

North Richmond Housing Estate

(106-112 Elizabeth Street, 139 Highett Street,
and 23-25 Lennox Street, Richmond)

Heritage Citation

Prepared for the City of Yarra

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Limitations

1. Physical access to the site was limited to visual inspection of the exterior undertaken from the public domain and Estate grounds.
2. Condition and site modification assessment was limited to a visual inspection of the exterior undertaken from the public domain and Estate grounds.
3. The historical notes provided for this citation are not considered to be an exhaustive history of the site.
4. Public consultation with relevant communities was not undertaken as part of the preparation of this citation as this was excluded from the scope of works. As such, the evaluation against Criterion G (Social Value) in this citation was limited to a review of desktop information.
5. It should be noted that a program of public consultation with the relevant communities as part of the preparation of a revised draft may yield additional information that could inform and potentially alter the Criterion G (Social Value) assessment.

HERITAGE CITATION – NORTH RICHMOND HOUSING ESTATE

Heritage Place: North Richmond Housing Estate

HO Reference: HO504

Date: 21/10/2026

Address: 106-112 Elizabeth Street, 139 Highett Street, and 23-25 Lennox Street, Richmond



Figure 1. South-west facing view of northern towers from Elizabeth Street, October 2026. *Source:* Extent Heritage. *Source:* Extent Heritage, 2026.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

What is significant?

The North Richmond Housing Estate at 106-112 Elizabeth Street, 139 Highett Street, and 23-25 Lennox Street, Richmond, is significant,

Significant elements include:

- The five high rise 'Z' shaped residential tower buildings, including their distinctive built form, configuration, imposing scale, exposed concrete materiality, rectilinear lines and materiality with uniform colour scheme and window pattern.

Contributory elements include:

- The two multi-storey car parks, original 1975 school building and original landscaping elements, reflecting an integrated planning approach, and inclusive of open green spaces, curved pedestrian pathways, tree plantings and two outdoor basketball courts (see Figure 3)

The contemporary North Richmond Community Health Centre buildings, along with alterations and additions to the five residential towers and the two multi-storey car parks, as well as alterations to the original school building and landscaping are not significant.

Non-original recreational amenity elements, including the community garden, contemporary playgrounds, soccer pitch, planter boxes, park benches, fencing and shaded BBQ areas are not significant (see Figure 3).

How is it significant?

The North Richmond Housing Estate is of historical, representative and aesthetic significance to the City of Yarra.

Why is it significant?

The North Richmond Housing Estate is of historical significance to the City of Yarra as a public housing estate developed by the Housing Commission of Victoria (HCV) as part of its post-war high-rise program of slum reclamation and public housing provision in inner Melbourne. Developed on land previously occupied by workers' cottages associated with low income and working-class post-war migrant communities, the Estate illustrates the state government's approach to addressing post-war housing shortages through large-scale redevelopment and the provision of purpose-built public housing estates incorporating recreational amenities and shared open spaces. Its development is a tangible manifestation of a significant phase in the urban and social transformation of Richmond and the wider City of Yarra, when post-war urban renewal and international architectural influences, particularly the adoption of high-rise public housing, significantly reshaped established residential neighbourhoods, the built environment and patterns of community life. (Criterion A)

The North Richmond Housing Estate is of representative significance to the City of Yarra for demonstrating the principal characteristics associated with HCV's high-rise public housing estates, which left an enduring mark on the municipality's urban and social landscape. These principal characteristics are demonstrated through the Estate's substantially intact LPS constructed 'Z' configuration residential towers, landscaped grounds incorporating original recreational amenities, multi-storey car parks and the original 1975 Richmond West Primary School building. Collectively, these elements reflect the integrated planning approach of a typical HCV high-rise public housing estate, in which residential accommodation, open space, recreational facilities, and community and education infrastructure were conceived as cohesive, integrated components across landscaped grounds. (Criterion D)

The North Richmond Housing Estate, specifically its five uniform high-rise residential towers, is of aesthetic significance to the City of Yarra as a prominent landmark within the local urban landscape. The five high rise residential tower buildings, including their distinctive built form, configuration, imposing scale, exposed concrete materiality, rectilinear lines and materiality with uniform colour scheme and window pattern. As the largest HCV public housing estate in the municipality, the Estate as a whole maintains a noticeable and distinct urban presence, reinforced by large areas of open green space surrounding the towers, which provide a sense of openness and contrast with their monumental built form. These characteristics, together with their location within an otherwise predominantly low-rise residential and commercial streetscape, contribute to the austere architectural identity of the Estate and make them readily recognisable and highly visible features of the streetscape and surrounding neighbourhood. (Criterion E)

SCHEDULE TO THE HERITAGE OVERLAY CONTROLS:

☐	External paint controls	☐	Internal alteration controls	☐	Tree controls
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☐	Victorian Heritage Register	☒	Incorporated Plans	☐	Outbuildings and fence not exempt
☐	Prohibited uses may be permitted	☐	Aboriginal Heritage Place	☐	Solar energy system controls

Primary Source

North Richmond Housing Estate Heritage Citation, Extent Heritage, 2026.

CURTILAGE MAP

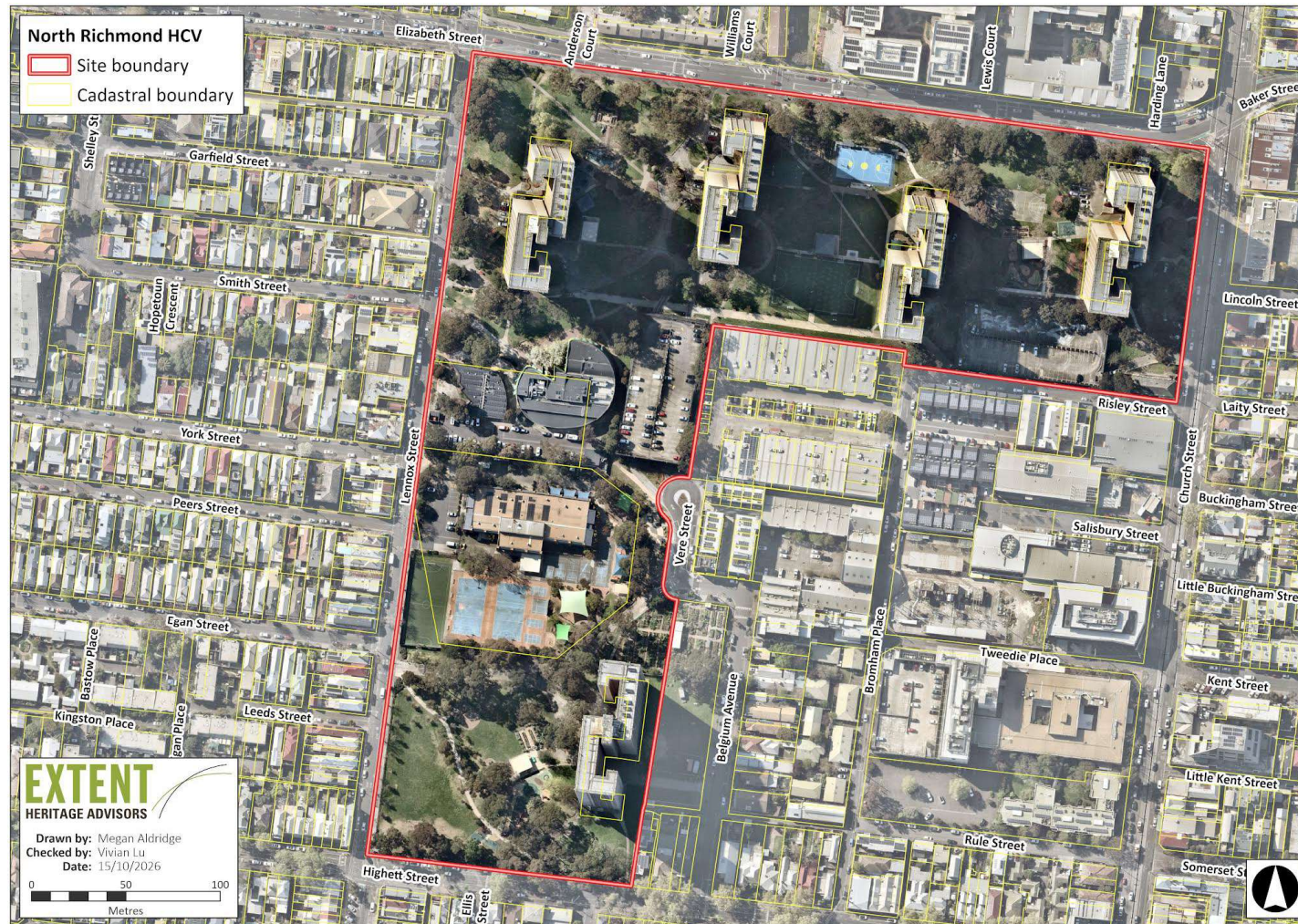


Figure 2. Map showing site boundary of North Richmond Housing Estate.



Figure 3. Map showing significant, contributory and non-contributory elements within the site.

DESCRIPTION

Physical Analysis

The North Richmond Housing Estate comprises five 20-storey residential housing towers, two three-storey concrete car parks, a two-storey school building school (Richmond West Primary School), and a one-storey health clinic (North Richmond Community Health Centre), located on an irregularly shaped parcel of land bounded by Elizabeth Street, Belgium Avenue, Highett Street and Lennox Street (see Figure 2). Four of the towers front Elizabeth Street, while the fifth tower is situated to the south-western extant of the parcel towards Highett Street and visually separated from the Elizabeth Street towers by the 1975 Richmond West Primary School building and the two contemporary North Richmond Community Health Centre buildings (see Figure 2 and Figure 4). All Estate buildings are situated on landscaped open green space, which also feature a range of recreational and community amenity infrastructure, including BBQ areas, park benches, playgrounds, bike parking, two basketball courts, a soccer pitch, sheltered areas, planter boxes and community garden beds.

