular ‘life-cycle’ related events for example, for new mothers, new residents, retirees, or teenagers;
- ‘Community-creating’ house frontages that create front gardens, and facilitate opportunities for time at the street frontage;
- A streetscape that facilitates interaction through open sight lines, and good visibility and the corner shop (i.e. people can see and meet each other);
- Schools and corner shops near home, or facilities that imitate the characteristics of these, that encourage children and adults to walk, talk and reduce school congestion;
- Planning of facilities that circulates residents, workers and/or students around adjacent communities, enlarging social opportunities and networks (for example, desirable sporting facilities in low income old suburbs adjacent to new planned communities, and good retail facilities in the latter which do the same in reverse).

For these important preconditions for good communities to be created, collaborative action by all levels of government with developers and community service providers, educational services and employers is essential. In addition, a holistic approach to regional planning is essential, with consideration of the broad services available within a region.

22. Demographic fit: square pegs in round holes or like a glove?

It is clear that some communities cater for the needs of their residents, workers and businesses better than others. Many professionals are drawn to live in planned communities. Especially for suburban communities, the quality of the homes, the landscaped surrounds, the schools and the cosmopolitan strivings of the retail centres, all compensate (at least initially,) for the distance from the city. Housing is

less expensive on the city fringes and those aspiring to the archetypical middle class lifestyle find it more affordable – but only just. The big house and the landscaped surrounds fetch premium prices relative to the surrounding local government area, and residents of planned communities are usually working to pay off large mortgages. If the local area provides breadth and depth of employment across a range of professional, trade, administrative and lower skilled occupations then the community is a good fit for the socio-demographic characteristics of its residents. If, however, the local area does not provide this breadth and depth of employment, and is perhaps focussed on manufacturing with few service sector, professional and administrative opportunities, then the fit between the residents of planned communities and their surrounding community will be a poorer one and for many it may mean social and work exclusion and may not be sustainable.

Equally importantly, communities that are home to people with less financial, educational and skill resources must provide appropriate local employment opportunities to enable access to the labour market for residents without over burdening them with travel costs (measured in time and money). All communities need to consider the amenity, service and mobility needs of residents, workers and businesses, but communities with lower socio-economic characteristics need to be especially mindful of the limited resources available to individuals and families (such as access to private transport). These communities need to facilitate access to people, jobs, recreation and services by thoughtful planning of physical, social, employment and educational infrastructure. While the needs do not appear as acute in planned communities, access to opportunity still needs to be a high priority, particularly for certain groups of people such as teenagers, frail elderly and women.

23. Teenagers

We have written at some length about the fortunes of teenagers in both planned and traditional communities (Williams, Bridge and Pocock 2009). Both types of communities are largely planned for adults. Planned communities often aim to attract parents of young families, so they frequently offer good parks and facilities for children and toddlers, but much less for teenagers. This has important negative consequences for teenagers: teenagers' lives are contingent upon adult time and space. What they do, how they do it, when they do it and who they do it with, is often conditioned by their parents' lives. The abilities of teenagers to access opportunities vary by socio-economic location. However, their access to job opportunities, social life, education, physical activity and independence depend upon the amenity and mobility of the work, home and community domains around them.

Just like their parents, teenagers put together complex lives involving school, work, household life and community interaction. They are especially affected by their transport options. Teenagers in poorer socio-economic households especially benefit from rich community resources like good libraries or schools, as well as accessible part-time work.

Many teenagers, in both planned and traditional suburbs, feel marginalised in their communities. They often feel ignored or disrespected, with few local facilities and poor transport. In some planned communities, facilities are 'shallow' or tokenistic: playing fields that are too small, lakes you cannot swim in, gyms that do not open at night. The configuration of their schools with their homes and jobs was also important to many teenagers – just as the configuration of homes and jobs are to the adults around them. Attending a school close to home facilitates social interaction and cuts commuting time, leaving more time for homework, sport, socialising and sleep.

It is also evident from the perspectives of teenagers, that adult work plays a very significant role in constructing the opportunities available to teenagers. Adult schedules dominate, and where they are inflexible, many teenagers must adapt or go without. Employee-centred flexible work regimes are thus important resources for teenagers. More flexible workplaces, and well designed local suburbs are seen as very important to teenagers, who often feel that they have little influence upon their suburbs, whether they live in affluent or poor; planned or traditional neighbourhoods.

24. Retirement

Residents and workers in urban planned harbour-side communities are, by and large, affluent and enjoying their lives.

However, retirement is a very variable experience beyond these urban peaks. It seems that many men, in traditional communities in particular, handle retirement rather differently than some of the women in their suburbs. Men in lower socio-economic groups are often suffering ill-health and limited job opportunities as they age. In some cases, they do not feel good about being confined to their homes or doing domestic work as their partners pick up a little service sector work in retirement, and they do not appear to take the same enjoyment as many retired women do from involvement in their extended families. Their social legacy from work or life-time friendships seems much more sparse than that of women. Many of the saddest interviews in this study were with older men who have retired from work, or are trying to. Their social connections were weak and thin, compared to men in higher income areas, and women in both.

This is not to say, however, that many grandfathers are not involved in their children's and grandchildren's lives: many are and with great enjoyment. However, the fortunes of retirement are very variable in these accounts, with more limited job prospects for older men and more physical injury in old age.

Overall, retirees look for more social contact in their mature years, and some who find themselves living in streets full of workers who are gone all day are quite lonely. Some worry about their safety, and have trouble integrating into communities (whether in traditional or planned communities).

25. Opportunity: there for the taking or hard to find?

Opportunity underlies all of the previous issues. Everyone in this study wanted their community to facilitate their access to opportunities of one kind or another. They wanted the opportunity to have a job, but still be available to care for a sick child. They wanted the opportunity to have a career but still have the time to coach kid's soccer. For many older and younger residents, they wanted the opportunity to make friends in their local area and to be independent.

At a fundamental level, people want, and need, opportunities to work and care in a way that sustains them as individuals - giving them enough time to fulfil their roles as workers and/or carers while at the same time attending to some of their own needs for social interaction, recreation and personal development. If they have access to these opportunities, and if those in their community are equally serviced, then it is possible for them to lead lives that are multi-dimensional in that they can have fulfilling home lives as well as productive working lives and involved community lives. It is lives like these that create sustainable communities that minimise social exclusion and inequality. It is the objective of good community planning to achieve such outcomes, and they require collaborative pre-development planning of facilities, transport, jobs, education and services.

