CONSTRUCTING GEROTOPIA
The Impacts of Age-Segregated Communities on the Gold Coast

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INTRODUCTION

Planners have for many years been advocating for greater mixed use developments to help restore the vitality of cities. After the early modernist enthusiasm for the separation of certain land uses, notably of residential and industrial uses, and the subsequent development of more finely graded landscapes of residential class segregation, social mix has become a watchword of contemporary planning. Alongside a belief in the inherent virtues of variegation, there is also a belief, often expressed with some reticence, in the uplifting potential of social mix or balance: in short those able to afford to live in bigger, better and more expensive houses in mixed residential neighbourhoods may serve as aspirational role models for their less well-off neighbours. The empirical validity and moral appropriateness of some of these beliefs and assumptions have been questioned, but they remain a significant feature of much contemporary planning discourse.

Meanwhile, the urban development market has been promoting with some success residential schemes that segregate their occupants from the city at large and which make a virtue of their exclusivity. In many cases this exclusivity is based solely on price, but age has also become a significant factor in these processes of segregation.

While the segregation of new residential communities based on price and affordability and enforced by walls and gates has attracted the opprobrium of critical commentators and radical planners, age-segregated communities have typically been seen in a more benign light. Retirement villages and residential care homes for the frail elderly have become an accepted part of the residential landscape, reflecting in part the inability of many older people to receive suitable care and support in the homes in which they have lived during the early periods of their old age. However, there is some evidence that the prospect of moving into residential care is a cause of considerable anxiety to many older people and this has helped the movement to support 'ageing in place'.

In some parts of the developed world there are signs of a new form of residential segregation based to some extent on age, but without many of connotations of traditional age-segregated living. In parts of the USA and Australia new residential schemes are being developed specifically for 'active adult retirees', principally those aged from 50 to 70. These new developments emphasise the opportunities they provide for 'healthy and active' lifestyles rather than any medical and care services, but retain the notion of living among similarly aged and like minded people.

In this paper we are interested in the extent to which these new developments represent either a continuation of or transition to segregated living for their inhabitants and explore what this means in the wider context of urban policy and planning.

The paper begins with a review of current demographic trends in Australia and on the Gold Coast and then considers some recent developments in housing for older people. It describes the emergence active adult lifestyle communities (AALCs) in the USA and their development in Australia before considering their impact in the city of the Gold Coast, where they have become a small but significant feature of the local housing landscape. The paper concludes by reflecting on the broader implications of this move to more segregated forms of urban living.

THE AGEING POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA AND THE GOLD COAST

The ageing of the population is an important phenomenon in many countries, including Australia (Fishman, 2010), driven not just by the flow-on effect of the post-war baby boom but also because of more recent periods of lower birth rates and increases in life expectancy. Like much of the rest of the developed world, Australia's ageing population is manifest in the number of people in the 65-85 cohort, which is expected to almost double from 13 to 23 percent of the population by 2050.

While the official retirement age in Australia is 65 at present, it is due to rise to 67 by the year 2023. Nevertheless, many older workers consider remaining in employment in some capacity beyond this age and many feel obliged to do so for financial reasons (Hamilton and Hamilton 2006). Indeed, the Australian Federal Government is developing and implementing strategies and incentives for older workers to stay healthy and active, including by remaining longer in the workforce (Productivity Commission, 2011; Commonwealth of Australia, 2010, 2002). The aim of these endeavours is to minimise risks to the economy, the labour market and the health care system all of which are expected to be profoundly affected by the ageing population. A large percentage of retirees means a reduced number of taxpayers and forecasts suggest that by 2050 around 40% of the population will be outside the workforce and paying little or no tax (Commonwealth of Australia 2010). This significant reduction to the government revenue is combined with a greater need for public expenditure on pensions and health care. As Johnson (2008:11) notes, 'ageing will alter established economic and social relationships by affecting both the rate of growth of the economy and the distribution of resources within the economy.'