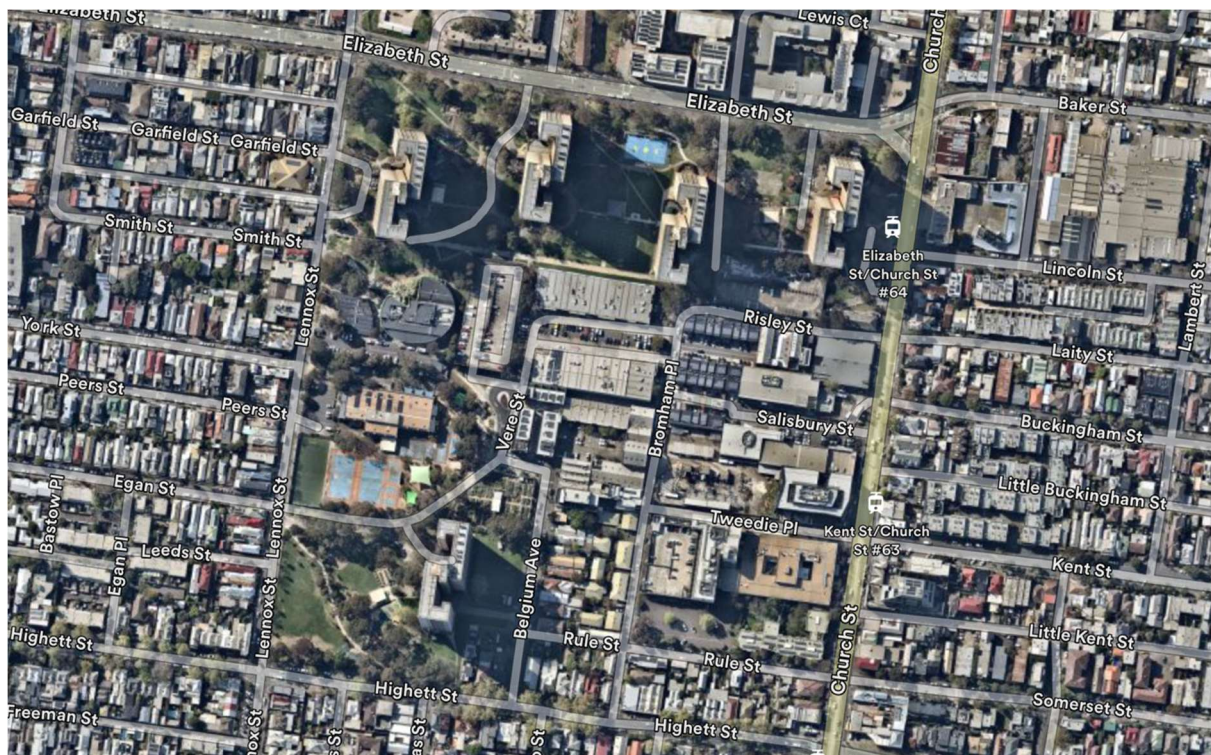


Figure 4. Aerial view of North Richmond Housing Estate, September 2026. *Source:* Nearmap.

The five towers maintain a high degree of uniformity in their overall form and Modernist architectural treatment, with each characterised by a distinctive 'Z'-shaped configuration and a repetitive arrangement of prefabricated concrete panels (see Figure 5-Figure 6). A central core containing the lift and building services links the two wings, which run along a north-south axis. The principal elevations feature pre-cast concrete panels within an expressed concrete frame, which articulate the façades into a series of rectangular bays (Figure 8). These bays

contain regularly spaced awning windows, generally arranged in horizontal groups of two or three, with white or light-coloured frames contrasting against the darker, textured wall panels.

At ground level, the towers are elevated on concrete stilts (pilotis) in certain areas, creating open undercrofts beneath the residential floors (see Figure 7 and Figure 10). However, this configuration varies across elevations, with sections of the ground floor enclosed by solid walls and large glazed window systems rather than being entirely open air. Where open undercrofts were originally present across the towers, many have since been infilled to various degrees to create additional enclosed spaces (see Figure 10). The exposed structural supports and ground-floor bays establish a regular rhythm along the base of the buildings, accommodating access routes, building entrances, and enclosed ground-floor spaces. Extant open undercroft areas across the towers also provide a degree of visual permeability between the buildings and the surrounding landscaped grounds.



Figure 5. South-east facing view of towers fronting Elizabeth Street.



Figure 6. East facing view of towers fronting Elizabeth Street from Estate grounds.



Figure 7. Ground floor undercroft of north-western corner tower.



Figure 8. Detail view of fenestration.



Figure 9. Façade treatment and composition.



Figure 10. Filled in ground-floor of tower fronting Elizabeth Street (second from the left).

The Estate comprises two three-storey car parks – one located perpendicular to the towers towards the north-east Elizabeth and Church Street corner, and one located parallel to the towers towards the north west Elizabeth and Lennox Street corner. The car parks exhibit a high degree of uniformity and are characterised by an open, multi-level structure comprising elevated concrete parking decks, supported by concrete beams and columns. Vehicle access and circulation are accommodated within the open ground and upper levels. Contemporary metal fencing and mesh screens have been installed around the perimeter of the car park.



Figure 11. View of north-west West Elizabeth and Lennox Street corner car park.



Figure 12. View of north-east Elizabeth and Church Street corner from Risley Street.

The Richmond West Primary School consists of a two-storey building defined by its rectilinear form and red face brickwork. Its principal elevations feature a prominent arrangement of vertical brick piers that articulate the façades into distinct recessed bays. These bays contain framed glazing units integrated with dark grey cladding panels and angled spandrels, creating contrast against the red masonry. The building is capped by a low-pitched, asymmetrical skillion roof. Meanwhile, the North Richmond Community Health centre comprises two contemporary buildings located to the north of the Richmond West Primary School. The central, larger building is distinguished by its angular roof forms with projecting sculptural elements, and green façade with external wall surfaces of raised lines. The secondary building fronts Lennox Street, and similarly shares a geometric composition, characterised by its angular form and projecting, faceted elevations that create visual depth and variation across the building's exterior.



Figure 13. View of Richmond West Primary School from Lennox Street. *Source:* Google Streetview, 2025.



Figure 14. View of main North Richmond Community Health Centre building.

The Estate buildings are set on landscaped grounds featuring open spaces with grassed lawns, curved pedestrian pathways, and mature eucalypts lining the estate boundaries and dotted along open pedestrian pathways. Interspersed throughout the grounds are shared recreational and community facilities, including playgrounds, outdoor basketball courts, a soccer field, a pagoda, and a community garden, which together form an integral component of the estate's broader residential and communal setting.

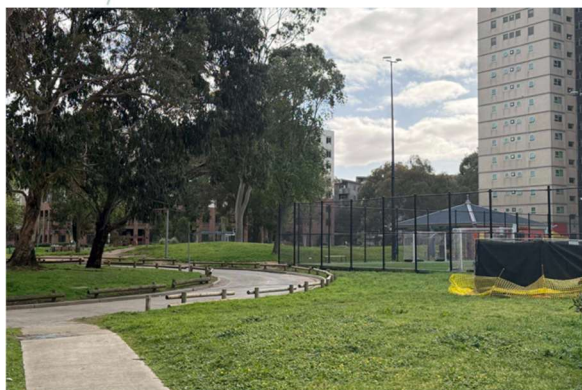


Figure 15. Paved concrete pathways, soccer pitch and landscaped green open space adjacent to Elizabeth Street towers.



Figure 16. Paved concrete pathways and landscaped green open space adjacent to Elizabeth Street towers.



Figure 17. Landscaped open green space and amenities adjacent to Highett Street tower.



Figure 18. Community garden adjacent to Highett Street tower.

Additions and alterations

- Ground floor undercroft of 106 Elizabeth Street tower filled in with brick masonry walls to create an enclosed area.
- Flat roof corrugated iron veranda added to eastern elevation ground floor of 106 Elizabeth Street tower.
- New exterior western elevation ground floor entrance featuring an awning added to 106 Elizabeth Street tower.
- Western elevation ground floor undercroft of 108 Elizabeth Street tower filled in to create an enclosed area.
- Eastern elevation ground floor undercroft of 108 Elizabeth Street tower filled in to create an enclosed area.
- New exterior western elevation ground floor entrance featuring an awning supported by pillars added to 108 Elizabeth Street tower.
- Original ground floor windows along northern elevation of 108 Elizabeth Street tower replaced with sliding square windows.
- Exterior masonry ground floor walls along northern elevation of 108 Elizabeth Street tower overpainted.
- Western elevation ground floor undercroft of 110 Elizabeth Street tower filled in to create an enclosed area.
- Curved awning added to ground floor entrance of eastern elevation of 110 Elizabeth Street tower.

- Original ground floor windows and walls along north-western elevation corner of 110 Elizabeth Street removed and replaced with new masonry and cladding material.
- Exterior masonry ground floor walls along western elevation of 110 Elizabeth Street tower overpainted.
- Ground floor undercroft of 112 Elizabeth Street tower filled in with brick masonry walls to create an enclosed area.
- Original ground floor windows and masonry walls of 112 Elizabeth Street tower removed and replaced with rendered walls and fixed windows as part of the new enclosed area.
- Awning added to western elevation entrance of 112 Elizabeth Street tower.
- Perimeter fencing added to the two multi-storey car parks.
- Addition of a fenced community garden area with planter boxes between the 106 and 108 Elizabeth Street towers.
- Upgrades to original basketball court between 108 and 110 Elizabeth Street towers, including new asphalt.
- Original play area and pavilion between 108 and 110 Elizabeth Street towers removed and replaced with fenced soccer pitch.
- Addition of landscaped play and recreational areas, including fenced playground with rubber flooring, planter boxes, and sheltered BBQ area with benches, to the west of the 112 Elizabeth Street tower.
- Ground floor undercroft of 139 Highett Street tower at south-eastern elevation infilled.
- New exterior northern elevation ground floor entrance featuring an awning added to 139 Highett Street tower.
- Addition of contemporary buildings associated with the North Richmond Community Centre.
- Addition of a playground area with blue rubber matting and play equipment abutting the east elevation of the 108 Elizabeth Street tower.
- Basketball courts, soccer pitch and additional landscaped play areas added to the south of central Richmond West Primary School building.
- Addition of community garden and pagoda to the north of the Highett Street tower.
- Addition of landscaped play and recreational areas, including fenced playground with rubber flooring and play equipment, planter boxes, and sheltered BBQ area with benches, to the west of the Highett Street tower.

