

## What role do urban policies play in enhancing the satisfaction from neighbourhood open spaces in mixed-use city centres: Lesson from Auckland

---

Salma Amirshakari Razno<sup>1</sup>, Lee Beattie<sup>2</sup> and Cristian Alejandro Silva<sup>3</sup>

### Abstract

Mixed-use neighbourhood and intensification have been widely identified as a positive urban strategy after research showed how this policy benefits the city and public, underpinning the concept of sustainability. In countries with well-established urban growth strategies, governments encourage people to settle in city centres as a mixed-use neighbourhood by considering new high-density residential development in this area. However, the design quality of these areas influences the residents' satisfaction within their neighbourhood. Providing quality open space is one of the main influencing factors of satisfaction however, spatial elements of these qualities are yet to be developed.

Auckland is the largest city of New Zealand and over the past 60 years, its City Centre has become increasingly populated and diverse (Auckland Council, 2012b). According to the Auckland Plan 2015, Auckland City centre will be one of the main residential centres of the city, and subject to this population increase (Auckland City Council, 2018). To cope with this demand, Auckland's urban documents such as Auckland Masterplan promotes a compact city with a high-density residential area which can be perceived as a neighbourhood by the residents. Therefore, regarding the main vision of Auckland Plan to be the most liveable city in the world, considering residents' needs and experiences, planning and designing open spaces is highly challenging.

This paper presents the approaches to the open space in Auckland City Centre. The central question of this research is how residents' viewpoints are coordinated with the relevant urban documents. To answer this question, content analysis of the main and relevant urban documents have been conducted. This research raises the issue of urban policies and the role this plays in the residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhood open spaces.

### 1- City Centres are a neighbourhood under the growth management plan

The growth management approach is coming back to the city and looking at the city centre not just as a commercial zone. Review of the city plans under the growth management programs shows how city centres are seen as a neighbourhood and how they are prepared for having more residence in this area. While providing quality urban open spaces to meet

---

<sup>1</sup> School of Architecture and Planning, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

<sup>2</sup> School of Architecture and Planning, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

<sup>3</sup> School of Architecture and Planning, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand



the resident's demands is one of the main plans of some of these report, neglecting these elements of neighbourhood satisfaction can be seen in others.

For example, a report published by City of Toronto (2014) entitled "Trends, Issues, Intensification, Downtown Toronto" explains that recent population trends, where residents are looking to live in city centres at increasingly diverse life stages, has resulted in the need for new brownfield developments to prioritise a dynamic mix of housing and workplace types. In 2013, City staff and consultants of Toronto undertook an extensive consultation process with residents of condominium buildings across the city. The feedback from the residents showed that "there was a clear overall impression that services and infrastructure were not keeping up with development, and there was a need to better coordinate development with the requisite infrastructure and services". One of the comments shows that there are more demands for proving places for people (and dogs) in the public realm – parks, open spaces, sidewalks, etc. The report also shows how the design of downtown Toronto is influenced by feedback from the residents(City of Toronto, 2014). A report of this nature couldn't be found for Auckland.

Vancouver is another example from Canada that has a mixed-use downtown. According to the Vancouver Council website, Places for People Downtown is a planning project that started in summer 2017. They "launched a summer engagement campaign and an online survey to better understand the public's thoughts and attitudes toward public space in Downtown Vancouver" to achieve a well-designed downtown for the general public (City of Vancouver, 2018). This emphasizes what a topical and timely piece of research this work could be for Auckland.

Centre.City.Plan (2007) is the plan for the Calgary downtown in Canada. This report explains how a shift has occurred in Calgary towards having a more livable city during both day and night times. The report explains that "The liveability of the Downtown should be reinforced by supporting residential developments and associated amenities that will generate day and night activity" (p.36). The Plan has policies to support the refurbishment of older existing buildings and the integration of new residential and mixed-use developments because it is considered that this approach results in high-quality public realm outcomes (Land Use Planning and Policy-Planning, 2008).