However, we should note that the ageing population is seen by many as a major resource rather than a burden. National Seniors Australia for example has calculated the direct economic contribution of older Australians working full time to be almost $60 billion per annum, while the cost of replacing the unpaid care provided by older people with paid workers would be $4.8 billion per annum (National Seniors Australia, 2009). This group is committed to presenting a more accurate picture of the role and significance of older people and to , '..change the nation's thinking about older Australians, from the prevailing view of 'burden', to the more accurate view of 'asset'.' (NSA, 2009: 8)

Cities will be significantly affected by the ageing population, especially those exposed to broader forces of economic change as a result of their narrow economic base and over reliance on vulnerable sectors of the economy. The City of the Gold Coast is a case in point. Although it has grown to be the sixth largest city in the country with a similar sized population to that of Tasmania, the city relies upon three inter connected but unstable economic sectors: tourism, construction and retail/hospitality. Just as the dependency ratio is rising due to demographic factors, the revenue base of the city is being adversely affected by an economic downturn exacerbated by the city's weak economic base. Although local tax revenue is not a major source of local public expenditure on social services for an ageing population, at Federal and state levels these fiscal pressures are creating major policy challenges for the future.

The 2006 census showed that 128, 000 local residents were aged over 55, comprising around 26% of the Gold Coast population. This is forecast to rise by 2021to 216,000 people; an increase of 68% (Gold Coast City Council 2007). Significantly, the average weekly income of these over-55s is higher than the national average even though a greater proportion of this group is employed in sales and retail than for Queensland or the country as a whole. This may be due to the proportion of older local residents who moved to the city over the last three decades from other major cities and capitalised on significant price differentials between their previous and current homes. This classic profile of 'cashed up baby boomers' moving north for a sea change is likely to change substantially in the coming decades as a growing proportion of the city's older population will have been locally resident for decades and will be retiring from comparatively poorly paid and insecure jobs that have not allowed the accumulation of generous superannuation funds.

In passing, it is worth noting that although current rates of international immigration to the Gold Coast have fallen compared with the last decade, it is still a place that attracts many people from overseas, including those looking to retire, and many with the resources to do so comfortably.

HOUSING FOR OLDER PEOPLE

The first baby boomers are now in their 60s and have just reached retirement age (whether or not they choose to do so). Many are reported to have high annuities, moderate debt and high levels of homeownership, with four out of five Australians in this age group being paid-up homeowners and described by some as WOOPies (well-off-older-persons). Of course many older people are not well off, do not own their own homes and face an increasingly insecure housing future in a country where housing unaffordability is a growing problem for all age groups.

The housing market is important in a number of ways. Firstly, many of the houses owned by the baby boomer cohort are in suburban areas the facilities to enable ageing in place are not present (Beer, et al 2009; Walters, 2005; Smith 2009). Secondly, as more of this group place their often large family houses on the market with the intention to downsize, the housing market may well become over-supplied with relatively large and expensive dwellings while the effective demand for this type of housing remains static or even falls. In this sense population ageing is driving an increase in smaller households and a concomitant demand for smaller dwellings (AHURI 2004). Thirdly, new types and forms of housing are required to meet the needs and demands of those who choose to relocate in their retirement, in short those who choose to age in place, but not the same place they have lived in for the last decades of their life. Kendig and Neutze (1999: 437) summed this up well in saying:

> Overall, the baby boomer cohort will have more resources and higher expectations than their predecessors in old age. They expect to set public agendas and are likely to demand change when they discover that 'ageing people' means them. They will bring to old age more superannuation and more large, debt-free and valuable housing in low density suburbs. Their housing choices are likely to be shaped by personal histories of more frequent housing moves, assertive consumerism, and varied housing earlier in life.

In response to many of these demographic, social and economic changes the housing market and the housing construction industry has been developing new products, including those targeted specifically at those approaching retirement age.

The retirement village industry in Australia is relativity new. Stimson (2002) has documented its history from the 1970s when housing specifically for older people fell largely to State and Federal governments, church and other not for profit organisations to deliver specific accommodation for the elderly. During this time housing policy focused primarily on low income households, people aged over 80 and those in need of care. By the 1980s the industry had diversified and private, for profit, developers began to enter the market and provided retirement accommodation. The housing products provided were typically in the form of medium density master planned communities, usually comprising a mix of independent living units and those offering medium to high levels of care alongside the accommodation. Retirement villages usually include a minimal level of care and medical services and a limited range of community facilities: a common room, bowling green and access to care services.

Owner occupation is not common in most retirement villages and tenure is usually by licence, leasehold or rental and can include payment of a bond to cover the cost of care services. Importantly retirement village residents have to be over a certain age and almost all are retired from the workforce. All retirement villages in Australia are governed in accordance with the 1992 Retirement Village Code of Practice and the Queensland Government, like other state governments, regulates the industry in accordance with the 1999 Retirement Village Act.