Condition and Integrity (exterior only)

- The integrity is good, with the five high-rise residential towers, two multi-storey carparks, primary school building and their associated open spaces retaining the overall form, layout and visual character of a Housing Commission estate. The consistent design, scale and arrangement of the substantially intact towers, together with the surrounding landscaped grounds, inclusive of original pedestrian pathways and plantings, allow the estate to be clearly understood as a planned public housing development associated with HCV's high-rise program of public housing provision. Alterations and additions to the original buildings and Estate grounds over time have not substantially diminished the overall integrity of the estate, with its original planning principles, characteristic built form and relationship between the towers and surrounding open spaces remaining clearly legible.
- The condition is fair, and consistent with buildings of their age, use and construction. Some deterioration and general wear are evident across the buildings, reflecting their ongoing use and exposure to the elements.

Historical Context

Housing in Richmond

The development of housing in the City of Yarra was occasioned by the suburban extension of Melbourne from 1838, when the NSW government offered 88 portions adjoining Melbourne for sale (Lovell & Associates 1998, 9). While many of Melbourne's wealthier and more influential residents settled on higher land at the southern ends of Nicholson, Brunswick and Napier Streets across the present-day suburb of South Fitzroy, low-lying, poorly drained land to the north at Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond was generally home to gold rush era single-storey timber cottages inhabited by working-class Melbournians, alongside larger, more substantial dwellings that reflected the socially mixed character of these areas (Lovell & Associates 1998, 23; Howitt 1852).

While the 1880s land boom saw some of the gold-rush cottages in Richmond demolished, along with the erection of terraces and villas on better ground, elsewhere, the subdivisions of larger blocks served by lanes and rights-of-way produced overcrowded 'slums' characterised by weatherboard cottages and row houses (McCalman 1984). By the 1890s, the Depression, along with industrial expansion saw the consolidation of Richmond as a working-class suburb, driven by the migration of the middle and upper classes into the outlying southern and eastern suburbs of Melbourne (McCalman 1984). This period not only saw the conversion of grander house in Richmond into boarding houses, but also the deterioration of its housing stock as the area became more industrial.

Naturally, many immigrants from Britain and Europe who arrived in the early decades of the twentieth century settled in Richmond, Collingwood and Fitzroy, where housing was relatively affordable and located close to employment opportunities in Melbourne's factories, workshops and other industries. These inner-city suburbs provided an accessible entry point for newcomers, particularly those with limited financial resources who needed to establish themselves in a new country. However, as population pressures increased and housing and infrastructure struggled to keep pace with demand, some areas experienced overcrowding and declining living conditions. These challenges were further intensified by the economic hardship and unemployment associated with the Great Depression of the 1930s (Lovell & Associates 1998, 30).

'Slum' Housing in the City of Yarra

By the first few decades of the twentieth century, inspectors, housing advocates and public housing professionals had begun turning their attention to what they characterised as 'slum housing' in Melbourne's inner-city suburbs of Collingwood, North Fitzroy and Richmond (Barnett 1933; Howe 1988; Killen 2023). Concern was centred on a housing crisis affecting poor and working-class families, whose living conditions were described as overcrowded and inadequately sanitised (The Age 1921, 6). Despite their ostensibly benevolent intentions, these concerns often demonstrated condescension towards residents while simultaneously overlooking the impacts of housing shortages, high rents and poverty on inner-city communities (Jenkins 2023).

Indeed, by the 1920s, Richmond Council was calling for the elimination of some slum dwellings in North Richmond, urging property owners to renovate or demolish buildings considered unfit for habitation (The Herald 1924, 7). It was during the 1930s, however, that the slum reclamation movement gained real traction across Melbourne, galvanised by the work of Methodist socialist Frederick Oswald Barnett. Barnett became an influential and well-known anti-slum crusader during this period, conducting extensive and widely publicised written and photographic investigations into the slum areas of inner Melbourne (Barnett 1933) (see Figure 19).

His campaigning is generally considered to have fuelled the creation of the Housing Investigation and Slum Abolition Board in 1936, the 1937 Housing Act and the subsequent creation of the Housing Commission of Victoria (HCV) in 1938, which gave the state government a mandate to construct housing and rehome residents (The Age 1938, 10; Killen 2023).



Figure 19. c. 1935 photograph of 'slum' housing in Victoria Place, North Richmond, to the north of the North Richmond Housing Estate by Frederick Oswald Barnett. *Source:* State Library of Victoria.

Post-war Slum Reclamation: From Low-Rise Flats to High-Rise Towers

Formed in 1938 in response to these concerns, Housing Commission Victoria (HCV) initially focused on the provision of detached and semi-detached ‘villas’. The first estate was built on at Fishermen's Bend which included the pair of Experimental Concrete Houses (VHR H1863) built in 1939 using precast reinforced concrete – a forerunner to HCV's Concrete House Project which would culminate in their high-rise flats program (Heritage Council Victoria 2000).

While early HCV activities were paused for World War II, the aftermath of the war saw their resumption, galvanised by a climate of post-war reconstruction, international Modernist design and planning precedents, and urban renewal (Housing Investigation and Slum Abolition Board 1937; Richmond Guardian 1941). In the City of Yarra, HCV shifted their focus to building low-rise flats, making inroads into Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond by the 1950s (Lovell & Associates 1998, 32). In 1956, HCV began buying up ‘slum housing’ in North Richmond, located just to the north of the North Richmond Housing Estate, to make way for the Anderson Court low-rise walk-up flats. Residents of the acquired houses were given the option of moving into the newly constructed Anderson Court flats; however, the redevelopment was not universally welcomed, with many residents resisting the clearance of their homes and fighting to preserve the existing housing and their established communities (The Argus 1956, 7).

HCV was not initially in favour of high-rise towers, however, by 1958, it changed direction, proposing that a combination of walk-up flats and ‘elevator towers’ (high-rise towers) would make ‘better use of costly land, available essential services and employment’ (Howe 1988, 123; HCV 1958). Integral to this shift in policy was an international tour and subsequent report produced by HCV Deputy Commission Jack P Gaskin and Chief Technical Officer Ray Burkt in 1958 (Vernon 2024). The first HCV high-rise tower, otherwise known as the Emerald Hill Court Estate, was subsequently completed in 1962 in South Melbourne (Howe 1988). In the City of Yarra, this policy shift would find expression in the establishment of three public housing high-rise towers with lift access across the suburbs of Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond throughout the early 1970s, including the Atherton Gardens Estate (1971) at 90 and 140 Brunswick Street, Fitzroy / 125 Napier Street, Fitzroy, the Collingwood Housing Estate (1971) at 229 and 253 Hoddle Street, Collingwood / 240 Wellington Street, Collingwood and the North Richmond Housing Estate (1970-75) at Richmond (the subject site).

Concrete House Project

HCV's high-rise housing provision program formed part of their Concrete House Project (CHP), which predominantly made use of the Large Panel System (LPS). This system involved the production of pre-cast wall panel at the Holmesglen Factory that could be assembled on-site at the designated housing developments across Melbourne (Housing Commission Victoria 1966, 13). Established in 1945, HCV's Concrete House Project was responsible for manufacturing over 10,000 dwellings across Victoria by 1956 (The Argus 1945, 8; Dalton 1988; MHCV 1990, cited in Vernon 2024).

As HCV's housing policy shifted towards high-rise tower construction, the Holmesglen Factory was also mobilised to research and produce suitable materials for the construction of these towers. Accordingly, by 1954, a development section was established at the Concrete House Project to investigate the expansion beyond the prefabrication of houses, effectively resulting

in the evolution of the modular Large Panel System (LPS). Drawn from international examples, HCV's LPS for high-rise towers comprised a pre-cast load-bearing concrete wall and floor system, where 200mm thick pre-cast wall panels and floor sections were stacked without a separate structural frame (Docomomo 2025). This construction method established a high degree of uniformity across the towers, while allowing the same set of precast components to be arranged in different configurations to accommodate a variety of tower floor plans.

Design of the Housing Estates

HCV's high-rise public housing estates drew inspiration from international precedents in the UK and the US, particularly Le Corbusier's Towers in the Park concept, which emphasised the separation of uses and access to communal green spaces (Shaw 1964). The original schemes comprised seven principal tower configurations, each distinguished by its own form and spatial layout. These variations in tower geometry and floor plans facilitated a range of internal apartment configurations, accommodating diverse household needs as HCV's housing policies evolved. The Y-shaped tower configuration, for example, was particularly suited to family accommodation, as its layout allowed for larger apartments than those typically found in other configurations (Heritage Council Victoria 2025, 4). This reflected a broader emphasis on providing housing that responded to the spatial and functional requirements of family households. Of the seven configurations, the Z-plan was the most prevalent, appearing across multiple sites in inner Melbourne. In 1967, variations on these original configurations were proposed, reflecting an evolution in the design of HCV's high-rise towers (O'Neill 1967) (see **Error! Reference source not found.**).