Plan Melbourne 2017-2050 also shows that the City of Melbourne is looking at the development of its city centre as a good area for providing more housing choice for residents. One of the key goals of the plan is to provide "housing choice in locations close to jobs and services" (p.9). One of the main strategies to achieve this goal is to "facilitate well-designed, high-density residential developments that support a vibrant public realm in Melbourne's central city" (p. 9; Victoria State Government, 2017). This Plan lacks detail about how this can be achieved and in this way is relatable to Auckland where this type of implementation information is lacking.

Sydney is another example from Australia. 'Sustainable Sydney 2030' has ten strategic directions. "Housing for a diverse population" is one of the ten directions and explains the priority of having more diverse residents in central Sydney (City of Sydney, 2008). Again, explanations of how this can happen and the role of open spaces are at times lacking from the strategy document.

## **2-2- Importance of considering subjective design quality of neighbourhood open spaces for making a liveable city**

In a similar vein to the mentioned examples, the growth management approach in Auckland's city centre as a commercial zone has shifted towards a focus on delivering a liveable downtown neighbourhood. New community associations have been established to focus on this process (such as Splice community group and Auckland City Centre Residents' Group – CCRG) and talking about the quality of life of residents living in the city centre has become an increasing research priority in Auckland (Carroll, Witten, Kearns, & Donovan, 2015)

Over the past 60 years, Auckland City Centre has become increasingly populated and diverse (Auckland Council, 2012b). During 2015, more than 5000 people moved to Auckland City Centre with approximately 34,000 people now living in this area (Tapaleao, 2016), having been drawn by its location, ease of access to amenities and affordable houses (Auckland City Council, 2015). To cope with this demand, the Auckland's plans such as Auckland Masterplan promotes a compact city with a higher density residential area (Auckland City Council, 2016; Auckland Council, 2012b; Auckland Regional Growth, 1999). However, the compact city paradigm could be a threat to the existence of open spaces. More research is needed into how open spaces in downtown neighbourhoods function and can continue to be prioritized as intensification remains ongoing.

Auckland council desires to make Auckland the most liveable city in the world (Auckland Council, 2012a) while Satu and Chiu (2017) by reviewing the literature show how the concept liveability is defined by the experience and evaluation of community from their living environment. Therefore, the experience of residents of Auckland City Centre is really important to achieve the main goal of Auckland Council to be liveable. Liveability is a multidimensional concept which the geographical aspect of this concept is known as the urban quality of life (Satu & Chiu, 2017). There are two main streams of research in the study of quality of urban life, including objective (a measurement which considers the actual situation and numbers) and subjective (a measurement which considers satisfactions). Various scales have been seen in the quality of urban life studies including region, a city as a whole, neighbourhood and dwelling (Marans, 2015). Therefore, Satisfaction with the neighbourhood as a socio-spatial unit (Allen, 2016; R. Chaskin, 1997; Sharifi, 2016) can improve the quality of life of residents.

Many factors can influence neighbourhood satisfaction, and these factors have been seen in urban and another field of studies. The neighbourhood is a socio-spatial concept (R. J. Chaskin, 1997) and neighbourhood public open spaces are one of the urban design elements influence



chance of neighbourliness as one of the main factors of subjective quality of urban life, well-being and neighbourhood satisfaction in neighbourhood context (Grannis, 2009). This urban element has been seen in physical factors that affect the neighbourhood satisfaction although some time in different form such as naturalness, openness and green area (Ferreira, 2016; Leslie & Cerin, 2008), (natural) open space (Amérigo & Aragonés, 1997; Mohit, Ibrahim, & Rashid, 2010; Yang, 2008), public space (Mee, 2010; Yang, 2008), recreational space (Addae-Dapaah, 2008; Mee, 2010), outdoor park (Florida, Mellander, & Stolarick, 2011), urban space, or shared public space (Yang, 2008). However, open space contains three main aspects including perceived, conceived and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore this research is focused on the experience and evaluation of open space in the scale of the neighbourhood as an effective factor that influences liveability and quality of urban life. Knowing users experiences are really important in urban design and planning as although it can depend on psychological situation of users, structural situation is also involved in the perception process (Bratina, 1997).