26. Narrative and place

Place is a concept that has emerged in recent years in social geography and sociology and it refers to all the attributes of a given location that encapsulate spatial arrangements and the planning of the environment and its aesthetic dimensions. It also refers to the quality of the social environment and the way it may facilitate or inhibit certain practices. Further, it includes the way particular locales facilitate or impede the development of 'community' and the way it includes or marginalises particular groups. Places generate narratives. These may or may not be 'objectively true' but these narratives become important ways of defining places for residents of that place and of representing them to the 'external' world. Narratives define the identity of a place and, by extension, the identity of its residents. In some instances, narratives may be imposed on given locations by actors and agencies external to them and these can be difficult to resist and challenge.

A striking feature of our data is the way that residents of planned communities voiced a clearly articulated narrative about the place in which they lived (or, in some instances, worked or operated a business). Their accounts about their neighbourhood expressed a strong sense of place and a strong sense of identification with it. These narratives commented favourably on their fellow residents, the sense of community they encountered, the ease of living there and the pleasing aesthetic qualities of their neighbourhood.

By contrast, interviewees who lived or worked in traditional suburbs pointed to the ways that narratives were foisted on them and their neighbourhoods by external agents (and often perpetuated in the press). These narratives were often negative and characterised these neighbourhoods as unsafe. This, we were told, limited people's willingness to use public transport (especially young people) and to utilise open spaces for leisure and recreation. While people were aware of the negative narratives imposed on or attached to their neighbourhoods, they liked these places and enjoyed living in them. They had their own quietly positive narratives about these places.

Nevertheless, the narratives attached to planned communities and traditional suburbs help shape the interaction between the residents of the two settings. There were mixed views about the interaction between people from the different neighbourhoods and differing assessments of the effects of this interaction. For some, the difference between the two places simply reinforced divisions; others felt there was some benefit for the residents of traditional suburbs in being able to access the resources associated with planned communities.

27. Social exclusion, inequality and putting together work, home and community

A 2004 Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) study argues current approaches to affordable housing, urban consolidation and social-mixing ignore the 'spatial differentiation of communities on class lines that now exist in metropolitan centres like Melbourne and Sydney, which make uniformly beneficial outcomes from urban consolidation uncertain' (Healy and Birrell 2004). Peel's (1995) study of the history of social mixing in Elizabeth, notes planners' best efforts to generate interaction between working and middle class households faltered, with the middle-class eventually leaving the area, while working class residents forged their own cultural and social networks and initiatives.

There are significant inequalities between the suburbs in this study. Some are likely to affect children well into their adulthood, where schools, childcare, or community facilities like libraries are inadequate for example. However, where these facilities are well developed, and available to residents from outside the planned community, they can help bridge inequality. Porous boundaries are essential.

Less can be hoped for in relation to the urban harbour-side planned communities which are effectively 'gated' sites of wealth in view of their high rents and purchase costs, and their physical inaccessibility to those outside the renting or owning community.

If poorer residents are left facing unsafe, poorly planned communities with ageing community facilities, longer commutes and shallow employment and educational opportunities, then suburban divides between traditional and planned communities may fuel and enlarge socio-economic inequality and social exclusion. Pivotal here, are the quality of services, transport, jobs and educational and care facilities in traditional communities as well as the porosity of the boundaries around planned communities. Where they are genuinely accessible – in time, space and cost – to local 'traditional' residents, then they can benefit the larger localities in which they are based. Where they are effectively 'gated' by space, time or money, then widening social equality and exclusion might well be the result.

However, not all benefits appear to accrue to planned, high income suburbs in our study: many households in more traditional suburbs are less encumbered by mortgages, are more time-rich than some of their adjoining neighbours in planned suburbs and enjoy deep, rich and long-lived community relations.

28. What resources and demands shape work, home and family outcomes?

We set out on this three year study hypothesising that more appropriate and particular work, housing, services and community configurations and life-cycle accommodations, which meet the diverse needs of Australian workers, are possible.

The most optimal configurations vary by location, socio-economic status and household type (i.e. couple, single, with/without children, aged members; high, middle and low socio-economic status). Table 4 shows how a range of factors create demands (or resources) in each domain of work, home and community, as well as across domains.

The study suggests that ‘work’ is complex and needs to be unpacked to consider impacts arising from the job, the workplace, the industry and the labour market. There is nothing pre-determined about how a particular job will affect workers’ family or community life: this affect is shaped by the conditions of the job, workplace, industry and labour market. Several factors affect outcomes at all four of the levels of ‘work’. These are:

- the relative power of employers and particular sub-groups of employees – whether skilled or unskilled, younger or older, women or men;
- the division of household and paid labour between women and men, the gender roles they fill, and the relative situations of men and women in terms of care and working conditions;
- the prevailing state of technology (for example, the scope to work from home);
- the cultures of the job, workplace, industry, and labour market; and
- the regulatory regime around work, including things like the regulation of leave, working time, part-time and casual work and so on.

Table 4 sets out a tentative taxonomy, based on our findings. In some cases, aspects of a domain are both resources and demands. In the field of work, for example working long hours can generate income (an important resource) but create a stressed, time-poor parent and rob the family of parental time, thus acting as both a resource and a demand. In the family sphere, mobile phones can act as vital coordinating family resources but their cost can also be a significant demand. Grandparents can be both a childcare resource and demand care themselves. In the community domain, giving time to community activities can both create resources and mean additional demands.

Table 4 Factors that create resources and demands in the domains of work, home and community and their cross-domains.