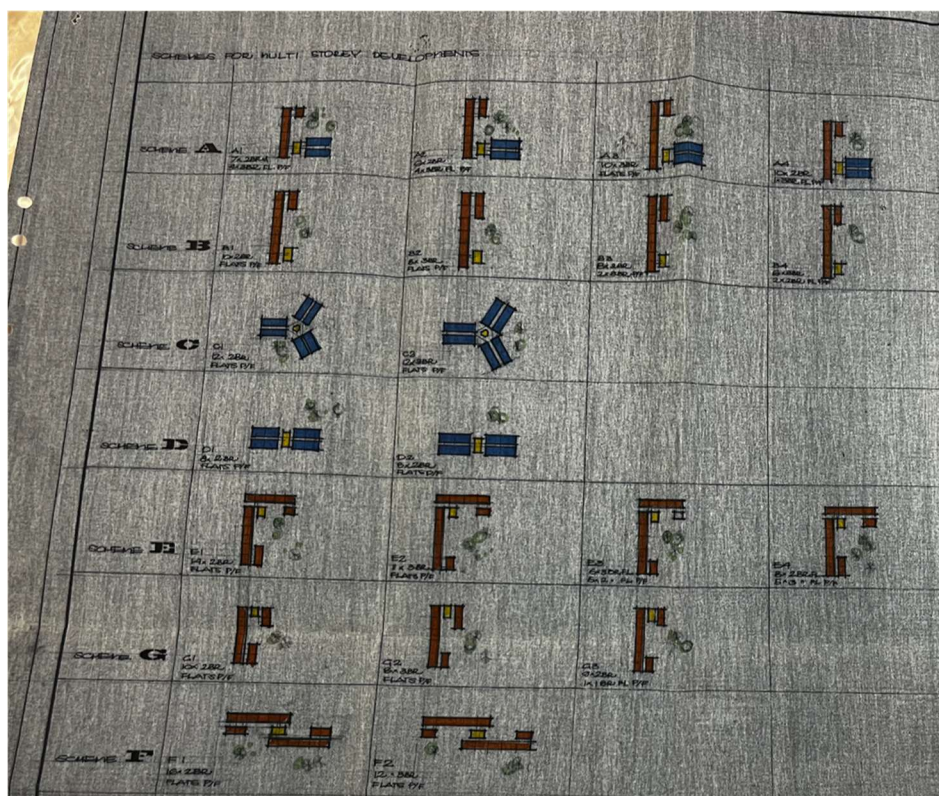


Figure 20. 1967 drawings showing new variations of the seven tower configurations. *Source:* Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 1808/P0000, F8

Landscaping and the provision of communal open space were also important considerations in the planning of these estates. Designs incorporated landscaped grounds, public open spaces, playgrounds and shared amenities, reflecting an emphasis on providing a residential environment that extended beyond the towers (HCV 1970, 11; HCV 1970, 15). In later housing estates, the inclusion of schools and other community facilities further reflected an evolving approach to public housing, in which residential development was increasingly considered alongside the provision of services and amenities to support the needs of estate residents (HCV 1970, 11; The Age 1972, 12).



Figure 21. Extract from HCV's promotional pamphlet 'Housing is People: The Policy and Operations of the Housing Commission, Victoria' showing provision of landscaped grounds and public amenities at a HCV Tower Estate. Source: National Library of Australia.

History of North Richmond Housing Estate

Development of the North Richmond Housing Estate commenced in 1967, when HCV drew up plans for the Richmond Lennox Street Reclamation Area (HCV 1967). This area comprised workers' housing along the former streets of Flevill Street, Rose Street and Mahoney Street, and forms the primary northern portion of the present-day Estate (Adams 1968) (see Figure 22). Initial design schemes by HCV Chief Architect Roy Prentice were subsequently drawn up the same year, with original plans showing four blocks of 'Z' shaped 20 storey towers (each containing 200 flats) set on expansive landscaped grounds fronting set back from the adjacent

Elizabeth Street (Housing Commission Victoria 1967) (see Figure 23). Other configurations were also explored in early proposals, with one alternative design proposals by Prentice incorporating two 'E' shaped towers and two 'Z' shaped towers (Housing Commission Victoria).

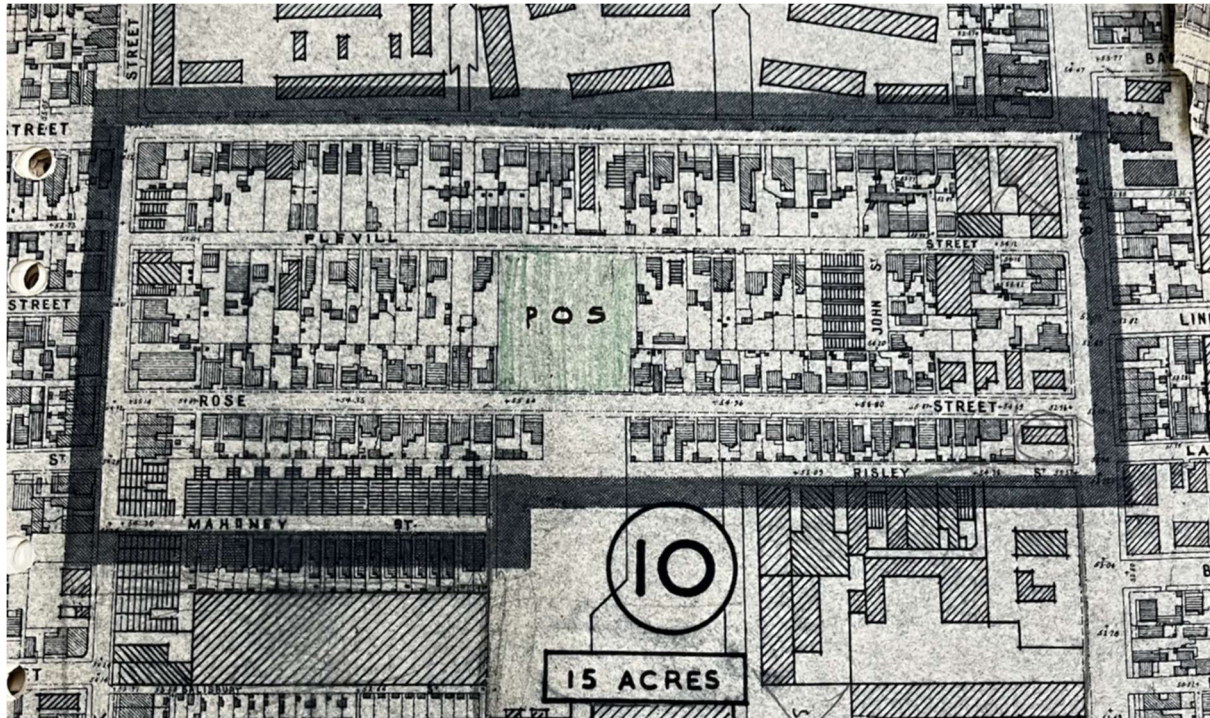


Figure 22. 1968 marked-up map showing the proposed 1967 reclamation and development area for the HCV high-rise towers. *Source:* Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 1808/P0000, R14.

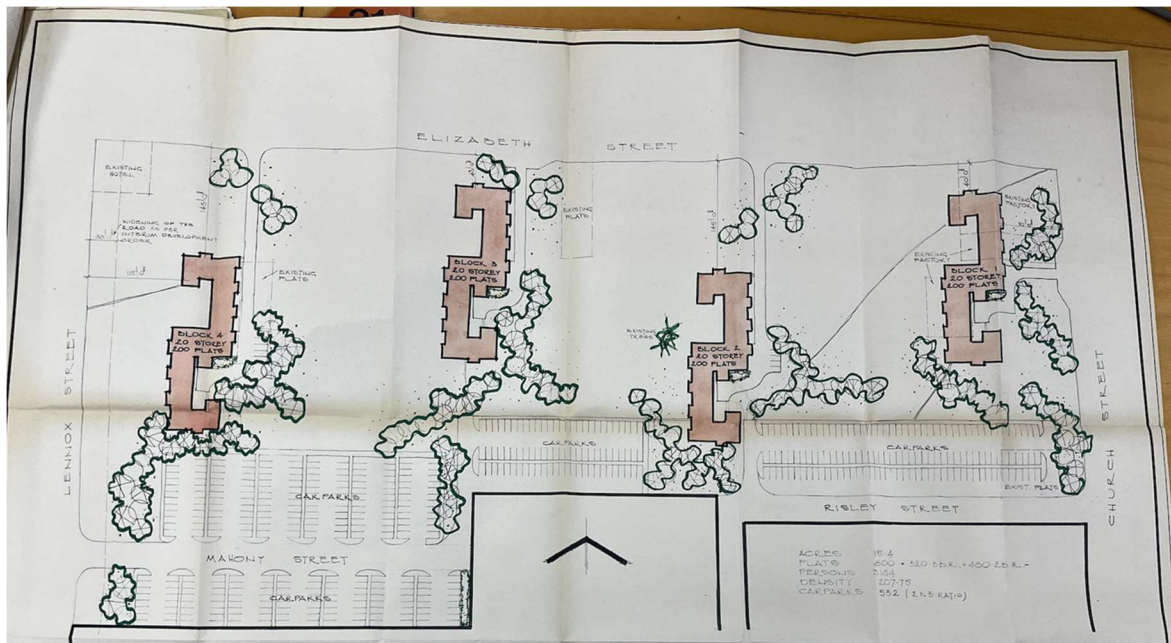


Figure 23. Initial 1967 plans showing proposed redevelopment at the Richmond Lennox Street Reclamation Area. *Source:* Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 1808/P0000, R14.

In 1968, the Richmond Lennox Street Reclamation Area was extended when additional land to the south, otherwise known as the 'Highett Street Reclamation Area' was also acquired by HCV (HCV 1968) (see Figure 24). As part of the extension of the Estate, the plans were revised to include two additional 20 storey 'Z' shaped block fronting Highett Street, alongside public open space and a primary school (Adams 1968; HCV 1968). Revised plans prepared two years later, in 1970, show the exclusion of one of the two 'Z' shaped blocks, although the reason for this change remains unclear (HCV 1970) (see Figure 27).