The retirement village market has grown and expanded significantly in the last two decades, driven by demographic and social factors: the older population is increasing in size and proportion and traditions of inter-generational family living and care are changing, not least in the face of new patterns of mobility and lifestyle choices. On the Gold Coast this growth has been significant enough for local real estate agents to proclaim, perhaps with a touch of realtor hyperbole: 'Baby boomers taking over Gold Coast real estate' (Ray White, 2009).

Since the early 2000s a new approach to the traditional retirement village has emerged in the USA and now in Australia and in particular in the Gold Coast, the home of various innovations in property development and finance over the years. This new model is designed and marketed specifically at baby boomers in the 55-74 age bracket; active adults who may or may not be retired but who wish to downsize their family home and purchase a lifestyle that promises to fulfil their aspirations, needs and requirements as they make the transition to their next life phase. This target age group is significantly different to those of traditional retirement villages, where the average of those joining is over 80. These new developments have been referred to as Active Adult Lifestyle Communities (AALCs), which Grant (2006: 103) describes as 'providing an alternative perspective on the notion of ageing in place..intended to be dynamic environments, advocating independent living and a good quality of life. In so doing, they have become a serious business'.

The North American origins of this new form of development are not surprising, given the entrepreneurial inclinations of their development sector and the well established practices of segregated living. Nevertheless, it is worth rehearsing some of the key moments in its history. In the mid 1950s Benjamin Schleifer built a small residential community on a deserted ranch in Arizona for retirees 'who wanted a place to live, not to die' (Blechman, 2008). Soon after, a local entrepreneur, Del Webb, who had grown his business by building camps for the US Army, took this model and built Sun City, which was home to 40,000 retirees by 1977. Costs were reduced by building only modestly sized homes and by excluding children from the scheme and thereby avoiding the need to pay local Board of Education levies for schools.

Del Webb now manages over 40 communities around the USA in 18 states, all offering a similar pattern of active retirement living with a wide range of facilities and different dwellings. It has been estimated that around 6% of the elderly population of the USA now live in some form of age-segregated community (Roy and Russell, 2005) and as Blechman (2008: 223) puts it rather more flamboyantly,

> 'developers selling age segregation continue to bulldoze their way across the country, catering to an aging population eager to have the easy lifestyle'

In Australia, these new types of development are not typically subject to regulation by the provisions of the 1992 Retirement Village Code of Practice nor do they, in Queensland, fall under the 1999 Retirement Village Act. AALCs are located in a transitional space between planning regulations put in place to govern the development of master planned communities and the legislation for retirement villages and in this sense they occupy what might be termed a regulatory no-man's land. But it is our contention that they represent another form of transition, perhaps more interesting in a social, economic and political sense. These new developments appear designed to attract the owners of detached houses in conventional residential suburbs into new forms of accommodation, which at the same time feed off (or construct) a desire for a new lifestyle among people of similar circumstances, both age and class related, while avoiding most of the traditional connotations of retirement living. Nevertheless, these new Australian AALCs draw upon some of the elements that characterised the early retirement villages of the 1970s as documented by McGovern & Baltins (2002 p. 25), including age restrictions, governance, housing type and onsite services.

AALCs are typically gated communities designed specifically for **active** adults, usually between the ages of 55-74, who may have retired or at least reduced their formal employment commitments. While the lower age limit is often explicit, the other end of the presumed age spectrum is less

clearly articulated and, given their newness, has not yet been tested in practice by residents who have grown into unquestionable old age. Any specific age restrictions are usually enforced by property Title Deed and covenants.

The governance structures of AALCs vary, however the majority are governed by private organisations, which in most cases is also the developer. As in other types of master planned communities, buying into AALCs includes adhering to a suite of often stringent covenants, including those governing residents' age and the length of stay for guests. Other covenants include the regulation of noise, building design and aesthetics and use and maintenance of public and private open space, which are commonplace in strata and community titled properties.

Accommodation is typically in the form of conventional detached houses designed to replicate the familiar suburban landscapes from which many of the residents are presumed to hail, although typically dwellings will be smaller. Recently some high rise AALCs have appeared on the Gold Coast with all the amenities and facilities of their more suburban siblings, but claiming also the benefits of a more downtown location.