Domain	Demands (reverse=Resource)		
WORK:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unsupportive supervision • Unsupportive workplace culture • Involuntary overtime • 'Unsocial' hours* • No remote working* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overload • Long hours* • Poor fit of hours to preferences • Poor access to leave (sick, holidays, parental) • Long commutes* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job insecurity • Employee-centred flexibility* • Little autonomy • Low income, high income* • No mobile phone*
FAMILY:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependent parents/grandparents/ other* • Dependent children • Unfair division of domestic labour • Dual worker/earner households* • Lower income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One parent/worker households • Unsupportive partner • Children who do not help • No/poor household technology (e.g. computer) • No mobile phone* • Slow internet, no internet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor transport options • Unaffordable, inaccessible, low quality care options • Unsupportive inaccessible grandparents/ extended family • High housing costs • Long commutes
COMMUNITY:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community activities that take time* • Community activities that take resources* (e.g. money) • Poor household technology (e.g. computer) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited local walkways, bike tracks, parks • No dog walking* • No children* • No shared local meeting places/'third spaces' • Poor transport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Houses don't open to street /no verandahs • No services/meeting points for mothers, teens, aged • No mobile phone* • Slow internet, no internet
X-DOMAIN:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor spatial alignment of work, family, community • Poor temporal alignment of work, family, community • Poor transport options (cost, timing, regularity, no cars) • Poor household technology (e.g. computer) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low social interaction, trust • Shallow social connection • Limited local jobs • Limited local education (Early childhood, school, vocational and higher education) • Low income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited local services • Poor local facilities (especially libraries, education, care) • No mobile phone* • Slow internet, no internet • No shared local meeting places/'third spaces'

Notes *can be both a resource and/or a demand

The factors set out in table 4 suggest four other aspects of work, home and community ecological systems which, based on our analysis, appear to consistently affect outcomes:

- **Time:** including the hours spent in each domain, the predictability of hours in each, the fit of hours spent in each domain with personal and household preferences, the fit of schedules in the household, how the experience of time in each of the three domains spills over into other domains (i.e. intensity of work or care), employee say and control over time, timing of activity in each sphere (e.g. working at night, caring at night), the way that schedules in each domain fit with others (e.g. school, work hours);

- **Space:** how spatially separated and distant from each other these domains are, how long it takes to cover these distances, whether spaces are virtually connected;
- **Life-stage:** work, family and community outcomes vary by life-stage including for infants, children, teenagers, adults in pre-family formation, adults forming families, parents, pre-retirees, retirees and the aged;
- **Power:** that is relative power between socio-economic groups, men and women, workers of varying levels of education and skill, employers and employees, ethnic groups and age groups. This includes the nature and availability of ‘voice’ in suburban, social and political arrangements.

How these things work, constructs the well-being of those who live in suburban ‘ecosystems’, their economic productivity and the ease of their social reproduction. Strong, healthy, inclusive communities; productive workplaces with low levels of turnover, absenteeism, injury and illness; high levels of worker well-being and satisfaction and engagement; and high levels of family well-being, coherence and support (for infants, children, teenagers, and adults) indicate an ecosystem that is functioning well.

Figure 2 sets out a model which brings all of these elements together. In this model, the domain of ‘work’ needs to be unpacked to make sense of how it intersects with the other domains of households and community. Like layers of an onion, the characteristics of specific jobs, the workplaces within which they are located, the industries in which they exist and the larger labour market context, all together shape the operation and effects of ‘work’.

29. A model of work, home and community ecosystems

This study has highlighted the importance of considering life stage, space, time and power in relation to work, home and community in different suburban settings.

The following diagram models these findings. Work, home and community are represented as three distinct, though interacting spheres of life. Factors associated with life-stage, space, time and the power of individuals are present across each of these spheres, but it is how these factors combine that determines how well work, home and community are integrated for different individuals.

In our analysis, spatial and temporal arrangements that assist workers, employers and residents to meet their needs, in communities with deep, accessible resources – educational, work-related, transport and other services – can all facilitate stronger more resilient communities.

The ways in which developers, governments, employers and service providers plan and implement the design of communities vary widely. Better collaborative planning, in advance of development, and on a scale that examines how neighbouring suburbs fit together can make the difference between strong, inclusive communities that offer meaningful opportunities across the life-course, and weak, excluding communities with low opportunity and wide inequalities.

30. Future Research

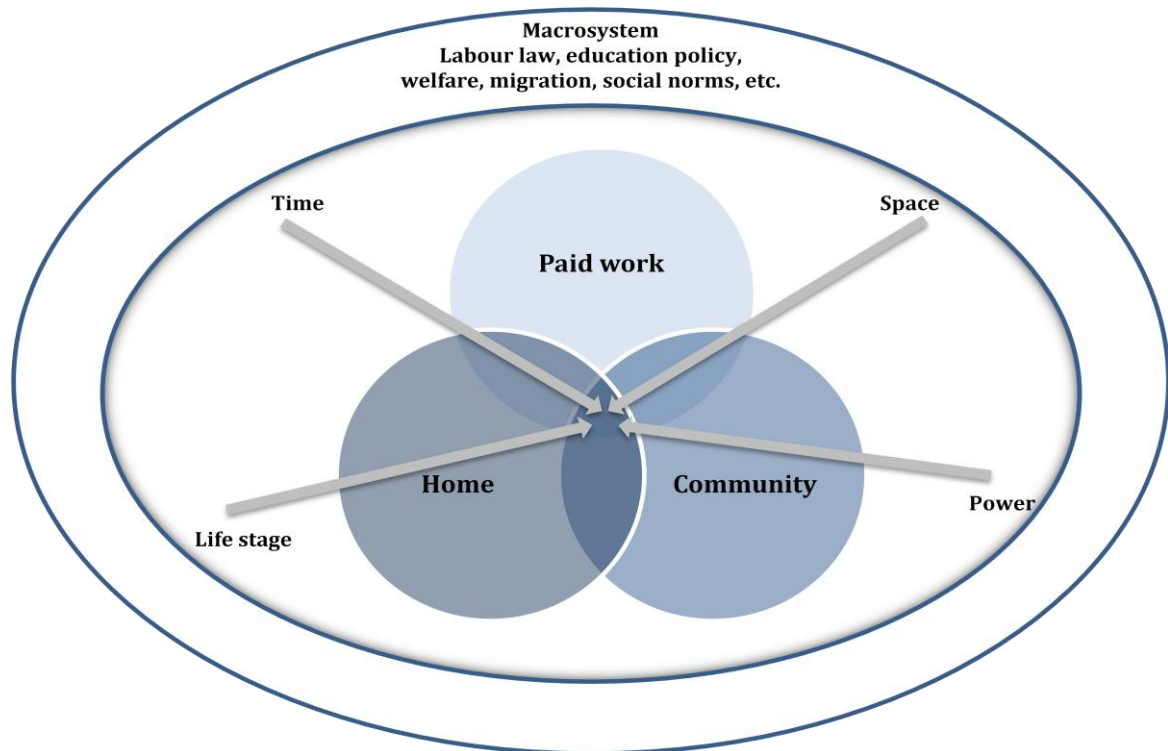
This study has undertaken a multi-method analysis of ten communities including master planned communities, older traditional lower socio-economic communities, and two relatively wealthy inner urban suburbs. We have found wide differences *between* communities in the first and second of these groups, suggesting that planning, service provision and the nature of education, transport, job opportunities and services in such suburbs are critical to outcomes and that some population groups – especially teenagers and retirees – are not well catered for in many settings.