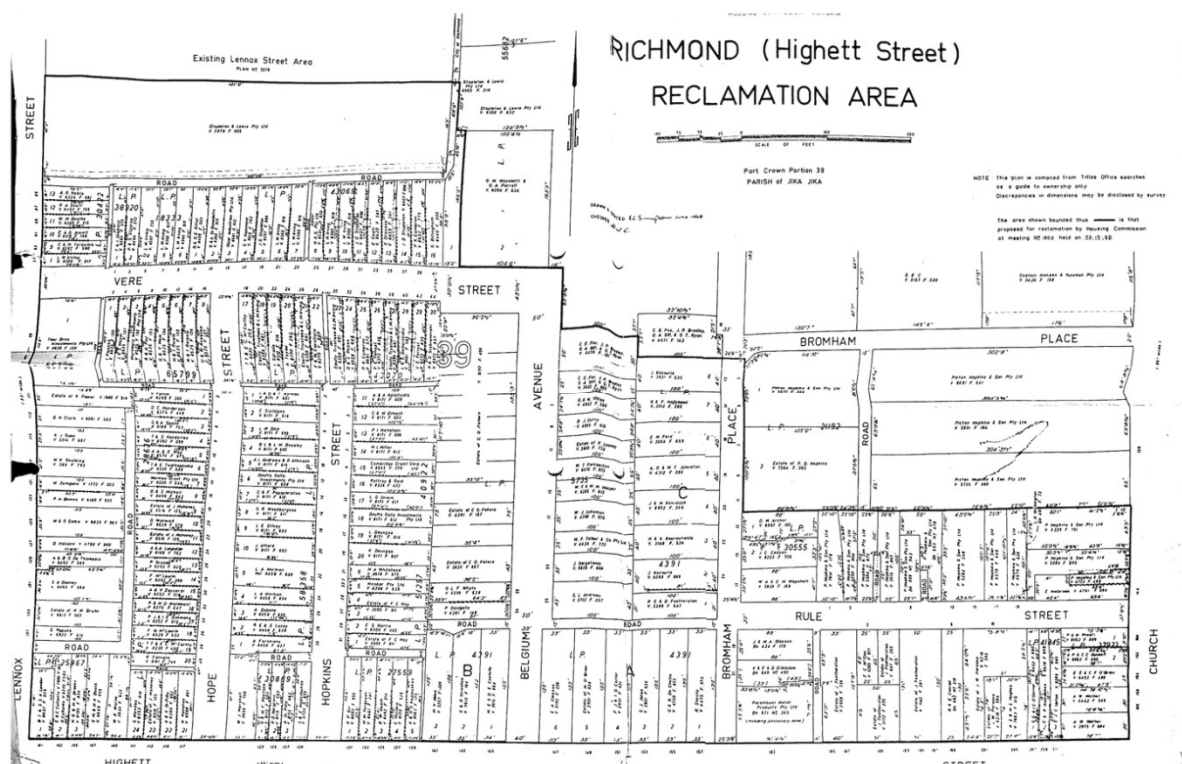


Figure 24. 1968 plan showing the Richmond (Highett Street) Reclamation Area, which served as an extension to the North Richmond Housing Estate (labelled on the plan as 'existing Lennox Street Area'. Source: Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 1808/P0000, R1416.

The inclusion of a primary school within the proposed extension is of particular note and appears to have been influenced by local campaigning for additional educational and recreational facilities to support the growing population. In a 1967 letter, the Richmond & District Parent Teacher Council called for the provision of such facilities in response to the anticipated increase in residents associated with HCV's housing developments (Richmond & District Parent Teacher Council 1967). Correspondence from the Department of Education in early 1968 further suggests that the provision of a primary school was the subject of consideration in planning for the area (Russell 1968).

Meanwhile, HCV commissioned landscape architect Ellis Stones to design the estate's landscape. His 1970 plans included playgrounds, recreational facilities such as men's and women's basketball courts, and a diverse selection of Australian native trees and shrubs (Stone 1970) (see Figures 25 and 26).

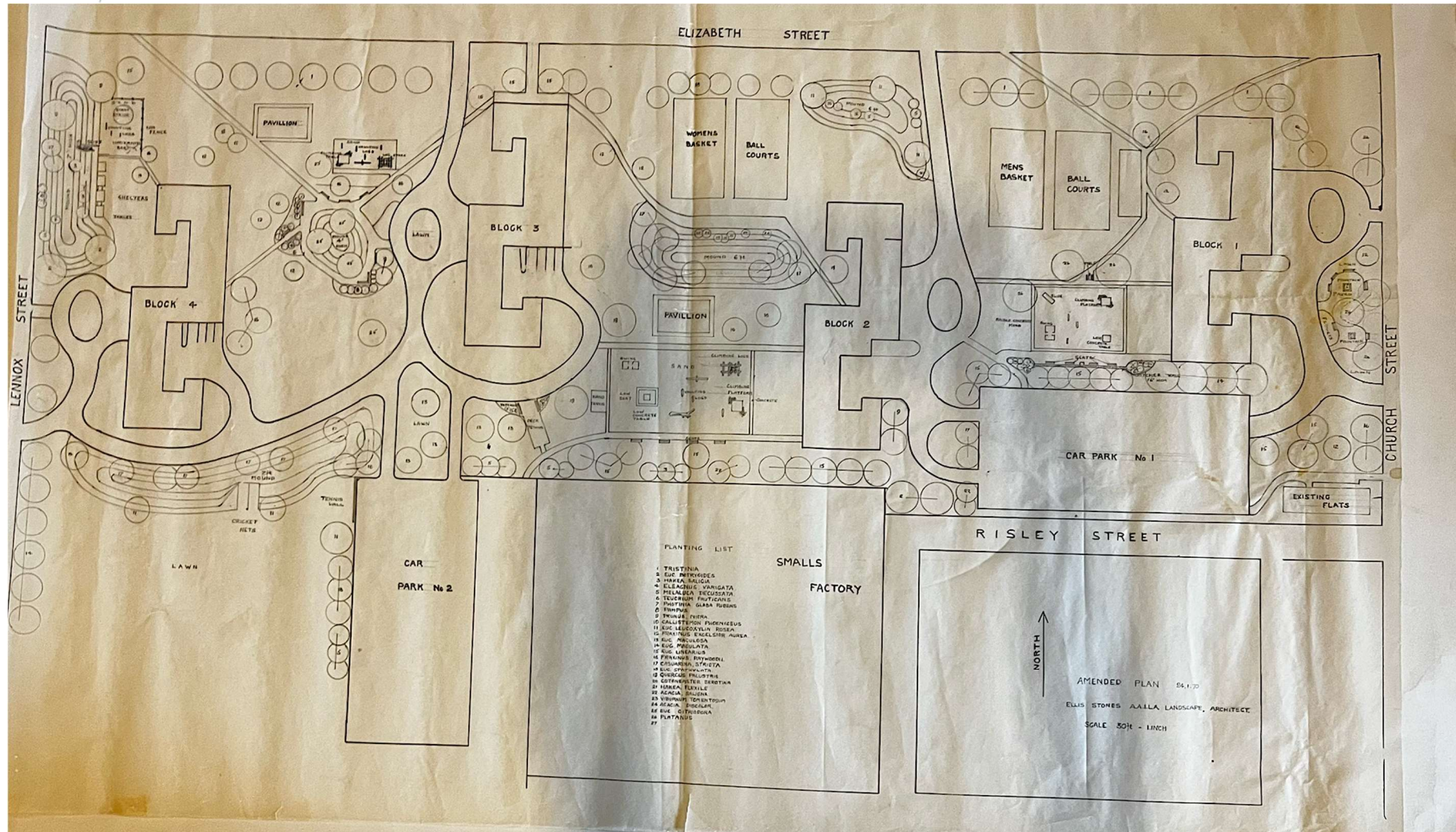


Figure 25. Proposed landscape plans by Ellis Stone of northern portion of the Estate, 1970. Source: State Library of Victoria.

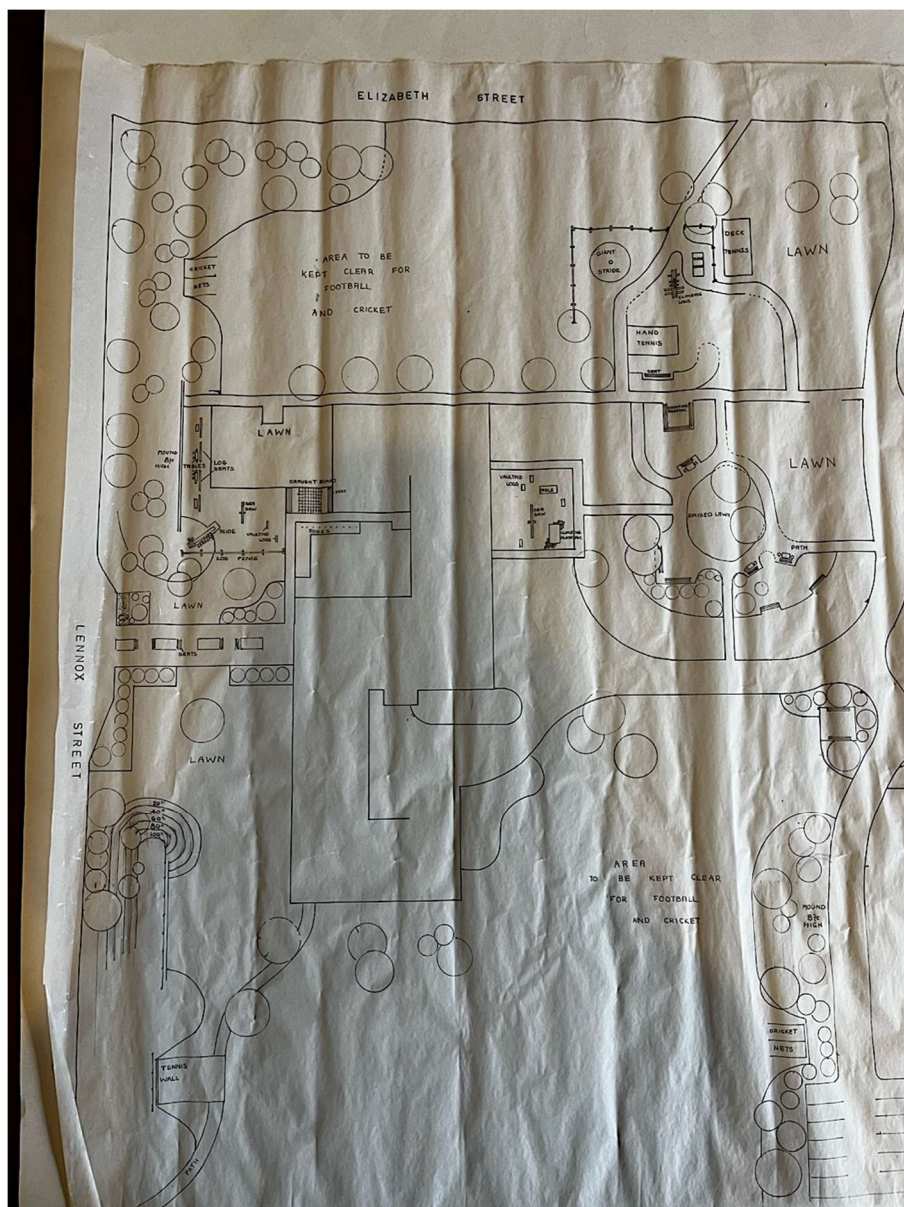


Figure 26. Proposed landscape plans by Ellis Stone of southern portion of the Estate, 1970. *Source:* State Library of Victoria.