### **2-3- Urban policies, urban documents and the missing place of objective factors in Auckland urban documents**

Achieving high-quality design is the main goal of urban policies and documents. However, it seems that the role of these disciplines has not been considered enough in neighbourhood satisfaction area, especially related to achieving design quality in neighbourhood open spaces. Carmona (2014) argues that urban design should have a holistic approach to all activities that influence the outcomes and place. He argues that “urban design projects are rarely subjected to a post-occupy review in the way that buildings are, and almost never is a systematic view taken across the entire process of creating or recreating places” (p. 4). Madanipour (2006), advocates the multi-dimensional perspective that needs to be considered during the design process which is not just focused on the single area. This dynamic approach let us record the individual voices, besides considering the context to propose more practical conclusion.

Auckland is the biggest and the fastest growing city in New Zealand with 1.66 million population (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2017). Over the past 60 years, Auckland City Centre has become increasingly populated and diverse (Auckland Council, 2012b). Auckland City Centre Masterplan (2012) the population of residents in Auckland city centre will grow from around 27000 people in 2012 to 45000 people in 2032 while the statistic shows that the population growth exceeds this prediction in 2017 (OurAuckland, 2017). The location, ease of access to amenities and affordable houses are the main reason for choosing this area (Auckland Council, 2015a).



Figure 1. The location of Auckland City Centre (Google map, 2019)

Mixed used city centre has become a desirable strategy after research shows how this policy can benefit city and public regarding social, economic and environmental (J. Grant, 2002; J. L. Grant & Gregory, 2016; Jacobs, 1961; Talen & Koschinsky, 2014). This strategy leads to downtown residential development and increasing settled residents in city centres. In the same vein, Auckland City Centre Masterplan (2012) recognised this urban area as the Auckland city centre instead of CBD, to make a place to live, work and play (Auckland Council, 2012b, 2016a; Auckland Regional Council, 1999a). This area has been defined by the motorways and the coastline (Figure 1ure) which followed by the present research the initial boundary. Therefore, Auckland Masterplan promotes a compact city with a higher density residential area (Auckland Council, 2012b, 2016a; Auckland Regional Growth, 1999) which makes this area distinctive from other parts of Auckland.

While the compact urban forms need more urban design consideration to keep the residents' satisfaction within their living areas (Hur, Nasar, & Chun, 2010; Kearney, 2006; Mouratidis, 2017), more tendency toward the suburbanisation policies in Auckland, led to decline the spatial condition of Auckland City Centre (McArthur, 2017).

In this research archival research is conducted to review the legislative and governmental policies related to open spaces in Auckland, especially Auckland City Centre. This data is in form of text and, web-based, available online in Auckland Council's website limited from the initial plans related to these space from 2012 to 2016 (almost the time that the research has been started). Choosing these documents were the result of consulting with experts and engaged people in the process of urban design in Auckland. The reports include:

- The Auckland Unitary Plan (2016)
- City Centre Masterplan (2012)

- Parks and Open Spaces Strategic Action Plan (2013)
- Open Space Provision Policy (2016).

All of the above documents were available free for the public on the Auckland Council web page and can be seen in two parts including statutory and non-statutory documents. Currently, the only statutory documents relevant to the open spaces in Auckland in Auckland Unitary Plan (OP) (2016). Open Space Provision Policy, which is non-statutory document has been eliminated from the research, as it has mentioned that the “open space provision in the city centre is primarily guided by the City Centre Masterplan.” (P.38).