The study has not considered many other kinds of suburbs and residential settings – for example, middle and low income communities around the edges of the inner city, and rural, regional and remote towns and cities. There is a need for further multi-method ‘thickly descriptive’ studies of these communities to consider their similarities with and differences from our findings.

Further, our findings suggest that particular approaches to planning and suburb development result in better and worse outcomes. These findings need testing against the experience and expertise of planners, local government, employers and others.

Finally, our recommendations about how to evaluate planned communities through a rating system require further development and testing in a range of communities. Such testing may result in a refined and detailed checklist and ratings approach that assists future community planners and developers, and results in more robust and effective community outcomes that improve the quality of life in Australia's cities and communities through the better configuration of work, home and communities.

Figure 2. Life stage, power, space and time combine to determine how well work, home and community intersect



One way to summarise these findings is with the following formula:

Life stage + spatial location of significant activities + organisation of time + power relations in work, home and community = FIT and SUSTAINABILITY

For example:

Working parent of young children + local work + school +/- services + timely travel conditions + compatible work and school schedules + the power and voice to affect work arrangements and appropriate sexual division of labour in the household = GOOD FIT and SUSTAINABILITY

Working parent of young children+ distant work + school +/- services + poor travel conditions &/or inflexible working time + and little power to affect conditions at work or the division of labour in the home = POOR FIT and UNSUSTAINABILITY

Key issues for different groups within these communities

This section details key issues faced by different groups across all communities participating in the Work, Home and Community Project. For each group a general recommendation is provided. A more comprehensive list of recommendations for specific stakeholders is given in the following section.

Residents

Adult and child/ adolescent schedules are often incompatible.

- School and work schedules are not coordinated. Teenagers are often left with no adult available in the afternoon, or parents struggle to accommodate work and the needs of children across age groups.

Residents with children often have difficulty combining work and care

- Workload, long hours and long commutes increase demands on workers, make care more difficult and community participation impossible.
- Problems of too little employee-centred ‘flexibility’ result in an inability to combine work and care. However, ‘flexibility’ can increase demands on women so that they shoulder the bulk of unpaid work while also doing a significant paid work load.

Work is often distant from home and other activities

- Lack of local work options forces people to work in other areas and promotes unsustainable work-life arrangements.
- Distance = time = stress. The demands of being a working parent are exacerbated when long commutes are added to the working day.
- Commuting takes residents away from their communities; reduces the time they have available to participate in community activities; and reduces opportunities for developing local social networks. The consequence is reduced social capital for individuals and communities.
- When good employment opportunities are distant from residential areas, gender inequity is perpetuated because many working mothers feel the need to choose between having a career in the city and being available to their children in the suburbs.

Familial connection is an issue for residents at different life stages, particularly in planned communities.

- Lack of access to extended family reduces the ability of some residents to combine work and care of children or elderly parents.
- Moving to a new community may result in isolation and reduced networks of care and support for vulnerable residents including new mothers and frail elderly.

Those without access to a private vehicle, such as frail elderly, teenagers and poorer residents lack access to services and amenity, resulting in reduced access to opportunity and social isolation.

- Separation of homes from amenity and services disadvantages pedestrians.
- Inadequate or unsafe public transport options reduce community mobility; busy roads with inadequate crossings reduce pedestrian access

General recommendation

Stakeholders need to consider the daily activities of residents across all LIFE STAGES; activities such as work, care, social interaction, civic engagement, education, recreation and consumption of goods and services. Careful planning of SPACE and TIME within and between communities is essential for the development of sustainable communities and stakeholders should aim to facilitate access to daily activities by considering home, work and community as interrelated areas of concern. Particular attention should be given to the access needs of residents with the fewest resources in the home, including those without access to a private vehicle (teenagers, frail elderly, the poor). The role of extended family in the work/care regimes of working families should be acknowledged through planning initiatives that facilitate extended family migration into communities.

Teenagers

Teenagers are marginalised in their residential communities

- Needs not met or superficially acknowledged
- Designed out of community
- Denied access to developmentally appropriate opportunities
- No voice/denied citizenship

Teenagers have nothing to do

- Amenity and mobility services not adequate
- Wild and unplanned spaces diminished
- Few 'third places' for teenagers that are not problematic e.g. the mall does not welcome teenagers and encourages consumption. Other public spaces are not ideal if groups of teenagers are seen as a threat by other residents or if the activities of teenagers impinge on other groups.

Teenagers are being separated from adults

- Teenage activities are not compatible with adult activities. Scheduling of school and work keeps teenagers and working adults separate. This is exacerbated when home is geographically distant from school and work.
- Teenagers avoid community centres that lack amenity or activity of interest to them, resulting in teenagers being invisible in their communities.

Many teenagers are overloaded

- Teenagers are experiencing multiple pressures from home, school, extracurricular activities and work which are not adequately acknowledged by adults in any of these contexts.
- Teenagers from poorer households are particularly disadvantaged because it is not always possible for them to give up paid work to concentrate on their final year of high school. This may impact on academic achievement, future employment and career prospects – disadvantage is perpetuated.

Poor public schooling fragments communities and reduces opportunities for social interaction and the development of social capital for teenagers, their families and communities.

- All teenagers are disadvantaged when local public schools are poorly resourced. Wealthier families choose to send their children to schools outside their residential area and local social networks become difficult to establish or maintain.
- Poorer families are forced to accept poorly resourced educational facilities with few well resourced families participating in the school community - disadvantage is perpetuated

- Time associated with travelling long distances to school can impact on extracurricular activities as well as time for recreation, social interaction and, importantly in this age group, sleep.
- All residents of the community and members of the local school are disadvantaged by the absence of well resourced families from their social milieu.

Teenagers often find it difficult to access paid work, vocational experience or extracurricular learning opportunities

- This is particularly a problem for teenagers in disadvantaged communities where there is an absence of cultural institutions and opportunities for exposure to skilled or professional vocations.
- A lack of local business means fewer opportunities for part-time work.