The North Richmond Housing Estate was constructed in stages over the next several years, with on-site construction of the four towers and two multi-storey carparks to the northern portion of the Estate taking place in 1970. As with the majority of HCV high-rise towers, the Richmond Housing Estate towers were constructed using an innovative, industrialised building method developed by the Concrete House Project (CHP) at HCV's Holmesglen factory (a former munitions factory) (Docomomo 2025; Butler n.d.). This method comprised large, mass-produced, prefabricated concrete panels that were manufactured off-site (otherwise known as the Large Panel (LPS) system) and subsequently assembled on location at the Richmond site in 1970, enabling the rapid construction of high-density housing at a significantly greater scale than conventional building techniques. Notably, the HCV 1970 Annual Report indicates that the North Richmond Housing Towers were amongst the first Commission Towers to adopt

alternative external finishes being explored by the HCV at the time, including patterned exposed aggregate wafer brick tiles (HCV 1970, 11).

Development was subject to intense contestation between the Housing Commission of Victoria (HCV) and local residents, particularly those living within the subsequently acquired Highett Street Reclamation Area. This opposition appears to have contributed to delays in the redevelopment of the Estate's southern portion, with a 1970 plan issued in the HCV Annual Report explicitly marking the redevelopment of the Highett Street Reclamation Area as 'redevelopment deferred' (HCV 1970, 5) (see Figure 27). Opposing residents expressed concern that the clearance and demolition of existing dwellings would displace established communities and disrupt existing social networks (The Age 1970, 2). These concerns prompted protests, with some residents fiercely resisting relocation to the flats (The Age 1970, 2; Basile 1973, 2).

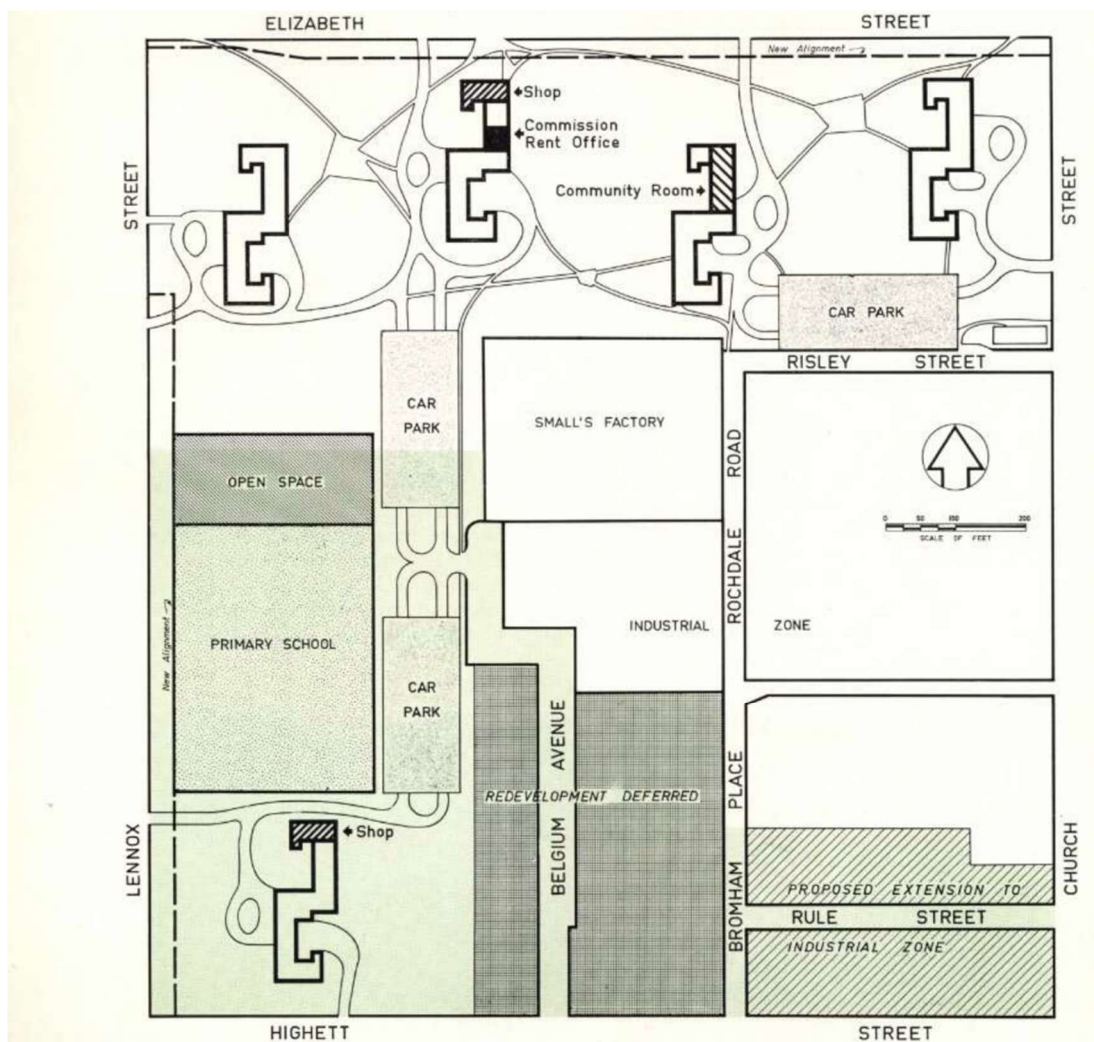


Figure 27. Extract from the HCV 32nd Annual Report showing a plan of the North Richmond Housing Estate, and proposed extension and tower addition along Highett Street, 1970. *Source:* Housing Commission Victoria.

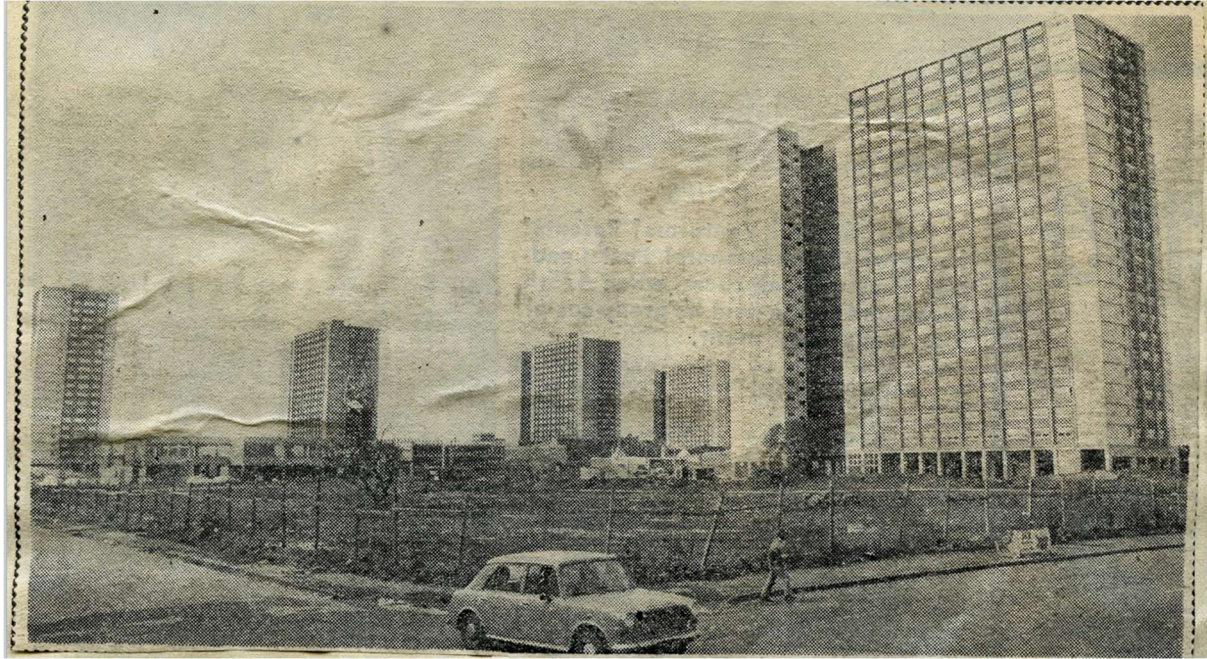


Figure 28. Clipping from 1974 newspaper showing the completed towers at the North Richmond Housing Estate. *Source:* Image provided by the Richmond and Burnley Historical Society.



Figure 29. 1975 aerial showing the completed North Richmond Housing Estate. *Source:* Landata.



Figure 30. 1981 view of Elizabeth Street towers, looking west. *Source:* Chapman, Andrew. The Guardian.

At the time of construction, the reclaimed areas and Richmond more broadly was home to a significant number of post-war migrants from Greece and Italy. Following slum clearance and redevelopment, many of these residents relocated to Melbourne's outer ring suburbs, while others took up residency in the newly erected Commission Towers (Basile 1970, 8; Docomomo 2025). From the mid-1970s onwards, the Estate became increasingly home to with Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian communities, including the East Timorese, who established strong cultural and community networks in North Richmond (The Age 1979, 15). The significant concentration of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian communities in the Estate subsequently led to the establishment of cultural organisations and services in the Estate and surrounding streets, such as the Indochinese Elderly Refugees Association, and the Australian Vietnamese Women's Association, both of which are still in operation as of 2026. As such, the Estate and its surrounding services has historically served, and continues to function, as an important 'landing pad' and cultural hub for newly arrived migrants and refugees, offering affordable housing and access to established community networks and services (Docomomo 2025; The Age 2000, 61). Its role as a focal point for cultural life is

reflected in events such as the annual Moo Lantern Festival, which has been celebrated at the North Richmond Housing Estate since 1993 (The Age 2000, 61).



Figure 31. Photograph of Tran Ghet in her flat at the North Richmond Housing Estate. *Source:* State Library of Victoria.

As with other HCV Towers, the North Richmond Housing Towers have been the subject of sustained public debate and competing representations since their establishment. Public and media discourse has variously characterised the towers through narratives of crime, poverty, social disorder and 'slum' conditions, while others have celebrated their role in providing affordable housing, supporting migrant communities and contributing to the social and cultural life of North Richmond (The Age 1981, 11; The Age 1982, 16). These competing representations have made the towers a recurring site of debate within Melbourne's urban history, reflecting broader tensions between public housing as a form of social provision and its stigmatisation within public and political discourse.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

At present, none of the 44 extant Housing Commission towers are included in the municipal Heritage Overlay (HO) or on the Victorian Heritage Register (VHR). Three of these Housing Commission Towers are located in the City of Yarra, and include the subject site, the Atherton Gardens Estate (90 and 140 Brunswick Street, Fitzroy / 125 Napier Street, Fitzroy) and the Collingwood Housing Estate, (229 and 253 Hoddle Street, Collingwood / 240 Wellington Street, Collingwood), all of which comprise landscaped Estates with ‘Z’ configuration towers – HCV’s most common tower typology.