Aged care services are not usually included in these developments as being 'active' is the primary criterion for entry into these schemes. Amenities and facilities vary but always relate to activities associated with good mental and physical health: a social club and rooms for educational events, indoor/outdoor pools; spa; gymnasium; tennis courts; bowling greens and golf.

It was estimated that in 2009 about 100,000 Australians lived in AALC, with most of these developments in Perth and the Gold Coast (Abdel-Fattah 2009). An initial review Gold Coast newspaper and web advertisements targeted at 'independent living' in the Gold Coast area revealed 37 developments in total, of which ten could be classified as conventional AALCs (Lewani Palms, Halcyon Waters, Seachange, Sequana, Harbourside and Riverside Residential Resorts, Sapphire and Ruby Gardens, Palm Lake Resort and Hammond Village), while two are in the form of residential towers (Victoria Towers and the Grande Pacific Lifestyle Retirement Resort)with a further two developments currently in the planning process (Emerald Lakes and Guragunbah). All of these AALCs are located in the northern Gold Coast area: Ormeau, Eagleby, Hope Island, Helensvale and Arundel and the two apartment developments are in Southport. It appears that the development industry is responding positively to the apparent housing preferences of those boomers who have the money and the inclination for a lifestyle change, to downsize their family home and 'upsize their lifestyle' or as Petersen (2009:8) argues, developers are promoting 'exclusivity driven by a business model and a myth of agelessness.'

Concern has been raised about quality of life and housing options for those of the boomer generation who do not have the financial means or even the desire to move into any kind of retirement village. At a recent symposium hosted by AHURI and the Benevolent Society on future housing for older Australians, discussion focused on the recent Productivity Commissions draft report on Caring for Older Australians (Productivity Commission, 2011). Some of the challenges identified at the symposium were: maintaining homeownership in retirement; increasing the supply of rental accommodation specifically for older people; retrofitting and designing housing and residential communities to be more suitable for older people and making adequate housing provision the keystone of all policies on ageing (AHURI and the Benevolent Society, 2011). This last point supports the Productivity Commission's draft recommendation 10.3: 'The Council of Australian Governments should develop a strategic policy framework for ensuring that sufficient housing is available that would cost effectively meet the demands of an ageing population.' On the Gold Coast this recommendation is especially pertinent as the number of homeless people aged over 60 is increasing (Nelson, 2011). While it is clear that most of the AALCs in Australia are not designed for older people experiencing poverty and will make little contribution to meeting their needs, this new form of development is nevertheless noteworthy from a social and economic perspective.

THE DISCOURSES OF ACTIVE ADULT LIFESTYLE COMMUNITIES

The most frequently acknowledged risks associated with ageing relate to an individual's mental and physical health and wellbeing along with the threat of social isolation (Queensland Government, 2009). Gilroy (2008) writes:

> Factors that tend to produce a good old age are: a secure home, a supportive neighbourhood, the ability to get out and about, a strong social network, health and income that allow participation in social life, the capacity to make a contribution to the life of the community, and the ability to access information and activities, including opportunities for learning.

These notions of capacity and activity are embedded in the discourses and ideology of AALCs and manifest in their marketing and sales material. Many reflect theories of 'positive ageing' although one of the dominant features of this is to postpone the advent of 'old age' and its associated dependencies. Theories of positive ageing emerged in the early years of this century in response to the negative stereotype of ageing as ' "ugly, toothless, sexless, incontinent, senile, confused and helpless…" ' (Gergen and Gergen 2001-2002). Positive ageing theories have been taken up by governments in Australia, New Zealand and the USA and are reflected in policies that encourage more active lifestyles in old age and which try to promote a greater sense of individual responsibility for managing one's old age (Doling and Horsewood, 2011). That is, it becomes the responsibility of the individual to manage their ageing positively, successfully and productively, particularly in retirement. Labiberte Rudman (2006: 193) writes that 'a lower standard of living, inactivity, mandatory retirement, disability, dependency and social isolation are presented as personal risks and challenges, not social issues.' while Warburton,et al (2011) argure that policy in this field has shifted from responding to and planning for the consequences of growing dependence and the need for care to a more 'active ageing' policy agenda.