Safety is an issue for teenagers in disadvantaged areas.

- Public transport can be poorly maintained and supervised. Teenagers often feel unsafe and so their mobility is curtailed.
- Many teenagers find roads too difficult to cross. Parents are also concerned for their children’s safety if unsupervised – which restricts their activities and increases demands on parents.

General recommendation

In most suburban communities teenagers do, or will, represent a significant proportion of the residential population; they need to be considered and consulted with regard to community planning, and at all stages of community development. Stakeholders need to understand how teenagers engage with the world they live in, respect the differences between teenagers and other age groups, and plan appropriately for structured and unstructured teenage activity. Particular attention should be paid to spatial and temporal accessibility of amenity and services within and outside communities and efforts should be made to increase the availability of adults in the lives of teenagers. The opportunities available to teenagers will influence how they contribute to and interact with their communities during adolescence and into adulthood.

Workers

The notion of ‘flexibility’ is problematic – a gendered issue

- Flexibility allows workers, especially women, to combine paid and unpaid work. However, it creates the conditions for workers, especially women, to be overburdened with demands on their ‘flexible’ time.

There is often poor access to services and amenity near work places

- Creates time pressures for workers, especially women, who need to combine work and household tasks in the same day.

Many workers have poor access to extended family or support from friends, particularly those who have recently moved to a planned community

- Makes combining paid and unpaid work more difficult or costly.

General recommendation

Work-life integration is a societal issue. A culture of long or unsociable hours and long commutes creates demands for individuals, households and communities. It inhibits the development of local social networks and social capital. Individuals, employers, community planners and government policy makers need to actively work towards societal norms that embrace healthy work-life outcomes. Flexible working

conditions that give workers say over working arrangements are a positive response to the problem of integrating work with other responsibilities. However, individuals and workplaces need to acknowledge that 'flexibility' can also contribute to increased demands and plan to manage this. Particular attention should be given to the spatial and temporal coordination of work and other daily activities so that workers can combine work with tasks related to home and community.

Business

Businesses often have limited access to customers, markets, labour and supportive infrastructure.

- Access to labour was a particular issue for some businesses, particularly in planned urban communities especially those that lacked, for example, local post-school education facilities.

Despite its benefits, flexible working conditions can become a demand for some small business owners.

- Flexibility helps keep good workers, but small business owners must pick up shortfalls in labour when employees are exercising their access to flexibility.

Home-based business can be a double edged sword

- They can provide flexibility but create porous boundaries between work and home and allow longer hours of work;
- Working from home can also be socially isolating.

General recommendation

Consider 'access' to and for business in the broadest possible terms. Aim to match the needs and resources of local business with the needs and resources of the local community. Small business owners are particularly vulnerable to overwork and isolation. They need access to appropriate physical, social and business infrastructure to be able to sustain their own work, home and community lives, to be able to offer good working conditions and environments for their employees and to be contributing members of their local community.

Community

Many communities lack comprehensive access to amenity and services across life stages and for different groups of people including those less visible or with weak social power such as frail elderly, teenagers and people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. This has important consequences:

- Creates inequities within communities;
- Perpetuates disadvantage among less resourced residents;
- Perpetuates negative narratives of place in relation to poorer communities;
- Reduces participation (and citizenship) of some groups;
- Reduces access to opportunity for some groups.

Many communities lack 'third places' for different groups of people particularly teenagers, older people, and those with lower incomes.

- Many residents are alienated in their own communities;

- Leads to isolation and decreased physical, social and emotional wellbeing;
- Leads to anti-social behaviour among young people.

Some neighbourhoods lack a sense of community due to the dormitory feel created by an absence of people on residential streets during the day.

- Centralised retail areas encourage use of the car even within communities;
- Automatic garage doors and the absence of verandahs means neighbours rarely cross paths;
- The increase in dual earner households means that adults and children are absent from residential areas during the day.

Many young, unskilled, and disadvantaged residents have poor access to job opportunities

- Due to poor or expensive transport options to areas of work;
- Due to few local job opportunities;
- Due to a mismatch between their skills and local job opportunities. (Skills mismatch also occurs for many professionals living in planned communities in the outer-suburbs.)

General recommendation

Social capital relies on social interaction between residents of a neighbourhood or a larger community. Designing communities to maximise incidental social interaction among residents (with good pedestrian access and consideration of ‘third places’) will increase the social connectedness of individuals and contribute to the long term social sustainability of a community. Communities that provide depth and breadth of employment, education, recreation and service facilitate the development of complex social networks that support both individuals and communities. Addressing the access needs of the most disadvantaged residents is likely to benefit the whole community by reducing inequity and increasing social participation.

Specific stakeholder recommendations

Government – local, state, federal

Residents

- It is essential that the broad and multiple activities of residents are considered in any community development. Housing development that ignores the employment, educational, mobility and recreational activities of residents create demands for individuals and households that affect the functioning of the whole community. For example when children have poor mobility within their communities (between home and activities outside school) they may become isolated and disengaged.
- Planners need to think about the spatial and temporal incompatibilities of adult and child activities and provide creative resources to assist residents, such as staffed amenities that provide a safe and interesting space for young people to spend their time between school finishing and parents returning from work. Existing community resources such as schools and libraries may be used for this purpose.
- Zoning that considers the activities of residents and workers and facilitates the co-location of services, amenity, work and home will be more sustainable. Government should rethink regulations (zoning, competition) that discourage small businesses, such as corner shops, in residential areas.
- The provision of excellent public transport should be considered essential to the sustainability of suburban and urban communities and the individuals who live in them. Forward planning of public transport infrastructure will ensure new developments are well connected and facilitate the development of sustainable travel habits early on.
- Safety is a priority on public transport and in public spaces, particularly in socially disadvantaged areas. Access to opportunity is restricted when people do not feel safe using public transport or amenities.
- Encourage labour markets in suburban areas with breadth and depth of employment (diverse job options).
- Stimulate public debate about the notion of ‘problematic flexibility’ leading to policy solutions.
- Successful work-life integration should be the goal of government at all levels. Poor work-life integration affects the ability of individuals to participate in their communities; it reduces opportunities for social connection and reduces social capital across communities.
- Work and housing should not be separate areas of concern. They are interrelated and zoning and planning guidelines should reflect this.