### The Auckland Unitary Plan

The Auckland Unitary plan operative is launched in 2016 which follows the national goals and plans of New Zealand and will guide Auckland's future over the next 30 years. Auckland Unitary Plan can be seen in both scales of the regional and urban plan as it has shown where, what can be constructed in the Auckland region. The plan is underpinned by a zoning system and defined in fourteen chapters. In chapter H, relevant to zones, H7, is about the open spaces which explain the possible activities in open spaces considering the environmental conditions. Overall, Auckland Unitary Plan has more concern about the height of the building and their visual effect on the special characteristic area of the city centre. While it is not very clear about the quality of the apartments. However, sometimes it is mentioned that the quality of these places is important and it is important to make clear the boundaries of public, semi-public and private space. But obviously, it does not explain how this (design) quality can be providing and how the plan involves in encouraging the developer to consider this quality in the design.

Auckland Unitary Plan encourages more residential development in the city centre especially for providing passive surveillance at night. However, chapter relevant to this part of the city named “H8 Business- City Centre Zone” which is not in line with the mixed-use nature of the area. Furthermore, the quality of these land use and type of development are not granted for residential development. The only rule which should be relevant to provide the neighbouring space for residents is the bonus floor area policy. This rule started on .... And it is not too many researches about the efficiency of these space. However, research by Dempsey and students at the University of Auckland shows that most of these spaces are not opened or welcoming for public and does not benefit them. While it also increases the price of buildings considering providing nice building lobbies.

Chapter I, in Auckland Unitary Plan is also about the special locations where their own special rules must be followed. I203 is about the City Centre residential Precinct that identified four residential precincts in Auckland City Centre including Emily Place, Whitakere Place, Myers Park and Scotia Place. It explains that for having a good standard of residential amenities, the Auckland Unitary Plan is going to provide more quiet spaces with good access to the amenities in these four mentioned areas.

Auckland Unitary Plan in more clear and strict about residential development in other zones. For example, in most of the residential zones it is clear that the developer needs to provide some outdoor spaces while it is not compulsory for residential development in the city centre.

#### [City Centre Masterplan \(2012\)](#)

Auckland City Centre Masterplan is a place-based plan that released in 2012 with the aim of making the Auckland City Centre more appropriate and safer for family, pedestrian and environment. This plan will guide Auckland's city centre future over the next 30 years. Value of the open space is one of the ten vision of the plan. However, there are other visions that could be relevant to open spaces such as public life. The plan has been reflecting the defined vision in eight different areas in city centre. There are most focused on connectivity and making some safe spaces by decreasing the number of cars and adding a new light rail in the city centre. The plan has been defined in three episodes including 2012-2022, 2020-2032 and 2025-2042. Therefore, it is very soon to assess the success of the plan. However, what can be seen is that, while Auckland City Centre masterplan predicted 45,000 residents in the city centre by 2032, the new statistics show that the number of residents living in this area has already (2018) exceed. Furthermore, being more details, the residents are not directly involved in the decision making process and design of any areas as they are eliminated from the mentioned partners of the plan.

#### [Parks and Open Spaces Strategic Action Plan \(2013\)](#)

This plan aims to show what needs to be done for park and open space networks in Auckland city Centre for future 10 years and follow the Auckland Plan. Like Auckland Plan, the park and open spaces are defined in seven groups including Hauraki Gulf Marine Park, regional Parks, Wild and remote places, natural Area, benched, volcanic cones, local parks and civic spaces. As can be seen, the definition is showing that the plan is more focused on natural open spaces and the urban open spaces are limited to civic spaces and local parks. By looking at the definition, it seems that the open spaces in city centre are just limited to civic spaces. Civic spaces include civic squares, town centres and stress and the plan mentioned that these spaces are usually forgotten while they improve connection and linkage. Therefore, considering the definition, these are not spaces for sitting and spending time.

As such the other policy documents, it seems that Auckland City centre is not included in these documents. While it seems that the policies have not been developed enough in a practical way and it is not clear how the “open space network” will be identified and developed through the urban and regional area. In summary, this plan can be seen as a political plan. Therefore, the lack of a place-based plan can be seen.