Almost all aspects of the making, marketing and lived experience of AALCs are infused with notions of 'the good life'. Mental and physical health and wellbeing, community relations, safety and security and the experience of a fulfilled, purposeful, happy everyday life are at the core of AALCs. In many respects, independence and living in a secure environment that also promotes neighbourliness and social interaction are important aspects of most people's housing aspirations, whatever their age. But these concerns and aspirations tend to increase as we grow older. Research clearly indicates that many boomers have a strong desire to live such a life in their retirement (Beer, Faulkner et al. 2009) and AALCs offer just such a lifestyle. Research commissioned by National Seniors Australia (NSA, 2009a) also explored the housing aspirations of older people and found some interesting if not entirely surprising variation among different cohorts of older people. For example, those currently aged 50-54 ranked 'lifestyle change' most highly when contemplating a change in their housing situation, falling to second place among the 55-64 year olds but not appearing at all in the top five factors described by those aged over 75. For these older people, the importance of choosing somewhere to live 'for the rest of your life' was paramount. The younger boomers are clearly not yet ready to contemplate a place to live in until their death.

An important element of the marketing strategies of developers of AALCs is to promote their environments in contrast to the alternatives available. To some extent this involves contrasting with their direct competitors – other AALC developers – or with more traditional retirement villages, but the more significant contrast is with mainstream suburban environments. Despite the widely claimed attractions of suburban places, it is not difficult to exploit the deep seated ambiguities of suburbia to identify and then to amplify negative connotations. Thus, suburban landscapes can be portrayed as places of social isolation, fear, boredom, poor physical health and dependence. Even if this is taken as an exaggeration that would not resonate with the lived experience of most Australians, the portrayal of the suburb as place for families can be manipulated to suggest that families whose children have left home and moved away from the area – the so-called empty nesters – have less to gain from conventional suburban living. Thus the prospect of segregated

suburban living, but without the constructed problem of inter-generational living, becomes a marketable concept.

In his book, Leisureville: adventures in America's retirement utopias, Blechman tells of the decision made by his recently retired neighbours in the small New England town where they lived, to move a large retirement community in Florida ('it spanned three counties, two zip codes and more than 20,000 acres' p4). He was somewhat surprised that they had chosen to move away from what in many respects was a typical and idyllic suburban community, but understood the attractions of an easier climate and a great array of social and leisure facilities. He was more perplexed by the most important attraction of this place in Florida to his neighbours: a world without children, in which he could '..spend time with people who are retired like me.' (p5).

On these foundations, the marketeers of AALCs build their narratives of a new 'good life'. The suburb that you moved to when your children were small has changed: it is probably now surrounded by other suburban developments and is no longer located at the intersection of town and country; while the trees may now be well established, some of the houses are now beginning to look a bit dated and jaded; there may well be more strangers around now as people come and go and your neighbours have not yet become your good friends; there are more tyre marks on the roads as bored local young people display their hooning prowess.

The prospect of living in a different type of suburb starts to look more appealing: it will house people more like you in terms of their age, class and maybe ethnicity; houses will be a bit smaller and better designed to accommodate the life of a couple; gardens will be smaller and easier to maintain; and the whole place will fenced and gated so that you can feel safer when there and your property more secure when you are away travelling. And of course younger people can visit for certain periods of time, but on your terms.

To combat the risks of boredom, loss of health and wellbeing planners, developers and managers of AALCs use various techniques and strategies to ensure residents can remain physically and mentally healthy and socially engaged and so live their new 'good life' to the full. More active and engaged, independent and self-reliant subjects are produced through a raft of structured activities developed and facilitated by 'community officers' employed by the management and the services and facilities provided in AALCs are extensive. In addition to structured activities AALCs promote lifelong learning courses targeted at 'learning for pleasure'. By these means the mental, social and physical wellbeing of the individual is enhanced and risks to self and the community is minimised. That is, residents of AALCs will not be a burden on family, neighbours, the community or the state.

As the attractions of segregation and separate living for older people are established and accepted, so new possibilities open up. In Palm Springs, California a new project to build a community for gay retirees is emerging. Drawing on Florida's notion of a creative class, Matthias Hollwich the architect behind the project plans to enable a variety of neighbourhoods to develop using design competitions. While it was originally conceived as a place only for gay retirees, it has since broadened its scope to straight people as well: '..everyone's invited to the multi-generational, pedestrian-oriented, culture-driven, hyphenation-mad little burg' (planethomo, 2011).