Teenagers

- Rather than seeing teenagers as a problem to be managed, existing and core public amenities such as libraries, schools and other public or cultural institutions could expand or re-imagine their contribution to the daily lives of teenagers. These amenities are already resourced to a substantial level and have the potential to offer teenagers opportunities for recreational activity (school gym and playing fields, library computer suites), extracurricular learning (school, library, museum resources), peer and intergenerational social interaction (combined use of resources in the afternoon, evening and on weekends). Extending the use of these facilities requires partnership and commitment from government.
- Ensure the provision of well resourced public education in all communities but particularly in disadvantaged communities where household resources cannot stretch to contribute to the school.

This may encourage a diverse social mix within local schools and increase opportunities for the development of local social capital.

- Tertiary and cultural institutions (museums, libraries, university campuses) should be located in disadvantaged areas and excellent transport infrastructure should be provided to support usage.
- Creative zoning of residential areas with recreational facilities, retail and other business enterprises will increase opportunities for teenagers to engage independently in their communities.
- Public transport should respond to the spatial and temporal travel needs of teenagers. A core requirement of public transport should be to facilitate teenagers' access to extracurricular opportunities and activities within and outside their residential communities.
- Local and state government should encourage a diverse range of employment opportunities that fit the demographics of communities and provide vocational opportunities for teenagers.
- Financial assistance in the form of grants or welfare payments, might allow older teenagers from financially disadvantaged homes to give up paid employment during senior high school.

Workers

- Consider planning that minimises transition times between the activities of workers with care and community responsibilities. Housing must be considered in relation to work, care, education, recreation and consumption. When co-location is not possible, efficient access via public and private transport modes is a priority.
- Ensure the provision of high quality, low cost accessible childcare in all communities.
- Plan for the after school needs of children and teenagers (very different needs) in order to reduce the demands on working parents. For example, provision of amenity (such as a youth centre), human resources (for homework clubs or interest groups run through schools or libraries) and transport (to get children from school to afternoon activities).
- Provide amenity, human and financial resources to schools to help in the provision of after school programs.

Business

- Facilitate adequate transport infrastructure, including roads, rail and other public transport to and within suburban and outer suburban communities. Early provision is essential.
- Involvement in planning for small business sustainability, focussing on supportive human and technology resources, including adequate broadband access.
- Facilitate creative planning of home office or residential office hubs through planning legislation.

Community

- Support physical infrastructure that provides high levels of access for all residents to education, employment, recreation and retail. Pedestrian access and excellent public transport is particularly important for marginalised groups including teenagers, poorer individuals and the elderly. Their mobility and travel needs should not be secondary to those of working adults.
- Recognise the benefits of third places to particular groups. Facilitate the provision of third places through supportive zoning regulations and financial investment.
- Rethink zoning that separates some business enterprises from residential areas, such as cafes, bakeries and corner shops. Such businesses can enliven a neighbourhood and create strong social networks that sustain individuals and ensure the social sustainability of communities.
- The provision of diverse housing options (including 'key worker' housing, and housing for different life stages) good transport options and depth of local employment reduces the risk of communities becoming dormitory suburbs, devoid of social cohesion.

- Local public schools need to be well funded in order to attract local students. Good schools are the key to thriving local communities. When children attend school elsewhere, opportunities for social connection among residents are reduced.
 - Outer suburban communities are particularly disadvantaged when it comes to vocational opportunities and experiences. Government at all levels needs to work towards attracting a diverse range of workplaces to these areas as well as supporting increased technical and tertiary educational institutions and cultural organisations to locate in these areas. Excellent public transport will facilitate movement into these areas and contribute to economic sustainability.
 - Work cooperatively with local businesses to support the employment of local youth, including the provision of incentives and supports to train and employ local disengaged youth.
-

Planners/ developers

Residents

- Cooperative planning relationships between developers and local/ state government are likely to facilitate positive outcomes for residents, workers and business in new and surrounding communities.
- Planners need to consider the daily activities of residents across all life stages and work towards ease of access and a high degree of integration between different aspects of life.
- Good infrastructure planning including transport options (road and rail) and essential services (education facilities, childcare options, post office, banking, medical, retail) should precede housing in new developments as much as possible. This is likely to require incentives or a period of financial support for businesses willing to come in early.
- Physical infrastructure, such as roads, intersections, parking, pedestrian areas need to accommodate the spatial and temporal realities of residents (e.g. roads need to accommodate increased traffic during school drop off and pick up). This includes co-location of, or facilitated access between, home and areas of work. It also includes thoughtful placement and scheduling of services and amenity related to the daily activities of all residents, paying particular attention to the needs of those who combine work and care, those who attend school, and those with fewer resources within the home (and greater need for public amenity and transport).
- Co-location of work and home should be a priority of planning. In the absence of local work opportunities, efficient commutes between work, home and services is essential and should focus on excellent public transport options.
- Community planning needs to keep in mind creative small business infrastructure e.g. SOHOs (small office/home office) and supported office facilities. These solutions need to be supported with appropriate community infrastructure that facilitates access, including adequate parking, labour brokers, facilitated networking.
- Planning needs to make provision for good quality care and educational options in all areas (particularly disadvantaged areas).
- Planning needs to consider the amenity and service needs (and desires) of both residents and workers, remembering that many workers need to attend to personal tasks during lunchtime and after work. The availability of housing for key workers should be a priority for all new housing developments.
- Physical infrastructure and planning should aim to reduce reliance on cars and give greater priority to pedestrian and cycle movement to ensure greater access to community amenity and service (especially among children, elderly adults with prams etc). Planning for pedestrians would encourage

consideration of corner shops in addition to centralised retail; pedestrian routes from homes to school; safe crossings and lighted walkways to retail and recreation areas.

- Acknowledge and accommodate extended family migration into communities.
- Consider how residents are likely to engage in the labour market. Build communities near areas of appropriate work e.g. do not build new communities for the middle class a long distance from professional jobs.
- Communities need to include a diverse range of housing to accommodate various household configurations and care obligations. ‘Granny flats’, retirement areas and assisted care facilities will also accommodate extended families migration into communities.
- Physical and social infrastructure should reflect the diversity of residents (including children, teenagers, workers, non-workers, elderly).