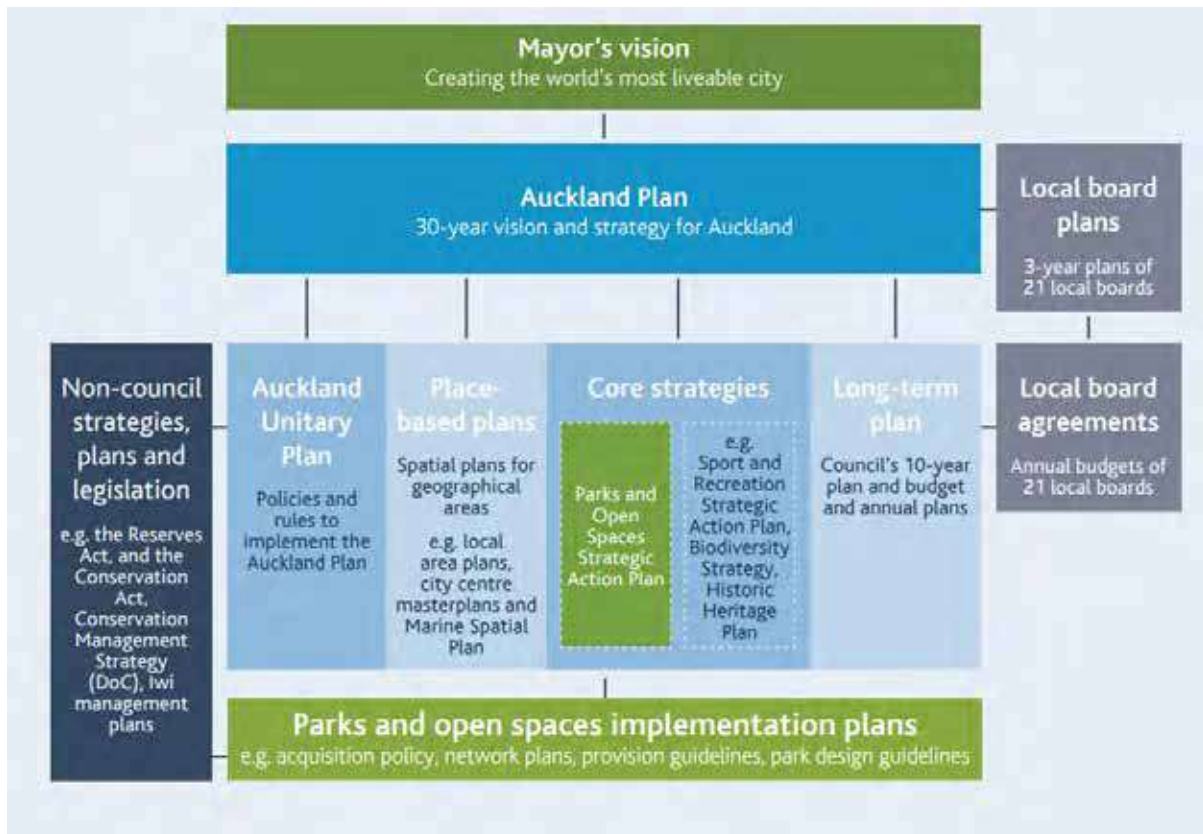


Figure 2. Relationship between the Parks and Open Spaces Strategic Action Plan and other strategies (Auckland Council, 2013)(P.13)

## Discussion

This paper aims to show how urban policy influences neighbourhood satisfaction through the design outcomes. Auckland Council gave attention to the open spaces especially recently. However, most of the urban tools are in policy level and focused on the natural open spaces (which are different from urban and neighbourhood spaces).

In the case of Auckland City Centre, the area is more sensitive comparing another part of the city to urban open spaces planning as the values of the land is higher. Commercial developments and market's power try to shape the form of the city in this area and eventually influence the amount and quality of open spaces. This issue can change the experience of the residents from their living environment.