Meanwhile in Shire of Moorabool, north west of Melbourne, Linton Estate is being developed by its owner, Peter Dickson as 'the first premier gay, lesbian and transgender retirement haven in Australia' (lintonestate.com.au), although it too proclaims it will be '..tolerant of everyone, so all people are welcome if they respect and accept other peoples sexual choices, religion, race and colour.'

THE IMPACTS OF AGE SEGREGATED COMMUNITIES ON THE GOLD COAST

The impact of these new communities on the residential landscape of the Gold Coast is limited to date. In many respects AALCs are simply another residential product attempting to use their own

particular notion of the good life to sell property in a place where building and selling property is still a major sector of the local economy. Of course it is not easy to sell and build property on the Gold Coast at present, but times will change and there is no reason to believe that the property cycle will move into a more favourable state. The Gold Coast has a reputation for innovations in property development, from the early high rises to the widespread use of strata and community titling and the emergence of AALCs can be seen as another innovation that is being tested in this 'property development laboratory'.

To date these new developments have not transformed the residential market for older people thinking about where to live in the next phase of their lives. They remain targeted at the relatively well off and offer little to those older people without substantial housing equity, including those who have never owned their own home. In this respect they represent a highly specialised sector of the overall housing market and will make only a marginal contribution to meeting the housing needs of city's greater ageing population.

The city faces a growing problem of housing affordability as house prices and rental levels remain high relative to wages. The ratio of housing costs to average earning has been rising steadily over the last decade and the current recession has only slowed the rate of increase. While this problem is perhaps experienced most acutely by younger people moving into independent living for the first time, going forward it will become an increasingly serious problem for people in their 50s and 60s who have always had precarious and low paid employment and have never been able to make the first step onto the ladder of owner occupation.

CONCLUSIONS

In an important sense, age segregated communities for active adults are no different in principle to any other master planned community. While some define master planning as a process, in popular discourse master planned developments display a small number of key features: they offer a range of services and facilities as well as housing; the development has a theme often related to the natural environment or to leisure activities; and feelings of safety and security are promoted through achieving a degree of social homogeneity among residents.

Age segregated communities for active adults go one step further and providing all of these elements but for a particular age group, usually in the 50 to 75 year age range.

More traditional residential developments for older people have usually targeted older age groups with higher levels of medical and social care needs. There have also been residential developments targeted at groups of younger people, think of university campuses which although not exclusively for the young are often dominated by their lifestyle needs and preferences.

While ageing in place has become something of a catchphrase for those involved in policy development for older people, new conceptions rely less on remaining in one's own home and more on remaining in or even moving to a place that best meets one's needs. The National Aging in Place Council (NAIPC) in the USA describes its mission as follows:

> *The new catch phrase among homeowners is "aging in place." Instead of selling their homes and **moving into retirement villages** or assisted-living quarters, a growing number of older Americans are modifying their homes to make them more user-friendly as they age [emphasis added]*

In Australia though, research by National Seniors Australia draw a more subtle distinction between 'ageing in place' and 'staying put' (NSA, 2009b:8). They have found that 'older adults are involved in a continual assessment of the suitability of the place in which they are living, just like people in their early and mid life'. Residents and managers of AALCs need to assess whether this ageing in place principle applies in their communities. For example, what happens to once 'active adults' as they grow older and need more care and medical support in these communities? How

easy will it be to sell properties to active 55 year olds when their prospective neighbour is a long term resident now aged 75? How are the principles of universal design being applied when these schemes are being planned; do covenants allow for modifications to properties; are higher care facilities available within these communities and what are the social relations between the younger and older residents?

Finally there is a broader and more profound issue raised by the emergence of age-segregated communities: is it healthy for society as a whole if people are encouraged to live exclusively with others of the same type, whatever that type may be? As described in the introduction, it has long been a core belief of planners that diversity, social balance and mixed use is a good thing, even if the separation of certain land uses by zoning has been enshrined in many planning schemes. An important challenge for planners is, therefore, to understand better the consequences of segregated residential developments in contemporary Australia and to judge whether they are balkanising our cities.

This initial review of AALCs in the city of the Gold Coast represents a contribution to this research agenda, but much remains to be done. We hope to carry out more detailed work on the lived experience of AALCs in their various forms in Australia and elsewhere. At the same time there is scope to explore further the economic case for of these types of development, recognising the diversity of business models and the political consequences of this form of segregation on local social relations and on local politics.

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