Within this statutory context, the following comparative analysis considers the two other Housing Commission Tower estates located within the City of Yarra, alongside comparable post-war housing typologies included in the municipal Heritage Overlay (HO). However, local comparisons are necessarily limited. No public housing places are currently included in the City of Yarra Heritage Overlay (HO), and post-war places more broadly are underrepresented in the municipal HO. Furthermore, no places currently included in the HO specifically recognise or reflect the history of late-twentieth Vietnamese migration and settlement in the municipality.

These absences should not be understood as an indication that public housing or post-war development lacks heritage value. Rather, it reflects, at least in part, the limited extent to which these places and this period of development have historically been the subject of heritage review and comparative assessment, as well as broader trends in the development of heritage practice, which has progressively expanded beyond earlier emphases on older, architecturally distinguished or conventionally ‘historic’ places. Indeed, the importance of the HCV provision of public housing is attested to in the City of Yarra Thematic History, which recognises this period of development as an important phase in the municipality’s history under the ‘3.3: Slums and Development of Public Housing’ theme (Lovell & Associates 1998, 32-33). Similarly, the Thematic History also characterises Yarra as an ‘area of immigrants’ under the ‘3.1: A Home to Call One’s Own’ theme, with many newly arrived migrant groups drawn to the area’s more affordable working-class housing stock (Lovell & Associates 1998, 28).

Image	Place
 Figure 32. Atherton Gardens Estate. Source: Google Streetview, 2025.	Atherton Gardens Estate, 90 and 140 Brunswick Street, Fitzroy / 125 Napier Street, Fitzroy (City of Yarra) Constructed in 1971, Atherton Gardens Estate comprises four uniform 20 storey 'Z' shaped towers arranged on a rectilinear land parcel and constructed using HCV's LPS method. It is comparable to North Richmond in the form and configuration of its towers, demonstrating a consistent application of the 'Z' shaped typology across four high-rise blocks. Its complete uniformity in tower form across all high-rises gives the Estate a high degree of visual and spatial consistency. Its development as part of HCV's slum reclamation program also places it within a similar historical and developmental context to North Richmond, and as such it demonstrates the role that HCV played in reshaping the urban fabric of the municipality. The towers retain a strong architectural and spatial resemblance to those at North Richmond, and a similar degree of integrity owing to their ground floor alterations, which have been infilled to create additional enclosed spaces. The absence of an on-site school is one key factor that differentiates the Atherton Gardens Estate from the North Richmond Estate. While a school was not part of the original planning of the North Richmond Estate, it subsequently became associated with the Department of Education's initiative in the early 1970s to establish schools across a number of public housing estates. Atherton Gardens was not similarly associated with this program and therefore does not demonstrate the subsequent provision of educational amenity within the estate. Located in Fitzroy, the Atherton Gardens Estate does not share the same historical associations with the municipality's Vietnamese community. However, the landscaped park within the Estate has significant contemporary Aboriginal associations as a meeting and gathering place, adding an important layer of social and cultural significance to the Estate's open-space framework (Johnson 2014).



Figure 33. Collingwood Housing Estate. *Source:* Google Streetview, 2025.

Collingwood Housing Estate, 229 and 253 Hoddle Street, Collingwood / 240 Wellington Street, Collingwood (City of Yarra)

Developed in 1971, the Collingwood Housing Estate comprises three LPS-constructed, twenty-storey 'Z'-shaped high-rises distributed across two parcels of land. It shares similarities with the North Richmond Housing Estate through the repeated application of the 'Z'-shaped high-rise typology, as well as its association with HCV's slum reclamation program, which found expression through post-war urban renewal and the provision of high-density public housing within the City of Yarra. Unlike the towers at the North Richmond Housing Estate, the façade treatment of the Collingwood towers feature repeated projecting and recessed walls.

The Collingwood Estate has a less cohesive visual and spatial presence than North Richmond, with its towers dispersed across two separate parcels and separated by intervening residential development. This fragmented configuration somewhat diminishes the collective visual impact of the towers and limits their perception as a unified estate, despite the consistency of their architectural form.

While the Collingwood Estate does not share the same strong historical and contemporary associations with the City of Yarra's Vietnamese community, it has been home to a range of migrant communities within the municipality, such as the East Timorese.



Figure 34. Walancon Flats. *Source:* Google Streetview, 2026.

Walancon Flats, 199-201 Punt Road, Richmond (Significant in HO332 Richmond Hill Precinct)

This c.1958 building comprises a post-war Modernist flat development representing the early phase of post-war flat construction in the City of Yarra. It is the only post-war flat development currently included in the City of Yarra Heritage Overlay. The place is recognised as a strong example of Modernist flat design, expressed through its cream-brick-clad, flat-roofed blocks and associated landscaped setting, including its enclosed garden.

The place is distinct from the North Richmond Housing Estate in terms of its historical phase, scale, architectural expression and development context. Nevertheless, it provides a relevant local comparator in demonstrating the broader shift towards multi-storey flat development and higher-density residential accommodation in the municipality during the post-war period, as increasing demand for housing contributed to the intensification and redevelopment of established inner-suburban areas.

HERITAGE ASSESSMENT AGAINST THE VICTORIAN HERITAGE GUIDELINES

A	<i>Importance to the course, or pattern of our cultural or natural history</i>	The North Richmond Housing Estate is of historical significance to the City of Yarra as a public housing estate developed by the Housing Commission of Victoria (HCV) as part of its post-war high-rise program of slum reclamation and public housing provision in inner Melbourne. Developed on land occupied by former workers' cottages associated with low income and post-war migrant communities, the Estate illustrates the state government's approach to addressing post-war housing shortages through large-scale redevelopment and the provision of purpose-built public housing estates incorporating recreational amenities and shared open spaces. Its development is a tangible manifestation of a significant phase in the urban and social transformation of Richmond and the wider City of Yarra, when post-war urban renewal and international architectural influences, particularly the adoption of high-rise public housing, significantly reshaped established residential neighbourhoods, the built environment and patterns of community life.
Step 1 Basic Test		
A1	The place has a clear association with an event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life in the history of the local area.	The North Richmond Housing Estate is clearly associated with the HCV's high-rise program of slum reclamation and public housing provision in the City of Yarra. This period was marked by state led urban interventions in the municipality, alongside changing approaches and attitudes to housing provision and urban renewal in inner Melbourne.
A2	The event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life relating to the place is of historical importance, having made a strong or influential contribution to the development of the local area.	HCV's high-rise program of slum reclamation and public housing provision is of considerable importance to the City of Yarra's urban history. This period not only fundamentally transformed the municipality's urban landscape through the construction of imposing, high-rise public housing towers on former workers' cottages, but also reshaped Yarra's social

		landscape by disrupting established working-class communities through the displacement and rehousing of residents. The importance of the HCV provision of public housing is attested to in the City of Yarra Thematic History, which recognises this period of development as an important phase in the municipality's history under the '3.3: Slums and Development of Public Housing' theme (Lovell & Associates 1998, 32-33).
A3	There is evidence of the place's association with the important event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life in the local area's history. <i>The place should relate to a recognised theme in the history of the local or wider area, as identified in a TEH or other contextual history.</i>	North Richmond Housing Estate's association with HCV's program of high-rise slum reclamation and public housing provision in the municipality is clearly evidenced in the fabric and design of the Estate, particularly its towers, landscaping and multi-storey car parks, which was a direct outcome of this program of works. This association is also evidenced by substantial documentary material, including secondary reports, architectural plans, newspaper articles and government records, which together demonstrate the Estate's role in HCV's program of urban renewal, and the provision of high-rise residential accommodation for working class and low-income communities.

If all conditions above are met, Criterion A is likely to apply to the place.

The conditions of Step 1 Basic Test A1, A2 and A3 are met, therefore Criterion A is likely to apply to the place.

Step 2 Threshold Test

A4	The place remains substantially intact and retains a high level of integrity to allow the historical association with an important event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life to be understood.	The North Richmond Housing Estate is substantially intact, with a high degree of integrity. Its towers, landscape and associated infrastructure can be clearly read as a HCV public housing estate that reflects the planning, architectural and landscape principles of the post-war high-rise public housing program, including the separation of residential towers within landscaped open space and the provision of associated communal facilities and infrastructure.
A5	The association of the place with an important event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life can be understood better than most other places with	In comparative terms, the North Richmond Housing Estate retains a high degree of legibility as a cohesive expression of the HCV high-rise public housing model. Like Atherton Gardens Estate, it retains a substantial degree of

substantially the same historical association.	physical integrity and clearly communicates the underlying planning principles of the HCV high-rise public housing program with clarity. Unlike Atherton Gardens Estate, the presence of a primary school at the North Richmond Housing Estate further illustrates the evolving nature of HCV planning policy, reflecting an emphasis on accommodating family needs and integrating community infrastructure into public housing developments. In contrast, the dispersed configuration of the Collingwood Housing Estate across two separate parcels of land limits its visual and spatial cohesiveness and makes the scale and ambition of the HCV's high-rise public housing program, as expressed through a typical unified estate, less readily apparent.
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If all conditions above are met, Criterion A is likely to be met at the local level.

The conditions of Step 2 Threshold Test A4 and A5 are met, therefore Criterion A is likely to be met at the local level.

B	<i>Possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of our cultural or natural history</i>	This place does not meet this criterion.
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Step 1 Basic Test

B1	The place has a clear association with an important event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life in the history of the local area.	N/A
B2	There is evidence that the place is rare, uncommon or endangered, or has a rare, uncommon or endangered elements of importance to the local area's history.	N/A

If both conditions are met, Criterion B is likely to apply to the place.