Teenagers

- The needs of teenagers should not be considered secondary to the needs of other residents or community groups – if their needs are not met, the whole community will be affected.
- Teenagers (across age groups) need to be actively engaged in the planning and ongoing development of communities. In order to properly address the needs of teenagers a diverse range of views need to be canvassed.
- Planners need to consider the socio-economic status of residents in order to ensure appropriate levels of provision. Teenagers with fewer resources at home are likely to need greater resources in the community, including transport, local amenity and social services. Care should be taken to consider the needs of teenagers in relation to the multiple interacting domains of home, school, community, teenage work and adult work.
- If amenity or activity cannot be provided within a community, access to amenity and activity outside the community needs to be facilitated with community and public transport options that are safe and welcoming and designed around the potential activities of teenagers.
- All communities (and neighbourhoods, if a community sprawls across a large area) need to develop a place that offers teenagers somewhere to hang out, that is free, safe, and protected from the weather. Ideally it needs to have a variety of things for teenagers to do and be a place where they can drop in anytime and potentially bump into someone they know.
- Schedules for amenities and transport need to correspond to teenagers’ activities like school, part-time work, recreation and social interaction.
- Residential communities that are physically separated from labour markets inhibit the sharing of time between teenagers and adults and reduce access to opportunities for teenagers (as well as impacting on family activities and relationships). Spatial and temporal characteristics of working adults lives need to be considered alongside the spatial and temporal characteristics of teenagers’ lives to ensure communities are designed to maximise shared time.
- Make provision for a choice of educational facilities. If parents choose to send their children to a private school it is more sustainable for the community and its residents if that school is located locally.
- Planning should encourage the placement of tertiary and cultural institutions (museums, libraries, university campuses) within suburban communities.
- Communities need to consider the safety needs of teenagers finishing part-time jobs in the evening.
- Residential areas should not be separated from work opportunities. Creative planning and zoning needs to combine residential and business/retail areas in a way that facilitates access but does not reduce quality of life for residents.

Workers

- Reduce demands on workers with multiple responsibilities through planning that facilitates the easy transition between work, home, school and community. For example, co-location of jobs and service as well as adequate transport infrastructure reduces the ‘time’ spent transitioning from one activity to another.
- Include key worker housing in all new developments.
- Consider an employment broker to facilitate the employment of local residents in local businesses.

Business

- When planning for or attracting business to a community be mindful of the fit between community demographics and business needs for labour and markets/customers.
- Increase fit by enabling the co-location of business with customers (e.g. corner shops in residential areas).
- Provide infrastructure that facilitates access to business such as parking, good road access and public transport.
- Consider a labour broker service (web or person) to facilitate matching of local business needs to local employment needs.
- Facilitate a depth of service provision throughout the community to enable the development of sustainable business networks.
- Develop facilitated networking and business support activities, including actual and virtual offices, small business social sites, secretarial and administration support.
- Ensure inclusion of non-professional businesses in facilitated networking planning. Focus on ‘group’ solutions to overwork among local business owners/managers.
- Facilitate planning for sustainability in small business. Include information sessions, mentoring, workshops or training in relation to issues associated with work life integration for business owners/managers.
- Worker flexibility needs to be facilitated by community amenity and infrastructure, e.g. local high quality childcare options.
- Plan for a variety of home based or near home office alternatives including SOHOs and low cost community office hubs.
- Create virtual water coolers – places of interaction and exchange for local small businesses.
- Facilitate networks among local home based businesses.
- Facilitate sharing of information and ideas for sustainable business.

Community

- Facilitate knowledge of existing services and amenity, particularly to less visible groups.
- Facilitate physical access to services and amenity for those without private transport, e.g. community bus.
- Pursue creative planning for development that integrates the diverse needs of residents across life stages and with different needs. This requires genuine consultation.
- Consider the ‘third place’ needs of different residential groups including teenagers, older people, and those with lower incomes. Make provision for third places through investment in purpose build amenities, such as a community centre, and invest in additional resources for existing institutions such as libraries. Identify ‘third place’ potential for local businesses and facilitate it through planning and incentives (e.g. planning for out-door seating near local bakery).
- Design in meeting places such as corner shops, parks, and playgrounds.
- Encourage housing that facilitates social interaction (e.g. verandahs).

- Develop new communities near good employment and transport in order to reduce the length of time residents spend commuting.
 - Support local public schools with resources that help them attract and retain local students.
 - Encourage the development of a diverse range of industries and workplaces through the provision of key services and amenity.
 - Plan communities around good transport infrastructure.
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Business

Residents

- Consider the scheduling demands faced by workers with children, including those associated with school hours, school holidays and extracurricular activities. Plan for a variety of working schedules that accommodate children's lives.
- Consider releasing workers for either school or community work for a certain number of hours per year.
- Business needs to consider not only where their client/customer base is located, but also where their employees are located and try to integrate the two.
- Business needs to be mindful that many workers need to attend to personal and household needs during their lunchbreak or after work. They should locate themselves accordingly or provide creative options such as a shuttle service to the nearest retail area during lunch.
- Businesses can have a significant voice in local government and are also in a position to advocate for safe and easy access to their premises for all pedestrians.
- Consider the role older workers play in the lives of their families. Provide flexible work arrangements that allow older workers to participate in the lives of their children and grandchildren. Conversely, elder care responsibilities should be actively accommodated in policy and practice.
- Employers need to institute changes that reduce long hours and increase flexibility, without just transferring work into the personal domain.
- There should be worker-centred flexibility for all. Workers should be given opportunities to attend to personal, household, and social wellbeing. However, workplaces need to acknowledge "problematic flexibility" and manage to prevent it.
- Consider issues of access for clients, customers and workers, including pedestrian access and parking at different times of day.

Teenagers

- Malls and shopping precincts are the preferred place to hang out for most teenagers whose residential community offers nowhere else for them to go. Mall management and businesses could be proactive in relation to teenagers, creating a space within their boundaries that welcomes teenagers and offers them an interesting place to hang out that is not subject to consumption or prejudice.
- Residential areas should not be routinely separated from places of employment.
- Workplaces need to offer flexible or creative working times so that adults and children can share time and space.
- Teen centred flexibility with regards to part-time work might assist teenagers who are required to maintain paid work due to financial hardship within their homes.
- Local businesses and chambers of commerce could partner with schools to provide expertise, services and opportunities for work and vocational experience for students. These relationships should aim to be mutually beneficial to students and businesses (with an exchange of resources).