Although research has been done by Auckland Council to improve the physical design of urban open space (Auckland Council, 2013, 2015b, 2016b), they usually have considered the top-down approach to the open space planning strategies as it has not been seen in the statutory documents. These urban documents have not conduct subjective studies about how current users experience these spaces. However, recent research has indicated that existing open spaces do not meet the needs of inner-city residents(He, 2015; Splice, 2016). This issue leads to a number of problems for residents, including social isolation (Carroll, Witten, & Kearns, 2011; Chile & Black, 2015; Owen, 2016).



Additionally, the result of the survey has been done in Auckland City Centre shows that the most concern of residents living in Auckland city centre is their involvement in the design and maintenance of open spaces in their neighbourhood (A. Razno, 2019). However, looking at the policies shows that, while always engaging people was the main concern of the policymakers, as the design of the open spaces is completely depends on the developer, these engagements are not always possible.

It is possible to argue that, despite policy attempts at developing liveable open spaces, issue in urban spaces emerge as an outcome of less-controlled processes in planning occurring as a series of policy absences and ambiguities. Additionally, while there were recently some urban design projects such as Lord Freyberg in Auckland City Centre that has been designed by involving children in the process that has been done by Massey University and Auckland Council in 2017, it seems that for having more liveable city, which is the main goal of Auckland Plan, stricter and clearer urban documents need to be provided. Recognizing the role of urban design and residents, and involving them in the project relevant to open spaces, is something that directly influences the outcomes and quality of the spaces. More research needs to be done to find out the tools that can be used to encourage more public involvement in urban project in Auckland.

#### Reference:

- Addae-Dapaah, K. (2008). Age segregation and the quality of life of the elderly people in studio apartments. *Journal of Housing for the Elderly*, 22(1-2), 127-161.
- Allen, N. (2016). *Quality of Urban Life and Intensification: Understanding Housing Choices, Trade-Offs, and the Role of Urban Amenities*. (Doctor of Philosophy), The University of Auckland, Auckland.
- Amérigo, M. a., & Aragones, J. I. (1997). A theoretical and methodological approach to the study of residential satisfaction. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 17(1), 47-57.
- Auckland City Council. (2015). *Open Space Strategic Asset Management Plan 2015-2025*. Auckland, New Zealand:
- Auckland City Council. (2016). *Open Space Provision Policy 2016*. Auckland, New Zealand:
- Auckland Council. (2012a). *The Auckland Plan*. Auckland: Auckland Council. Retrieved from <http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/theaucklandplan/Documents/aucklandplanenglish.pdf>
- Auckland Council. (2012b). *City Centre Masterplan*. Auckland: Auckland Council. Retrieved from <http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/ccmp/Pages/documents.aspx>
- Auckland Council. (2012b). *Housing Action Plan*. Auckland: Auckland Council.
- Auckland Council. (2013). *Parks and Open Spaces Strategic Action Plan 2013*. Auckland, New Zealand:



- Auckland Council. (2015a). *Housing Choice and Preference: A Review of the Literature*. Auckland: Auckland Council. Retrieved from [https://z1exoa.bn1303.livefilestore.com/y3mk5DCbDUPtEcRO4Lw\\_6zHQFgyodK34g\\_QbBZkSIoGWqEmVYrvhn47W5xjPUOTjXCd1pyRWeHXMIaI0zfvQBnhwDE1apFy3foscqRiNypWKnVqWoEeGve6qTE7F-qW7V19aYpXKI1luQJK2qBDpmgoyQ/tr2015019housingchoiceandpreferencereviewoftheliterature.pdf?psid=1](https://z1exoa.bn1303.livefilestore.com/y3mk5DCbDUPtEcRO4Lw_6zHQFgyodK34g_QbBZkSIoGWqEmVYrvhn47W5xjPUOTjXCd1pyRWeHXMIaI0zfvQBnhwDE1apFy3foscqRiNypWKnVqWoEeGve6qTE7F-qW7V19aYpXKI1luQJK2qBDpmgoyQ/tr2015019housingchoiceandpreferencereviewoftheliterature.pdf?psid=1)
- Auckland Council. (2015b). *Open Space Strategic Asset Management Plan 2015-2025*. Auckland, New Zealand:
- Auckland Council. (2016a). *Business Centres- Proposed Auckland Unitary Plan: Fact Sheet*. Retrieved from <http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/unitaryplan/Documents/Key%20topics%20in%20detail/upkeytopicsbusinesscentres.pdf>
- Auckland Council. (2016b). *Open Space Provision Policy 2016*. Auckland, New Zealand:
- Auckland Regional Council. (1999a). *Auckland Regional Growth Strategy: 2050*. Auckland: Auckland Regional Council
- Auckland Regional Growth, F. (1999). *A Vision for Managing Growth in the Auckland Region-Auckland Regional Growth Strategy: 2050*. Auckland Regional Growth Forum.
- Bratina, N. (1997). Perception of open urban space—Bevk Square in Nova Gorica. *Urbani izziv*(32/33), 147-151.
- Carmona, M. (2014). The Place-shaping Continuum: A Theory of Urban Design Process. *Journal of Urban Design*, 19(1), 2-36. 10.1080/13574809.2013.854695
- Carroll, P., Witten, K., Kearns, R., & Donovan, P. (2015). Kids in the City: Children's Use and Experiences of Urban Neighbourhoods in Auckland, New Zealand. *Journal of Urban Design*, 20(4), 417-436.
- Chaskin, R. (1997). Perspectives on Neighborhood and Community: A Review of the Literature. *Social Service Review*, 71(4), 521-547.
- Chaskin, R. J. (1997). Perspectives on neighborhood and community: a review of the literature. *The Social service review*, 521-547.
- City of Sydney. (2008). *Sustainable Sydney 2030: The Vision*. Sydney, NSW: City of Sydney.
- City of Toronto. (2014). *Trends, Issues, Intensification, Downtown Toronto-Downtown Toronto*. Toronto, Canada: Retrieved from <https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2014/te/bgrd/backgroundfile-69192.pdf>
- City of Vancouver. (2018). Places for People Downtown. Retrieved from <http://vancouver.ca/home-property-development/places-for-people-downtown.aspx>
- Ferreira, F. A. (2016). Are you pleased with your neighborhood? A fuzzy cognitive mapping-based approach for measuring residential neighborhood satisfaction in urban communities. *International Journal of Strategic Property Management*, 20(2), 130-141.
- Florida, R., Mellander, C., & Stolarick, K. (2011). Beautiful places: The role of perceived aesthetic beauty in community satisfaction. *Regional Studies*, 45(1), 33-48.
- Grannis, R. (2009). *From the ground up: Translating geography into community through neighbor networks*: Princeton University Press.