Step 2 Threshold Test

B3	The place remains of sufficient intactness and integrity to allow its rare or uncommon elements to be understood and appreciated.	N/A
B4	The place is rare or uncommon being one of a small number of places in the local area that demonstrates the important event, period, process,	N/A

	function, movement, custom or way of life, or for containing unusual elements that are not widely replicated in the local area. or The place is endangered to the point of rarity due to threats and pressures in the local area on places that demonstrate the important event, period, process, movement, custom or way of life.	
B5	The rarity of the place is not dependent upon numerous qualifiers. <i>As a general rule, the identification of a place-type and one qualifier will be acceptable.</i>	N/A

If all conditions above are met, Criterion B is likely to be met at the local level. **N/A**

C	<i>Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of our cultural or natural history</i>	This place does not meet this criterion.
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Step 1 Basic Test

C1	The physical fabric, and/or documentary evidence, and/or oral history of the place indicates a likelihood that the place contains evidence of heritage significance that is: - Not currently visible, and - Not well understood or available from other sources.	N/A
C2	The physical fabric is likely to be of an integrity and/or condition that could yield information through detailed investigation.	N/A

If both conditions above are met, Criterion C is likely to apply to the place.

Step 2 Threshold Test

C3	The information that might be obtained through investigation has the potential to yield new knowledge of historical importance to the local area.	N/A
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If the condition above is met, Criterion C is likely to be met at the local level. **N/A**

D	<i>Important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of</i>	The North Richmond Housing Estate is of representative significance to the City of
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<i>cultural or natural places or environments</i>	Yarra for demonstrating the principal characteristics associated with HCV's high-rise public housing estates, which left an enduring mark on the municipality's urban and social landscape. These principal characteristics are demonstrated through the Estate's substantially intact LPS constructed 'Z' configuration residential towers, landscaped grounds incorporating original recreational amenities, multi-storey car parks and the original 1975 Richmond West Primary School building. Collectively, these elements reflect the integrated planning approach of a typical HCV high-rise public housing estate, in which residential accommodation, open space, recreational facilities, and community and education infrastructure were conceived as cohesive, integrated components across landscaped grounds.
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Step 1 Basic Test

D1	The place is one of a class of place that has a clear association with an event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life in the history of the local area.	The North Richmond Housing Estate is one example of HCV Public Housing Estates in the municipality. These Estates are associated with the HCV's high-rise program of slum reclamation and public housing provision in the City of Yarra, which saw state-led urban interventions in the municipality, alongside changing approaches and attitudes to housing provision and urban renewal in inner Melbourne.
D2	The event, phase, period, process, function, movement, custom or way of life relating to the place is of historical importance, having made a strong or influential contribution to the local area.	HCV's program of slum reclamation and high-rise public housing provision is of considerable importance to City of Yarra's urban history. This period not only fundamentally transformed the municipality's urban landscape through the construction of imposing, high-rise public housing towers on land previously occupied by workers' cottages but also reshaped Yarra's social landscape by disrupting established working-class communities through the displacement and rehousing of residents. The importance of the HCV provision of public housing is attested to in the City of Yarra Thematic History, which recognises this period of development as an important phase in the municipality's history under

		the '3.3: Slums and Development of Public Housing' theme (Lovell & Associates 1998, 32-33).
D3	The principal characteristics of the class are evident in the physical fabric of the place which remains substantially intact and has a high level of integrity.	The principal characteristics of HCV Public Housing Estates are evident in the North Richmond Housing Estate's substantially intact LPS constructed 'Z' configuration residential towers, landscaped grounds incorporating original recreational amenities, multi-storey car parks and the Richmond West Primary School. Collectively, these elements reflect the integrated planning approach of the post-war high-rise public housing program, in which residential accommodation, open space, recreational facilities, and community and education infrastructure were conceived as components of a cohesive estate.

If all conditions above are met, Criterion D is likely to apply to the place.

The conditions of Step 1 Basic Test D1, D2 and D3 are met, therefore Criterion D is likely to apply to the place.

Step 2 Threshold Test

D4	The place is a fine example that exhibits the principal characteristics of a class in a way that allows the class to be easily understood or appreciated better than most other similar places in the local area.	In comparative terms, the North Richmond Housing Estate is a fine example of an HCV public housing estate owing to the legibility of its overall composition and the cohesive relationship between its residential towers, landscaped grounds, recreational amenities and associated educational infrastructure. While the Estate is not necessarily more intact than other comparable examples, its unified estate appearance and inclusion of a primary school distinguish it from other examples in the local area, effectively allowing it to more readily convey HCV's integrated planning approach, which conceived of high-rise residential housing alongside open space, recreational facilities, and community and educational infrastructure for families.
D5	The place is an influential example which contains characteristics that were copied in subsequent places of the class.	N/A

D6	The place is a pivotal example, which demonstrates a key evolutionary state in the development of the class.	N/A
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If at least one of the above conditions is met, Criterion D is likely to be met at the local level.

The conditions of Step 2 Threshold Test D4 are met, therefore Criterion D is likely to be met at the local level.

E	<i>Importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics</i>	The North Richmond Housing Estate, specifically its five uniform high-rise residential towers, is of aesthetic significance to the City of Yarra as a prominent landmark within the local urban landscape. The towers are distinguished by their distinctive built form, imposing scale, monumental height, exposed concrete materiality, rectilinear lines and uniform colour scheme. As the largest HCV public housing estate in the municipality, the Estate as a whole maintains a noticeable and distinct urban presence, reinforced by large areas of open green space surrounding the towers, which provide a sense of openness and contrast with their monumental built form. These characteristics, together with their location within an otherwise predominantly low-rise residential and commercial streetscape, contribute to the estate's austere architectural identity and make the towers readily recognisable and highly visible features of the streetscape and surrounding neighbourhood.
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Step 1 Basic Test

E1	The physical fabric of the place clearly exhibits particular aesthetic characteristics of importance to the local (or wider) area.	North Richmond Housing Estate, specifically the form, visual prominence and austere materiality of the five high-rise residential towers is of importance to the municipality owing to its distinctive appearance and contribution to the local urban landscape as an imposing residential landmark.
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If the condition above is met, Criterion E is likely to apply to the place.

The conditions of Step 1 Basic Test E1 are met, therefore Criterion E is likely to apply to the place.

Step 2 Threshold Test

E2	The visible physical evidence demonstrates a high degree of intactness or integrity.	The residential towers within the North Richmond Housing Estate retain a high degree of integrity, and the Estate as a whole can be clearly read as a HCV high-rise housing estate.
E3	The place displays special compositional qualities involving, for example, combinations of colour, textures, spaces, massing, detail, movement or unity. or The place has a landmark presence within the local area. or The place is professionally or publicly acknowledged for its aesthetic characteristics, artistic merit or excellence in design.	As is the largest HCV Housing Estate in the municipality, the North Richmond Housing Estate has a landmark presence in the local area owing to its substantial scale and austere, monumental twenty-storey height towers. Its landmark qualities are augmented by its siting in an otherwise low-rise residential and commercial area of Richmond, which render it a noticeable and distinct urban feature in the area.

If both conditions above are met, Criterion E is likely to be met at the local level.

The conditions of Step 2 Threshold Test E2 and E3 are met, therefore Criterion E is likely to be met at the local level.

F	<i>Importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period</i>	This place does not meet this criterion.
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Step 1 Basic Test

F1	The place exhibits physical evidence that clearly demonstrates creative or technical achievement for the time it was created.	N/A
F2	The physical evidence remains substantially intact and demonstrates a high degree of integrity.	N/A

If both conditions above are met, Criterion F is likely to apply to the place.

Step 2 Threshold Test

F3	The creative or technical achievement of the place has critical recognition as an important example in the local area within the relevant creative or technological discipline, or in publications or the media.	This place does not meet any conditions of this criterion.
F4	Documentary evidence suggests the place represents a high degree of	N/A

	creative or technical achievement for its period within the local area.	
If at least one of the above conditions is met, Criterion F is likely to be met at the local level. N/A		
G	<i>Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons. This includes the significance of a place to Indigenous peoples as part of the continuing and developing cultural traditions</i>	Based on a site visit and review of publicly available desktop information, it is not known whether the North Richmond Housing Estate meets this Criterion. These avenues of research confirmed the historical and ongoing association of the municipality's Vietnamese community with the Estate, including its role as a home for the Vietnamese community, and the ongoing use of the grounds and associated infrastructure for Vietnamese cultural activities and services. However, while this evidence demonstrates a continued association, it was insufficient to conclusively establish whether this association is particularly 'strong' or 'special' when compared to other places in Richmond that have a substantially similar association with the Vietnamese community, such as the Victoria Street commercial precinct and Ben Thanh Clock Tower. It is recommended that a program of public consultation with the relevant groups be undertaken to better substantiate the nature of the Estate's association with the municipality's Vietnamese community.
Step 1 Basic Test		
G1	The place demonstrates social value to a present-day community or cultural group through at least one of the following: ▪ Its ritual or ceremonial function ▪ As a place of congregation or gathering ▪ Its association with a collective human loss, trauma or triumph	Public consultation required.
G2	The place comprises a building, feature or space for gathering or commemorating that is connected to a present-day community or cultural group.	Public consultation required.

If both conditions above are met, Criterion G is likely to apply to the place.

TBC

Step 2 Threshold Test

G3	There is evidence that the present-day community or cultural group's attachment to the place: - Has existed for a length of time over which the connection to the place has endured, and - Involves a strong or special association that goes beyond amenity or aesthetic enjoyment, and - Is important to its sense of identity with a common cause, belief or practice <i>'Length of time' will typically be long-standing. A generation or 25 to 30 years may be accepted as a rough guide.</i>	Public consultation required.
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If the condition above is met, Criterion G is likely to be met at the local level.

TBC

H	<i>Special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in our history.</i>	This place does not meet this criterion.
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Step 1 Basic Test

H1	There is evidence that the place has a direct association with a person or group who made a strong or influential contribution to the local or wider area or in their field of endeavour.	N/A
H2	The association relates to an enduring or close interaction between the person or group and the place.	N/A
H3	The place comprises a building, structure, landscape, feature or similar, that is connected to the person or group and their strong or influential contribution.	N/A

If all conditions above are met, Criterion H is likely to apply to the place.

Step 2 Threshold Test

H5	The place remains substantially intact and retains a high level of integrity relevant to the time in which it was associated with the person/group and their contributions.	N/A
H6	The place allows the association between the person or group and their contributions to be readily appreciated better than most other places in the local area.	N/A

If both conditions above are met, Criterion H is likely to be met at the local level.
N/A

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