Workers

- Continue to offer flexible working conditions.
- Carefully consider the time associated with work tasks (including general administration) to avoid a mismatch between work tasks and available work time.
- Businesses should locate themselves near essential services and amenity so workers can attend to personal or household needs during work breaks or after work.
- Provide transport to nearest retail centre during lunch hour.
- Consider the caring responsibilities of the workforce (including childcare, sibling care and eldercare). Where possible make provision for regular or emergency childcare.

Business

- Lobby local government or developers for supportive infrastructure that facilitates access to labour, customers and required services.
- Develop relationships with community institutions such as schools that facilitate cooperative and long term partnerships for mutual benefit, e.g. work experience schemes can provide vocational experience for students and a future labour pool for business.
- Chambers of commerce initiatives that pool resources among members to assist individual business owners/managers during times of stress. For example, identify a pool of local workers who can be called upon to 'fill in' when local businesses have a staffing shortfall.
- Try to foresee issues associated with combining work and care for employees, and put infrastructure or processes in place to reduce the impact, e.g. providing a safe and interesting space for children at the workplace.
- Develop sustainable practices, network with similar business and share resources including personnel to reduce workload for business owner/ manager.

Community

- Consider how individual businesses can respond to the needs of marginalised groups by providing services and opportunities.
- Cooperate with local government and local schools to enhance the experience of all residents.
- Consider how individual businesses might become third places. A cafe may be a third place for women with babies, the corner shop might be a third place for local elderly residents. Encourage patronage with a community notice board, with pram access and toys (cafe) or with a couple of tables and chairs near the entrance (corner shop).
- Some businesses, such as corner shops, bakeries and cafes are in a position to liven up the residential street and at the same time create vibrant social venues for residents (third places). These businesses should consider how this might be done.
- Consider the role of local business in the training of local youth.
- Work cooperatively with schools and TAFE to train and employ students.
- Work cooperatively with government at all levels to support the employment of local youth.

Schools

Residents

- Consider working parents in event planning, e.g. breakfast events that allow working parents to participate before work.

- Communicate more with workplaces via working parents and the media. For example, letters detailing a school event and the benefits of having parent participation; general media campaign raising awareness of the importance of parent participation in school activities and encouraging workplaces to release workers for school participation for a certain number of hours per year.
- Schools need to be active in ensuring safe routes to school and from school to places frequented by students in the afternoon such as libraries, retail areas and recreation areas.

Teenagers

- Schools are in a position to advocate on behalf of teenagers, but more importantly, they are in a position to encourage and guide teenagers towards active citizenship in their communities. Schools can give teenagers the tools to express their views and lobby local government and local business groups on their own behalf.
- Schools could think more creatively about how their facilities might be used by teenagers and those seeking to offer a service to teenagers outside school hours.
- Schools need to be more creative about scheduling. For example, homework clubs might benefit students whose parents work– they would provide a safe place to be as well as essential adult support and guidance with home work.
- Schools need to be more flexible when it comes to the lives of teenagers. Consideration of travel issues as well as teen work and care obligations should inform decisions about school schedules and homework load. Flexible start and finish times might suit older students, as might part-time study options so students can combine study and work.
- Public schools, especially in disadvantaged areas, need to make efforts to attract well resourced families into their school communities.
- Schools could strengthen their partnerships with local business and industry in order to facilitate work opportunities and vocational experiences for students.
- In partnership with government, schools could play an active role in the provision of extracurricular activities and cultural experiences for students.

Workers

- Consider the needs of working families; be more creative around school time e.g. resource homework clubs so kids can stay longer at school and have access to information technology and adult resources for homework; provide affordable before and after school care and holiday care to reduce demands on working parents with little family support; consider the provision of after school sport and recreation clubs.
- Consider the scheduling disparity between school and parental work and provide after school options for students such as homework clubs, interest groups or sport, to reduce the need of working parents to use their ‘flexible work time’ to transport children from school to another activity before returning to work.
- Consider placement of primary schools near retail and service areas so parents can combine school trips with other activities.

Business

- Develop relationships with local businesses that will benefit the school and its students through services, expert knowledge, work experience placements and part-time working arrangements.

Community

- Develop cooperative relationships with local government and other community groups to make school facilities and resources available outside school hours.

- Facilitate relationships between students, local government and local business to ensure they have a voice in their communities.
 - Support the lives of students beyond the class room e.g. cooperate with local government, local business and other local groups to develop acceptable places for teenagers to 'hang out'.
 - Schools with good facilities and good reputations attract more local children and contribute to the social experience of communities. Schools (particularly public schools) need to be in partnership with local government, local business and other local schools to ensure the highest level of amenity and opportunity is available to local children and their families.
 - Partnerships with local businesses could create opportunities for senior students and school leavers through work experience programs and recruitment schemes.
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Individuals

As members of a community

- Poor work-life integration is not sustainable in the long term. As well as affecting mental and physical health, excessive and unsociable working hours can interfere with family formation and reduce opportunities for social connections in communities of residence. Individuals need to make decisions about how and when they work that will enable them to attend to their social and health needs.

As parents and mentors of teenagers

- Consider the needs of children when they are teenagers and assess how well different communities address these needs. In particular assess the travel needs associated with school, social interaction, sport and recreation, extracurricular activities and work. If pedestrian access is limited and public transport inadequate or unsafe, consider how easily these needs will be addressed within the family and how work or career might be affected.
- School needs to be considered within a broader context, which acknowledges the varied needs of the child, the family, the community and the environment. Issues of personal, social and financial sustainability need to be weighed against the advantages that might be gained sending a child to a school that is not located locally.
- Parents and residents need to lobby government for increased resources for public schools.

As workers

- Acknowledge the double edged sword of flexibility e.g. flexibility enables women to attend to paid and unpaid work (care, community and domestic) but it also enables multiple demands on women's time and contributes to women's overwork.
- Plan for a spatial and temporal fit between work, home, care, services etc.
- Develop social connections with others in the community. Be open to creative social support initiatives and get involved.

As small business owners/managers

- Work towards sustainable business practices that reduce overwork and leave time for family, friends and community
- Become aware of council/ developer/ chamber of commerce initiatives to connect local business to each other, to clients and to labour.
- Lobby council/ developer/ chamber of commerce for supportive physical and social infrastructure, including links to local sources of labour.

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