- Grant, J. (2002). Mixed Use in Theory and Practice: Canadian Experience with Implementing a Planning Principle. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 68(1), 71-84. 10.1080/01944360208977192
- Grant, J. L., & Gregory, W. (2016). Who lives downtown? Neighbourhood change in central Halifax, 1951–2011. *International Planning Studies*, 21(2), 176-190.
- He, Y. (2015). *Multiculturalism teh Urban landscape: create a better coty with multicultural communities*. (The Master of Landscape Architecture). Retrieved from <http://unitec.researchbank.ac.nz/handle/10652/3087>
- Hur, M., Nasar, J. L., & Chun, B. (2010). Neighborhood satisfaction, physical and perceived naturalness and openness. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(1), 52-59. <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.05.005>
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The life and death of great American cities* (reprint, reissue ed.). the University of Michigan: Random House.
- Kearney, A. R. (2006). Residential development patterns and neighborhood satisfaction: Impacts of density and nearby nature. *Environment and Behavior*, 38(1), 112-139.
- Land Use Planning and Policy-Planning, D. a. A. (2008). *c e n t r e • c i t y • P l a n*. Calgary, Canada: Retrieved from <http://www.calgary.ca/ layouts/cocis/DirectDownload.aspx?target=http%3a%2f%2fwww.calgary.ca%2fPDA%2fpd%2fDocuments%2fCentre-City%2fcentre-city-plan-one.pdf&noredirect=1&sf=1>
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA : Blackwell 1991.
- Leslie, E., & Cerin, E. (2008). Are perceptions of the local environment related to neighbourhood satisfaction and mental health in adults? *Preventive medicine*, 47(3), 273-278.
- Madanipour, A. (2006). Roles and challenges of urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 11(2), 173-193.
- Marans, R. W. (2015). Quality of urban life & environmental sustainability studies: Future linkage opportunities. *Habitat International*, 45, 47-52.
- McArthur, J. (2017). Auckland: Rescaled governance and post-suburban politics. *Cities*, 64, 79-87.
- Mee, K. J. (2010). 'Any place to raise children is a good place': children, housing and neighbourhoods in inner Newcastle, Australia. *Children's Geographies*, 8(2), 193-211. 10.1080/14733281003691434
- 10.1080/14733281003691434</p>
- Mohit, M. A., Ibrahim, M., & Rashid, Y. R. (2010). Assessment of residential satisfaction in newly designed public low-cost housing in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. *Habitat International*, 34(1), 18-27.
- Mouratidis, K. (2017). Is compact city livable? The impact of compact versus sprawled neighbourhoods on neighbourhood satisfaction. *Urban Studies*, 0(0), 0042098017729109. 10.1177/0042098017729109
- OurAuckland. (2017). City centre population set to exceed 2032 estimate this year. In *OurAuckland*. Retrieved from <http://ourauckland.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/articles/news/2017/05/city-centre-population-exceeds-2032-estimate-this-year/>
- Satu, S. A., & Chiu, R. L. (2017). Livability in dense residential neighbourhoods of Dhaka. *Housing Studies*, 1-22.

- Sharifi, A. (2016). From Garden City to Eco-urbanism: The quest for sustainable neighborhood development. *Sustainable Cities and Society*, 20, 1-16. <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1016/j.scs.2015.09.002>
- Splice. (2016). *Meeting of People, Communication and Urban Planning Course students with SPLICE Team*. Ellen Melville Hall, Auckland City Center:
- Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa. (2017). Population growth fastest in Northland, Auckland, and Waikato. Retrieved 11/09/2018, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/population-growth-fastest-in-northland-auckland-and-waikato>
- Talen, E., & Koschinsky, J. (2014). Compact, Walkable, Diverse Neighborhoods: Assessing Effects on Residents. *Housing Policy Debate*, 24(4), 717-750.
- Tapaleao, V. (2016). [City Centre Masterplan makes Auckland a hot option for residents]. Web Page.
- Victoria Department of Environment, L., Water and Planning,. (2017). Plan Melbourne 2017 -2030. Retrieved from [https://www.google.co.nz/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKewjb2Ltm5LYAhWCKZQKHWeID1YQFggnMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.planmelbourne.vic.gov.au%2F\\_data%2Fassets%2Fword\\_doc%2F0008%2F377126%2FPlan\\_Melbourne\\_2017\\_Summary\\_Word\\_accessible.docx&usg=AOvVaw3u91wae4ytkmRqWPOsbt1](https://www.google.co.nz/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKewjb2Ltm5LYAhWCKZQKHWeID1YQFggnMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.planmelbourne.vic.gov.au%2F_data%2Fassets%2Fword_doc%2F0008%2F377126%2FPlan_Melbourne_2017_Summary_Word_accessible.docx&usg=AOvVaw3u91wae4ytkmRqWPOsbt1)
- Victoria State Government. (2017). *Plan Melbourne 2017-2050* Victoria, Australia: Retrieved from <http://www.planmelbourne.vic.gov.au/>
- Yang, Y. (2008). A Tale of Two Cities: Physical Form and Neighborhood Satisfaction in Metropolitan Portland and Charlotte. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 74(3), 307-323.